*"For I could tell how Natures store*
*Of Majestie appeareth more*
*In waters, then in all the rest*
*Of Elements."*
*(William Browne, Britannia's Pastorals, Book I, Song II)*

# Creating Identity and Uniting a Nation -

# The Development of the Water Motif from

# Ancient Greek Bucolic to Early Modern

# English Pastoral Poetry

**Inauguraldissertation**

zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde

der Neuphilologischen Fakultät

der Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg

Institut für Anglistik

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Abgabe: 20.05.2019

Disputation: 22.11.2019

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# Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved parents and sister whose love and support have inspired me to follow my dreams;

to my wonderful husband who always understood and whose exceptional encouragement and endless patience allowed me to focus on my research;

to Phaeton, Klio and Eos who reminded me to leave the books every so often to find my own Arcadia;

and finally, to Benedict, who always believed in me but did not live to see the thesis finished.

*"I'm off the deep end, watch as I dive in.*

*I'll never meet the ground.*

*Crash through the surface, where they can't hurt us.*

*We're far from the shallow now."*

# Index of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| Ap. | Hymn to Apollo |
| BP | Britannia's Pastorals |
| Callim. | Callimachus |
| Cf. | Confer |
| CCCHA | Colin Clout's Come Home Again |
| Ecl. | Eclogue |
| et.al. | Et alii/aliae |
| f. | and the following page |
| ff. | and the following pages |
| Hes. | Hesiod |
| Hdt. | Herodotus |
| Hom. | Homer |
| Ibid. | Ibidem |
| Id. | Idyll |
| Il. | Iliad |
| L. | Line |
| Mosch. | Moschus |
| Od. | Odyssey |
| Op. | Works and Days |
| P. | Page |
| Suid. | Suda |
| Theog. | Theogony |
| Theoc. | Theocritus |

# Table of Contents

# 1.     Introduction

## 1.1.     Motivation for this Dissertation

Since the late 90's and the early 21ˢᵗ century, common interest has grown in multimedia devices, electronics, "smart" tools and worldwide, anonymous communication. In a time that has made it possible to conduct financial business on your smartphone, to program a vacuum cleaning robot to clean your apartment and to order your grocery shopping online to avoid busy super-markets during shopping prime-time, people's conception and relationship with the natural world might have changed; these presuppositions, however, could allow two possible turns and outcomes. The first would be that nature lost its importance on people's mind in daily routine and that fast-moving city life, virtual reality and artificially designed parks and recreational areas substitute for real-life encounters with nature. The second possibility, on the other hand, would be a turn to nature; a longing desire for peace, escapism and simplicity, a yearning for a plain and quiet life in a natural balance. This current dilemma shows an issue which has been occupying people's mind for centuries.

Theocritus, the father of bucolic poetry, created *loca amoena* in his *Idylls* emphasising the advantages and paradisiac qualities of a life of simplicity as it is led by shepherds in the rocky hills of Sicily. Virgil followed in his footsteps, confronting his civil-war-struck contemporaries with the golden ray of hope that peace and beauty, balanced nature, heavenliness and divinity in landscape surroundings can always be achieved and restored after any level of chaos.[1] English pastoral emerged in the Renaissance - a period of literary production both extraneous and fascinating. In many literary introductions to the period, however, the British Renaissance is forced to take a backseat behind the cultural and artistic developments in Italy and France and the religious and ethical evolutions in Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands. Yet, thorough engagement with the inventions, changes and expansions during the

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[1] The Mediterranean landscapes, may they be real or imagined, provide perfect nostalgic, mythological and traditional geographic backgrounds for the composition of bucolic and pastoral poetry and the creation of rustic ideals: "The Mediterranean, then, is a material text into whose fabric are woven millennia of stories about the human relationship with the more-than-human-world." (Past in Zapf 2016: 369).

British Renaissance suggests otherwise: Britain underwent fundamental changes in almost any aspect of society and culture in the 16th and 17th century, developing a self-confident stand of the English language in literature, changing monarchs and religion, educating artists and poets in classical and humanist learning, while all the time keeping up with European trends in art, architecture, inventions, literature and fashion. The works of early modern pastoral poets such as Ralegh, Marlowe, Spenser, Barclay and Milton are just a few examples for this. They did not simply copy the works of Theocritus and Virgil but developed a new genre in British literary history.

From a teleological perspective, one is too often tempted to see the course of history as a smooth sequence of consecutive events adding up to "the future" rather than a bumpy ride of setbacks, retrogressions and hold-ups.[2] This applies to the study of literary history as well as it does to all other areas of historic scholarship. For the pursuit of the history and development from Greek bucolic and Latin pastoral literature to early modern English poetry, the temptation to treat temporal development as linear as possible is omnipresent. Of course, there is no straight line in the direct and indirect reception of the literature of antiquity; many manuscripts were lost through the course of centuries, changed in the copying process of the Middle Ages or suffered due to its challenging public accessibility. The public, in this case, meaning the few fortunate enough to not only read and write, but to read and write Latin and Greek. Nevertheless, British pastoral poetry found its way into the literary landscape of the 16th and 17th century, drawing inspiration in content and form from its ancient predecessors and providing a nation young in literature with a truly unique genre.[3]

This dissertation aims to perform an intercultural comparison of the history of ancient and early modern pastoral and its influence on the development of cultural and national identity with the help of

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[2] Grethlein describes this telos as "the vantage point from which a course of events is told." (Grethlein 2013: 2). In this case, the position of a literary scholar of the 21st century. The posteriority of the retrospective might make the modern scholar superior to many before him; however, it must be borne in mind that developments are not as linear as they appear in hindsight. "The look back permits us to master the contingencies to which we are subject in life, to replace vulnerability with sovereignty. Teleology can thus serve as a means of coping with temporality." (Ibid. P. 5).

[3] The transmission history of ancient bucolic and pastoral poems into the early modern European history will be discussed in chapter 3.3. The English Renaissance.

the water motif. Since the body of English Renaissance pastoral literature is very extensive, the establishment of certain leading and restricting aspects is highly necessary. A thorough read of the text bodies revealed water as an effective base for comparison: Since early antiquity, the element of water has carried important spiritual meaning. In ancient Greek belief the triad of earth, water and underworld presents a fundamental structure: early mythology tells the tale of the three divine brothers Zeus, Poseidon and Hades dividing these three realms of the world among them. Poseidon's position is described by Marshall as follows:

> "The Aegean Sea was Poseidon's Realm. His presence was and is still felt throughout the Aegean, below and above water. […] He was the husband of the Earth Goddess Demeter and the father of Pegasus, the winged horse. Among his many exploits, he founded Athens with Athena and he sired the citizens of Atlantis. He can be seen from one end of the Aegean to the other: in the ruins of temples, sanctuaries and shrines, and in the legends and memories of the Greek people. The shape-changing god is as volatile as the sea itself."[4]

He goes on to explain the god's great relevance by arguing: "As a symbol of the sea, he demonstrates how fundamental it was to the ancient Greeks, in their everyday lives and in their imagination."[5] Also, the personified stream Okeanos fathered many sons and daughters with the water goddess Thetis: The sons were the rivers, the daughters the Okeaninai, of which the Styx was the most powerful.[6] This dominant position in both ancient Greek myth, religious practices and everyday beliefs highlights the importance and necessity of waters and water imagery.

Both Britain and Greece have always had a unique relationship with water[7]; Marshall, for example, describes this relationship for the Greeks as "The sea runs in the blood of the Greeks; the sea is everywhere, both in their culture and on their horizon."[8] Both cultural spheres as islands or peninsulas have special geographical positions and a corresponding, far-reaching history of cultural

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[4] Marshall 2016: 1. The Iliad also reveals background information on Poseidon's influence on the Homeric heroes (e.g. Hom. Il. XIII, 10 ff. and XXIII, 276 ff.).
[5] Marshall 2016: 1.
[6] Cf. Abenstein 2012: 43.
[7] For the two countries' relationship with water see e.g. Vryonis 1993, Klein 2002, Moity&Rudel 2003, Chrysostomides 2004, O'Hara 2010, Ransley&Sturt 2013, Beaulieu 2016, Korte 2016.
[8] Marshall 2016: 2.

expansion that is emminently connected to a strong navy and generative ship-building. Water therefore fulfils a multitude of symbolic and interpretative functions.

Since Pastoral is one of the first genres[9] of poetry composed and printed in the English language, an interesting relationship between the British and the topic of herdsmen poetry appears to be evident. The intriguing question then arises why and how Pastoral became one of the first 'truly English' genres, in how far it was influenced by contemporality or ancient literary role models and what its history can offer. This dissertation will perform an intercultural comparison between the identity-displaying features of ancient Greek and early modern English Pastoral exemplified by water as literary motif.

Although the Latin language had to forfeit its supremacy as language of national and international academic communication and the printed word in England during the Renaissance[10], its literary impact was not lost and continued to engage English readers and influenced English writers[11]. The interest and demand for literary Latin source material went hand in hand with a growing curiosity for ancient Greek literature and its ancient world so much older than the first century BC: original texts in ancient Greek about philosophy, poetry, history, epic and drama did not only represent basic knowledge for academic learning and the world of scholars and universities; the beauty and poesy of these kinds of literature was also capable of moving the heart of its readers and entertain their minds. Theocritus himself was "familiar to English scholars from the beginning of the sixteenth century"[12] and poets like Michael Drayton (in 1619) continued to praise his work.[13]

It is therefore not surprising that many talented English poets undertook to convey genres and features of their favourite classical literature to their own language and to fuse the enthusiasm of Theocritus, Virgil, Hesiod or Horace with their very own. Hesiod (approximately 8th century BC) is the first poet with an agricultural

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[9] The scholarly discussion in pastoral theory on the pastoral as being a mode rather than a genre will be dealt with in chapter 2.
[10] Cf. Considine in Haskell&Feros Ruys 2010: 55-77.
[11] Cf. Lucas&Mulvey 2013: 64 f.
[12] Halperin 1983: 2.
[13] Cf. Halperin 1983: 2 f.

background who, to current knowledge, composed literature (such as his "Works and Days") inspired by his pastoral profession and influenced other poets. In his "Theogony" he describes how he, a shepherd, was consecrated by the muses and became a poet[14]. His poetry may be seen as a starting point for the interest in a simple life, agriculture and a symbiosis with nature, but it was Theocritus (3rd century BC) who excelled in the genre of herdsmen poetry and who has since been known as its most prominent representative: his *Idylls* present the most important corpus of examples for bucolic poetry. Theocritus' contemporary Moschus and later Bion can also be rightly counted among the most influential bucolic poets from the Hellenistic period onwards[15].

It is Virgil who continues this literary theme to Rome; his poetry functions as a catalyst for the establishment of bucolic and pastoral literature as a separate genre: he placed the image of the Golden Age as well as the concept of Arcadia in an even more romanticised pastoral land- and soundscape, lived in by highly sophisticated and artistically inclined rustics.[16] English pastoral poetry begins in the early 16th century with Alexander Barclay (*Eclogues*, 1515), later Edmund Spenser (*The Shepherd's Calendar*, 1579), Sir Philip Sidney (*Arcadia*, ~1580), Michael Drayton (*Idea: The Shepherd's Garland*, 1593) and Sir Walter Raleigh (*The Nymphs Reply*, 1600).

The popular and widely appreciated theme of bucolic and pastoral poetry was soon transferred to many other literary genres, for example pastoral epic, drama and prose, and can since be found in almost every type of literature. Moreover, water and Pastoral go together: there

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[14] Cf. Kegel-Brinkgreve 1990: 36. A detailed elaboration on Hesiod and his development from shepherd to poet will be given in the context of the "Dichterweihe" in chapter 4.1.5. For a detailed description of the figure of the herdsman, see Gutzwiller in Fantuzzi&Papanghelis 2006: 1-24.

[15] "There was in antiquity a canon of three Greek bucolic poets – Theocritus, Moschus, and Bion. One of the great mysteries of literary history has been why Moschus and Bion were classified as bucolic poets, when very little of their extant work can genuinely be considered 'bucolic' in the manner of Theocritus Idylls 1 or 3-11. […] There was a strong sense among the Alexandrinian scholars responsible for such canons that bucolic poetry had to exist as a tradition, with a founder and predecessor in the person of Theocritus, followed by various successors; 'bucolic' was a phenomenon that as a matter of generic definition could only make sense in light of such an intertextual and interpersonal system. Bucolic was seen as a poetry in its very essence concerned with poetic inheritance and succession." (Hubbard 1998: 37.)
For more information on Theocritus' successors and the historic development of the bucolic genre in Greek poetry, Hunter 1996 gives a detailed characterisation.
[16] Cf. Marinelli 1971: 41.

are numerous occurrences and various functions of the water motif as it guides the poetry, among many other things, from an intellectual, figurative, metaphorical, physical and acoustic point of view.

Since time immemorable water has played an important role in the life of people and has possessed power and influence on almost every cultural and spiritual aspect of life. Mythology tells the story of Okeanos as the source of all waters[17]: his offspring, following in an anthropomorphic theological world picture, divide all waters among them. The connection between water and divinity is crucial. Since early antiquity, the element of water has carried spiritual meaning. Homer as well as classical philosophers have observed water and made it part of their observations: Thales of Miletus, Xenophanes, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Plato and Aristotle examined the circulation of water and its meteorological aspects as well as the mythological and religious connections of the element.[18]

Elena Past sums up the importance of water as follows:

> "We are reminded that we ingest water, that things we eat move through it, that factory waste is transported in it; it cools, insulates, cleans; it contaminates, and it kills."[19]

Vryonis points out the importance of waters, or more precisely, the sea in Greek literature as follows:

> "Greek literature makes its appearance against the immediate background of the sea and in part, in the sea. […] from this early beginning the imagery of the sea spread quickly into practically all literature in references to and explanation of politics, the state, love affairs, the tragic condition of human life: the winds of misfortune, the storm of life, the rudder and pilot of the ship of state, the internal storms that shatter or unsettle the soul, the mind, and the heart."[20]

These ambiguities and binary oppositions of different waters will occur again and again in the analyses of this dissertation, only adding to the primary role of waters in everyday life, real or imagined. The topic and most of the sources might be ancient, but they do not lose actuality. Water is not a motif among many in pastoral

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[17] Cf. Tölle-Kastenbein 1990: 11 ff.
[18] Cf. Thommen 2009: 60. Hippocrates' work "Airs, waters, places" is another serious approach to environmental history and understanding. (Cf. Ibid. 31.).
[19] Past in Zapf 2016: 369.
[20] Vryonis 1993: 12.

poetry; for many aspects and interpretational purposes it is the most important.

The transience, steadiness and infinity of water has already been connected to almost every aspect of emotionality and sentimentality and offers an apparent supremacy for metaphors and allegories among the five elements. For these reasons water was chosen as a starting point of analysis and this project will focus on its usage, function and relevance in ancient Greek bucolic and early modern English pastoral poetry to demonstrate similarities and differences and to mark precisely developments in genre, form, content and context and their interpretation towards the development of a national identity.

When comparing the two cultural spheres of England and Greece it becomes obvious that not only the larger geography shows similarities - a close look at landscape and countryside also invites for productive comparison: both landscapes are dominated by mountain ridges and rocky surroundings as well as meadows, fields and rural areas which feature different kinds of agriculture and animal husbandry. A great part of the landscapes is crossed by springs and rivers, ponds, lakes and various kinds of streams, which aid in delivering the topos of serenity and solitude as well as production and progress. The theories used for the analysis and interpretation of the motif and its developments help to situate bucolic and pastoral poetry and its water reference in the right environmental and cultural context and involve pastoral theory, ecocriticism and the theories of collective and cultural memory as well as national identity. Applying them, the water motifs runs through the three corpora like a golden line.


## 1.2.    Previous Research

The body of previous research on Greek Bucolic and English Pastoral is extensive. As it is very common for the field of classic philology, a substantial amount of interpretative and commenting literature has already been published about herdsmen and their songs. This applies especially to Theocritus. Many introductory overviews for Hellenistic literature have been produced to put the bucolic

authors Theocritus, Moschus and Bion into historical and social context.

The most notable of these works are Kathryn Gutzwiller's *A Guide to Hellenistic Literature*[21] and Annet Harder's *Hellenistic Poetry in Context*[22]. Both authors endeavour a literary and historical-cultural overview and offer introductory observations. Richard Hunter's research on Bucolic, Theocritus and the Hellenistic period must be specially emphasised: not only did he publish various commentaries on the Greek bucolic poets but was also involved in collaborative work for anthologies. Among other things, Hunter provides introductions to the period, the poets, as well as the language, style and metre of bucolic poetry. His work with Marco Fantuzzi *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry*[23] needs to be mentioned in this context. Steve Jackson and Damien Nelis published *Studies in Hellenistic Poetry*[24], which can also be counted among the most influential introductory works for the Hellenistic period, since they provide an excellent overview of both fundamental knowledge as well as previous research.

Specialist literature on Greek bucolic poetry besides Richard Hunter's commentary[25] and his other publications (e.g. *Theocritus and the Archaeology of Greek Poetry*[26]) also includes David Halperin's *Before Pastoral – Theocritus and the Ancient Tradition of Bucolic Poetry*[27]. Thomas Rosenmeyer specialised this view on Theocritus' influence on the European pastoral with *The Green Cabinet – Theocritus and the European Pastoral Lyric*[28]. Hans Bernsdorff must also be mentioned, since his work on Hellenistic poetry and its bucolic elements offers a thorough observation of bucolic motifs and their development in various forms of Hellenistic literature[29]. More recent research trends in Classical philology have been aiming at aetiology: In this research, Theocritus' sources are examined as well as the

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[21] Gutzwiller 2007.
[22] Harder 2014.
[23] Hunter & Fantuzzi 2004.
[24] Jackson & Nelis 2003.
[25] Hunter 1999.
[26] Hunter 1996.
[27] Halperin 1983.
[28] Rosenmeyer 1969.
[29] Bernsdorff 2001.

cultural influence on his work, shedding light on elements of Sicilian folk-tales and regional cultural heritage[30].

The state of research for the English pastoral is equally extensive. Since both the 16th and 17th century are commonly regarded as the beginning of pastoral literature and elements of this tradition survived in numerous literary genres up until today, many introductory works have been published which offer overviews about the sources of early modern pastoral and explain its beginnings. Noteworthy examples for these kinds of literature are Paul Alper's *What is Pastoral?[31]*, Ken Hiltner's reaction to the latter *What else is Pastoral?[32]* and Richard Mallette's *Spenser, Milton, and Renaissance Pastoral[33].* The literary theory used in this dissertation will be explained in the theory-chapters 2.2.–2.5 and also includes pastoral theory.

The influence of antiquity on early modern pastoral has also been analysed but if one searches for precise comparisons with a background in motif history, the search ends fruitless. This dissertation now aims to fill this niche. Some motif-historic research, however, was undertaken: Petra Haß published her research results on the discussion of the *locus amoenus* and the creation of atmosphere in *Der locus amoenus in der antiken Literatur: zu Theorie und Geschichte eines literarischen Motivs[34]*. This work is crucial for this dissertation because Haß embeds the important function of mood-setting and the geographic component of water in an atmospheric context: Haß establishes examples of the *locus amoenus* by means of Homeric epic. Using these examples, she assembles a list of characteristics of situations and localities and develops them further on other genres and literary periods. Her research already touches upon the functions of water in the *locus amoenus* but does not give special attention to the subject. In 1974, Charles Segal undertook a

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[30] Cooper agrees, as she sees the figure of the shepherd rooted in folk songs: "Probably the most pervasive idea of the shepherd came through folk songs, and much of the evidence has been lost […]." (Cooper 1977: 116). Böschenstein-Schäfer also argues for the impact of Sicilian culture on the *Idylls*: „Anscheinend waren die Liederwettbewerbe zwischen den Hirten gebräuchlich und gewissen Kulturen eigentümlich; der Syrakusaner Komödiendichter Epicharm (5.Jh.) erwähnt Diomus als Erfinder des Hirtengesangs. Stesichorus von Himera (6.Jh.) erzählte in einem verlorenen Chorlied von dem unglücklichen Daphnis […]." (Böschenstein-Schäfer in Garber 1976: 9).
[31] Alpers 1996.
[32] Hiltner 2011.
[33] Mallette 1981.
[34] Haß 1998.

motif-historic approach to the subject matter of water in his essay *Death by Water: A Narrative Pattern in Theocritus*[35]. Although it offers some interesting interpretative ideas, this publication is over 40 years old and the content and analysis restricted.[36] Further development of the analyses of the water motif to national and international cultural history has not yet received scholarly attention.

This dissertation does not include a separate chapter on the discussion of reception studies as its title already promises the inclusion of such aspects. Secondary literature dealing with extremely specified and detailed observation on the subjects are *The Pipes of Pan*[37], which thematises literary filiation and intertextuality in the pastoral tradition from Theocritus onwards and *On Coming After*[38] with a reception history of Hellenistic poetry. *The Echoing Woods*[39] traces bucolic and pastoral poetry from Theocritus to Wordsworth, whereas *Pastoral and Ideology*[40] focusses on Pastoral reception from the Middle Ages onwards. The reception of Virgilian Pastoral in the Renaissance is discussed in *Virgil and Renaissance Culture*[41] and *Spenser and Virgil*[42] with its observation about Virgilian influence on the Renaissance poet. Radcliffe's Spenserian reception study[43] deals with the reception of Renaissance pastoral poets as does Hardy, who puts Milton and Spenser in context with the works of C.S.Lewis[44]. *Renaissance Psychologies*[45] deals with shared aspects in the works of Spenser and Shakespeare. Anderson's work on allegorical intertext between Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton must also be mentioned in the context[46]. *Renaissance Now!*[47] then takes one of the most modern approaches to the reception of Renaissance texts. All

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[35] Segal in: Hermes, 1974, Volume 102, Booklet 1, P. 20.
[36] The essay canonises Theocritus' idylls and narrows the primary sources down to a selection of four idylls, which does not do justice to the considerably larger corpus of the author. The second difference can be found in the choice of topic itself. The motifs and functions of water offer a presentation diversity that is far more extensive than a reduction to the motif "death" can cover.
[37] Hubbard 1998.
[38] Hunter 2008.
[39] Kegel-Brinkgreve 1990.
[40] Patterson 1988.
[41] Houghton&Sgarbi 2018.
[42] Pugh 2016.
[43] Radcliffe 1996.
[44] Hardy 2007.
[45] Reid 2017
[46] Anderson 2008.
[47] Dooley 2014.

these authors will be included in the thesis to the necessary extent but the detailed discussion of their theses would go beyond the scope of this dissertation.

So far, there are no publications covering the thesis of this dissertation project and it can be said that this dissertation fills the gap between antiquity and modernity and yields successful research results for the individual bucolic and pastoral subgenres included in the corpora, the comparative analyses of the different epochs and water's influence on cultural development of the water-motif. The intercultural focus of this dissertation exemplifies its relevance for society from the early modern era until today.

The pastoral genre itself never experienced a loss of topicality; the urge to move to the city during the industrial revolution and the desire to further expand metropolitan regions has caused people to yearn for nature, their personal *locus amoenus*, calmness, serenity, relaxation, escapism and leisure. Although this dissertation deals mainly with ancient and early modern primary sources, Pastoral's contemporary reference will be thematised with the help of modern pastoral theories (as will be discussed in the theory chapter).

## 1.3. Method

A successful implementation of this research endeavour required a thorough preparatory process: the texts of Theocritus, Bion and Moschus needed close reading and analysis. Key for a thorough investigation of the text was the preparation of my own translation of the text, which allowed first insights and associations and initiated the sorting and survey of the functions and motifs of water. The procedure of text analysis followed the sequence of Finding – Categorising – Evaluating.

During the close reading, variations of the word-field of water were considered. This can, of course, lead to the opening of a thematic field too broad for the extent of this dissertation and requires restrictive guidelines for the chosen word fields connected to water. Besides all the obvious water-related vocabulary (e.g. water, spring, river, sea, lake, ocean, depth, to flow, to trickle etc.), I decided

to include any kind of water-related creature (e.g. nymphs, water deities, sea creatures, fish), water-plants and the names of people, rivers and gods as well as sea-faring vocabulary in the first close reading. The selection of keywords then followed a reduction from broad to specific. It became obvious that some word-fields and keywords must be excluded to compose a relevant research field. This selection was not only made to restrict the extensive key words that could be used for the analyses, but also to ascertain a specific standard of usefulness and relevance to the topic[48].

The choice of vocabulary and word-fields was made based on the water instances in the Greek sources and then transferred, if possible, to the Latin and English sources: Virgil's *Eclogues* play an important role for this dissertation as "transmission vehicle" to connect ancient Greek Bucolic with early modern poetry and to show to what extent ancient thought streams and interpretative trends have been transferred into the early modern age.

The whole corpus was chosen on the basis of relevance and includes ancient and early modern classics as well as shorter texts, less known authors and texts such as epigrams or fragments of ancient Greek bucolic and poets with few publications in the early modern English period[49] as this is the only way to give a detailed overview of all literary epochs included and to place the individual texts of the chosen corpus adequately in their contemporary frame.

A precise selection of the early modern English text corpus was crucial to reach clean-cut results that invite intercultural comparative research analyses. Establishing the English corpus turned out not to be as straightforward as the selection of the Greek sources; the reason for this lies in the number of available texts: whereas the size of the Greek corpus does not allow further cropping, the

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[48] For example, the exclusion entails the following vocabulary to milk, to nurse, to fill, to cool, to mix, to dry, to melt, to freeze, to kiss, to anoint; also, oil, milk, pot, poison, libation, coolness and any colours that are mentioned in a context that is not explicitly water-related or functions as a water-related epitheton ornans. The explanation is simple and is based on practicality: although most of the words are related to fluids, none of them come into close connection to water.

[49] Genre-related complications caused by the differences between epigrams, fragments and completely preserved bodies of poetry will be analysed and discussed in this context. It will be included in the analyses through the discussion of tradition history and vary in extent depending on the importance of the text for the research of this dissertation.

English offers a wide variety of texts which require strict canonisation and categorical decisions during the selection process.

The selection of this corpus was therefore carried out after different criteria, namely the popularity of the poet and his poetry, chronology to encompass the whole period and mark developments and the influence of poets and poetry on the genre of Pastoral and other pastoral poets (both contemporary and of later generations). A detailed account of the works and poets will be given in the chapter 4.1. and 4.2.

The finalisation of the English corpus introduced the application of first interpretative techniques: in this step, the analysis procedure equals the procedure applied to the ancient Greek texts for the establishment of different functions and motifs of water. The chief motifs and functions of the Greek bucolic texts play a major role in the analysis and build the base for the comparisons of the two genres. New motifs and functions that were prioritised in the English texts were equally sought after (e.g. sea-faring). In many aspects of academic research evaluation, the establishment of different foci would even be preferable to allow a wider, all-including intercultural analysis, as are absences of specific motifs and missing functions. Then, interpretations, analyses, appraisals and evaluations of the different occurrences, motifs and functions of water were conducted with the help of the interpretative strategies of literary and cultural theories which will be introduced in the following chapter.

## 2.    Theory

Since the theories concerning terminology and national identity building are crucial for the understanding and development of the literary history of bucolic and pastoral poetry, the theory chapter precedes the history chapter.

### 2.1.    Terminology

Many scholars struggle with the definition and use of the terms 'pastoral' and 'bucolic'[50]. Some use them interchangeably without further reflection or explanation – the scholarly discourse concerning this terminology is diverse.[51] For example, Payne agrees with Hunter that the *boukolos* is where the term "bucolic" stems from, but he calls the Greek poems 'bucolic' whereas he refers to the Latin ones as 'pastoral'.[52] An approach to the ancient Greek and Latin poetry and early modern Pastoral as intensive and precise as intended in this dissertation, however, requires careful consideration of the terminology used.

When scholars talk about pastoral poetry, they usually consider Theocritus the inventor of this genre[53] and determine that all Pastoral has its roots in Greek bucolic[54]. Hunter stresses the etymology of the term "bucolic" with the help of Theocritus' *Idylls* 5 and 7: In Idyll 5, 'bucolicising' is used as a verb several times, but most prominently when Lakon says: αὐτόθε μοι ποτέρισδε καὶ αὐτόθε βουκολιάσδευ[55]. ("From

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[50] Cf. Rosenmeyer 1969: 3-6.
[51] Cf. Halperin 1983: 27.
[52] Cf. Payne in Clauss & Cuypers 2010: 224.
[53] Böschenstein-Schäfer emphasises the importance of the ancient poets for the development of the pastoral genre as follows: „Theokrits und Vergils Gedichte sind in einem mehr als historischen Sinne ‚Ursprung': alle späteren Idyllendichter haben sich an ihnen bewusst orientiert." (Böschenstein-Schäfer in Garber 1976: 8).
[54] Cf. Halperin 1983: 2. Halperin is not the only scholar to interpret Theocritus this way. Gifford agrees with him in terms of the invention of the bucolic and pastoral genre, pointing out Theocritus' and Virgil's involvement in its establishment: "Pastoral as a genre is really confined to two foundational texts that established the essential features of pastoral conventions and to which later writers refer back, either consciously or implicitly." (Gifford in Westling 2014: 18.). Alpers highlights the Virgilian impact on the establishment of the genre: "[…] Theocritus did not give ancient pastoral its definitive generic form. […] There are no clear boundaries between his 'pastoral' and 'non-pastoral' Idylls and no coherently developed set of conventions that mark certain 'bucolics' as what we could call "pastoral". That was the work of later pastoralists and was brought to completion by Virgil, whose Eclogues give ancient pastoral its generic identity." (Alpers 1996: 66).
[55] Theoc. Id. V, 60.

there compete with me and from there bucolicise"). An amoebaean contest follows, stereotypical for everything taken as bucolic from then on[56].

Thereupon, the term "pastoral" derived from the Graeco-Roman literary tradition, since Theocritus' model of a poetic form was eagerly copied and processed by Virgil.[57] Many agree that Theocritus' influence in the development of the pastoral is not to be underestimated, but most scholars hold the works of Virgil in a higher esteem when it comes to the process of transferring the ancient tradition into the early modern world of the Renaissance.[58] In 1531, Elius Eobanus of Hesse translated the poems of Theocritus into Latin hexameters, offering a first taste of the poet's work for the English – a task that was extended to an English translation in 1588[59]. It was also in 1588, when an English translation of Virgil *Eclogues* was published and immediately well-received.[60] A reason for Virgil's influence in shaping the term "pastoral" can be found in the reception of his works in the Italian Renaissance: since Latin was a well-known language among the educated, reading Virgil in the original was much more accessible to the public reading class than to fight their way through ancient Greek.[61]

It is misleading that the synonymous English meanings of both words, bucolic and pastoral "encourage the assumption that the literary categories represented by these terms can also be equated."[62] It only adds to the confusion that both names not only refer to a literary form and poetry belonging to the same literary tradition, but that the term "bucolic" derives from the Greek word for cowherd βουκόλος (*boukólos*) and "pastoral" from the Latin word for herdsman, *pastoralis*.[63]

David Halperin sees the most striking difference between bucolic and pastoral as follows:

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[56] Cf. Hunter 1999: 6. For more information on the topic how "bucolic" the Theocritean singers really are, please see Pretagostini in Fantuzzi&Papanghelis 2006: 53-74.
[57] Wilson-Okamura elaborates on the topic of imitating Theocritus and Virgil's bookishness in Wilson-Okamura 2010: 66-69.
[58] Cf. Halperin 1983: 2.
[59] "Theocritus was not even partially translated until 1588 […] and no Greek edition was printed in England for another half century." (Cooper 1977: 124).
[60] Cf. Halperin 1983: 2.
[61] Cf. Halperin 1983: 4.
[62] Cf. Halperin 1983: 8.
[63] Cf. Halperin 1983: 8.

> "*Boukolikos* appears to be a technical literary term – it refers to a specific type of poetic composition and can be employed as a title – whereas *pastoralis* is wholly descriptive, denoting (in particular) a relation to animal husbandry. […] The patterns of usage in antiquity are sufficiently distinct to warrant making a sharp division between the ancient senses of *boukolikos* and *pastoralis*, adjectives which are never equated."[64]

Whereas *boukolikos* was always used to describe a specific type of poetry with a distinct profile in form, metre and content, it took a very long amount of time for *pastoralis* to be connected to a certain literary tradition: this first happened in the Renaissance. Before it was mostly used to describe any literary text that was in any way connected to animal husbandry, herdsmen and shepherds[65] and "[…] never achieved a specifically literary point of reference."[66] Richard Hunter argues that the process which formed the pastoral as an independent genre concentrated on specific content-related points of interests in Theocritus' bucolic. The adjective already suggests that the pastoral specified "love and the relation between man and nature and between present and mythical past and expanded the range of such song by giving primacy to the metaphor of the poet as herdsman."[67]

The borders of the terms began to blur even further in the Renaissance when Virgil's popularity grew among the English intellectuals and Latin poets increasingly moved to the fore. Latin pastoral now became the name for the literary term with Italian humanists and its usage spread into England. Alexander Barclay uses 'pastoral' in his prologue to *Certayne Ecloges* (~1514) and in 1544, 'pastoral' was regarded as the technical term for the genre.[68] George Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589) also supports the development of "pastoral" from an adjective to describe animal husbandry-related themes to the term for a specific kind of poetry, equating it with the term bucolic.[69] As Hunter puts it: "[…] 'bucolic' turned into 'pastoral'"[70] and "'generic possibilities' became 'generic expectations'."[71]

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[64] Halperin 1983: 10.
[65] Cf. Halperin 1983: 11.
[66] Halperin 1983: 11.
[67] Hunter 1999: 11.
[68] Cf. Halperin 1983: 13.
[69] Cf. Halperin 1983: 14.
[70] Hunter 1999: 11.
[71] Hunter 1999: 11 f.

The "pastoral"-terminology caught on with other authors and the merging of the two terms was complete. A tendency evolved to call the early modern English pastoral poetry indeed pastoral and to refer to the ancient Greek one as bucolic.[72] These connotations to the terms are widespread in the field of poetry research and this dissertation will go along with this usage of the two terms to exactly differentiate between the binary classical texts: bucolic for the Greek poems[73] and pastoral for the Latin. The explanation of the meaning of the adjective 'pastoral' above allows the classification of specific animal-husbandry-related elements in the Greek bucolic poems. Due to the lack of sufficient distinctive qualities universally acknowledged, using pastoral for the modern poems and bucolic for the ancient ones is the closest thing to a consensus[74].

## 2.2.   Pastoral Literary Theory

For this dissertation, pastoral literary theory functions as introductory theory for the study of pastoral poetry rather than as an interpretative tool for the analysis-part of the selected corpora. The research and text body produced for pastoral poetry is extensive, since pastoral literary theory has existed almost as long as Pastoral; for the avoidance of tedious repetitions, the overview presented here is restricted to the most important scholars and their research and includes research from the 16th century onwards, namely George Puttenham, William Empson, Paul Alpers, Ken Hiltner and Terry Gifford[75]. In this introductory chapter to pastoral theory only the most important scholars and their work will be introduced in regards to their relevance to the thesis[76].

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[72] Cf. Halperin: 1983. 15.
[73] Bernsdorff also uses the term "bucolic" for all transmitted poems of Thecoritus, Moschus and Bion. (Cf. Bernsdorff 2001: 10).
[74] The debate intensifies when it comes to the decision whether Greek and Latin poetry should both be called bucolic to highlight the temporal distance to the Renaissance; although it would be logical to do so, most researchers call the Latin poetry 'pastoral' as well. Their reason for it might be that 'pastoral' itself is a Latin word and so might sound more authentic to describe Latin poetry. Calling Greek poetry 'pastoral', too, is a lesser known, probably for the same reason of authenticity and linguistic harmony.
[75] Other scholars in the field of pastoral literary theory are Friedrich Schiller, Frank Kermode, Raymond Williams, Leo Marx, Brian Loughrey, David Halperin and Renato Poggioli.
[76] Great temporal distance between the authors must hence be excused.

The first scholar of pastoral literary theory was George Puttenham, who already reflected on pastoral poetry during the 16th century. His work "The Arte of English Poesie"[77] (published in 1589) provides a summary of English poetry up to the Renaissance. Concerning the pastoral genre, he explains that the rustic backgrounds, characters and plots of pastoral poetry are instrumentalised as disguised symbols for political conversations, or "matter of greater discourse"[78]. Many scholars shared this opinion[79]. Puttenham agrees with other scholars (whom he does not mention by name) that pastoral poetry uses the peaceful, simple and honest world of the shepherds as a connection point with the life or imaginations of its recipients, but repeats that this idyllic simplicity is not as simple as it first appears.[80] According to his opinion, pastoral always has didactic elements and the poems "contain and enforme morall discipline for the amendment of mans behaviour"[81].

In the 20th century, several scholars focused on Pastoral: William Empson published "Some Versions of Pastoral"[82], one of the most cited reference works for pastoral literary theory. He united prior research in the presupposition that pastoral poetry might consist of varying layers of ambivalence[83]. Nevertheless, he also claims that harmony and union are displayed as predominant features of the Pastoral. Empson is best known for his way of defining the Pastoral as "putting the complex into the simple"[84] and, in that respect, he agrees with Puttenham that pastoral poetry is used to point out contemporary issues in political discourse, creating a

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[77] Puttenham (1589)1971.
[78] Puttenham 1971: 31.
[79] Kunze highlights the importance of established cliches as kinds of extended stock characters for this process: „[…] die Verweisfunktion der Naturklischees [erhält] ausgesprochen speziellen Charakter und macht diese zu einem Medium, in dem nicht nur repräsentative, allgemein bekannte Gegenstände poetisch dargestellt, sondern Verhaltensprobleme aus empirisch überprüfbaren Situationen durchgespielt werden können." Kunze 1978: 31.
[80] Cf. Puttenham 1971: 30. "Some be of the opinion […] that the pastorall Poesie […] should be the first of any other […] because […] the shepheards and haywards assemblies & meetings when they kept their cattell and heards in the common fields and forests, was the first familiar conversation, and their babble and talk under bushes and shadie trees, the first disputation and contentious reasoning, and their fleshly heates growing of ease, the first idle wooings, and the songs made to their mates or paramours either upon sorrow or iolity of courage, the first amorous musick, sometime also they sang and played on their pipes for wagers, striving who should get the best game, and be counted cunningest." (Ibid.).
[81] Puttenham 1971: 31.
[82] Empson 1938.
[83] Cf. Empson 1938: 27-88.
[84] Empson 1938: 23.

covert double plot and interpretation[85]. Barrell and Bull agree with him:

> "For the pastoral vision is, at base, a false vision, positing a simplistic, unhistorical relationship between the ruling, landowning class - the poet's patrons and often the poet himself – and the workers on the land; as such its function is to mystify and to obscure the harshness of actual social and economic organization."[86]

Paul Alpers' renowned publication *What is Pastoral?*[87] highlights the role of the herdsman and his lifestyle as representatives for any kinds of humankind[88] and, more importantly, advances the argument that Pastoral must be considered a 'mode' rather than a 'genre'[89]. Whereas he defines a genre as

> "a literary form that has clear superficial features or marks of identification and that is sufficiently conventional or rule-governed to enable us to say [..] that a given work is a pastoral elegy or a Petrarchian love poem or a verse satire […] and not another thing"[90],

he establishes a mode as follows:

> "Mode [..] refers to feelings and attitudes as such, as distinguished from their realization or manifestation in specific devices, conventions, structures."[91]

Alpers manages to show the connectedness of modes and genres, since

> "'Mode' is a suitable term for the literary category that includes a number of individual genres, because it is continuous with the idea that a genre is identified by both outer and inner form."[92]

The application of the term "mode" to pastoral poetry can be justified by both the presence and absence of shared stylistic features of various pastoral writings, such as pastoral elegy,

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[85] Cf. Empson 1938: 27-88.
[86] Barrell&Bull 1974: 4. They describe the intent of pastoral poetry as follows: "At the outset, the Pastoral is a mythical view of the relationship of men in society, at the service of those who control the political, economic, and cultural strings of society." (Ibid.).
[87] Alpers 1996.
[88] Cf. Alpers 1996: 137 ff.
[89] Cf. Alpers 1996: 44 ff. For further elaboration on the term "genre" and how it is used and pplied to Greek Bucolic and Latin Pastoral, see Cairns 2007: 34 -126 and Harrison 2007: 34-75.
[90] Alpers 1996: 45 f.
[91] Alpers 1996: 47. Alpers goes in to explain that "'Mode' is […] the term that suggests the connection of 'inner' and 'outer' form; it conveys the familiar view that form and content entail each other and cannot […] be separated." (Alpers 1996: 49.).
[92] Alpers 1996: 49.

pastoral novel, pastoral drama and the mutual presence of a mode which truly establishes the pastoral idea, explaining that "Literary pastoral includes many genres so conceived"[93]. For the study of pastoral poetry, the acceptance of a uniting mode is crucial for the interpretation of texts. Moreover, Alpers encourages us to pay attention to the importance of the unimportant, following Empson's focus of the simple. He specialises his research on pastoral love poems and pastoral lyrics, claiming that "a lyric allows its speaker to slip in and out of pastoral guise and reveal directly the sophistication which prompted him to assume it in the first place"[94]. Alpers' approach starts with the classical Greek and Latin authors and covers almost all pastoral genres until modern times.

Terry Gifford paid special attention to the concept of Arcadia in his 1999 publication *Pastoral*[95] and divided pastoral poetry into three different kinds. The first emphasises pastoral as "a historical form with a long tradition which began in poetry, developed into drama and […] novels."[96] In this kind, Pastoral as a literary form used in different time periods is based on Greek and Roman poems and centres on the country-life of shepherds and herdsmen, offering insights "relevant to the urban audience"[97]. The second kind presents pastoral as an "area of content", rather than just a literary form, referring to any literature that "describes the country with an implicit or explicit contrast to the urban"[98], pointing out differences and potential interpretative tools sporting "a delight in the natural"[99]. Snell agrees with Gifford that the urban-rural distinctions had already been felt in Hellenistic Greece and later in Rome and that the second type of pastoral is safely rooted with ancient bucolic poetry:

> „Inzwischen ist die Spannung schärfer geworden zwischen einem raffinierten und einem naiven Leben, - nicht so krass wie mehr als zweitausend Jahre später, als Marie Antoinette begann, Schäferin zu spielen, aber die soziologische Situation ist nicht unähnlich."[100]

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[93] Alpers 1996: 49.
[94] Alpers 1996: 224.
[95] Gifford 1999.
[96] Gifford 1999: 1.
[97] Gifford 1999: 1 f.
[98] Gifford 1999: 2.
[99] Gifford 1999: 2.
[100] Snell 1965: 189.

The third type of pastoral depicts country life within derogative classifications, placing the literary representation of nature in a material reality, criticising pastoral versions as "too simplified"[101] and therefore treating them pejoratively[102].

In 2011, Ken Hiltner published a literary reply to Alpers, a volume called *What else is Pastoral*?[103] in which he equalises Renaissance pastoral poetry with nature writing[104], reducing its figurative function to presenting something else in disguise: "[…] Renaissance nature writing, which is frequently in the pastoral mode, often works best when it neither mimics nor represents anything."[105] He accounts for the increased interest in nature in the early modern period back by a general lack of lavish description in Renaissance Pastoral. A growing tendency to use gestural strategies in Renaissance poetry provoked the development of an environmental consciousness as nature around poets and artists becomes endangered[106]. Hiltner also argues that the current environmental crisis of the 21st century clearly has its roots in the Renaissance:

> "[…] many of the environmental issues that we associate with later centuries – even with the age of environmentalism – first emerged as issues of concern in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."[107]

and that signs of economic awareness can be detected in Renaissance pastoral poetry[108]. He describes the crises as follows:

> "[…] early modern England, and especially, London, was confronted with a host of environmental crises, including urban air pollution, acid rain, deforestation, endangered species, wetland loss, and rampant consumerism […]. Air pollution was hardly a new problem in the Renaissance, with the first of many commissions to study the problem on London being set up in 1286. Because the area surrounding the city had been cleared of forests

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[101] Gifford 1999: 2.
[102] Cf. Gifford 1999: 2.
[103] Hiltner 2011.
[104] Cf. Hiltner 2011: 49 ff.
[105] Hiltner 2011: 5.
[106] Hiltner mentions air pollution through the extensive burning of sulphurous coal, its disproportionate impact on those living in poverty, smog-induced respiratory illnesses, the dislocation of individuals because of moved settlements for watershed-drainage among others as contemporary environmental challenges and crises in the English Renaissance. (Cf. Hiltner 2011: 10 f. and ibid. P. 95 ff.).
[107] Hiltner in Cefalu&Kuchar 2014: 82.
[108] Cf. Hiltner 2011: 3 f. According to Hiltner, historical records prove that many authors at the time were very much aware of the issue of urban growth and attempted to intervene, or even stop it. He also claims that Spenser, Sidney, Denham, Milton and Jonson (among others) must be counted among the environmentally-aware authors of the time. (Cf. Ibid. P. 11 f. and ibid. P. 125 ff.).

early on (in general, most of England had been deforested by the eleventh century), Londoners resorted to almost exclusively burning a readily available form of coal known as 'seacoal' […]. Unfortunately, seacoal produces an exceptionally toxic smoke when burned."[109]

Although Hiltner adds the caveat that not all modern environmental issues can be applied to the 16th and 17th century (such as climate change), he maintains that "[…] a host of similar environmental issues were surprisingly timely ones in the seventeenth century."[110] These approaches reveal Hiltner's close involvement with ecocritical literary theory[111], a connection which will be followed up on in this dissertation as the ecocritcists' and spatial turn's interpretation of bucolic and pastoral poetry helps to situate water motifs in both the natural and societal context.

The theories of all scholars mentioned in this chapter have influenced the way readers of Pastoral look at herdsmen poetry. Most of the researchers included in this theory chapter (with Empson, Alpers, Gifford and Hiltner leading the way) started their observations of pastoral poetry with the roots of the pastoral genre and then followed its development over Virgil into the modern period, so their theories have developed from pastoral origins and were then applied to different forms of Pastoral. Their universal applicability to all bucolic and pastoral texts of the thesis' corpus is the reason for their selection: their theory-base led to productive results in every literary period analysed.

Interpretations and variations of these theories have dominated the literary discourse of the genre and their usefulness for the interpretation of pastoral literature of all centuries is guaranteed. The following subchapters introduce recent literary and cultural theories which proved effective for the dissertation's academic aim. This selection does not intend to discount the impact of the "pioneers" of pastoral literary theory introduced in this chapter but rather to move their focus to more contemporary research interests.

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[109] Hiltner 2008: 2.
[110] Hiltner in Cefalu&Kuchar 2014: 82.
[111] Hiltner does not try to conceal his ecocritical approach and dedicates the complete second part of *What else is Pastoral?* to environmental issues and their influence on contemporary research on Renaissance Pastoral.

## 2.3.    Spatial Theory

The setting of pastoral poems in real locations (such as the hills of Cos and Sicily, Kent or Berkshire) and imagined landscapes (such as Arcadia or the Garden of Eden) suggests the use of spatial literary theory. From the late 1980s onwards, the interest of humanities-scholars in the role of space in fiction has increased, so much so that scholarship came to talk of a "spatial turn" in literary, cultural and social studies. Günzel describes this spatial turn as "die theoretische bzw. forschungspraktische Revalorisierung von Raum bzw. Räumlichkeit im Kategoriegefüge von Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften […]."[112]

The term "spatial turn" was first used by Edward Soja, an American urban planner, in his publications *Postmodern Geographies* (1989)[113] and *Thirdspace* (1996)[114]; the symbiosis of architecture, geography and cultural studies in this term offers insights into the variety of conceptions of the term "space". It soon became clear that literary scholarship would require a description and differentiation of these various concepts of space, and numerous researchers sprung onto the task. Although "space" had already been dealt with in philosophical discourse from Euclid to Kant, it was only in the second half of the 20th century that modern space concepts were established: social space was detached from geographic space and now regarded as a social construct consisting of and uniting individual and social activity.[115] French philosophers Foucault and Lefebvre played an important part in this new conceptualisation as did Michail Bachtin, Joseph Frank and Jurij Lotman with their research on narrative space constitutions. Günzel emphasises that the genesis of the idea occurred much earlier than the genesis of the term, arguing that spatial awareness has influenced people for a long time.[116] This assumption supports the attempt to apply spatial theories to classic and early modern literature[117].

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[112] Günzel 2010: 90.
[113] Soja 1989.
[114] Soja 1996.
[115] Cf. Soja 1996: 13.
[116] Cf. Günzel 2010: 90.
[117] German research uses the term "spatial turn" stringently; in English, the terms "topological turn" and "topographical turn" are also common. The need for differentiation in terminology offers a glimpse into the problematics of defining "space". For this dissertation, the term "spatial turn" suffices since its resulting

In the research inspired by the spatial turn, space was no longer seen as simple background scenery for plot and character development but was treated almost as a separate character; the social function of space and its shaping through social discourse received special attention, resulting in a paradigmatic shift from earlier research work that primarily focussed on the concept of time. In this research, "real" spaces are juxtaposed with imagined landscapes or subjective perceptions of environment shaped by politics, social ethos and shared cultural perceptions of morals and values. Hallet and Neumann declare these spaces as "nicht nur der Ort der Handlung, sondern stets auch kultureller Bedeutungsträger."[118] This means they describe literary spaces as spaces which are always experienced and therefore unite cultural appreciation with individual involvement and perception.

Since Soja's publications, numerous scholars have worked on research projects with an increased awareness for space, for example Elisabeth Bronfen's *Der literarische Raum*[119], Gerhard Hoffmann's *Raum, Situation, erzählte Wirklichkeit*[120] and Karin Wenz's *Raum, Raumsprache und Sprachräume*[121]. Franco Moretti's *Atlas of the European Novel*[122] and the *Atlas of European Literature*[123], an online project by the universities of Zürich, Göttingen and Prague mapping out hundreds of texts with the help of cartographic tools must also be mentioned as it documents a rising awareness for spatial discourse in literary scholarship. The late 20th and early 21st centuries saw a specification in spatial research topics such as islands (*nissopoiesis*), the sea, desert or air.[124] In recent scholarship, the impact of imagined spaces in the context of past-construction has been analysed; according to Neumann, spaces can gain secondary meaning in the creation of a group's collective memory:

> "Der Raum kann im Medium der Fiktion über seine Minimalfunktion als Handlungsschauplatz hinaus als semantisierte Materialisierung eines bestimmten Gruppengedächtnisses in

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branch of ecocriticism is used for the analysis of all aspects of the spatial turn and its theories would go beyond the scope of this thesis.
[118] Hallet & Neumann 2009: 11.
[119] Bronfen 1986.
[120] Hoffmann 1978.
[121] Wenz 1997.
[122] Moretti 2009.
[123] http://www.literaturatlas.eu/?lang=en (Access: 12.04.2018, 15:24).
[124] Cf. Neumann in Dünne & Mahler 2015: 98.

Erscheinung treten und so die Präsenz der Vergangenheit evozieren."[125]

This can be seen in some examples of pastoral poetry and its engaging groups of shepherds, when nostalgia connects places to specific events in times as well as general conceptions of past and future.

For the interpretation of spaces in the geographical water motifs in 4.1., the functions and theories of space in narratology by Irene De Jong[126] will be used. De Jong distinguishes heterotopies from real spaces, which she calls fabula-spaces and story-spaces:

> "[…]the fabula-space would be a (theoretically) complete depiction of the location(s) of a narrative, while the story-space is the actual space as the text presents it to us."[127]

She explains that discussions of spaces are usually restricted to the story-space; the design of these spaces is created with the active cooperation of the reader, recipient or narratee[128].

These story spaces must be further distinguished "[…] between setting, i.e. the location where the action takes place, which of course may change in the course of a narrative, and 'frames', locations that occur in thoughts, dreams, or memories."[129] Since bucolic and pastoral poetry often include songs and singing contests, memories, dreams and the frequent narration of fictional experiences, their characterisation as frames is therefore crucial. These frames "[…] may bring in distant, inaccessible, hypothetical, or counterfactual locations, which all expand the space of a story in various significant ways.[130]"

De Jong then presents five different functions of spaces. They can have ornamental or thematic function (1), meaning that they function as mere background or as the topic of a narrative. They can display the mirror function (2), when they mirror the characters in the narrative, their emotional or physical situation, their attire or their mood. Spaces can also take over a symbolic function (3), when they display additional significance beyond their purely scene-setting function. Some of these symbols have become literary conventions, such

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[125] Neumann in Erll & Gymnich 2003: 70.
[126] De Jong 2012.
[127] De Jong 2012: 2. f.
[128] Cf. De Jong 2012: 3.
[129] De Jong 2012: 4.
[130] De Jong 2012: 4.

as the *locus amoenus*, or the opposites country vs. city. These symbols can be universal or collective. Space can also have a characterising function (4) that tells the narratee something about a character, such as his milieu or situation according to his surroundings and environments. This function is highly individual. The last function is the psychologising function (5), when spaces tell something about the characters' feelings and emotional situation (without directly mirroring them). This function, again, is only individually applicable to characters of a plot and never reaches universal appropriability.[131]

De Jong's five functions of space constitute the base for the analysis of the water motifs in chapters 4.1. and 4.2. since they allow the interpretation of water occurrences in their holistic natural background and social set-ups: waters will be interpreted and analysed as "places".


**Ecocriticism**

Pastoral poetry includes spaces and places for both primary and secondary interpretative meaning: some places are very "real" and function as ornamental carriers of mood and background, others are imagined and allow the singer to project poetic imagery on a landscape-canvas for interpretative gains. Most of these spaces are located outdoors and in a non-urban environment; the most frequent settings for pastoral poetry are natural landscapes and rural settings. As mentioned above, these settings can be real or imagined[132], but the presence of pastoral landscape features is obligatory. This is why, beside De Jong's spatial theory, the theories of ecocriticism and cultural ecology will be used in this dissertation.

Ecocriticism is a brainchild of the trends in critical research which also led to the spatial turn in literary theory. Developing from an activist background, ecocriticism analyses the description and treatment of nature in the humanities. Unlike other literary theories resulting from the spatial turn, ecocriticism always carries a political subkey (e.g. environmentalism), as it analyses the

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[131] De Jong 2012: 13 ff.
[132] It must be borne in mind, however, that the "real" spaces mentioned in pastoral poetry, e.g. the mountains around Etna or the hills of Cos, are not necessarily less fictive than Arcadia or the Garden Eden. "Real", in this context, simply means with reference to existing places that could theoretically be found on a map.

relationship between men and nature and literature and the environment in a socio-political, holistic approach.[133] Terry Gifford claims that before ecocriticism, "countryside was not 'environment' and nature was not 'ecology'."[134] This quote alone shows the rising awareness of literary critics to space and location in literature. Ecocriticism's branch of "cultural ecology" developed from German and European ecocritical theory and puts environmental, fictional texts and their possible effects on cultural attitudes in context with literature consumptions and possible education.[135] Ecocriticism constantly investigates ecological values and potential changes in cultural attitudes towards nature; doing so, its theory presents enormous utility and benefits for the analyses performed in this dissertation.

The term "ecocriticism" was first used by William Rueckert in 1978 in his essay *Literature and Ecology: An Experiment in Ecocriticism*. Since an increasing interest in environmentalism came to academic attention in the 1960s and '70s[136], various literary works have been produced in this direction (Hubert Zapf calls ecocriticism "one of the most rapidly developing areas of research and teaching in literary and cultural studies."[137]) – the absence of a united subject heading resulted in the publication of essays and volumes under numerous different titles and genre designations.[138] Joseph Meeker published his *The Comedy of Survival* as early as 1974; in this work, he found a major reason for any upcoming environmental crises in the separation of nature and humankind and nature and culture, since nature, as everyone's mutual environment, had not fully found its way into a usually very functional cultural awareness. Putting the human into the centre of culture instead of nature and the environment led to a negligent treatment of ecology and therefore to the risk of environmental crises – his criticism on this anthropocentric perception of culture proved very popular among scholars of ecocriticism who agreed with ecophilosophy's important position in this field of research. Louise Westling agrees with the philosophical

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[133] For more information on the emotional relationship between humans and their surroundings see Mossner in Zapf 2016: 536 ff.
[134] Gifford in Westling 2014: 17.
[135] Cf. Zapf 2016: 3.
[136] Cf. Westling in Parham 2002: 2.
[137] Westling in Parham 2002: 1.
[138] Cf. Westling in Parham 2002: 1.

approach to cultural ecology and the anthropocene as she describes its development from ancient traditions: "But radical changes […] came with domestication of plants and animals and with the settled hierarchical civilizations that began to separate themselves from the rest of the natural world."[139]

Since then, the anthropocene has received enormous scholarly attention, since it "can be translated into concrete experiences. As it stages the complex interactions between humans and natural histories, literature may allow humans to reflect in their agency as geological agents, while also indicating the very limits of human agency and reason." [140] This didactic undertone is typical for ecocritical scholarship, since modern approaches to ecocriticism have high hopes for its cultural influence:

> "It promises to regain at least some of the cultural relevance of the disciplines commonly subsumed under the humanities by exploring sustainable cultural alternatives to a merely economist or technoscientific vision of globalization and of the future of humanity on the planet."[141]

Studies in ecocriticism are extremely diverse; they can examine environmental concerns or thematise potential ecologic catastrophes, re-evaluate the categories of nature and human and it "necessarily turns towards the life sciences to restore literary culture to the fabric of biological being from which it has emerged and within which it will always be enveloped."[142] These diversities as well as numerous subcategories such as Marxist ecocriticism, ecofeminism, animal studies, postcolonial ecocriticism, ecolinguistics, econarratology and ecosophy (to name only a few) make ecocriticism applicable to almost every field imaginable in the humanities and explain its popularity. These positive effects also have negative results: various attempts for united conceptualisation have been tried and failed.

For this dissertation, ecocritical research in context with the bucolic and pastoral genre will be used. The most important publications in this field are the collected volumes of Jennifer Munroe[143], John Parham[144], Louise Westling and Hubert Zapf. Other

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[139] Westling 2014: 1.
[140] Frenzel & Neumann 2017: 10.
[141] Zapf 2016: 1.
[142] Zapf 2016: 2.
[143] Munroe&Geisweidt 2015.
[144] Parham 2002.

important works and authors (such as Ken Hiltner, Terry Gifford etc.) have already been mentioned in the introductory chapter of pastoral theory.

These modern branches of research in ecocriticism as well as the 21st century-prevalence of the cultural treatment of nature may lead to the assumption that ecocriticism as an avant-garde literary theory might not prove useful to analyse bucolic and pastoral poetry of the Hellenistic and Renaissance period. Close observation suggests otherwise: comparisons between urban and rural life, peasant and courtly lifestyles and the expectations and interpretations of the usually urbanely-raised and -housed poet offer a multitude of ecocritical interpretative approaches. Conceptions and depictions of nature as well as the changing relationship between people and their surroundings are not restricted to a specific time; neither are exploitations of natural resources or sustainable treatment of agricultural supplies and assets. Bucolic and pastoral poetry deal with all these topics and so do the theories of ecocriticism and cultural ecology.[145]

These theories have also been applied to the literature of the classic corpus: apart from Alpers, Hiltner and Hunter, Saunders provides an ecological approach to Virgilian Pastoral, as he examines the Eclogues for their impact on cosmology, geography, topography, landscape use and description (even though he starts with the caveat that "the focus on landscape encourages an anachronistic interpretation [..]"[146]) and physics[147]. Generally, most of the environmentally-aware interpretations of pastoral poetry and its relationship to landscape writing take Theocritus and Virgil as starting point for their analyses.

Ecocritical readings of early modern texts exist, but they primarily concentrate on Shakespearean plays and poetry in general.

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[145] Louise Westling thematises pastoral poetry's use as example for British ecocriticism in her introduction as follows: She moves on to the topic of pastoral poetry, arguing that "The pastoral tradition in English literature, understood from its earliest Renaissance adaption from Greek and Roman models to be an artificial genre, has been associated with aristocratic privilege and elite cultural practices for most of its history." (Westling in Parham 2002: 3).
[146] Saunders 2008: 102.
[147] Saunders uses the paradigm of the herdsman who leads out his flock, lets it scatter and collects it again to draw a connection to the overall composition of pastoral verse as well as with the synergy of the cosmos' physical universe. (Cf. Saunders 2008: 128 f.).

Plays such as *As You Like It, A Winter's Tale, King Lear* and *The Tempest* are analysed from an ecocritical mindset and

> "What have been regarded in the past as symbolic or allegorical references to nature in the plays are now being understood as actually also referencing real environmental concerns for forest resources, urban pollution, or issues about food sources and ethics."[148]

Modern adaptations of these dramas often use ecocritical thoughts and issues in their productions. For example, the Mannheimer Nationaltheater depicted the forest of Arden in their 2017 production of *As You Like It* as a polluted wasteland, far away from any pastoral ideal. In the pastoral poetry of the Renaissance, the imagined landscape of Arcadia, descriptions of mansions and estates in the Country House poems and a rustic ideal in the Mower poems have given rise to a great deal of ecocritical interest[149]. The applicability of ecocritical theories to the bucolic and pastoral poems in the corpus is therefore guaranteed to offer fruitful interpretative results.

Furthermore, Past describes the environmental situation of the Mediterranean, where most spaces and places of bucolic and pastoral poetry are located as extremely open and sensitive for the studying of ecocriticism:

> "Any Mediterranean landscape is likely to betray traces of modification and border crossing - terraced hillsides, non-native species, forests cleared for grazing and then reforested. Thus, the Mediterranean context requires an ecocritical position allowing for anthropogenic change, urban dwellers, impurity […]."[150]

She goes on to explain that Mediterranean ecocriticism is inadvertently connected to waters and the sea[151] and points out the latter's appeal for literary interpretation:

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[148] Gifford in Westling 2014: 20.
[149] Mower poems, just like pastoral poems about fishermen, go back to the Hellenistic poets: „Denn die Person des Mähers kommt bereits bei Theokrit vor. In Idylle 10 wird eine Unterhaltung wiedergegeben, in der ein unglücklich verliebter Mäher einem Gefährten sein Herz ausschüttet. Dieser geht jedoch in seinen Antworten überhaupt nicht auf das geschilderte Liebeslied ein, sondern erteilt dem Mäher stattdessen Anweisungen für seine Arbeit." (Kunze 1978: 82).
[150] Past in Zapf 2016: 370.
[151] "To practice Mediterranean ecocriticism […] we need a foot planted in the text, another on land, and a tail (or a fin) in the water, too." (Past in Zapf 2016: 370.).

> "The Sea's waters commingle people and things, as currents and winds, straits and deltas facilitate a slow but steady flux of matter and meaning."[152]

Of course, modern environmental awareness differs immensely from those of Hellenistic Greece to the Renaissance. In ancient Greece, the Greeks genuinely believed the earth and its resources to be a commodity shared and given among gods and "this construction of the earth as the property of individual gods motivated and legitimated […] the concept of private property, a concept that encouraged the use of the environment in the interest of its owners."[153] This very individualistic and exploitative attitudes towards nature seem to contradict the perception of the earth, or at least particular parts of the earth, as divine – an ambiguity often displayed in bucolic poetry where waters are generally connected with a divine or holy epitheton.[154] Eckermann is nevertheless convinced that the primary interest in the environment was self-motivated:

> "Greek religious thought and cultural practice were generally aligned toward maximizing human utility (whether the environment was 'exploited' or 'reverenced'), and human relations with the environment were negotiated with this end in mind."[155]

Of course, the absence of a modern awareness of environmental and ecologic concerns and a lacking interest in sustainability is unsurprising: many contemporary environmental problems had simply not yet arisen.[156]

The situation had changed by the time Virgil wrote his *Eclogues*. The political impact on the countryside following the land-seizing and the environmental decay caused by the civil war confronted farmers and landowners with both existential and environmental worries.

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[152] Past in Zapf 2016: 370.
[153] Eckermann in Parham & Westling 2017: 80.
[154] "[...] the Greeks envisioned the earth, as well as particular parts of the earth, as gods: for example, as river gods and spring nymphs." (Eckermann in Parham & Westling 2017: 80.). Past uses this notion to connect ancient with modern ecocriticism: "These fertile histories of the intermingling of human and more-than-human, and the rich documentation of such cohabitation in the multi-layered textual fabric that constitutes its past, encourage a Mediterranean ecocriticism attentive to such encounters, dirty, tangled or impure though they may be." (Past in Zapf 2016: 371). Bucolic and pastoral poetry sufficiently serve these ecocritical needs.
[155] Eckermann in Parham&Westling 2017: 81.
[156] "There was nothing akin to our contemporary environmental movement in ancient Greece, since the possibility that human beings could degrade the earth to such a degree that humans and other sentient beings could no longer inhabit it was largely left unconsidered." (Eckermann in Parham&Westling 2017: 81).

Hiltner also mentions the expansion of the city of Rome, whose extent endangered the surrounding countryside.[157] Snell finds that

> "Virgil's Arcadia is ruled by tender feeling. His herdsmen lack the crudeness of the peasant life as well as the over-sophistication of the city. In their rural idyll the peaceful calm of the leisurely evening hours stands out more clearly than the labour for their daily bread."[158]

Fabula spaces such as dreams or thought experiments are featured often:

> "These dreams of the poet place an interpretation upon history which answered to a good many expectations of the age. After the disastrous anarchy of the civil wars the desire for peace was paramount, especially among the better minds of the day."[159]

But contemporary concerns find their way into Virgil's poetry:

> "[…] topical and political themes should play a much larger role in this remote Arcadian art than in the more realistic works of Theocritus."[160]

By the time of the English Renaissance, the ecocritical attitudes had progressed immensely: the urban development of England and London especially saw a decrease in empty, untouched countryside. Contemporary environmental problems of Renaissance London and its surroundings have already been mentioned earlier in this chapter[161]. It is still important to point out that the changing attitudes towards nature also resulted in a changed attitude towards its perception. The drastic urban-rural differentiation between London and its surrounding countryside triggered literary environmental discourse.[162] This climaxed in the growing interest of nature writing (most of which is pastoral) in the period. The upheaval of colonial expeditions and

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[157] "[..] as Virgil's Rome sprawled into ist surrounding environs, the endangered countryside began to appear as if for the first time to its citizens and artists, who as a consequence, developed an environmental consciousness." (Hiltner 2011: 6.).
[158] Snell 1953: 288.
[159] Snell 1953: 288.
[160] Snell 1953: 291.
[161] Environmental crises were not restricted to London: "Berkshire was a rapidly changing landscape in a burgeoning agricultural economy at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when mismanagement of natural system through such practices as timber harvesting, mining and hydrological engineering had profound environmental, social and cultural effects." (Noble in Munroe 2015: 105).
[162] "Early modern London, for example, did not reveal its adjoining countryside by working like a painting, mimetically providing a portrait of its surroundings. Rather, because it made such a striking contrast to the countryside on which it encroached, London not only caused that countryside into appearance, it deeply impacted how the countryside appeared (looked) to individuals aesthetically engaged by what had appeared (emerged into awareness)." (Hiltner 2011: 7.).

newly-explored and -seized land also triggered political and economic discourse on the management of disposable lands at home and abroad.[163]

Increasing ecological and environmental awareness from ancient Greece to Renaissance England does not only show the importance of ecocriticism as literary theory used for the analysis of bucolic and pastoral poetry, it also prioritises the available text for its applicability.

The garden, however, takes on a special place in these environmental deliberations: it presents itself as kind of a threshold-space in the context of ecocritical activity[164]; on the one hand, it offers the possibility to introduce nature, its plants and colours into urban areas. On the other hand, the garden is an artificially cultivated natural space and a prime example for grooming, altering and human interference in general. Schmitz-Emans describes gardens as follows:

> „Ein Typus von Ort ist in besonderer Weise dazu disponiert, über ‚Natur', über ‚Kultur', über kulturelle Praktiken sowie über den Menschen als Subjekt von Kultur und die Beziehung zwischen Natur und Kultur zu reflektieren: der Garten."[165]

Compared to other natural spaces, the garden always carries the second interpretative meaning of bias, aesthetics and beauty. Completely opposed to wastelands or moors, the artificiality of gardens and their upkeeping make them a highly subjectively rated and perceived semi-natural space[166].

In the ancient corpora, gardens are absent – their nature consists of acreage, pasture, rocky hills and rural meadows for the most part. The English corpus includes gardens in the Country House poems[167] and Marvell's poem "The Garden". Interestingly, the herdsmen's

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[163] "While early modern England had the questionable luxury of looking to new lands outside of its own to inhabit, it also had to consider […] how to best manage already inhabited lands." (Hiltner 2011: 7.).

[164] „Gärten lassen sich als Schwellenräume zwischen Kultur und Natur beschreiben – als Räume, in denen sich beide durchdringen oder auch (je nach Akzentuierung) als Zonen, in denen sich kulturelle Praktiken an der Natur als einem Widerstand abarbeiten." (Schmitz-Emans in Schmitt&Sollte 2017: 144).

[165] Schmitz-Emans in Schmitt&Sollte 2017: 144.

[166] „In Gärten wird Natur kultiviert; man versucht, ihr nützliches abzugewinnen und sie den eigenen Vorstellungen von Schönheit anzugleichen; dabei bleibt der Garten aber doch ein Natur-Raum, schon klimatisch und durch seine Vegetation bedingt." (Schmitz-Emans in Schmitt&Sollte 2017: 144.).

[167] Gifford sees these estates itself as exploitive as both exploiters of nature and, indirectly, economic exploiters of the working class: "City activity is financing these country houses; the exploitation of nature in these estates is also an

intimacy and personal knowledge of their pastures resembles these attitudes towards the garden as cultural and cultivated space, enabling similar ecocritical approaches. This can be seen, for example, in the first idyll of Theocritus.

Country House poems are a unique subgenre of pastoral poetry, inadvertently carrying the pastoral mode without explicitly mentioning pastoral themes such as shepherds, cattle and song. Despite the name, most poems concentrate on the country house's estate rather than the house itself[168] and are covert praises, encomia or homages to their owners. *Description of Cookham* is considered to praise a household with a female head, namely its mistress Margret Clifford, Countess of Cumberland[169], whereas *To Penshurst* compliments Robert Sidney, Viscount de L'Isle[170]. The issue of femininity is raised several times in *Cookham* and many scholars have focussed on the topic. Such ecofeminist approaches offer insight into the history of the Cookham estate and the genre of country-house poems in general. Pohl describes the poem as "[…] an elegiac valediction with both elements of the pastoral and the georgic, mourning the loss of a female community at the estate of Cookham."[171] According to her,

> "'A Description of Cookham' celebrates the existence and at the same time, mourns the loss of a unique paradise […]. The estate, the personified natural surroundings and indeed the women of the place blend into a locus amoenus […]."[172]

The mode of the poem is personal throughout; this is not surprising as Lanyer probably had first-hand knowledge of the estate and its surrounding countryside and would include personal observation of Cookham.[173] These personal memories flow in this country-house poem and

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exploitation of people; country estates have been produced by the eviction and dispossession of the poor […]." (Gifford 1999: 32).

[168] Cf. Noble in Munroe 2015: 102.

[169] Cf. Noble in Munroe 2015: 99.

[170] Tigner in Munroe 2015: 109.

[171] Pohl in Hattaway 2000: 225 f.

[172] Pohl in Hattaway 2000: 226.

[173] "Margaret and Anne Clifford were given this royal manor in Berkshire as temporary accommodation between 1603 and 1605 while Margaret Clifford was fighting a legal battle against her estranged husband George Clifford and his brother to secure her and her daughter's right to the Clifford estates. Aemilia Lanyer joined the two women for an indefinite period of time, probably as a tutor for Anne." (Pohl in Hattaway 2000: 226.).

> "In the tradition of the genre, the estate Cookham becomes a mythical place, a model for human relationships and at the same time, it provides a profound socio-political critique."[174]

Imminently, both *Cookham* and *To Penshurt* thematise natural beauty in a man-controlled environment: spaces gain utmost importance. Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that these paradisiac descriptions of Eden-like country estates are highly idealised. For example:

> "'To Penshurst' depicts a fertile, idealized landscape; it portrays benign relations between the owner of the estate and his tenants; and it praises simple traditional virtues which are set off against modern acquisitiveness and extravagance."[175]

These kinds of nature-presentation allow for several ecocritical interpretations since natural beauty was often far from reality. The Penshurst property was highly interfered with to guarantee high level self-sufficiency and uninterrupted supply chains[176]. The grazing flocks mentioned in some of the poems, just like in the Mower poems, might have looked idyllic but had far-reaching ecological impact on the pastures' inherent set-up.[177] Even an estate's woodland, which is often described as natural or untouched, was usually used for economic purposes and very few virgin forests remained in England in the Renaissance.[178] However, evidence of economic and aesthetic genius can also be found in the Country House poems, since the building of artificial fishing ponds in marsh- and wasteland unusable for grazing and pastimes enabled the estate owner to create both beautiful scenery and lucrative food supply[179]. Cookham's clear waters mentioned in the poem served more than one function: the express visual aesthetics and

> "They [...] bring to mind the clear, chalk-filtered purity of the streams that flow through this north-eastern corner of

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[174] Pohl in Hattaway 2000: 227.
[175] Alpers 1996: 60.
[176] Cf. Tigner in Munroe 2015: 111.
[177] "Even as the practice of grazing stock might seem idyllic and natural to the land, grazing in fact caused farmers to enclose common areas of land and to conduct large land modification projects, such as the draining of fens to create more grasslands for their animals was a common practice in Kent." ( Cf. Tigner in Munroe 2015: 111 f.).
[178] Cf. Tigner in Munroe 2015: 112. The forest remained an abstract mysterium of potentially paradisiac proportions and was instrumentalised for various interpretative purposes in pastoral poetry, as in the works of John Milton: "It would behove us", urges Jeffrey Theis, "to think more consciously about why Milton repeatedly describes paradise as a forest and why he does so in distinctly pastoral terms." (Hiltner 2008: 12.).
[179] Cf. Tigner in Munroe 2015: 113.

Berkshire, ideal for the development of the meadow irrigation technology that was quickly occurring throughout Wessex."[180]

From an ecocritical viewpoint, this managing and refurbishing of natural space is almost entirely exploitive, since nature is altered for human gain instead of an adequate symbiosis.[181]

Altogether, Country House poems always address the interplay between human and nature. *Description of Cookham* takes this to an extreme, since it endows nature with numerous human features. Speaking in De Jong's functions of space, Cookham fulfils a plenitude of responsibilities: the beauty of the estate and its landscape as setting for the poem uses the ornamental function; since it displays information of its visitors and even mirrors states and emotions, both the psychologising and mirroring functions are featured. If the poem is interpreted within the social and political situation of country-houses in early modern England, Cookham can even become a symbol. Above all these features lingers the air of Utopia and Surrealism. Similar notions can be felt in *To Penshurst*: as Pohl puts it,

> "Penshurst, the historically specific place is blended with Penshurst, the mythologized social model. It is worth pointing out Johnson's realistic description of the estate was already tainted by this utopian desire. By the time Jonson wrote the poem, Penshurst was more than a humble medieval Hall. In 1594, state rooms and the long gallery were added to the original structure and Jonson's contemporary, Robert Sidney, planned to turn Penshurst into a 'prodigy house'."[182]

The personal experiences of both Lanyer and Johnson supply their poems with an attractive love for detail and only a whiff of reality; the estates unite the expectations of real and imaginary, authentic and imaginary with the help of pastoral features. This notion was already introduced in the bucolics of Theocritus:

> "Aligning the emergent genre with the possibility of pure, or absolute, fiction, Theocritus invests its world with the

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[180] Noble in Munroe 2015: 103.
[181] It is no surprise, considering the intent of the poems, that critical attitudes towards nature treatment are not expressed in the poems themselves: "Description of Cookham does not offer a direct criticism of the despoliation of the landscape; rather, the pastoral metaphoric function as a vehicle for the expression of ecological and social concerns that are inextricably linked." (Noble in Munroe 2015: 100). It is Noble who reminds the reader of the frailty and impermanence of nature and hence the estate: "The Cookham landscape might well be the provider of material and symbolic resources, but it is also alarmingly vulnerable." (Ibid. P. 105).
[182] Pohl in Hattaway 2000: 229.

ontological prestige in respect to everyday human reality that had once belonged to myth."[183]

This air of mythology accompanying well-known landscapes, areas, estates or waters lingers over bucolic and pastoral in general, making it a sensual and versatile genre ready for the adaptation of contemporary issues and attitudes[184].

## 2.4.    Collective and Cultural Memory

The term "collective memory" first arrived on the agenda of humanities and scholarship in the second half of the 19th century; Maurice Halbwachs then elaborated on the term in his work *La Mémoire Collectif*[185] in 1950. Following Halbwachs, numerous scholars have published research on the concept of collective memory, with James E. Young being one of the most important[186]: he changed the term 'collective memory' to 'collected memory' in his studies to emphasise the collaborative gathering of memories. Jan and Aleida Assmann[187] must also be mentioned in the establishment and research of this concept; since the late 1980s they have devoted themselves to its study. Egyptologist Assmann focusses on 'communicative memory', which means collective memory collected through discourse and communication in an everyday context.[188] He also discussed the below-mentioned practice of materialised collective memory in the shape of memorials, statues and monuments as well as text forms. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning have also contributed to the study of collective memory and remembering in relation to literature[189], and so have the publications of the SFB "Erinnerungskulturen" at Gießen University (from 1997-2008). Jeffrey Barash must also be mentioned among the most influential researchers in this field.[190]

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[183] Payne 2007: 3.
[184] Endowing ontological prestige on everyday-life can also be found on Plato's *Phaedrus* and is not specifically Theocritian.
[185] Halbwachs 1992.
[186] Yates 1966.
[187] Among other publications: Assmann&Hölscher 1988. And Assmann 1992. As well as: Assmann 1999. And: Assmann 2016.
[188] Cf. Assmann&Hölscher 1988: 10 ff.
[189] Erll&Gymnich 2003 and Erll 2011.
[190] Barash 2016.

Generally, "collective memory" describes memories shared by several individuals or several members of the same social group. Within these social groups, memories can be constructed, shared and passed on to wider and wider circles of influence[191]. Assmann argues that collective memory stands in connection with communication and defines this "communicative memory "as:

> "[…] Sammelbegriff für alles Wissen, das im spezifischen Interaktionsrahmen einer Gesellschaft Handeln und Erleben steuert und von Generation zu Generation zur wiederholten Einübung und Einweisung ansteht."[192]

These initial social groups can be large (such as the population of a country, corporate employees of a big company, believers of specific religious groups or the fan-base of a book) or small (such as families, the population of a small town, school classes or a circle of friends).[193] Compared to the memory of an individual, collective memory can draw from a larger source of memories, since more remembering parties store more individual memories combined in a shared pool: groups can therefore use the individual experience, knowledge and memory of every group member.[194] Of course, collective memory also has disadvantages; for the purpose of this dissertation, however, these are negligible.[195]

Collective remembering is the sediment for a sense of unity and works as a starting point for the creation of collective memory.[196] Since creating and sharing collected and collective memories is the underlying base for the development of a group's self-awareness and unity, collective identity and collective memory work equally as homogenising, exclusively constructed forces for its self-emancipation and identification.[197] The above-mentioned remembering in

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[191] Cf. Assman in Assmann&Hölscher 1988: 10 f.
[192] Cf. Assman in Assmann&Hölscher 1988: 9.
[193] Cf. Assman in Assmann&Hölscher 1988: 10 f.
[194] Cf. Neumann in Erll&Gymnich 2003: 64. and Cf. Erll 2011: 17
[195] The disadvantage of collective memory is reduced individual memory, since individuals remember less when they feel they can rely on the memory of peers. The amount of gathered information per gathering individual is therefore considerably lower, potentially resulting in memory gaps if not secured otherwise (e.g. written down, photographed etc.) This technique is called social loafing or free-riding. Another disadvantage is collaborative inhibition: perceiving discussions and thoughts of other members pre-directs individual information acquirements of other members of the same social group. Collaborative inhibition was observed and analysed by Baden, Barbara H. and Baden, David R. in: Basden&Basden 1997.
[196] Cf. Neumann in Erll&Gymnich 2003: 50.
[197] Cf. Neumann in Erll&Gymnich 2003: 61.

groups is an active process, since group members remember past experiences and incidents by participating in a dialogue with others. Sharing these 'communicative' memories in a chosen social environment then defines the group's concept of its past by exchanging conversational memories.[198]

Collective memory is the base for the concept of cultural memory: for the creation and development of cultural identity, memories collected by specific social groups need to spill over to larger and larger groups of individuals united by these memories; increased access to these memories guarantee their entrenchment in the cultural memory of social groups with an increased number.[199] This cultural memory, however, bases on fixed points of memory (e.g. battles, accidents, declarations of war, births of people or countries) and is – opposed to collected or communicative memory – far removed from everyday situations. It can nonetheless be included in daily rituals such as recitation, honouring memorials etc. These rituals create memory spaces which can then - through active remembering and ritual repetition - stabilise cultural memories over centuries.[200]

In the range of nationhood, this cultural memory in the form of memorials plays an important role, since they provide visual proof for subjective appreciation of cultural deliberation and display. In a community's selection process of whom or what to memorialise and actively remember in a physical form, the social group's priorities are publicly laid out.[201] This way, memorials work as apparent indicators for collective memory. Such memorials can consequently also be in medial form, which means that, naturally, literature can be used as such memory-carriers or memorials.[202] Neumann stresses the

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[198] Cf. Neumann in Erll&Gymmich 2003: 62.

[199] "Damit die vorerst partikularen episodischen Gruppengedächtnisse kulturell wirksam werden können, müssen sie qua konventionalisiere Referenzen des öffentlichen Diskurses in semantische Wissensinhalte überführt und über den sozial begrenzten Horizont der Gruppe hinaus gesamtgesellschaftlich verfügbar gemacht werden." (Neumann in Erll&Gymmich 2003: 65.).

[200] Cf. Assmann in Assmann & Hölscher 1988: 12.

[201] "In ihrer kulturellen Überlieferung wird eine Gesellschaft sichtbar: für sich und für andere. Welche Vergangenheit sie darin sichtbar werde und in der Wertperspektive ihrer identifikatorischen Aneignung hervortreten lässt, sagt etwas aus über das, was sie ist und worauf sie hinauswill." (Assmann in Assmann&Hölscher 1988: 16.).

[202] This, of course, disadvantages incidents which are not included in collected or collective memory and therefore do not find a way into literary fixation: „Durch bewusste Selektionsentscheidungen bringen literarische Texte konstitutive Erfahrungen und Identitätskonzepte bestimmter Erinnerungsgemeinschaften zur Anschauung, während sie Gedächtnisinhalte anderer Kollektive […] unberücksichtigt lassen." (Neumann in Erll&Gymmich 2003: 67).

importance and influence of literary texts as providers of functions of cultural memory:

> „Literarische Texte […] können vielmehr ein breites Spektrum von erinnerungskulturellen Funktionen übernehmen. Dieses reicht von der Affirmation bestehender nationaler Selbstbilder und kollektiver Werte über deren kritische Reflexion bis hin zur Inszenierung subversiver Gegenerinnerungen und alternativer Identitätsmodelle."[203]

Obviously, literature as memorial takes on a place of high priority in the process of the establishment and preservation of cultural memory, since the transmission of written goods also always provides information about the transmission of culture. For the analysis of the self-image of ancient societies, their dealings with memories and their past are of high importance because "Cultural memory emerges from fixed points in the past, usually after a circle of three generations has come to an end."[204] If these memories are not secured by techniques of tradition, they eventually fade into obscurity.[205] As mentioned before, monuments or memorials function as absorbers and presenters of cultural memory which play a vital role among these technique as "signs of a shared semiotic system."[206] Some memorials, such as written texts, rely on the literacy of their recipients; others, like statues or images, are mentally accessible to a wider circle of society. Bommas argues that the first has supremacy over the latter: "The display of ancient cultural memory typically reflects the concerns of a literate élite that encodes information and also supplies decoding tools for non-elite levels of societies."[207] These dynamic remembering processes point out the pivotal role of media for the active forming-process of identity and would argue for the importance of literature and poetry.[208]

Assmann describes the medium book as follows:

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[203] Neumann in Erll&Gymnich 2003: 67.
[204] Bommas 2011: 4.
[205] Smith mentions that "The answer to 'who am I?' invariably involves 'how did I get here?' For the ancient Greeks […] there was no clear division between the historical past and the mythical past." (Smith 1986: 182). Past events, mythological or not, must still be treated discursively to guarantee cultural memory.
[206] Bommas 2011: 5.
[207] Bommas 2011: 5.
[208] Cf. Bommas 2011: 6.

> "Das Buch wird als ein Denkmal aufgefasst, das seinen Autor wie ein Grab seinen Grabherrn, ja sogar noch wesentlich wirkungsvoller verewigt."[209]

The importance of literature as written memorials remains unchallenged: Erll declares that „Die Literaturwissenschaft […] erzeugt und tradiert kulturelles Gedächtnis"[210] and Neumann takes prior considerations one step further when she claims:

> „Fiktionale Texte […] können […] auf textexterner Ebene als zentrale Ausdrucksform des kollektiven Gedächtnisses wirksam werden und hiermit einen aktiven Beitrag zur gesellschaftlichen Erinnerungspraxis und Identitätsfindung leisten."[211]

Doing so, she elaborates on the premise that literature works as supporter and transmitter of cultural memory and connects it with the establishment of cultural identity.

Originally, the epic worked as perfect witness and communicative pattern for the realisation of origins and speciality of cultural communities.[212] This can be seen in the ever-ongoing reception process of Homeric epic in Greek literature[213] or the ready adaption of the epic genre for pastoral poetry in the form of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. These texts did not only find their way into their recipients' lives, but also experienced metatextual treatment from other authors. The latter process endows literary texts with a double cultural meaning, since they first function as transmitters of collected and cultural memory and then themselves become media of collective memory.[214]

However, the function of literature as carrier, saver and transmitter of cultural memory and displayer of cultural identity cannot only be found in the epic genre but must be extended to other works of fiction and even non-fiction, since the composing of non-fictional works also indicates priority and perseverance of culturally important contents. Literary texts can select and integrate elements from the total of collected memories (such as places, personae,

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[209] Assmann in Assmann & Hölscher 1988: 101.
[210] Erll & Gymnich 2003: 16.
[211] Neumann in Erll & Gymnich 2003: 50.
[212] Cf. Erll & Gymnich 2003:  13.
[213] Cf. Cf. Richmond in Benoit-Dusausoy&Fontaine 2000: 11 f. The poet Odysseas Elytis would be an example for the Homeric reception in modern Greek literature.
[214] Cf. Neumann in Erll & Gymnich 2003: 71. Astrid Erll agrees when she claims that literature per se is „erinnerndes Medium und erinnerter Gegenstand des kulturellen Gedächtnisses zugleich." (Erll 2011: 188). She also takes epic as a very first example.

historic incidents, natural disasters etc.)[215]. These selected literary contents then carry the versions of past and memory concepts from other symbolic systems, such as psychology, history, religion, sociology, and preserve and vividly present these contents using literary images, semantic forms or narratological techniques and figures;[216] this can be seen, for example, in the coming-of-age book trilogy "When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit": the protagonist describes her life in third Nazi Germany and Switzerland from a child's perspective, offering the reader unique insights in a world often known from the viewpoints of adult scholars. A version of the cultural memory of the third Reich, as negative as it may be, is immortalised in this fictional work of literature. Even more so: since "When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit" is a standard work in German secondary school education and a majority of (German) students come into contact with the book either directly by reading it or indirectly by hearing of it from their peers, the novel itself becomes part of cultural memory.[217]

Classical scholars have also applied these theories for their observation and analyses of classical literature: Meban discusses Virgil's social memory and the commemorative functions of the *Eclogues* in his article. He describes memory in the *Eclogues* as social phenomenon, as the herdsmen remember songs from their past and share them with other shepherds (Mopsus and Menalcas in Eclogue 5 and Lycidas and Moeris in Eclogue 9)[218]. According to him, these shared songs "serve to unite the community of singers and help to define its past and future."[219] He also explains that the *Eclogues* themselves can be viewed as a form of social memory, since they function as literary memorials for historical characters such as Octavian, Pollio or Varus and political incidents such as the civil war.[220] This important commemorative function of Virgil's pastoral poems mirror contemporary attitudes towards memory, as he says that "At Rome […] memory was the principal vehicle for the transmission and perpetuation of tradition

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[215] Neumann in Erll&Gymmich 2003: 67.
[216] Cf. Erll&Gymnich 2003: 19.
[217] The book's ethical appeal to the collective and cultural memory of (German) readers as well as its role in the German memory culture of the Shoa and its importance in German cultural memory shall remain undiscussed since it would lead too far away from this dissertation's topic and the aim of this theory-chapter.
[218] Cf. Meban 2009: 100. "In the pastoral world, the remembrance of song unites the community of singers and connects them to their past." (Ibid. 110).
[219] Meban 2009: 100.
[220] Meban 2009: 100.

and culture."[221] However, Meban also emphasises the importance of memory transmission via writing or speaking[222] – a thesis other scholars readily agree with. As mentioned before, Theocritus could draw from a multitude of already established motifs, literary traditions and context from his poetic predecessors of the archaic and classical period towards his own development as a Hellenistic poet. This let him include numerous elements of Greek past and present into his work.[223]

Fictional literature provides the advantage of not necessarily displaying claims of authenticity and allowing the author a subjective interpretation of incidents as far as the complete invention of plots. By connecting the real with the imaginary, authors can re-structure cultural perceptions, a procedure reserved for the symbol system of literature.[224] Nevertheless, all these privileges of literature come with responsibility since literature shapes collective perceptions of past incidents, their processes and reasons, construes and interprets the present and thematises future expectations.[225] This temporal triad stresses the extensive possibilities of literature. Such responsibility also shows in its huge personal and, hence, emotional influence on its readers:

> „Zum einen prägen literarische Darstellungen unsere persönlichen Erinnerungen (collected memory) und unsere Vorstellungen von historischer Vergangenheit (collective memory), d.h. sie sind beteiligt an der Herausbildung von verschiedenen Formen des kollektiven Gedächtnisses."[226]

The concepts of collected and cultural memory and cultural identity required introduction and their academic impact cannot be stressed enough: Since this thesis aims for an intercultural comparison between ancient Greek, Latin and Renaissance texts and their influence in the creation of cultural and national identity, their treatment of sources and memory need to be evaluated.

Apart from the scholars mentioned in the introductory part of this chapter, this dissertation will include specialist research of collective memory and identity in the ancient and early modern

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[221] Meban 2009: 102.
[222] Cf. Meban 2009: 112.
[223] Cf. Hunter 1996: 2-13.
[224] Cf. Erll 2011: 177.
[225] Cf. Erll 2011: 183.
[226] Cf. Erll 2011: 196.

periods. Scholars in these contexts are, among others, Jonas Grethlein[227], Raphael Lyne[228] and Andrew Hiscock[229]. Lyne sees the most important memory-collecting process in the early modern period in the composition of memory arts and the gathering of spontaneous recollection.[230] Both of these aspects, naturally, point out the importance of written literature; even though Lyne initially points out the importance of the writer's (in his case, the poet's) memory[231], he goes on to explain the participants in these literary memory processes: a poem's memory consists of a combination of both the author's and the reader's memory.[232] Poetic memory can therefore only be fully composed with the help of the reader's memory and must be supported by the critical and cultural memory of its times of production and reception.[233] As Erll briefly puts it: „Literatur als Medium des kollektiven Gedächtnisses ist ein Rezeptionsphänomen."[234]

Hiscock[235] and Grethlein[236] researched the memory culture in early modern England and classic ancient Greece, respectively. Since the Greek corpus for this dissertation begins in the Hellenistic period when the heyday of the classic had already passed, the Greek authors could rely on an already established perception of memory culture with traditions, rituals and customs. Their theories can therefore be used as an interpretative base for the temporally progressed genre of bucolic poetry.

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[227] Grethlein 2010.
[228] Lyne 2016.
[229] Hiscock 2011.
[230] "The important thing is that memory in the Renaissance had one indubitable flourishing in the form of memory arts, but it had another acknowledged life too, in the more spontaneous work of recollection." (Lyne 2016: 6)
[231] "First is the author's memory. Each work of literature derives from a process of creation, and although this is to a large extent unrecoverable, this may – must – indeed have involved acts of memory. One thought at the outset is that conclusions drawn about poetic memory should be plausible, in general, if thought of as acts of the poet's memory." (Lyne 2016: 13).
[232] The "moment of remembering, what elicits what, is governed at least partly by the reader's encounter with the text." Lyne 2016: 13.
[233] Cf. Lyne 2016: 13.
[234] Erll 2011: 186.
[235] Boardman 2002.
[236] Grethlein 2010.

## 2.5.    National Identity Building

Taking the previous chapter's conclusion as a theoretic base, this sub-chapter deals with the progression of the concept of cultural identity towards national identity and establishes the markers of a uniting feeling of selfhood in a national context.

The English corpus features several instances of a conscious use of England or Britain as a nation in its pastoral poetry. Finding markers or creators for this attitude is therefore easier than for the ancient Greek corpus; the concept of national identity was, naturally, very far away from the minds of individual Greeks of the Hellenistic period. However, if the concept of national identity is turned away from a modern 'nunc pro tunc' attitude and towards that of a united perception of 3rd-century-BC Greek cultural sphere, identity-establishing elements can be determined.

Social psychology defines a nation as

> "a group providing an object of emotional attachment and identification for individuals. One acquires group-specific cultural symbols, shares in the past of the group, learns to view events from the perspective of the group, and adopts attitudes, values, behavioural standards and coping strategies characteristic to the group."[237]

This vagueness in definition in the study of nationhood unfortunately remains. For this dissertation, a nation will be regarded as a grown social group according to the standards of collective memory, cultural memory and cultural identity, based on the following definition by Anthony Smith:

> "[…] the continuous reproduction and reinterpretation of the pattern of values, symbols, memories, myths and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations, and the identification of individuals with that pattern and heritage with its cultural elements."[238]

Since the "heritage of nations" is a controversial phrase used for the connection of Greek city states, his definition must be altered slightly; he does so himself for the term "ethnic", when he identifies six characteristics shared by members of the same ethnic group, namely a collective name, common descent, shared history, distinctive shared culture, association with a specific territory and a sense of communal

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[237] László 2014:40.
[238] Smith 2001: 18.

solidarity.[239] All these markers build on the common ground of collective and cultural memory. Following this concept, Hertel sees the creation and acquiring of cultural and national identity as an active progress developing from individuals performing in its context.[240] Whitmarsh agrees: "Identity is now seen […] as something actively constructed and contested […].[241]"

Generally, scholars working on the concept of nationalism and nationhood can be divided into two camps, namely 'modernists' and 'traditionalists': the first "regard the nation as a quintessentially modern political phenomenon"[242] whereas the latter "believe that nations began to take shape long before the advent of modernity"[243]. Even though the modernist approach usually prevails in this field of studies, "cultural continuities between premodern and modern nations"[244] can be pointed out. The modernist position relies on specific factors to explain nationhood such as democratisation, revolutions, mass media or industrialisation, concluding that must be a modernist product.[245] Traditionalists, on the other hand, argue that nation and nationhood existed before modernity and list England, Sweden, France and the Dutch Republic among the countries which "took the form of a national cultural and political community from a very early stage […]."[246] Seton-Watson also distinguishes between old nations ("[…]those which had acquired national identity or national consciousness before the formulation of the doctrine of nationalism."[247] such as the English, Scots, French, Danes and Russians) and new nations, "for whom the two processes developed simultaneously."[248] (such as Germans, Italians, Norwegians and

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[239] Cf. Smith 1986: 22 ff.
[240] "National identity is not an essence one is born with but something acquired in and through performances." Pfister in Pfister & Hertel 2008: 9.
[241] Whitmarsh in Goldhill 2001: 87.
[242] Jensen 2016: 10.
[243] Jensen 2016: 10.
[244] Jensen 2016: 10.
[245] Cf. Jensen 2016: 13. Reynolds' "Rise of Nations" deals with the modernist approach in Hutchinson&Smith 1994: 137-140. Among others, Armstrong researches nations before the emergence of the term nationalism in Hutchinson&Smith 1994: 140-147. For further information on Renaissance nationalism see Esobedo 2004.
[246] Cf. Jensen 2016: 13. A recent publication by Caspar Hirschi understands nationalism with the help of linguistic phenomena, analysing "national honour" and "national freedom" as key concepts. Hirschi then argues that nationalism underwent three phases from its originating phase one, Catholicism in 14th century Europe, over to growing forms of nationalism in the Renaissance to the final phase of modern nationalism. (Cf. Hirschi 2012: 78 ff.).
[247] Seton-Watson in Hutchinson&Smith 1994: 134.
[248] Seton-Watson in Hutchinson&Smith 1994: 134.

Catalans). He argues, however, that all nations, old and new, have long and brilliant histories and a cultural consciousness[249]. This dissertation takes on the position of the perennialists "who argue that nations may have existed for a long time but not always in the same form"[250]. Contextually, they are related to the traditionalists. Since an equal base must be found to reproduce, compare and analyse the development of the national identities as portrayed in the bucolic poetry of Hellenistic Greece as well as the pastoral poetry of early modern England, this approach is most relatable and applicable. Doing so, the advancement from collective to cultural and finally national identity can be reconstructed and understood.

This concept of cultural continuities plays an important part in the research Azar Gat, who challenges the modernists' approach to the term and meaning of "nationalism". He argues:

> "Nations and nationalism are not primordial. Nonetheless, they are rooted in primordial human sentiments of kin-culture affinity, solidarity and mutual cooperation, evolutionarily engraved in human nature. These attachments, permeating social life and extending beyond family to tribe and ethnos, became integral to politics when states emerged millennia ago."[251]

According to Gat, cultural identities and continuities are not only human and primal; he also claims that "[…] ethnic and national identities are among the most durable, and most potent, of cultural forms." [252] He stresses the continuity of these emotions and developments when he says that "ethnic and national affinities have deep roots in the human psyche, and they have been among the most powerful forces in human history."[253] Gats passionate presentation of the traditionalist position to the issue of nationalism proves very useful for the application for the topic of this dissertation: they argue in favour of the existence of a Greek identity which can then be further developed to the concept of cultural and national identity.

In 1983, Benedict Anderson developed the concept of a cultural identity to the concept of "imagined communities": he argued that modern nations function as imagined communities whose members may not know their fellows but share a mental image of their (national)

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[249] Cf. Seton-Watson in Hutchinson&Smith 1994: 134 f.
[250] Hadfield in Jensen 2016: 49.
[251] Gat in Jensen 2016: 31.
[252] Gat in Jensen 2016: 31.
[253] Gat in Jensen 2016: 44.

community. According to Anderson, these images are spread through the media, be it mass media, books, newspapers or magazines.[254] This can be transferred to the early modern period, where prints of the bibles and catechisms circulated in all levels of society and united people with a common cause.[255] The transfer to ancient Greece is not as straightforward and requires caution - this does not mean, however, that contemporary literature does not bear witness for cultural continuities: after all, the Hellenistic period saw the establishment of various literary collections of manuscripts and the erection of enormous libraries, allowing the categorisation and distribution of literary works in the Greek language. Moreover, the importance of oral transmission of culture has been a concept never neglected in classic philology, where the transmission and reception of poetry was for a long time guaranteed without writing and Homeric epic presents only the best-known exemplification[256].

It is important to point out, however, that all scenarios based on Anderson's theories rely on the understanding of a common language. This is a notion shared by many other authors such as Kim Middel and János László who focus on the importance of language as a marker for national identity[257]. Other bonding elements are the mass cultural forms of religion and its rituals and traditions as well as epic – and these elements spread into towns, countryside and villages alike.[258] As will be seen later on, Herodotus shares these views.

Several scholars draw attention to the importance of a shared enemy or foe for the building of a new imagined community or social group and focus their research on the impact of conflicts or warfare, since "national self-images were usually constructed by opposing them to images of foreign and hostile nations."[259] Important scholars of this field are (among others) Manfred Beller and Joep Leersen.[260] All

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[254] Cf. Anderson, Benedict 1983: 7 ff.
[255] "William Tyndale had translated parts of the Bible into the English vernacular as early as 1525 […]." Hertel 2016: 123.
[256] Although the written word plays a crucial word as both witness and provider of shared identity, scholars warn of over-interpreting its influence; Gat mentions "the illiterate masses in premodern societies are mute in the written records […]" (Gat in Jensen 2016: 33.) but still includes them in his research by judging them for their actions, such as their co-operation in warfare to protect a collective freedom (Cf. Ibid.).
[257] Among other publications both in Jensen 2016: 109 and Jensen 2016: 235.
[258] Cf. Gat in Jensen 2016: 33.
[259] Jensen 2016: 21.
[260] Beller & Leerssen 2007.

these markers contribute to the creation and composition of national identity and they vary depending on the context: in Hellenistic Greece and early modern England, different markers have varying impact.

For the aim of this dissertation, narrowing the term of the "nation" must and can be avoided. Its discussion does not revolve around the question whether there was national identity in the selected periods of time but rather in how far the chosen poetry displayed and influenced the self-image of the individual and the collective to support national identity-building.


**GREEK NATIONAL IDENTITY:**

As mentioned in the introductory paragraphs of this chapter, the scholarly position towards national identity in ancient societies is even more divided than towards medieval or early modern equivalents due to its increased temporal distance to the 18th and 19th centuries which the modernists use to pinpoint the beginning of nationalism. First it must be repeated that an analysis of national identity in the ancient Mediterranean must be completely detached from the 'nation', since the term did not exist in ancient Greece. Cultural continuities and communities, however, prevailed and so did cultural markers and triggers. Irad Malkin shares this uneasiness with the term 'national' and decides to use the term 'collective identity'[261] after explaining that there may be numerous Greek identities such as their political identity, civic polis identity, ethnos identity, colonial identity, intra-Hellenic and pan-Hellenic identity. Another way of focussing on the cultural identity of collective entities in the Greek language area is by using the term "ethnic identities". It is problematic to unite all Greeks under the blanket-term of one ethnicity, but "ethnic" allows the introduction of several cultural markers in a group's shared identity since "Ethnicity is dependent on myths, memories, values, and symbols. Often relating to an idea of a beginning in time (whether or not through an eponymous ancestor), a place of origin […]."[262] Moreover, ethnic groups are social groups rather than biological whose construction of identity is primarily

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[261] Malkin 2001: 3 f.
[262] Malkin 2001: 16.

discursive and requires literary evidence.[263] The applicability of "ethnic" rather than "national" identity as terms for the Greeks shared cultural identity could therefore be argued for.[264]

One of the most extensive research projects on Hellenistic identity was conducted by Katerina Zacharia and resulted in the impressive volume *Hellenism – Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*.[265] More research on the subjects was done by Edith Hall[266], Simon Swain[267], Jonathan Hall and Irad Malkin. According to Zacharia, Ἑλληνισμός (*Hellenismos*, Hellenism) was first used by Strabo and the grammarians to describe "correct Greek" and then evolved into "Greek habits" and finally "Greekness" or "Greek culture".[268] Historian Johann G. Droysen used the term to describe 'the fusion of Greek and oriental' and hence associated it with the Hellenistic period; a time period of ultimate dispersion of Hellenism when Alexander and his army as well as his successors spread into distant oriental places.[269] Zacharia warns that it is the image of Hellenism from a Roman point of view, namely an utopian community of intellectuals, which predominates the modern mind. The contemporary perception throughout the history of Greek identity, however, was very different.[270]

When Theocritus, Moschus and Bion composed their poetry in the 3rd and century BC, they could already look back on a century-long process of thinking, finding and creating identity. Greek language, religion and rites can be dated back to the second millennium BC. In the archaic period, Panhellenic institutions, religious festivals or athletic competitions such as the Olympic games (the first were held in 776 BC) are documented which prove cultural traditions surpassed

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[263] Cf. Hall 1997: 2. Smith agrees: "Ethnic identity is not a 'natural' fact of life; it is something that needs to be actively proclaimed, reclaimed and disclaimed through discursive channels." (Smith 1986: 182).
[264] This opinion is shared by Hall: "Faced with a situation in which genetic, linguistic and religious boundaries were seldom coterminous, and where no single one of these could stand as an objective set of criteria for defining the ethnic group, scholars fell back on the idea of the ethnic category as a polythetic set of shared cultural forms – that is, a set of cultural attributes where the appearance of any one single attribute is neither necessary nor sufficient on its own to define the set." (Hall 1997: 23).
[265] Zacharia 2008.
[266] Hall 1989.
[267] Swain 1996.
[268] Cf. Zacharia 2010: 1.
[269] Cf. Zacharia 2010: 2.
[270] Cf. Zacharia 2010: 3.

the borders of individual poleis[271]. Zacharia also mentions the rise of mutual enemies, such as the Persians, as triggers for the establishment of a mutual feeling and acceptance of what Ἑλληνισμός was and as helpers to "crystallize ideas of 'the fatherland in danger'".[272] Flower also argued in this direction and dedicated an article to his discussion of 4th century panhellenism. He works out that in his work *Panegyricus*, Isocrates distinguishes Athens and Sparta from the barbarians and describes this panhellenism as "ideology of a united Greek crusade against Persia."[273]

In the eighth book of Herodotus' histories, an anonymous Athenian gives a speech on how no Athenian will ever make peace with the Persians. He lists four characteristics of Hellenism, namely blood, language, religion and customs ("[…] αὖτις δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὸν ὅμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἤθεά τε ὁμότροπα […]." Hdt. Hist. VIII, 144. 2[274]). This list is crucial, since it shows that already in the time of the Persian wars a concept of the markers for Hellenism existed and appeared to be commonly accepted, appreciated and shared. Shared blood, language, religion and customs are the markers of this imagined community, to use Anderson's terms, and if these common grounds make out a Greek, they provide guidelines for establishing members of this community.

The Persian war and the Greek image to distinguish themselves from the other influenced and supported the emergence of a Greek consciousness, as

> "The formation of identity is a process of self-definition in opposition to other identities; it relies as much on differences from others as on similarities within a group."[275]

This is why some scholars go as far as describing the Persians as "the whetstone against which a common Greekness was sharped."[276] Malkin calls the development during the Persian War as a shift from a 'we'

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[271] For further information on the identity-providing impact of athletics and festivals see van Niif in Goldhill 2001: 306-335.
[272] Cf. Zacharia 2010: 4.
[273] Flower 2000: 65 f. Flower collects different kinds of evidence (poetic and historical texts from e.g. Isocrates, Simonides, Herodotus, Euripides) to prove 5th- and 4th-century panhellenism. (Cf. Flower 2000: 66).
[274] Edition used: Wilson 2015.
[275] Whitmarsh in Goldhill 2001: 87.
[276] Malkin 2001: 7.

to an 'us' identity.[277] The 'we' identity focusses on cultural differences, whereas the 'us' identity centres on similarities. For the distinction of 'us'-Greeks from non-Greeks, the concept of the barbarian was pivotal.

Since the Greeks' fondness of binary oppositions, dichotomy and antitheses can not only be substantiated in the creation of their syntax but also in cultural spheres, this division of the world into "Greeks" and "Barbarians" (non-Greeks) is hardly surprising.[278] The construction of a Greek identity against the image of a barbarian can start out simple: a barbarian is someone unable to speak the Greek language and therefore does not possess the same ability to reason or think like a Greek. Further interpretations see the barbarians as having 'lack of control, bloodthirsty behaviour, and self-indulgence over food, drink, and sex."[279] Their presumed inability to reason made the barbarians slaves to Greeks, but also slaves to their vices, passions and lusts – at least according to Greek perceptions. It soon becomes obvious that the concept of the barbarian provides a projection surface for every possible evil and that this view is neither detailed nor impartial. However, the thesis "that the Greeks, like the Jews, discovered their ethnic identity as Greeks through the confrontation with Persia"[280], is widely accepted by scholars.

The Persian war, or more precisely, Aeschylus' *Persae*, are used by Grethlein to highlight the importance of memory and memorials and their influence as cultural identifiers. As mentioned before in the chapter of collective identity, memorials play an important part in a social group's collective and cultural memory. In terms of national identity-finding, they work as reminders of shared values. Since the Greek literary landscape saw a rise of Greek historiography with Herodotus and Thucydides, scholars usually mention the new genre as a key element in the Greeks' distribution of shared cultural memory. Grethlein challenges the argument that historiography was the primary

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[277] The 'we' identity focusses on the active involvement in sharing or performing cultural duties such as genealogies, rites, shared sacred place and history as well as the exclusion and selection of differences between individual Greek poleis and intra-Hellenic social groups. An 'us' identity, "recognizes the regard from outside in relation to which the 'we' identity becomes an object; in the specific circumstances of threats and wars, differences could be smoothed over and identities homogenized." (Malkin 2001: 7.).
[278] Cf. Zacharia 2010: 25.
[279] Zacharia 2010: 26.
[280] Zacharia 2010: 26.

medium of memory production and conservation in classical Greece and emphasises the role of poetry, drama and oratory as they reached a broader audience and actively shaped the Greeks perception of their past.[281] Aeschylus *Persae* give a unique glimpse into the memorial and interpretation of past events. The play was first performed in 472 BC and staged the Persian defeat in Salamis eight years prior. The plot is focalised by the Persians, the enemy, and sets the battle of Salamis in the light of glorified past, or as Grethlein uses Easterling's term, in 'heroic vagueness'.[282]

This narrative technique offers unique interpretations of not only history, but also historic perceptions of "us" and "others". Grethlein's analysis of the *Persae* shows how far the already introduced dichotomy of Greek vs Barbarian and Friend vs Foe can be challenged in tragedy[283], as he claims that "[…] a close reading of the *Persae* with the assistance of Aristotle's reflections on reception suggests that the Greek audience was invited to feel pity for their arch-enemies, the Persians."[284] As challenging as this statement sounds, the set-up and composition of the *Persae*, its rhetoric and focalisation indeed suggests that the intention behind the tragedy was more than the celebration of Athenian victory.[285] Not only did Aeschylus confront Athenian theatre-goers with their recent past, he also showed a possible version from the other side – a narrative twist which presupposes a clear understanding of unity and belonging as well as clear identification as individual, part of a polis and part of a (national) group in the audience.[286] This is why Grethlein can support his pity-thesis as follow:

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[281] Cf. Grethlein 2010: 3.
[282] Cf. Grethlein 2010: 75.
[283] Homer already gives a similar change of perspective when he describes life behind the Trojan walls, humanising the foe and evoking pity with the way he presents e.g. the grief for Hector.
[284] Grethlein 2010: 14. It must be mentioned that such pity is not without precedent, as Homer's *Iliad* describes Achilles' treatment of Hector (Hom. Il. XXII) or Priam's *lysis* (Hom. Il. XXIV) in such a manner that Greek recipients must have felt pity for the Trojans.
[285] Aeschylus' *Persae* are not a "Spottstück" to highlight Greek supremacy and ridicule the Persian. Instead, it displays a chimeric attitude towards construction and interpretation of history, taking winners and losers alike into account: "In some ways, *Persae* is a hymn to the Athenian victory, but at the same time it is also a tragedy that invites the audience to empathize with the suffering characters." (Grethlein 2010: 88.):
[286] Grethlein moves this theory further as he claims that the description of memory has potential influence on future Athenian endeavours: "[..] the descriptive use of the exemplary mode of memory – casting the recent past in epic light – supports the

"[…] we should not overlook the fact that the calamity of the Persians was shown in a setting in which the audience was used to reacting with pity to the suffering on stage. In addition, the epic background distances the recent events, but casts it in a register which otherwise served the Greeks well for purposes of identification."[287]

Of course, this idea of Greek self-reflection and established identity as one cultural and ethnic community is an over-simplified concept. Due to the organisation of the Greek-speaking world into individual poleis, Greekness had its subdivisions. Scholars like Arnaldo Momigliano[288] argue that these subdivisions were utterly important, since "Greekness" seemed to be mainly asserted in situation of crisis and that the individuality of the poleis, or city states, could be marked in linguistic or religious differences in the Greek community.[289] Zacharia maintains that unifying categories between the city-states existed that were "smaller than 'Greek' but larger than polis identity."[290] Among the subdivisions, two major communities can be distinguished, namely the Dorians and the Ionians.[291]

Colonisation and the establishment of *apoikiai* led to a spread of the cultural assets, language and customs of single or joint poleis. Vryonis lists the following reasons for Greek colonial ambitions:

"[…] demographic explosion and the growth of towns outstripped the economic resources of Greece. The original solution [..] was overseas migration. The great colonizations of the eighth through the sixth centuries dotted the coastline of eastern Spain, southern Gaul, southern Italy, Sicily, parts of the

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normative application of exempla – presenting the recent pat as a benchmark for the present and future." (Grethlein 2010: 94). For further information on Grethlein's work on collective Athenian identity please see Grethlein 2003.
[287] Grethlein 2010: 80.
[288] Among others: Momigliano 1979 And Momigliano 1991.
[289] Cf. Zacharia 2010: 27.
[290] Cf. Zacharia 2010: 27.
[291] Cf. Thomas in Malkin 2010: 225 f. Their differences manifested themselves in varying dialects and religious matters and could also be traced back to different claims of seniority; the Dorians as Herakleidai, descendants of Heracles, supposedly entered Greece as invaders and homines novi whereas the Ionians, and especially the Athenians, claimed to be indigenous to the land they inhabited and therefore to be superior. This subdivision found its high during the Peloponnesian war, when Dorians (Spartans) fought Ionians (Athenians). Sources for these claims can be found in Thucydides (Th. I. 102, 3 and I.2,5) and Herodotus (Hist. 8) as well as in Euripides' play (Eur. Ion 29-30). Smith argues: "In introducing the Spartans and Athenians into his narrative, Herodotus says that the Spartans belong to the Dorian genos and the Athenians to the Ionian genos: while the Dorian genos is an ethnos that is Hellenic, the Ionian genos is an ethnos that was originally Pelasgian, but become more Hellenic over time." (Smith 1986: 36). For the distinction between genos and ethnos see Ibid. For further information on the Athenians see Ibid. P. 51 ff., for the Dorians (and Herakleidai) Ibid. P. 56 ff.

Adriatic, the northern Aegean, the black Sea, Syria, Egypt, and north Africa with over 120 colonies."[292]

These new cities were called *apoikiai,* their mother-cities *metropoleis.*[293] An example would be the apoikia Kerkyra with its metropolis Corinth or Galepsos with Thassos. Usually, institutions of the mother-city were adapted, such as coins, weights and names. The intermarrying and affiliating of Greeks from the metropolis and indigenous people of the land of the apoikia also led to a changing ethnic community in these new city-states.[294] According to Vryonis, the apoikiai were important markers and carriers for a Greek cultural identity despite their distance to Greek soil:

> "Though situated in foreign worlds, the Greek apoikiai were extraordinarily successful in maintaining their Hellenic style of life and culture."[295]

Vryonis also mentions that foreign influences and the consequently required self-distinction had enormous impact on the creation and maintenance of defining Greekness and Hellenism:

> "The experience of the maritime colonization and the encounter with the many foreign people created a profound sense of self-confidence, of freedom, and opened the outside world to the Greeks physically, spiritually and intellectually."[296]

This notion is shared by many colonising powers, such as the British in the 15th and 16th century as will be discussed in chapter 4.2.5.


The Hellenistic period takes on a special position in the development and establishment of Greek identity, since Greekness had spread further and further away from Athens or Greece by conquest of Alexander and his successors and the following establishment of apoikiai and new poleis.[297] Greek became the lingua franca of all Hellenistic kingdoms.[298] Even though Greek identity was rooted in the culture and tradition of the original polis, Greek language and

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[292] Vryonis 1993: 8
[293] Cf. Hornblower in Zacharia 2010: 45.
[294] Cf. Hornblower in Zacharia 2010: 41. ff.
[295] Vryonis 1993: 8.
[296] Vryonis 1993: 9.
[297] Sicily and its inhabitants as Sikelioi and Sikeliotai are dealt with by Antonaccio in Malkin 2001: 113-157.
[298] Cf. Zacharia 2010: 5.

culture survived in the diaspora of Macedonia, Egypt and the Seleucid empire as shared links to a mutual homeland.[299] Whitmarsh argues that

> "Greek 'identity'[…] was not 'identical' in all cases. What 'being Greek' meant was under constant redefinition according to the requirements and strategies of individual agents. Identity was thus not reflected by but constructed through language […]."[300]

This kind of active identity-construction is not restricted to Greek identity, but rather falls in the theoretic field of communicative and collected memory. The unique situation of Greek *apoikia* in Egypt did not hinder the emergence of Greek cultural identity, but rather nourished the thought:

> "Much in the social and cultural organization of Alexander's new city, now the Ptolemaic capital, proclaimed continuity with the traditional structures, or the manner in which they were imagined, after the Greek homelands."[301]

Greek traditions were carried out in the diaspora and passed on by both local Greek elites as well as Macedonian royalty. Unsurprisingly, Greek traditions fused with natives, resulting in religious changes as well as cultural continuities.[302] By the time of the Roman conquest over Greece, Greeks "could dwell lovingly on the glories of the great Greek past […] as a way of escaping from the intolerable fact of Roman domination."[303] This remembering process was already introduced by the opening paragraphs of the concept of cultural memory.[304]

In terms of the establishment of a national identity, the Hellenistic period in Greece can be compared to the early modern period in England: colonial expansion, the setting up of new city states, distribution of education and cultural knowledge abroad as well as victory in war can all be counted among the triggering factors

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[299] Cf. Zacharia 2010: 5.

[300] Whitmarsh in Goldhill 2001: 273.

[301] Hunter 2006: 4

[302] Cf. Zacharia 2010: 5.

[303] Zacharia 2010: 6. Preston lists Greek *paideia* as the key element for the "[…] elite construction of their identity, of the activities of the poleis, and of the development of responses to the impact of Roman rule." (Preston in Goldhill 2001: 87). Whitmarsh also elaborates on the concept of an elite self-definition in Goldhill 2011: 272 f.

[304] The complex identity-creating and -providing processes of the time of Roman domination will be widely excluded, since the Greek corpus is confined to bucolic poetry of the Hellenistic period. Nonetheless, it is important to point out that the development of Greek identity and Ἑλληνισμός did not end with the Hellenistic period.

of uniting pride.[305] The aforementioned distinction between Greeks and non-Greeks that can already be found in the archaic and classic period gained importance in the colonial context of the Hellenistic period, since an ideological jurisdiction for the spread of the fourth century BC-idea of Panhellenism as well as for Alexander's invasion was needed.[306] Some scholars even claim that it was in the Hellenistic period, that the word 'Hellene' "emerged as the designation for a person's primary identity in much of the Greek world"[307].

The Hellenistic period was frequently dismissed by European scholars as the unimportant half-brother of the classic and archaic periods, "viewing them as a period of decline from the purity of the Classical age."[308]  This attitude prevented the works of Hellenistic authors to enter the school curriculum; a catastrophe resulting in the declining interest in Hellenistic texts and a downturn in its transcriptions and copying. Only few Hellenistic works then survived to the middle ages and beyond.[309] The excavation of inscriptions and papyri supports the theory that Greek identity in the *apoikia* was not a superficial phenomenon but deeply rooted in the community, since Greek language and culture survived the reign of the Seleucids in the areas of the near and middle East as well as in the most remote corners of the Hellenistic world, central Asia and western India (e.g. the Bactrian kingdom). In Bactria and India, the Macedonian calendar as well as the Greek alphabet survived the end of Greek rule.[310]

After the death of Alexander in 323 BC, his generals needed to structure and govern the realm he had left behind. Half a century and many conflicts later, a new order was established: a state system ruled by a group of different kingdoms under Macedonian leadership.[311]

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[305] "[…] the critical period for the emergence of a strong consciousness of Greek identity was the decades after the unexpected Greek victory in the Persian wars in the early fifth century BC, much as the decades following the equally surprising English defeat of the Spanish Armada in AD 1588 witnessed a similar sharp upswing in English national feeling." Burstein in Zacharia 2010: 60.
[306] Cf. Burstein in Zacharia 2010: 60.
[307] Burstein in Zacharia 2010: 61.
[308] Cf. Burstein in Zacharia 2010: 62.
[309] Cf. Burstein in Zacharia 2010: 62.
[310] Cf. Burstein in Zacharia 2010: 70 f.
[311]  The Macedon supremacy takes on a special position in the colonising of the Hellenistic period. "Herodotus personally guarantees the Hellenic pedigree of both the Macedonian rulers and […] their subjects, though his account of how the proto-Dorians had once lived in the Pindus Range and had been called 'Makedonoi' need not mean that he imputed a specifically Dorian ancestry to the Macedonians of his own day." Hall in Malkin 2010: 160. The issue of Macedonian versus Greek culture is prominent to this day and an extensive exploration of the subject would exceed the

These kingdoms were the Antigonids in Macedon, the Seleucids in the East and the Ptolemies in Egypt. This framework of Greek rule, life and culture remained intact for over 200 years until the Roman expansion to the west.[312] In the Macedonian kingdoms, Greeks occupied privileged positions. Greek became the new language of government, resulting in a growing interest in Greek education as sought-after privilege to enable individuals to travel the extensive territory from Greece to India.[313]

Kegel-Brinkgreve emphasises the importance of the Greek language:

> "[…] the language and the cultural inheritance were felt to be strongly unifying elements, the more important now that the Greek world included so many other peoples and was again parcelled out into separate states."[314]

Zacharia agrees:

> "Greek culture was at home in these cities. Writers and artists could and did draw on the whole repertory of themes and motifs provided by a tradition with centuries of historical development behind it. Local dialects and traditional cults survived, and important new festivals were founded."[315]

Proud memory of past glories and the open address to Hellenism formed a pivotal part of the cultural set-up of Hellenistic festivals.[316] However, Greek solidarity and the feeling of unity was not limited to cultural celebrations or religious festivities, but also dominated Hellenistic diplomacy.[317] Naturally, belonging to a specific polis also influenced Greek writers, especially historians, since incidents and stories were told from the polis' point of view.[318]

The koine, a version of Attic Greek, was itself the most lasting legacy of Greek imperialism.[319] The recreation of the homeland's

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extent of this dissertation. The premise of Macedonians as Greek leading class of the Hellenistic period will therefore be accepted for simplification purposes, without rejecting cultural, linguistic and ethnic differences. For further information please see (among others): Hall in Malkin 2010: 159-186 and Thomas in Malkin 2010: 219.

[312] Cf. Zacharia 2010: 61.
[313] Cf. Zacharia 2010: 64. Nonetheless, Burstein argues that "Polis culture and the view of Greek identity […] did more than survive in the cities of Aegean and Pontic Greece; it flourished, and this should not be considered surprising." (Ibid. P. 65).
[314] Kegel-Brinkgreve 1990: 3 f.
[315] Cf. Zacharia 2010: 65.
[316] Cf. Zacharia 2010: 65.
[317] Cf. Zacharia 2010: 65.
[318] Cf. Zacharia 2010: 66.
[319] Cf. Zacharia 2010: 68.

culture abroad required effort since the distance to the homeland did not allow the exact replication of cultural life back home. This meant that only the aspects of Greek culture survived which were shared enough among Greeks to justify the transportation in a new environment where only few Greeks, but also other immigrants lived.[320] Greek cultural life had to be imported, which resulted in the reproduction of Greek cultural goods like art and literature as well as the establishment of an education system following the Greek example.[321] On the other hand, "[…] cults strongly identified with particular cities or areas gradually disappeared, while those without such connections such as those of Dionysos and Aphrodite flourished […]."[322] These markers support the thesis that there was, indeed, the feeling of a Greek identity, even if cultural triggers changed. In a sense, the colonial living experience could even dissolve linguistic and cultural barriers in the mother community.

The situation of Greeks living in Ptolemaic Egypt was very different; this is of major importance for this dissertation since Theocritus lived and wrote at an epigonic court under the patronage of Ptolemy II and the majority of his (bucolic) poetry was composed there. Greeks in Egypt did not live in Greek settlements but rather scattered in Egyptian environments where intermarriage was frequent and few traditionally Greek institutions remained. Even after residing in Egypt for several generations, the Greeks remained "metics" in Athenian terms or alien residents.[323] In this environment, being Greek could simply mean "not being Egyptian"[324], since the only Herodotean marker of Greek identity was language. Moreover, the Egyptian government counted any non-Egyptian under the term "Greek" for tax purposes, including Thracians, Macedonians, Carians or Jews.[325] Even though intermarriages frequently appeared, it was difficult for these tax-Hellenes or "non-Greeks Greeks" to be counted among Greeks[326].

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[320] Cf. Zacharia 2010: 69.
[321] Zacharia 2010: 70.
[322] Zacharia 2010: 69.
[323] Cf. Zacharia 2010: 72.
[324] Cf. Thompson in Malkin 2010: 302.
[325] Cf. Thompson in Malkin 2010: 311.
[326] Dorothy Thomson compares the situation of men with Egyptian relatives or other tax-Hellenes in Ptolemaic Egypt with the experience of Indonesians in the Dutch West Indies: Few of them were able to acquire the Dutch status but were never completely accepted as Dutch. (Cf. Thompson in Malkin 2010: 312.).

Theocritus' composed his poetry in Alexandria which had taken over from Athens as primary cultural centre thanks to Ptolemaic patronage[327]. Alexandria's great libraries stored and cultivated cultural artefacts and nurtured literary culture. Foreign texts were translated into Greek, stored, provided and organised.[328] This meant that "Greeks of Alexandria could be aggressively Greek. Their king emphasized their Macedonian descent, and through Greek schools and education Greek ethnic identity was strengthened."[329] Versluys goes as far as calling Ptolemy "initially a foreigner"[330] who had to recast his kingship in a local idiom. He did so by claiming to be a new Alexander and new pharaoh simultaneously to legitimise his reign in both Greek and Egyptian cultural backgrounds.[331] It must be mentioned in this context that there had not been a Ptolemaic ruler fluent in Egyptian until the rule of Cleopatra, according to Plutarch, although some ceased to speak the Macedonian dialect.[332] Greek education and language remained basic markers of Greek identity, other features, such as religion or Greek naming practice also factored in.

Stephen argues that the Egyptians outnumbered the small number of Macedonian soldiers and that the latter "lacked a unifying sense of identity"[333] because they came from diverse regions of the Mediterranean and possessed individual polis-identities. However, assimilation was inescapable and Greek and Egyptian cultural assets intermingled; funeral rites show Greek and Hieroglyphic lettering on headstones and Greeks and Egyptians were also buried next to each other.[334] As ethnic identity became more blurred – with mixed marriages and the status of the tax Hellene – so culture itself (language,

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[327] "We know very little about the actual working of Hellenistic poetic patronage […]. 'Patronage' must cover over a multitude of possible relationships, differently nuanced across a whole range of variables. […] For Philadelphus we are relatively well supplied. The evidence is […] of three kinds: evidence concerning the institutions of Ptolemaic patronage, principally the Museum and the Royal Library, a colourful anecdotal tradition concerning the Ptolemies and their countries, and finally the poems themselves." (Hunter 1996: 77 f.). It must be borne in mind, however, that patronage was a reciprocal system with benefits gained on both sides: "The relation between a poet and his (real or hoped-for) patron is a relation of power and dependency, in which the poet himself has something to offer (namely kleos) […]." (Ibid. P. 79).
[328] Cf. Hunter 1996: 79.
[329] Thompson in Malkin 2010: 304.
[330] Cf. Versluys 2017: 142 f.
[331] Cf. Versluys 2017: 143.
[332] Cf. Thompson in Malkin 2010: 315.
[333] Stephens 2003: 241.
[334] Cf. Thompson in Malkin 2010: 315.

education, the gymnasion) increasingly became the defining feature of Greekness."[335] Stephens claims that "the Hellenism of Alexandria seems to have been artificially constructed through contrast or opposition to other groups and dependant on the crown for its nurturing"[336]. As examples for this nurturing she names the importation and creation of religious festivals or cults as counterweights for the very visible evidence for Egyptian religious life[337] as well as supporting Greek literary heritage and literary production in Greek at their courts.[338] She sums up that "New foci for that identity were necessary, hence the interest in cultic formations and in cultic behaviour."[339]

In conclusion, a clear distinction of Greek identity remains difficult; the quote from Herodotus suggests that there were indeed thoughts and expectations connected to concept of Greekness. However, these associations cannot be equalled with a modern concept of national identity, since cultural continuities on a smaller scale namely in the individual poleis also made out an enormous part of an individual's self-conception and sense of imminent community. The most important characteristic of Greekness, the ability to speak and reason in Greek, must be emphasised, since again, identification through language is immensely important on the macro-scale (Greek vs Barbarian languages) and the micro-scale (Doric vs Ionian dialects). Moreover, the pride of language influences the production and conservation of literature in the language area.

This part of the chapter went far to show that cultural continuities and shared cultural values existed in the Greek-speaking area of the Classical and, more importantly, the Hellenistic period; in how far these conceptions were challenged and modified and which changes had undergone. Despite these efforts, a precise result could not yet be reached. However, the introduction to the concept of Greek

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[335] Thompson in Malkin 2010: 316. For further information on "ethnic manoeuvring" and archaeological findings displaying Greek and Egyptian connections please see Versluys 2017: 142- 148.
[336] Stephens 2003: 243.
[337] Cf. Stephens 2003: 244 f.
[338] Cf. Stephens 2003: 248 f.
[339] Stephens 2003: 251. She then goes on to explain in how far Greekness is conveyed by Hellenistic authors such as Callimachus, Apollonius and Theocritus, as the three are "constructing a poetic itinerary that begins with earlier writers but always ends in the present with the poet himself. Each begins by establishing a conceptual link with the past […] only to differentiate himself and his poetic achievement from the procession of texts now being encased in the library." (Ibid. P. 257).

cultural identity offers enough premises for the analysis of the Greek corpus. This dissertation will follow Denise Demetriou, who says:

> "[…] identity was part of social reality in the ancient Mediterranean: individuals and groups experienced different kinds of identities subjectively, whether these were self-representation or imposed by outsiders and these identities conditioned some of their choices and decisions."[340]

Theocritus and his successors were children of their time, which means they were confronted with the Hellenistic age and its changes and implications; some could take advantage of the thriving interest in Greek literature and culture. This subchapter proved that discourse on Greekness, identity and cultures existed from the Greek Classical period onwards and that Hellenistic texts can indeed be analysed from this viewpoint, if the caveat of the term "nation" is abided by.

For this dissertation, it will not be important to see in how far the authors themselves identify as Greek but the focus will rather lie on the presentation of their characters and episodes, their subjective attitudes (to speak in Demetriou's terms) towards Greek bucolic life, which focalisers they use to present their poetic scenes and which intended Greek landscapes, plots and surroundings they create as these plots share cultural similarities with both the Hellenistic and the Classic period, include religions, rites and myths and are written in the Greek language.

**ENGLISH NATIONAL IDENTITY:**

> "This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
> This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
> This other Eden, demi-paradise,
> This fortress built by Nature for herself
> Against infection and the hand of war,
> This happy breed of men, this little world,
> This precious stone set in the silver sea,
> Which serves it in the office of a wall,
> Or as a moat defensive to a house,
> Against the envy of less happier lands,
> This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England […]."[341]
> *(William Shakespeare, Richard II, II, i, 40-50)*

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[340] Demetriou 2012: 9.
[341] The edition used is: Forker 2002.

These words of the dying John of Gaunt in Shakespeare's *Richard II* introduced fictional contemporary thoughts on England and its inhabitants to London's stages and can be counted among the most-quoted speeches written by the bard until the present day. They also provide crucial information for the literary and cultural scholar of the English Renaissance in terms of self-conception and imagined (national) communities.

The chapter of Literary History explains why the early modern period was specifically important for the growing self-consciousness of the British people which resulted in a growing confidence in the country's national identity. Some scholars describe English nationhood in the early modern period with very careful phrasing, like Hellen Vella Bonavita:

> "[…] nationalism is not necessarily the same as national consciousness or national identity and the existence of some elements in early modern national consciousness or national identity is indisputable."[342]

Others, however, are more definite. Gat sees England among the first nations to develop the understanding of a national state:

> "Medieval England saw the formation of a national state, where people and state overlapped, both before and after the Norman Conquest, first in the tenth-eleventh centuries and again in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries."[343]

Among the incidents which aided the development of a national conscience in the Renaissance are the extension of the English navy under the Tudor reign of Henry VIII. The incredible efficiency in the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 proved the efficiency of the latter.[344] With the amplification of the navy and a general increase in sea-faring came the time of great colonial expansion which led to the worldwide rise of the British Empire as a maritime nation.[345] Change was perceptible, and these changes heavily influenced the

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[342] Vella Bonavita 2017: 5.
[343] Gat in Jensen 2016: 36.
[344] Cf. Bruce 2009: 54 f.
[345] Cf. Bruce 2009: 54 f. Larkin, however, argues that Britain's situation in Europe of the time must not be overestimated and that insecurity rather than self-consciousness shaped the discourse about Englishness: "England, in short, was not secure. She was a relatively puny upstart amongst more established powers with far greater resources. Her later global success was not predetermined. There were few laurels to rest upon. There was thus perceived need for an energetic and robust statement of who they were, and if it meant talking up the glory days of Agincourt and Crecy, and the superiority of the Magna Carta, so be it." (Cf. Larkin 2014: 4).

development of a national identity. Greenfeld sees three transformational processes at the groundwork for the development of national consciousness in England, namely religious changes, the instability or collapsing of traditional collective identities and the need for legitimisation of the Tudor family.[346]

Travelling the far seas and improved orientation within the scope of the oceanic turn inspired sea-farers to write down their experiences, and travel writing found its way into the literary landscape of the English Renaissance. In these reports, new geographic words as well as vocabulary for trading were established and readily included in the English language. In a sense, these words were imported to Britain just like the goods they described.[347] On the other hand, this resulted in anxieties about cultural invasion – a process that required the distinction of Englishness from the concept of 'the other', inland or overseas and a clear determination of what made out England's image as a nation.[348] Kumar also sees these developments as crucial for the development of a national identity which is truly English:

> "There have been several scholars who have championed the idea that it was in Shakespeare's time […] that England truly came into its own. It was then, with the Protestant Reformation, the declaration of royal supremacy, an increasingly assertive and heavily Puritan parliament, and spectacular successes against Catholic Spain, the dominant world power of the time, that England broke away from its centuries-old Continental mooring and struck off on its own."[349]

According to Hertel, this temporal frame coincides with a shift of meaning in the term 'national': "The term 'nation', which had up until the sixteenth century been reserved for academic or religious elites, gradually acquired the sense of 'the people'."[350] These progresses are also visible in the development of the English pastoral genre: Hadfield, for example, talks about Drayton's *Cooper's Hill* and *Poly-Olbion* as follows: "Both poems seek to articulate an understanding of the nation. Each author is acutely aware of the contentious and confrontational nature of his writing."[351]  He goes on to declare that

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[346] Cf. Greenfeld 2003: 27-87.
[347] Cf. Bruce 2009: 54 f.
[348] Cf. Larkin 2014: 2.
[349] Kumar 2015: 112.
[350] Hertel 2016: 10.
[351] Hadfield in Jensen 2016: 62.

Drayton and Denham "[…] were both writing at a moment of acute awareness of the nation."[352]  since they "[…] had a clear understanding that England was a nation that could be mapped, circumscribed, represented and reproduced, its local features combining to produce a whole."[353]

Events as mentioned by Kumar impacted the perception of Englishness and national identity, but the 'peaceful' sea-faring aspects of Renaissance-Britain must also be borne in mind: England's leading presence in international waters and colonies as well as its maritime power initiated a growing desire to establish English as cultural and literary force in Europe. This meant that English as language of the written and published word was catapulted into international surroundings, since the publication of written texts in English instead of Latin had only recently emerged. Issues about the development of the English language as well as various linguistic debates (with the inkhorn debate leading the way[354]) was subject of numerous contemporary discourse and discussions.[355] The Renaissance marks the beginning of a conscious use of the English language in both spoken and written contexts and offered an explosion of available translation of classic texts into English.[356]  The writers did not stop there; literature was now not only translated into English but initially written in the country's own language. Scholars like George Puttenham argued convincingly for the quality of English as a poetic language and compared it to the qualities of Latin and Greek:

> "And if th'art of Poesie be but a skill appertaining to utterance, why may not the same be with us aswel as with them, our language being no lesse copious pithie and significicative

[352] Hadfield in Jensen 2016: 62.
[353] Hadfield in Jensen 2016: 62.
[354] The inkhorn-debate originated from Thomas Wilson's *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553), in which he praised the plain style of rhetoric in the writings of Demosthenes, Cicero and Quintilian and denounced elitism, affectation and the use of 'inkhorn terms' which made language unnecessarily complicated and moved it away from the common tongue. Wilson's work ran in eight editions and became a first destination for interested scholars in eloquence and rhetoric. Wilson did not, however, aim at "rustic boorishness and clumsiness of utterance"; the inkhorn-debate could rather be seen as a "moral crusade to achieve a middle way between extremes in modes of speech." (Cf. Larkin 2016: 35 and 42). For *The Arte of Rhetorique* see Wilson (1553) 1969.
[355] Cf. Bruce 2009: 54 f.
[356] Cf. Larkin 2014: 10. Most of these texts, however, were imported from the continent. For further information on the printing of Greek and Latin manuscripts in the Renaissance, please see Wilson-Okamura 2010: 29 f.

then theirs, our conceipts the same, and our wits no lesse apt to devise and imitate then theirs were?"[357]

He goes on:

"If againe Art be but certaine order of rule prescribed by reason, and gathered experience, why should not Poesie be a vulgar Art with us aswell as with the Greeks and Latines, our language admitting no fewer rules and nice diversities then theirs?"[358]

This new-found literary interest in the English language as medium of pen and print did not only result in the publication of grammar books and dictionaries, but also in the creation of an English literary cosmos and canon; authors like Chaucer suddenly received Homer-like attention and were proudly mentioned as English classics.[359] The reigning monarch, Elizabeth I, contributed to this development as she was regarded as an inheritor of a cultural move from Greece to Rome and then to England – a move made by possible by the reading and reception of classical literature.[360] Furthermore, the interest in learning and expansion triggered a particular interest in cartography. In 1579, Christopher Saxon rounded up the first compilation of regional maps for a national collection "representing the 'English place in the world' for the first time"[361].

According to Larkin, self-image contributed immensely to the construction of Englishness as a national identity as "[…] the English are construing themselves as plain, free and uncatholic."[362] Hertel remains on the opposite position and sees the establishment of a national identity triggered and constructed by the absence of cultural stabilisers:

"[…] the imagining of the national community in England around 1600 could be read as manifestation of the possibly painfully felt absence of a fully formed nation. It was a matter of urgent necessity to imagine the nation precisely because it had not yet materialized, at a time when the chasm created by the crisis of traditional forms of collective identity – the space national identity would eventually fill – was deepening."[363]

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[357] Puttenham 1971: 3.
[358] Puttenham 1971: 3.
[359] Cf. Bruce 2009: 54 f.
[360] Cf. Bruce 2009: 54 f.
[361] Larkin 2014: 2.
[362] Larkin 2014: 18.
[363] Hertel 2016: 21.

However, a consensus can be reached in terms of a growing interest in cultural discourse, self-awareness and interest, since, as Royan describes it:

> "[…] the years between 1469 and 1625 saw huge changes in the ways both the Scots and the English presented themselves, whether in response to external political pressure or to more scholarly and intellectual concerns."[364]

King James' union of the crowns in 1603 changed little in the attitudes of Irishmen, Englishmen and Scotsmen towards a united feeling of Britishness.[365] Only when Charles I ascended to the throne in 1625, political and literary movements to unite England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland came underway which eventually resulted in the passing of Act of Union in 1707, intertwining the kingdoms of England and Scotland.[366]

All these triggers and markers contributed to the establishment of a national English identity: the evolvement of the English language and its deliberate use in print and writing, a new and changing position of the English and British Empire in Europe and the world, religious and civil instabilities as well as a growing interest in cultural and national self-perception must be concluded as whetstones for an evolving English identity[367]. The analysis of the chosen poetry in the corpus will then show in how far these triggers and markers influenced the poetry production or whether they can be found in the poems itself.

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[364] Royan in Hattaway 2000: 699.
[365] Cf. Larkin 2014: 5.
[366] Cf. Bruce 2009: 55 ff.
[367] Piesse agrees with the importance of the English language and the influence of religious reading and writing as identity carriers: "This debate brings with it questions about the appropriate language in which to pursue and express one's religious thoughts, especially in relation to the Bible, and the notion of an individuality in religions brings to the fore the end for a redefinition of the idea of conscience, especially in relation to the idea of self-consciousness." (Piesse in Hattaway 2000: 636.).

# 3.  Literary History

## 3.1.  The Hellenistic Period

Theocritus is widely seen as the founder of the genre of bucolic poetry and his 1st idyll regarded as the prototypical bucolic poem. Theocritus lived and wrote poetry in the 3rd century BC, his successors Moschus and Bion a century later, which places all poets in the Hellenistic period, which lasted from the death of Alexander the Great (in the year 323 BC) to the battle of Actium (31 BC)[368]. All three poets had a remarkable impact on the creation, production, transmission and establishment of ancient Greek Bucolic - writing over hundred years later than the poets of Greek classic and almost 500 years after the composing of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, these three bucolic poets could draw on an enormous source of poetry and prose of their literary predecessors.

Most literary genres had already been established when Theocritus, Moschus and Bion wrote their poetry; mythology and traditions were well known but still interpreted and modified, Greek drama had already surpassed its heyday but had secured that every Greek had a vivid idea of experiencing literature and interacting with its culture and ideology. Whereas poets in Athens continued to produce dramatic forms of literature, Hellenistic poets in the epigonic realms started experimenting with new genres[369]. The Peloponnesian and Persian wars were already past, having left the heritage of Greek identity, pride and unity among the Greeks.[370] One of the major differences between classical and Hellenistic poetry is a turn to realism to describe nature, humans and things according to Plato's and Aristotle's demand for poetry and art[371] – a characteristic easily detectable in the landscape descriptions of the bucolic poets: according to Böschenstein Schäfer, landscape-descriptions receive new and unfamiliar significance with Theocritus.[372]  She also argues that the description of artefacts such as the cup in Theocritus' first

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[368] Cf. Gutzwiller 2007: 1.
[369] Cf. Zimmermann&Rengakos 2014: 32 f.
[370] Cf. Gutzwiller 2007: 1 and Zimmermann&Rengakos 2014: 33 f.
[371] Cf. Zimmermann&Rengakos 2014: 34 and 37.
[372] Böschenstein-Schäfer in Garber 1976: 9.

Idyll leads to the opening of a second idyllic space[373] which can then be used for the interpretative purposes of spatial theory. This realism is also displayed in the Theocritean *mimes*, which are short, dramatic episodes of everyday-livfe[374]. One of the most famous mimes is Id. XV, which deals with two Syracusan women on their way to the Adonis-festival and depicts their chattering and gossip.[375] The most realistic depiction of people/characters and tropes can be found in Idyll IV and V: the lives of mowers and shepherds are described realistically rather than idealised and poetically perfect: they accounts sound like an actual experience rather than a flattering hyperbole[376]. He also lets the fishermen in Idyll X disillusion the recipients with the precariousness, danger and frugality of their lifestyle. Böschenstein-Schäfer argues that in this poem „erreicht die griechische Idylle den äußersten Punkt des Realismus."[377]

During the Hellenistic period, a partial Hellenisation of the East and Asia took place, spreading the language of the court of Alexander the Great into newly colonised areas. The art produced at epigonic courts heavily influenced the poetic output of contemporary poets living and writing in the new epicentres of poetry, namely Alexandria and later Pergamon[378].


**Theocritus**

Theocritus' bucolic poems, the *Idylls*, feature ordinary people: cowherds, shepherds, vagabonds and fishermen in the pastoral idylls, housewives, slaves, sorcerers and ordinary citizens in the others. Theocritus followed the literary notion in the Hellenistic period to turn to life on the small-scale instead of heroes and stereotypical mythological warriors.[379] According to Klooster "[…] rusticity of setting and character, and prominence of nature" [380] are some of the main characteristics of Theocritean Bucolic. However, this turn to

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[373] Cf. Böschenstein-Schäfer in Garber 1976: 10.
[374] Cf. Cf. Böschenstein-Schäfer in Garber 1976: 9.
[375] Cf. Böschenstein-Schäfer in Garber 1976: 11. For further information on mime and mimesis please see Hunter 1996: 116-123.
[376] Cf. Hunter 1996: 117.
[377] Böschenstein-Schäfer in Garber 1976: 11.
[378] Cf. Zimmermann&Rengakos 2014: 37.
[379] Cf. Gutzwiller 2007: 84.
[380] Klooster in De Jong 2012: 100.

simplicity and rusticity does not expel gods and demigods from his poetry which provides evidence for the strong sense of religion and tradition among Hellenistic Greeks. This turn to simplicity, nature, realism and detail is typical for the Hellenistic period and is shared by other Hellenistic poets[381].

Theocritus' poems cover a great variety of topics and are composed in the dactylic hexameter, a metre usually connected to the Greek genre of the epos and its most famous poet, Homer.[382] Their name "idylls" should not tempt the modern reader to associate them with the things perceived as "idyllic" today; the name εἰδύλλιον (eidýllion) stems from εἶδος (eidos) and means "little types". 30 of these idylls survived complete and there are several fragments and epigrams; this makes Theocritus the bucolic poet with the most extensive text body.[383] It must be pointed out that of the 30 idylls, only 8 are pastoral, namely 1,3,4,5,6,7,10 and 11[384]. The rest includes "mime like dialogues with both rural and urban settings, hymns, mythical narrative, pederast love poems and encomia for monarchs."[385] Scholarly approaches to pin it down as one specific genre have repetitively failed.[386]

After Theocritus' death, the *Bukoliká*[387], the pastoral of his idylls, were singled out and published either separately or in a collected edition with other pieces of bucolic poetry.[388] The current research position states that the *Idylls* were very likely written to

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[381] Aratus, for example, describes astronomical and meteorological phenomena and the people they influence most, such as seamen, farmers and herdsmen. (Cf. Bernsdorff 2001: 184 f.).
[382] Hunter describes this literary interaction as follows: "Any writing of hexameters was a conscious or unconscious engagement with Homer; in T.'s case, it was very conscious." (Hunter 1999: 17). He also states later, that this interaction is mainly expressed by metre and reception of Homeric content rather than vocabulary. (Cf. Ibid. P. 21). Alpers, however, sees the reading of Homeric texts as trigger for Theocritus' interaction and invention of the bucolic and pastoral genre: "It was his consciousness of his relation to the older world of Greek literature […] that prompted him to write poetry about herdsmen and ordinary folk, and to make the herdsman-singer the characteristic figure of the poet." (Alpers 1996: 66).
[383] It must be borne in mind, however, that of these 30 poems, only 22 are generally accepted as his work. The remaining eight are generally described as "Pseudo-Theocritean", if marked at all. (Cf. Hunter 1999: 3).
[384] On the distinction/ establishment of bucolic vs non-bucolic idylls see Alpers 1996: 147 ff.
[385] Hunter 1999: 84.
[386] Cf. Hunter 1999: 5.
[387] For further clarification of the terminology of "bucolic" and "pastoral", please see chapter 1.4. Bucolic vs. Pastoral.
[388] Cf. Gutzwiller 2007: 85.

be read;[389] Individual *Idylls* were probably also recited publicly and circulated on their own rather than as part of a full collection.[390]

The setting of several of his idylls has been placed on the island of Sicily, but since Theocritus also spent some time on the island of Cos,[391] both influences of landscape-designing and tradition-impacting must be held in equally high regard. As any poet before and after him, Theocritus was not left unmoved by the political incidents that happened during his lifetime; as Kathryn Gutzwiller puts it: "… he would have experienced the turbulent period of foreign wars and civil conflicts leading up to the tyranny of Hiero II, which began in the 270s"[392]. Theocritus writes as a townsman and not as a country boy, allowing the assumption that he was probably not an expert in agriculture and rural life; an example for this is the high level of education and sophistication that he lets his simple herdsmen display.[393] His work was written for a sophisticated, literate city audience; the idylls were from the beginning on an urban interpretation of country life and the affairs of its (peasant) people.[394]

Even though Theocritus must have been very well acquainted with the negative aspects of a royal court, the famous longing for the simplicity of country life and dislike of the city's lifestyle that is found from Latin pastoral onwards is not present in Theocritus' works.[395] As Elliger puts it, there is no "melancholy of the

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[389] Arguments in favour of this are the conditions of literary reception in the Hellenistic period as well as the precise and loving description of setting and action. (Cf. Hunter 1999: 11). This scholarly discussion is also fuelled by the question of mimesis in bucolic and pastoral poetry. Payne describes this dilemma as follows: "The distinction between mimetic and fully fictional fictions is a theoretical one. Most fictions offer the reader the opportunity to engage with a world that is, for the duration of the reading, an alternative to reality, while at the same time allowing this reader to reflect upon some aspect of his or her real-world experience by comparing it with fiction. […] In Theocritus' time too, this polarization of fiction into mimetic and fully functional kinds is clearly visible, in the contrasts between, on the one hand, dramatic poems that offer small-scale vignettes of everyday lives (mimes and its literary derivatives) and, on the other, Theocritus' pastoral fiction, dramatic poems that offer an alternative to it." (Payne 2007: 2.).
[390] Cf. Payne 2007: 27. Klooster agrees: "These mimetic poems were presumably not meant for performance in the way of classical mime or drama." (Klooster in De Jong 2012: 105.).
[391] Cf. Gutzwiller 2007: 85.
[392] Cf. Gutzwiller 2007: 85.
[393] Cf. Elliger 1975: 320.
[394] Cf. Barrell&Bull 1974: 4.
[395] Cf. Elliger 1975: 319.

metropolitan"[396]; stylisation instead of glorification of nature is the result, introducing landscape descriptions and nature idylls for specific artistic purposes[397]. Zimmermann and Rengakos describe his work, passion and impact as follows:

> „Theokrit, der mit dem alexandrinischen Hof verbunden […], aber wohl kein fest bestallter Dichterphilologe war, liefert […] einen der wichtigsten Beiträge zur poetischen Wiederaneignung und Neuinterpretation der archaischen Rezitations- und Lieddichtung."[398]

This new interpretation of archaic song composition can also be found in the language of Theocritus' poems, since it is as special as his style of poetry: The *Idylls* are composed in an epic dialect mixture, connecting rural content with noble style of metre. The rurality of his pastoral idylls is intensified by forms of Doric, infusing colloquial and rustic linguistic ties.[399] This contrast between content and style is unique and added much to Theocritus' popularity and success.[400] The choice for Doric instead of the Atticising koine was therefore not unusual in terms of popularity and publicity; its use for poetic writing very much so, as it was usually used for inscriptions and other public documents[401].

Since Theocritus and his contemporary Callimachus moved away "from traditional poetic topics associated with the heroic or the aristocratic, and toward the humble, the personal, or the ordinary"[402], they are often perceived as offshoots of the classic period and

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[396] Elliger 1975: 363. The ecocritical Gifford adjudges Theocritus with at least some nostalgia and pathos: "For the writer this was a poetry of nostalgia to set against his present life which was actually that of an Alexandrian scholar. What is offered to his patron is a vision of simplicity of life in contact with nature that is vividly evoked with the artifice of poetry." (Gifford 1999: 15).

[397] „Auf die Bukolik bezögen lässt sich leicht erkennen, dass die Topik der Ortsbeschreibung das wichtigste Arsenal für die Konzeption der Szene bildet." Kunze mentions the *locus amoenus*, groves, valleys or grottos. Kunze 1978: 23.

[398] Zimmermann&Rengakos 2014: 214.

[399] Cf. Gutzwiller 2007: 86.

[400] Richard Hunter describes this union as follows: "T. married 'low' subject matter, resonant of a tradition of prosaic mime and/or popular song, to a metre, significantly called τὸ ἡρωικόν, which theorists regarded as the most 'poetic' measure and the one most removed from the rhythms of ordinary speech […]." (Hunter 1999: 17 f.).

[401] The use of the Doric dialect instead of the established Atticising koine appealed to many Greeks, since it covered many sub-dialects from the western to the eastern corners of the Greek sphere of influence. Both a Doric and the Atticising koiné coexisted for some time before the latter gradually took over the Greek world. (Cf. Hunter 1999: 23.). Susana Mimbrera discusses the use of Doric in Sicily in Tribulato 2012: 223-250. She highlights the use of Doric for inscriptions and explains the development from several Doric dialects to a Sicilian Doric koiné.

[402] Gutzwiller 2007: 86.

precursors of the romantic period.[403] This, however, is not entirely true: although Theocritus plays a big part in the deheroisation of Hellenistic poetry and introduces a realistic display of landscape and nature into his writing, his poetry still focusses on people and human interaction.[404] He also uses landscape and panorama for artistic techniques and poetic intent.[405] This enables the modern reader to understand the Alexandrinian perception of poetic art and to gain emotional access to the understanding and expectations of Hellenistic poetry.[406] Hunter describes his country-poems as the most distinctive in his corpus, claiming: "It is in the poems set in the countryside, whatever their differences in structure and form, that T. created something almost wholly new."[407]

The figure of the shepherd bears special importance in the creation of the genre. As already mentioned, the Hellenistic trend towards a more 'realistic' literature influenced Theocritus. However, the introduction of such a simple character to a poetic genre enabled Hesiod, Theocritus and many poets to come to use a specific midel as a figurative character to present various kinds. Hesiod's role as THE preceding poet of poems with rural, agricultural and rustic content built a firm interpretative and influential base for Hellenistic Bucolic. Hence Hesiod, who describes his personal professional development from shepherd to poet through divine interference, will be referred to frequently in this dissertation.

In Renaissance Pastoral, the shepherd was used to covertly include the poet himself or his friends, noblemen and royals as either homage or contemporary criticism. Iser sees the persona of the shepherd as a way to include the poet in a kind of self-mimesis. According to him, this role might also be filled by the mower or the fishermen. His interpretation of a potential reason is the domestication and care for the parts of nature governed by the

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[403] Cf. Elliger 1975: 362.
[404] Cf. Elliger 1975: 362. Callimachus, for example, often portrays heroes as children (e.g. Theseus, Heracles, Teiresias, Erysichthon and other divine children): this is another example for Hellenistic deheroisation, since the turn to children rather than adult heroes allows the observation of innocent, child-like behavior which responds to the concept of realism in Hellenistic poetry (Cf. Ambühl 2005: 6). She argues, however, that this alleged simplicity, naturalness and realism is used for complex narrative strategies. (Cf. Ibid.) The 24th idyll of Theocritus, *Little Heracles*, is another example for it.
[405] Cf. Elliger 1975: 363.
[406] Cf. Elliger 1975: 431.
[407] Hunter 1999: 5.

professions: compared to the hunter, who has to kill animals, or the sedentary farmer, the shepherd, fisherman or the mower has time for roaming around and the much-cited otium, the leisure to compose poetry.[408] Snell sees the origin of the shepherd persona and their role as both substance and tropes in pastoral poetry based in the Homeric mentioning of shepherds[409]. However, it was Theocritus who moved them into the focus of an independent genre and deployed the interpretative assets of their profession:

> "From that time onward the shepherds have been in love, usually without hope of success either they indulge in their own suffering, or they wring a poetic expression of sympathy from their friends."[410]

The persona of the Theocritean shepherd was readily adopted by bucolic and pastoral poets to come but gained interpretations from poet to poet and period to period. Virgil, for example, moved the shepherd into another light:

> "Theocritus had given a realistic and slightly ironical description of the herdsmen of the country engaged in their daily chores; Virgil regarded the life of the Theocritean shepherds as a sublime and inspired existence."[411]

He sees the reason for it in the developments of urban and rural life[412]. Iser agrees with a new direction of the shepherd-persona, as he finds an artistic turn to the shepherd-persona in Virgil:

> „Denn die dichtenden Hirten Vergils verkörperten Schemata, die nicht als Repräsentation der täglichen Rhythmen eines Schäferlebens gedacht waren, sondern der Darstellung dessen galten, was Singen und Dichten im menschlichen Leben bedeuten konnte."[413]

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[408] Cf. Iser 1991: 72 f.
[409] "To trace it all the way back, we must turn to the age before Homer, for on the shield of Achilles (Il. XVIII, 525) we find shepherds rejoicing in the sound of the syrinx." (Snell 1953: 284 f.). Bernsdorff also elaborates on pastoral elements in Homer (Cf. Bernsdorff 2001: 50 ff.).
[410] Snell 1953: 285.
[411] Snell 1953: 282.
[412] „Inzwischen ist die Spannung schärfer geworden zwischen einem raffinierten und einem naiven Leben, – nicht so krass wie mehr als zweitausend Jahre später, als Marie Antoinette begann, Schäferin zu spielen, aber die soziologische Situation ist nicht unähnlich." (Snell 1965: 189).
[413] Iser 1991: 76.

In the early modern period, the versatility of the figure was also played with, as can be seen by prototypical shepherd Colin Clout in Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar:

> „So erfahren wir erst durch die kommentierenden Erläuterungen, mit denen jede Ekloge abgeschlossen wird, dass der Hirte Colin Clout manchmal ein Dichter, manchmal Spenser selbst, manchmal nur ein Schäfer und manchmal das englische Volk sei. […] So sind die Figuren der Spenserschen Ekloge je für sich weder Schäfer noch historische Personen bzw. Typen, sondern immer beides zugleich."[414]

These types are not necessarily restricted to the shepherd-persona: Spenser was a loyal subject to Elizabeth and dedicated the *Faerie Queene* to her; he also covertly included her in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, partly in the character of "shepherdesse Eliza"[415] and in the April-Eclogue as a kind of a divine compass:

> „Elizabeth wird in dem zum Hymnus gesteigerten Schäferlied in typologischer Entsprechung zur antiken Götterwelt, zu den Figuren der arkadischen Landschaft, zur Seinskette sowie zur politischen Situation in Beziehung gesetzt."[416]

However, the figure of the shepherd remains the most important theme in bucolic and pastoral verses. The application of the scheme- and type-concept to other personae proves the evolvement of Renaissance pastoral as an independent genre without neglecting its ancient heritage of Hesiodic, Theocritean and Virgilian poetry.

**Moschus and Bion**

With Bion and Moschus, Theocritus' epigones, the progression from the classic to the hellenistic period was complete. The *Idyll* had successfully undergone its transition from a new form of literature to a literary tradition.[417] Moschus and Bion extensively borrowed motifs and form elements from Theocritus' works (especially from the *Komos* and *Cyclops)* but their poetry displayed far more features of sentimental poetry in both their bucolic and non-bucolic

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[414] Iser 1991: 81 ff.
[415] „Ähnliches gilt für das Hirtenmädchen Eliza, das bald die Geliebte, bald die Königin Elizabeth und bald die trauernde Dido verkörpert." (Iser 1991: 81.).
[416] Iser 1991: 82.
[417] Cf. Elliger 1975: 365.

writing: in their epitaphs, nature is involved in fundamental grieving.[418] Especially Moschus' *Epitaph for Bion* includes numerous elements of landscape inclusion.[419]

Large parts of Moschus' biography is unknown, but according to the Suda he was born in Syracuse: he was a friend of Aristarchus ("Ἀριστάρχου γνώριμος" Suid. M. 1279 (Adler)[420]) and the second poet after Theocritus, "τὸν τῶν βουκολικῶν δραμάτων ποιητήν" (Suid. 1279.). With this information his dates of life can be narrowed down to the middle of the 2$^{nd}$ century BC[421]. His best-known work is the hexameter-poem *Europa*[422] written in an epic-Doric dialect.

Information preserved about Bion is equally sparse: the Suda calls him Bion 'of Smyrna' and little is known about his life. Only a fraction of his work has survived; his most famous work is the 98-verse-long *Epitaph for Adonis*. The *Adonis* and his surviving fragments are all written in hexameters and Doric dialect.[423] Bion "flourished sometime between the mid second and mid first century BC. […]"[424]. Since details of his vita remain lost, Moschus' *Epitaph for Bion* is welcome to extract some facts about his life. This, of course, requires caution since poetic descriptions undergo several artistic changes without making truthfulness and reality a major priority. The epitaph suggests that Moschus outlived Bion and was familiar with his poetic work, as he references his death and bucolic allusions (e.g. the *Naturtrauer*-episodes in the epitaph). Most of Bion's work is now lost: his *Epitaph on Adonis* as well as 17 fragments are the only remaining pieces of his literature.[425] Theocritus and Moschus wrote poetry that could be described as rustic rather than bucolic.[426] However, Zimmermann&Rengakos describe the content of his poems as follows:

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[418] Cf. Elliger 1975: 373. Grieving nature can also be found in Theocritus; since the Idylls do not offer specific epitaphs, they were excluded from this interpretation.
[419] Cf. Elliger 1975: 374. The inclusion of landscape was not an entirely new phenomenon as there are several examples of it in earlier works of literature, e.g. in the tragedies *Philoctetes* or *Oedipus Rex.* It is, however, featured excessively in the bucolic poems of Moschus and Bion.
[420] The Greek is cited from Adler 1967.
[421] Cf. Zimmermann&Rengakos 2014: 230.
[422] The poems' main plot is discribed by Zimmern&Rengakos as "die Verwandlung eines Mädchens in eine Braut und Mutter infolge der universellen Macht der Kypris." (Zimmermann&Rengakos 2014: 231).
[423] Cf. Zimmermann&Rengakos 2014: 232.
[424] Reed 1997: 2 f.
[425] Cf. Reed 1997: 3.
[426] Cf. Reed 1997: 7.

> "Die beiden großen Themenbereiche sind die bukolische Welt der
> Hirten und die Erotik, die wie bei Theokrit miteinander verbunden
> sein können […]."[427]

Bion's corpus is the smallest of the three poets; this lets him mention several water motifs without adding or removing interpretative weight. From some motifs, on the other hand, Bion draws enormous influence in his work, making him a crucial part of the interpretation and realisation of water motifs in the bucolic corpus.

Although Bion adapted much of his form of writing from his predecessor Theocritus (such as language and form, but also the nature descriptions and displays of highly emotional sentiments), indulging in the typical bucolic language and metre, his style is very different: his rapid change in the scenery of the epitaph for Adonis as well as the inclusion of the totality of nature grieving for the god are characteristic for the sentimental poetry of Theocritus' bucolic successors.[428] Nature is included in the grieving process for the deceased and undergoes a metamorphosis: water in the rivers becomes tears, flowers wither and the whole state of the landscape is in decay.[429] Seven different plants and eight kinds of animals lament Bion's death, which stylises him to a quasi-Orpheus who is able to subdue and unite nature[430].

Reed sums up the development of late bucolic as follows:

> "Late bucolics presents a controlled diversity, poems of several
> thematic types united by their metre, their dialect, and their
> common retrospection to the mimetic Doric idylls of
> Theocritus."[431]

Although the research on bucolic poetry has for decades almost solely concentrated on Theocritus' poetry, the significance and importance of his epigones Moschus and Bion must not be underestimated, as they helped shape and transmit a new poetic tradition.[432] Especially in terms of establishment of the bucolic and pastoral genre, its reception and transmission from Hellenistic Greece over the Roman successors[433] and Renaissance poets into modern literature, the

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[427] Reed 1997: 233.
[428] Cf. Elliger 1975: 373.
[429] Cf. Elliger 1975: 374 f.
[430] Cf. Zimmermann&Rengakos 2014: 236.
[431] Reed 1997: 7.
[432] Cf. Reed 1997: 4.
[433] For the understanding of Virgilian poetry it is important to note that Hellenistic literature was read and appreciated in Rome: "The equivocal position of Greek poetry

pastoral poems of Moschus and Bion are vital. Modern research finds that some bucolic texts were already collected in anthologies in the 1st century BC, probably by the scholar Artemidorus of Thassos[434] and it is reckoned that these anthologies included works of said bucolic triad[435]. Byzantine collections of bucolic poetry carried the *Adonis* over to the studies of Italian humanists which allowed him to enter the European bucolic corpus[436]. In the 1st century BC, bucolic poetry was established and understood as an individual poetic genre. Collections of poems like those called Βουκολικά and Virgil's *Eclogues* bear witness to this[437].

From Bion onwards, Greek successors, major and minor authors (like Nonnus and Longus), relied on Bion's poetry for inspiration and bucolic tradition.[438] Bion was actively read and admired from the 1st century BC up until the 6th century AD[439]: his first imitators were his contemporaries Meleager and Archias. Then, the impact of his *Adonis* as poetic and mythological reference text can be found in Catullus, Propertius, Virgil and Ovid and even in Pompeian wall-paintings[440]. It is suggested that Bion's *Adonis* reached such a level of fame that it became a "standard text for cultivated Romans."[441] Mentioning these developments is important for the overview of reception studies which influenced all corpora; the corpus necessitates the inclusion of the transmission and reception history of bucolic poetry for appropriate representation and productive analysis.

## 3.2.   The First Century BC

Since the reception of Theocritus and the other Greek bucolic poets underwent several stages before it reached early modern English

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in the world after Alexander travelled with it as it was 'translated' from its Alexandrinian background to a new home in Italy." (Hunter 2006: 6).

[434] Cf. Reed 1997: 86.
[435] Cf. Zimmermann&Rengakos 2014: 237. Preceding poets of poems with bucolic content are Philoxenos of Kythera (Ibid. 214) and pseudo-Theocritean poems also exist (Ibid. P. 226).
[436] Cf. Zimmermann&Rengakos 2014: 237.
[437] Cf. Zimmermann&Rengakos 2014: 214.
[438] Cf. Reed 1997: 64 f. For the textual transmission of manuscripts of Bion's works please see Ibid. ff.
[439] Cf. Zimmermann&Rengakos 2014: 236. Whether ancient commentaries on the *Adonis* existed remains unclear. (Cf. Ibid.).
[440] Cf. Zimmermann&Rengakos 2014: 236.
[441] Reed 1997: 61.

pastoral, the inclusion of Latin pastoral is crucial. Compared to the Greek and English corpus, the Latin corpus chosen for this dissertation is less extensive; this allows a focus on the most important poet and poems which significantly influenced early modern English poets of Pastoral. This Latin author is Virgil with his *Bucolica*, or *Eclogues*.[442]

The heyday of Latin pastoral falls into the Late Republic (1st century BC). Virgil was confronted with a difficult political and civil situation: wars and grain imports drove the peasantry from the land into bigger cities, where they often lived in poverty and had to rely on alms.[443] The upper classes profited from the land flight and purchased deserted country estates at low cost, combining state land (*ager publicus*) and private property to enormous areas of influence. Social inequality and discontented Italian confederates triggered civil wars; several well-known Roman personalities such as Marius and Sulla, Caesar and Pompey openly fought against each other with armies of mercenary soldiers. Caesar finally defeated Pompey and became Rome's absolute ruler until he was assassinated. After his death, his great-nephew Octavian took over his reign, introducing the Roman imperial period.[444]


**Virgil**

Born in the year 70 BC into a family of Roman public officials, Virgil started social advancement via his profession as an orator. Very soon he dismissed this career and turned to the Epicurean school to study philosophy, mathematics and medicine. His poetic talent won him several benefactors and influential friends in his home town of Mantua and later Rome. They secured him the status of knighthood and several manors in Campania and Sicily as well as town houses in Naples and Rome. This way he got over the seizing of his paternal country estate in the civil war year of 41 BC.**[445]**

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[442] Later authors like Calpurnius Siculus and Nemesianus will be set aside in the corpus analysis but included in cross references in the English poetry analysis if required.
[443] Cf. Senoner 1976: 33.
[444] Cf. Senoner 1976: 33. ff.
[445] Cf. Senoner 1976: 64.

Virgil was not born to wealthy parents; his father kept bees and did pottery and Virgil's knowledge of nature and agriculture exceeded that of the average towner by far.[446] When he wrote the *Bucolica* in the years 42-39 BC, they became an instant success and made Virgil famous in Rome and throughout. The *Georgica* followed in 36-29 BC, before he turned to his masterpiece, the 12 books of the *Aeneid, in* 29-19 BC. Whereas the *Eclogues* deal with the idealised life of herdsmen, the *Georgica* are a didactic poem about agriculture, modelled, among others, after Hesiod's *Works and Days*. With the *Aeneid* he aspired to follow in Homer's footsteps, creating the first great Roman heroic epic of the hero Aeneas. Albrecht claims: "In literarischer Beziehung schwimmt der Autor gegen den Strom seiner Zeit. Vergil wächst, indem er mit immer größeren Meistern ringt."[447]

Influential benefactors and patrons secured Virgil's upkeep and enabled him to concentrate fully on his literary career. The most important ones were Maecenas and Pollio; Virgil dedicated parts of Ecl. 3 and 8 to the latter.[448] Especially *Eclogue* 8, which connects the birth of Pollio to the emergence of a golden age, functions as a homage, an encomion almost, and can be compared to Theocritus' praise of the Egyptian ruler Ptolemy. Virgil died 19 BC, having lived through the evolution of Rome from republic to empire, from Pompey to Augustus. The spirit of emergence into a new era is very visible in his literary career.

For this dissertation, the focus will naturally lie on Virgil's earliest work, the *Eclogues*. Many discussions have been debate about his pastoral poems; Alpers agrees with Bruno Snell, who sees "pastoralism as a flight from reality, but at the same time he regards Virgil as coming to grips with a major cultural crisis and opening up new spiritual possibilities."[449] Although the *Eclogues* were clearly modelled after Theocritus' *Idylls*,[450] absolute comparison should not

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[446] Cf. Albrecht 2006: 8. It has been a question of constant debate in how far Virgil was acquainted with the life of herdsmen, their joys and woes. A consensus seems to have been reached: he knew little more than the basics. His lifestyle in the countryside must have offered him glimpses into the pastoral lifestyle.
[447] Albrecht 2006: 13.
[448] Cf. Alpers 1979: 157. For further information on Virgil's royal patronage please see Wilson-Okamura 2010: 61-64.
[449] Alpers 1979: 113.
[450] "They were written in imitation of – and in some cases very closely modelled on – the pastoral poems of Theocritus […] Virgil was the first Roman poet to imitate Theocritus' pastorals, though other Latin poets had imitated other Alexandrinian

be made; the differences between these two different poets, times and contexts are as crucial as their similarities and shared values. It is a fact that Virgil knew and admired Theocritus as he excessively used and borrowed ideas from his predecessors while developing his own interpretation of the genre.[451]

The *Eclogues* introduced the Augustan classic and instated Virgil as recreator of Hellenistic herdsmen poetry. Just like Theocritus', his poetry combined dramatic, epic and poetic elements.[452] The *Eclogues* consist of ten rather short poems, or 'Eclogues´, in a carefully composed order. *Eclogue* 4 might be considered one of the best known as it describes and forecasts the arrival the Golden age. Virgil combines the Theocritean landscapes of Cos and Sicily with his native Po Valley and Campania as well as the mythic place Arcadia and, doing so, creates a new wonderland of *loca amoena*.[453] The reason for a Greek setting of the *Eclogues* instead of the copying of the Sicilian countryside used by Theocritus lies in its close connection to reality. Marinelli argues: "Sicily was too real a place to be romantic."[454] The Latin poet and his audience would know about the Italian countryside and the charm of foreign and exotic settings could not survive in such familiar surroundings but needed distance for interpretation and imagination.[455]

Contentwise, Virgil sets his poetry apart from Theocritus as he includes the impact of contemporary Roman politics. Naturally, the herdsmen are still the main characters and their lives the topic and plot of the poems. Their rustic and meagre lives are only improved by *amor* and *carmen,* which leads their society's focus to the most important qualities in life. They live in a paradisiac surrounding, unpenetrated by vice and destruction. Albrecht describes the choice of topics and the layout of the eclogues as a perfect balance between

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poets, with whom they sensed a common literary situation as late heritors of classical Greek poetry." Alpers 1979: 2.

[451] „Zwar setzt sich Vergil gründlich mit Theokrit (und sogar Kommentaren zu diesem) auseinander, beschränkt sich aber keineswegs auf ihn und seine griechischen Nachfolger (Moschos, Bion und das Corpus Theocriteum). […] Lehrgedicht, Prophetie, Gebet, Hymnus […] spiele auch in […] Eklogen herein." Albrecht 2006: 41.

[452] Cf. Albrecht 2006: 65.

[453] Cf. Albrecht 2006: 66.

[454] Marinelli 1971: 40.

[455] Cf. Marinelli 1971: 41.

the simple life and the sublime.[456] As mentioned before, Theocritus' *Idylls* were written to be read, whereas the Virgilian *Eclogues* were indeed performed.[457]

Political developments and their influence on Virgil and his civil-war struck contemporaries is detectable (e.g. the episode of the"lucky old man" in Verg. Ecl. I, 51 ff.). Senoner sums such emotional involvement in political developments up as follows:

> "Der Dichter weiß sehr wohl um den unwiderruflichen Gang der Geschichte; doch es bleibt die heiße Sehnsucht nach einer Zeit des Friedens, die das geschichtliche Menschentum wieder mit dem bukolischen versöhnt."[458]

The confiscation and reallocation of country estates in the year 42 BC and the following migration of the dispossessed people changed his view of country-life and a forever peaceful coexistence in a pure state of nature.[459] In the *Bucolica*, his idea of an idealised state of nature found a new literary home (as can be seen in the chapter of the *Locus Amoenus*). This is important, since Virgil wrote in a time when "[…] Octavian was a young man, Italy was torn by civil wars, and the political situation was at best uncertain."[460]

Virgil composed his *Eclogues* in the epic metre of the hexameter and wrote in clear urban Latin.[461] The language should not introduce the predicament of simplicity: "Jede Zeile offenbart höchste Kunst"[462]. Since Latin does not differentiate literary dialects, Virgil could not follow Theocritus' use of Doric Greek for characterisation and differentiation of speaking individuals. However, Servius calls the style of the Eclogues *humilis (groundling)*, Donatus *tenuis (eked-out),* since "critics already knew that the language of pastoral is supposed to be uncombed, coarse, and homely." [463] Reading Virgil's and Theocritus' texts aloud reveals the complexity and musicality of the

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[456] "Ihr Auftreten ist betont schlicht, und doch schließt sie auch die erhabensten Gegenstände nicht aus. Sie beruft sich auf volkstümliche Wurzeln, ist aber schon bei Theokrit ein höchst kunstvolles Genos […]." Albrecht 2006: 38.
[457] Cf. Hunter 1999: 11. For further information of the performances the Virgilian Eclogues please see Horsfall 1995: 249 f.
[458] Senoner 1976: 66.
[459] Cf. Albrecht 2006: 9.
[460] Alpers 1979: 3.
[461] Cf. Albrecht 2006: 48.
[462] Albrecht 2006: 49.
[463] Wilson-Okamura 2010: 73.

poems: humming bees, cooing birds and swooshing rivers witness the onomatopoetic use of poetic language.[464]

In the 16th century Virgil's poetry made out a substantial part of the curriculum of English grammar schools to study Latin style and grammar as well as the content of his works.[465] Doing so, the English followed in the footsteps of Roman education, as Virgil was taught in Rome as early as 26 BC[466]. His inclusion in the 16th and 17th century educational schedule suggests that many readers of Renaissance Pastoral were already well acquainted with the predecessor Virgil and his works[467], as the *Eclogues* were "the quintessential schoolbook"[468] and the pastoral collection was recited, imitated and learnt by heart.


## 3.3.   The English Renaissance

The third group of texts for the analyses of this dissertation are the pastoral works of English poets from the 16th and 17th century. Although time-frames for literary periods are debatable, scholars usually situate the English Renaissance as the period between 1485 (the battle of Bosworth and the beginning of Tudor reign) and 1689 (the deposition of Charles II).[469] The tendency of English scholarship to connect periods and time schemes to major historic events or the rule of British royals is clearly visible in its establishment, which draws temporal borders rather arbitrarily without taking cultural development into account. Despite this criticism, this perimeter works well in the scheme of establishing a representative literary corpus.

The leap from Latin Pastoral to the first Renaissance poets covers more than 13 centuries – it is therefore crucial to understand the development of the genre from Virgil onwards: Latin poets of pastoral poetry succeeding Virgil are Calpurnius Siculus (1st century AD) and Nemesianus, who follows in the second half of the third century

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[464] Cf. Albrecht 2006: 49. Further information on Virgil's bucolic ecology can be found in Saunders 2008.
[465] Cf. Wallace 2011: 2.
[466] Cf. Wallace 2011: 1. Since Virgil only died seven years later, he might have known that his poetry was used for didactic purposes.
[467] For further information on the transmission of Virgilian poetry into Renaissance schoolbooks as well as precise description of the schoolbooks he is featured in, please see Wallace 2011: 35-77.
[468] Wallace 2011: 81.
[469] Cf. Bruce 2009: 186.

AD.[470] Since Constantine the Great, the *Eclogues* have gained Christian interpretations[471], spreading and carrying the idea of bucolic and pastoral poetry. The Pastoral almost completely disappeared in Europe throughout the Dark and Early Middle ages with the exception of troubadour pastourelles in France, which consists of sung poems transitioning from popular common song to sophisticated compositions presented at court. Their usual subject is the attempted seduction of a lower class, rural girl by a courtier or knight.[472] Infrequent publishing of single bucolic and pastoral poems followed throughout the early middle ages until Petrarch (1374) composed 12 Latin eclogues.[473] Only when the feudal idea of social order and community is seriously threatened and starts to decay, the Pastoral is revived in the Renaissance.[474]

Vitri and Boccaccio wrote herdsmen poetry in the 14th century, making Italy the literary hotbed for Renaissance pastoral. Numerous poets, like Mantuanus, translated Virgil's *Eclogues* or wrote Italian versions of the poems inspired by the Roman original. Virgil and his *Eclogues* were taken as primary role model for these poetic undertakings, since they were regarded as suitable to afford "[..] for a greater sophistication, for didacticism, and even for religious satire; an apparently humble cloak for dangerous thought."[475] As Iser puts it:

> „Diese Eklogen waren darauf gerichtet, moralische Lehre zu sein, um der sittlichen Vervollkommnung menschlichen Verhaltens in gleicher Weise zu dienen, wie es der Mantuaner und andere moderne Dichter taten."[476]

Sannazaro was one of these modern poets: His interpretation of pastoral poetry, *Arcadia,* was published in print in 1504 and

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[470] Cf. Albrecht 2006: 59.
[471] Marinelli sees the reason for this in the "happy coincidence of meanings in the word pastor, shepherd and priest, and through the influence of pastoral life visible in the Scriptures […]." (Marinelli 1971: 10). Wilson-Okamura reconstructs this development through the idea of the Golden Age in Virgil's 4th *Eclogue* and early Christian interpretations that these prophecies talk about a Christian messiah rather than Pollio. (Cf. Wilson-Okamura 2010: 71 f.). The Lord as shepherd is, for example, mentioned in the 23rd Psalm.
[472] Cf. Barrell&Bull 1974: 13.
[473] Cf. Albrecht 2006: 60 f.
[474] Cf. Barrell&Bull 1974: 13. Virgil's works are the first Latin texts printed in England, even before the more popular Ovid, and "[…] most of the epics and pastorals written in the sixteenth century were modelled at least in part on Virgil's Aeneid and Eclogues." (Wilson-Okamura 2010: 47).
[475] Barrell&Bulld 1974: 13.
[476] Iser 1991: 77.

circulated Europe - French and Spanish translations and imitations then supported the *Arcadia*'s success.[477] Prior to Sannazaro, the concept of Arcadia itself had disappeared during the Dark Ages and only resurfaced with his poem, which was first published in Venice in 1502[478].

The interest in Theocritus' poetry grew as well[479], resulting in various translations of the *Idylls* into Latin (mid-16th century). Amyot's translation of Longos' bucolic novel *Daphnis and Chloe* (~1559) enabled a much larger group of academic and poetry enthusiasts to indulge in Greek bucolic literature and sparked interest in the bucolic topic.[480] In the 16th century, the bible became available in translations from Latin into the common vernacular, establishing the link between the pastoral shepherds and Christ as protective shepherd of his flock of believers. Emphasis was put on the nativity and the pastoral themes of a fruitful, evolving nature as well as the circle of life. Natural regeneration was seen as the possible arrival of a new Golden Age.[481]

English Pastoral developed from its European (especially Italian) predecessors as well as direct classic influence through the reception of classic Pastoral (mainly Virgil, to a lesser extent Theocritus).[482] Virgil's supremacy has been highlighted excessively in this context.[483] Albrecht discusses the influence of medieval and Renaissance Pastoral on English pastoral poetry and sees the origin of many of Spenser's poets in contemporary, mainly Italian pieces of

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[477] Cf. Albrecht 2006: 61 f.
[478] Cf. Gifford 1999: 21.
[479] "[…] the Renaissance approach to Virgil was usually the same as the medieval approach, and that was usually the same as the ancient. […] the real shift […] has come about through exploration of Virgil's non-Homeric sources: Hellenistic, neoteric, and dramatic. This body of work was available in the Renaissance, but not widely known or even conceptualized." (Wilson-Okamura 2010: 41).
[480] Cf. Albrecht 2006: 61 f.
[481] Cf. Barrell&Bull 1974: 13,
[482] Virgil's poetry is usually mentioned first and foremost in the context of ancient sources for English Renaissance pastoral. It must be mentioned that Theocritus' poems were known and read, too. Roughly 180 manuscripts containing Theocritean poems from the middle ages and the early Renaissance are known. (Cf. Hunter 1999: 28). Even though more scholars were fluent in Latin than in Greek, Theocritus as founder of the bucolic genre was known and appreciated.
[483] "As a model and influence on later pastoral writers (particularly those of the European Renaissance) and as an example of the characteristics and possibilities of the pastoral mode, they are probably the single most important document in the history of poetry." (Alpers 1979: 1)

early modern poetry pieces.[484] Early English Pastoral, such as *The Shepherd's Calendar*, found a way to deal with the complexity of a post-feudal world with nostalgia[485] but also offered a perfect interpretative canvas to celebrate a new Golden Age, represented by the Elizabethan court.[486] Barrell&Bull describe this chimeric presentation of society in pastoral poetry as follows: "An imagined historical past vies with an imagined historical present."[487] The pastoral genre offered poets a possibility to covertly attack contemporary urban abuses by juxtaposing city life with a peaceful existence in the country. This intention originated in Virgil (Greek bucolic did not display this strain) and was readily used and adapted by English pastoral poets.[488]

Of course, the pastoral genre underwent specific changes from its Greek, Latin and European influences. Sommer even argues that "Wie keine andere Dichtungsgattung hat nämlich die Hirtenpoesie ihren Gegenstand verallgemeinert und das in ihrem Namen bezeichnete Gebiet überschritten […]"[489], highlighting the generalised use of the genre's name. English Renaissance Pastoral mainly entertains the dilemmas of rural vs. urban life, covers the topics of love, death and poetry: the pastoral world functions as a welcome refuge from city and court, highlighting simplicity and purity but also offering a literary vehicle to criticise political discourse.[490] The difference to the classic pastoral is obvious, as Marinelli defines classic pastoral as follows:

> "In general, classical pastoral begins with a conception of man
> and of human nature and locates it in a specific type, the
> shepherd, the simplicity of whose life is the goal towards which
> all existence strives. […] The shepherd remains first and

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[484] "In England steht Spenser's Shephearde's Calender (1579) weniger in der Nachfolge Vergils als in derjenigen der Franzosen und Italiener." (Albrecht 2006: 63).

[485] "Nostalgia itself was a recognized psychological malady in the seventeenth century, given its name in 1688 by Johannes Hofer, a Swiss physician, but designating phenomena observed earlier, especially among young soldiers far from their home villages." (Snyder 1998: 17.).

[486] Cf. Barrell&Bull 1974: 6.

[487] Barrell&Bull 1974: 6.

[488] Cf. Barrell&Bull 1974: 6.

[489] Sommer 1888: 10.

[490] Cf. Marinelli 43 ff. The opposition of urban vs. rural and city vs. country is pivotal for pastoral poetry. Barrell and Bull draw attention to the importance of perspective and position in this context: "[…] this view of the countryside is from the perspective of the town or the court – and it is a view which suggests a particular kind of relationship between the town, where the writer and his readers would normally live, and the country." (Barrell&Bull 1974: 4).

foremost an emblem of humanity, a general rather than a specific type, and his afflictions and joys are universal."[491]

Alpers sees the most striking difference to classic Pastoral in the embedding of pastoral in anti-pastoral and the interplay between two worlds:

"In Renaissance and modern pastoral […] a consistent, external pastoral world is often attenuated or non-existent, and […] it is a normal function of pastoral – in the form of images, gestures, modes of feeling and ethical attitudes – to reveal an individual sensibility and its reflections on itself."[492]

The different worlds of the classic Pastoral are usually represented by the urban and the rural and their respective inhabitants. Renaissance poetry uses the same factors but extends the urban connotation to the court and courtly life often depicted as tainted and morally corrupt.[493] The interplay between worlds of leisure and worlds of evil allows a paradisiac perception of nature as part of the establishment of landscape as an interpretative tool.

As mentioned before, the English Renaissance (1485 – 1689) covers more than 200 years of crucial development in the world of literature, art, architecture, politics and religion. As well as the rest of Europe, England saw a return to classical learning and artistic conceptions, a rise in humanist interest, attainments and schooling but was also affected by the bubonic plague, the pox and syphilis. It is a period of stark contrasts: censorship and pamphleteering, humanism and witch-burning, a new-found English confidence and a revival of classic learning. Still, Kerwin argues that "the range and quality of its poetry […] surpass that produced in any other period."[494] This development was only possible because a new approach to language was taken up by schooling and scholarship; a revised curriculum modelled on classical Latin education was developed, grammar schools founded, and humanist learning supported.[495]

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[491] Marinelli 1971: 5 f.
[492] Alpers 1979: 239 f.
[493] "By Renaissance poets the court is seen as the heart of the city and as a microcosm of its evils; a move to rural retirement represents a search for the recovery of innocence." (Marinelli 1971: 23)
[494] Cf. Bruce 2009: 23.
[495] Cf. Bruce 2009: 27.

The Tudor monarchs Henry VIII and his daughters Mary I and Elizabeth I as well as Mary of Scots' son James Stuart heavily influenced the artistic landscape of the time: royal and noble patronage, courtly presentations of poetry and drama as well as various royally motivated religious conflicts caused different literary trends; the printing press (William Caxton established the first in 1476 in Westminster, 21 years after Gutenberg's publication of the bible[496]) allowed easy distribution of printed texts among all levels of society, making books, magazines and newspapers a commodity of the time. The rise of a new mercantile class provided the consumers for it.[497]

This mercantile class of consumers had a huge impact on the English economy, and London grew to a metropolis of almost 350.000 inhabitants during the Renaissance: a shift from rural to urban locations led workers into the city and England developed "from being an importer of almost all finished goods and a great exporter of raw materials [...] to a leader in trade."[498] The colonisation of the Americas and the establishment of oversea-trading posts with the help of a strong navy further aided the evolving supremacy of England as a mercantile and colonial power.

Some see the reason for the flourishing of literary production in Tudor and Renaissance England in the relative peace after the War of the Roses, others argue that political and religious incidents triggered literary production rather than a new-found interest in literacy and written goods[499] – whatever the reasons, the English Renaissance saw English as language of the written and printed word emerge into the limelight and turned its interest to the establishments of new literary genres in a self-assured national authorship. Pastoral poetry, as shall be elaborated on subsequently, played one of the most important roles in the development of national consciousness, understanding and unity from the sources of poetry. According to Hubbard, "The genre's evolution thus encapsulates in microcosm the broader theoretical tensions of the era."[500]

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[496] Cf. Bruce 2009: 28.
[497] Literacy reached new heights, but male readership still dominated the female: for every three literate men, there was only one literate woman. (Cf. Bruce 2009: 6).
[498] Bruce 2009: 34.
[499] Cf. Bruce 2009: 24.
[500] Hubbard 1998: 248.

**The Poets**

The pastoral genre was one of the first kinds of poetry to be written and published in the English language, soon becoming one of the most appreciated literary genres of the Renaissance[501]. The development of the pastoral idea from Theocritus to Virgil to the English poets was not a straight line but included many translations and imitations. Moreover, Britain was by no means united in terms of language and literary development; these differences heavily influenced poetry conception and production.[502] Hubbard emphasises the Renaissance's importance in terms of the formation of the pastoral genre:

> "But the Renaissance is also the period that saw a radical breaking out of the pastoral concept from both its formal, generic coordinates and its ideological perspective. In the former regard, the traditional eclogue came to be supplemented by new forms, such as pastoral romance, drama, lyric, and masque. […] allegorical tendencies moved pastoral out of the timeless, Arcadian world into the historical and contingent realiaty of contemporary politics […]."[503]

The English corpus of pastoral poetry for this dissertation was selected to build a representative corpus of the period by the means of reception, frequency and importance of the authors; every modern scholar tries to select their corpus as representative for the period as possible – unfortunately, this leaves the Renaissance researcher with the usual prejudice of "white dead European male" authors, who also make out the greatest part of this corpus (Aemilia Lanyer is the only woman included). The problem with this kind of canonisation is that the censorship already began in the 16th century since lesser known authors and woman writers were published less frequently than the "mega stars" Sidney, Milton and Spenser: their literary output made it possible to collect many of their works in anthologies and

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[501] "If Elizabeth's reign is the heyday, for English literature, of representative shepherds and the genres associated with them (eclogue, drama, romance), the seventeenth century is the age of the pastoral speaker and the pastoral lyric." (Alpers 1996: 238.).
[502] "The four nations that comprised the British Isles under Charles I, England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, were culturally, politically, religiously, even linguistically, extremely diverse, and sectarian hostilities especially abounded." Orgel&Goldberg 2008: X.
[503] Hubbard 1998: 248.

books of poems. Another problem is the large number of circulating manuscripts and poems that were written as gifts or tokens of affection; when they were not printed or orderly restored, most of them were lost over the centuries. Some poets used pastoral poetry as their first scribbles or entry into the world of poetry, only to destroy any literary evidence of these "peccadillos" once they were older and, in their opinions, more advanced.[504]

However, the selection of prominent authors does not result in an outdated corpus but displays the preferences of the Renaissance consumers of poetry. Poetry famous enough to move the hoi polloi as well as monarchs are also included in the corpus for this dissertation: Milton, Spenser and Raleigh can be counted among the most influential poets of the English Renaissance. Their works were read and appreciated by many, their personae valued and admired. Renaissance scholars often highlight Milton's unique position as one of the first English poets publishing poetry in English who could actively live from their quills' work.[505] Many contemporaries were not as lucky and depended on short-time labour, royal patronage and amicable support for their income as a writer. Sidney, for example, relied on a family fortune and was not dependent on any of these alternative sources of income; Sidney's scholar Duncan-Jones even argues that his writing profession might have lost him money and that he did not necessarily want to see any of it (except *Defence*) in print.[506]

Sidney takes on a special position among the pastoral writers of the Renaissance as he influenced many contemporary poets, was regarded as somewhat of a poetic "pop star" and was appreciated at court to almost royal proportions.[507] It is to no surprise that his persona is so closely intertwined with pastoral poetry and pastoral characters that numerous poets paid homage to him in their work. Sidney is

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[504] Cf. Sommer 1888: 25.

[505] "He was the first English poet to succeed in making poetry what it had been for Virgil or Horace: both a vocation and a career, an honourable and honoured profession." (Orgel 2008: VII).

[506] She claims: "Sidney's nearest contemporaries […] wrote and published poetry in the hope of attracting or consolidating patronage, or of gaining secure employment and/or reputation at Court. Sidney did not need these things […] and may actually have lost money by writing […]." (Duncan Jones 2008: VIII).

[507] "Reaching adulthood in the period of Queen Elizabeth's advancing middle age, with the last hopes of her producing either a consort or an heir to the throne collapsing […] in 1582, Sidney became in the eyes of some almost a crown prince. […] As the son of a quasi-king he could be viewed, and on the Continent often was, as a quasi-prince." (Duncan Jones 2008: IX).

strongly connected to the shepherd Astrophel, had numerous laments and epitaphs written about him and appears in various poems via references and praising appreciations.[508] In the *Faerie Queene*, Sidney is associated with the main character Sir Calidore.[509] Apparently, Sidney presented the ideal of an English Renaissance intellectual, writer and courtier. Simply put: "The mythological Sir Philip embodied all the values of one kind of pastoral vision: he was the most learned and the most chivalrous courtier, at once the most brilliant individual and the most faceless, the most anonymously perfect knight."[510]

Edmund Spenser wrote and published pastoral poetry before him, namely *The Shepherd's Calendar:* a poem relating pastoral poetics and shepherdian discourse in twelve eclogues named after the twelve months of the year.[511] His pastoral epic *The Faerie Queene* is now probably his best known and most cited work. Both poems will be included in the corpus as well as *Astrophel*. The English corpus also includes the pastoral epic of John Milton, *Paradise Lost*: Milton started writing poetry from a young age and continued writing verses in both English and Latin when he left home for university.[512] His remarkable education in languages and literature of the ancient world in both private schools and at Cambridge[513] allowed him an informed position as pastoral poet, borrowing images and topics from the old masters as well as developing his own unique style, moving scholars to describe his voice in *Paradise Lost* as "The blind bard of the epic may recall Homer, but he undoubtedly is Milton."[514] Undoubtedly, Milton did not

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[508] "He was also the shepherd-poet Astrophel, and author of the Arcadia, a model Pastoral in prose and verse; and wile in the title of Spenser's 'Astrophel', a pastoral elegy on his death, Sidney is described as 'the most noble and valorous knight', in the poem itself he is 'a gentle shepherd borne in Arcady'; that is to say, as shepherd, but an exceptionally well-born one." (Barrell&Bull 1974: 17.).
[509] "Sir Calidore has traditionally been identified with Sir Philip Sidney, and whether or not this was Spenser's intention, the figure of the knight dressed as a shepherd is very close to the hardly less fictitious character attributed to Sir Philip by many Elizabethan writers and nostalgic Jacobeans." (Barrell&Bull 1974: 16).
[510] Barrell&Bull 1974: 16 f.
[511] "[…] the first important attempt to write an English Pastoral is The Shepheards Calendar (1579), a poem in which the conventions established by a number of pastoral poets – Theocritus, Virgill Sannazaro, Mantuan, Marot – are assimilated and 'English'd' with remarkable success." (Barrell&Bull 1974: 13).
[512] Cf. Orgel&Goldberg 2008: VIII.
[513] "Milton had a superb education, in both classic and modern subjects. […] He learned Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, pursuing on his own the study of French and Italian, and reading recent English poets, such as Spenser and Sidney. As a schoolboy, he was already writing poetry in both Latin and English […]." (Orgel&Goldberg 2008: VIII.).
[514] Orgel&Goldberg 2008: VII.

only know the works of these "old masters" but also acquired a certain knowledge of contemporary poetry and intellectual ideas produced in Europe, most of all Italy.[515] These encounters, ancient and modern, strongly shaped and influenced his work. Like many other English Renaissance writers, Milton wrote most of his poetry in blank verse; it is often argued that blank verse was considered the English equivalent to Greek and Latin hexameter and therefore used extensively in the pastoral context.[516] It also bears witness of the slow and steady development of English poetry and the appreciation of gradual emancipation from ancient role models.[517]

The corpus includes 15 poets born between 1517 and 1621; Edmund Spenser (*The Shepherd's Calendar*[518], *Astrophel*[519], *The Faerie Queene* Book VI - Canto 9-12[520], *Colin Clout Come Home Again*[521]), Sir Philip Sidney (*Old Arcadia* - Eclogues 1-4[522]), Christopher Marlowe (*The Passionate Shepherd to His Love*[523]), Sir Walter Ralegh (*The Nymph's Reply*[524]), Richard Barnfield (*The Shepherd's Content*[525]), Michael Drayton (*Idea – The Shepherd's Garland*[526]), John Donne (*The Baite*[527]), Ben Jonson (*To Penshurst, To Sir Robert Wroth*[528]), William Browne (*Britannia's Pastorals – Book I*[529]), Jon Milton (*Lycidas*[530], *Paradise Lost – Book IV*[531]), Aemelia Lanyer (*Description of Cookham*[532]), Thomas Carew (*To Saxham*[533]), Andrew Marvell (*Bermudas, Damon the Mower, The*

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[515] Orgel&Goldberg 2008: IX.
[516] "Blank verse […] was devised as a vernacular equivalent to Virgil's Latin hexameters, and Milton might have argued that he was returning, as far as it was possible to do in English, to his poetic sources." (Ibid. P. XV.).
[517] The importance of pastoral drama for the period can never be stressed enough – Shakespeare, Jonson, Lyly and Fletcher are only the best-known examples of playwrights interacting with the pastoral mode. For this dissertation, however, the drama is too far removed to the original bucolic and pastoral poetry of Greece and Rome to fuel a fruitful and lively, objective comparison and analysis.
[518] Quoted from: Dodge 1936.
[519] Quoted from: Dodge 1936.
[520] Quoted from: Roche & O'Donnell 1978.
[521] Quoted from: Dodge 1936.
[522] Quoted from: Duncan Jones 2008.
[523] Quoted from: Barrell & Bull 1974.
[524] Quoted from: Barrell & Bull 1974.
[525] Quoted from: Bullen 1964.
[526] Quoted from Drayton 2017.
[527] Quoted from: Barrell & Bull 1974.
[528] Both quoted from: Barrell & Bull 1974.
[529] Quoted from: Hazlitt 1868.
[530] Quoted from: Barrell & Bull 1974.
[531] Quoted from: Orgel&Goldberg 2008.
[532] Quoted from: Logan&Greenblatt (et.al.) 2006.
[533] Quoted from: Barrell & Bull 1974.

*Garden[534]*), John Denham (*Cooper's Hill[535]*) and Abraham Cowley (*On Solitude[536]*). This corpus covers not only a wide temporal variety but also various poetic subgenres of pastoral poetry; it includes elegy as well as epic, eclogues as well as Country House poems, Mower poems and a fishery eclogue. With this selection, the attempt was undertaken to include not only the most famous and most useful poems, but also poems that had enormous contemporary literary influence and affected other contemporary artists.

This presentation of the corpus must be concluded with a few finishing remarks on language use in the corpus'poems; as mentioned before, many pastoral poems, specifically epic, were written in blank verse to pay homage to Theocritus' and Virgil's hexameters. The English poets followed these "epic" impulses by the use of a language that is artificially archaic and sounds unusual not only to the modern ear but also the contemporary.[537] During the course of the 16th and 17th century, these archaisms are used less and less frequently, and the poems' language draws near to what contemporary and modern readers are used to.[538] The artificial language of Theocritus as well as his conscious use of Doric for poetry lacked an English equivalent. Spenser and Drayton therefore invented a rather unnatural, equally artificial, "English Doric", to be used for rustic accents of rural characters.[539]

It must be borne in mind that the Renaissance marked a very specific time in the development of linguistic conscience of the English language; standardised spelling, dictionaries and grammar books only emerged during this period – William Shakespeare even signed his own surname in various different spellings. When Spenser began writing *The Shepherd's Calendar*, "[…] England had still to develop a secure and protected literary language […]."[540] The free use of this artificially produced rustic accent enabled the readership to indulge in a feeling of known reality when encountering pastoral

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[534] All quoted from: Barrell & Bull 1974.
[535] Quoted from: O'Hehir 1969.
[536] Quoted from: Barrell & Bull 1974.
[537] Cf. Barrell&Bull 1974: 9. Ralf Hertel elaborates: "Edmund Spenser's Faerie Queene (1590) […] was a deliberately historicizing text that aimed to provide a national tradition in a pseudo-archaic language […]." (Hertel 2016: 81).
[538] Cf. Hertel 2016: 81.
[539] Cf. Barrell&Bull 1974: 14 f.
[540] Barrell&Bull 1974: 14 f.

poetry and offered a new sense of shared aesthetic experience: "it suggests the possibility that the Pastoral might be used to describe rural life not only in Arcadia, but in the England of 1580."[541] Rustics dialects proved very popular and saw a mimesis of "simple" language; Hunter describes this development of language use from Theocritus to the Renaissance as a "rough equivalent of the mock 'West country' accent given to 'countryfolk' in some branches of English comedy."[542]

The conscious use of vernacular and accent reduced emotional and temporal distance between the talking shepherds and the audience of the 16th and 17th century; it invited the readership of Renaissance poetry to believe that the herdsmen mentioned in the pastoral poems are indeed real shepherds, portraying an authentic picture of country life and the person of the herdsman. This, of course, is false: most shepherds display a rather refined and courtly behaviour as well as wit and eloquence: "It is their politeness we are asked to admire, so that we cannot help noticing that these are not shepherd-poets, but sometimes shepherds and sometimes poets."[543] Nevertheless, these shepherds could also display the roughness and rogue behaviour, saucy banter and plainness of Theocritus' herdsmen[544]. The Renaissance poet needed to find a balance between the sophisticated and the rough to make his characters agreeable to his audience's taste without losing the much-needed rustic characteristics of bucolic and pastoral poetry.[545] As Snyder puts it: "The denizens of that natural world live fully integrated with their surroundings, content in the nonurgent activities of rural life and taking no account of great affairs."[546] Still, they needed to be interesting enough to appeal to nobles, courtier and royalty[547].

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[541] Barrell&Bull 1974: 15.
[542] Hunter 1999: 22.
[543] Barrell&Bull 1974: 15.
[544] Gifford reminds readers of this changed interpretation of the herdsman-figure: "Life in this country is far from idyllic for the two herdsmen Corydon and Battus, who would not recognise themselves in elegant Renaissance court pastorals which borrow their names." (Gifford 1999: 16).
[545] Cf. Barrell&Bull 1974: 14.
[546] Snyder 1998: 1.
[547] Class diversity is never far in Renaissance pastoral, usually concealed in the allegories of urban and city life. O'Callaghan explains this interest as follows: "[..] the equation between literary form and social status is particularly acute in pastoral, and its popularity during the English Renaissance was due to the way it naturalized the class distinctions that structured Elizabethan society at a time when this system was being placed under pressure through social mobility and the success of the new humanist education system." (O'Callaghan in Hattaway 2000: 307.).

Spenser excelled in this discipline, playing with the concept of court and country and using it for interpretative purposes, as can be seen in the *Faerie Queen*: Sir Calidore can only win over Pastorella when he loses his courtly attire and assumes the dress of a simple shepherd. Even though he then displays the outer appearance of a herdsman, he does not lose his chivalrous nature and, in fact, remains the courtly knight in mind and behaviour.[548]

Still, the persona of the shepherd was always used with an agenda; earlier in this chapter the inclusion of Sidney in the role of a shepherd in poems and laments was already mentioned. Spenser used his friends, acquaintances and correspondences as shepherds in his poetry, with himself being Colin. It is unsurprising that "most of them reveal a sophistication, a delicacy, and a learning which a number of critics have thought so uncharacteristic of shepherds as almost to break in on the 'kind', to be not at all the proper language of the genre."[549]

## 3.4.   The Golden Age

The much-quoted concept of a golden age is overly present from Virgilian Pastoral onwards. Renaissance Pastoral heavily relied on this concept and further developed its applicability. The first mentioning of the Golden Age can be found in Hesiod's *Works and Days*. Here, a "golden race of mortal men" interacts with nature in an idealised, beautiful surrounding full of harmonic symbioses:

χρύσεον μὲν πρώτιστα γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
ἀθάνατοι ποίησαν Ὀλύμπια δώματ᾽ ἔχοντες.
οἳ μὲν ἐπὶ Κρόνου ἦσαν, ὅτ᾽ οὐρανῷ ἐμβασίλευεν:
ὥστε θεοὶ δ᾽ ἔζωον ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες
νόσφιν ἄτερ τε πόνων καὶ ὀιζύος: οὐδέ τι δειλὸν
γῆρας ἐπῆν, αἰεὶ δὲ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὁμοῖοι
τέρποντ᾽ ἐν θαλίῃσι κακῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἁπάντων:
θνῆσκον δ᾽ ὥσθ᾽ ὕπνῳ δεδμημένοι: ἐσθλὰ δὲ πάντα
τοῖσιν ἔην: καρπὸν δ᾽ ἔφερε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
αὐτομάτη πολλόν τε καὶ ἄφθονον: οἱ δ᾽ ἐθελημοὶ

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[548] Cf. Barrell&Bull 1974: 15.
[549] Barrell&Bull 1974: 13 f.

ἥσυχοι ἔργ᾽ ἐνέμοντο σὺν ἐσθλοῖσιν πολέεσσιν.
ἀφνειοὶ μήλοισι, φίλοι μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν. [550]
(Hes.  Op. 109 ff.)
"The immortal gods who live in the Olympic houses first made a
golden race of mortal men. They lived in the same time as Cronos,
when he was reigning over the sky.
And they lived like gods and had no worries in their mind, free
from work and misery; wretched age did not linger, their arms
and legs never failed and they feasted without evil.
And when they died, it was as if sleep bound them. They had all
good things. The fruitful soil provided them with crops,
abundantly and without their interference. They could dwell in
leisure and peace and lived in excellent cities: they were rich
in livestock and friends of the blessed gods."[551]

The Golden Age is the most valuable, peaceful and perfect of the five
Hesiodic ages of man: Golden, Silver, Bronze, Heroic, Iron. He places
himself in the Iron Age and points out the constant decay of conditions
after the golden. The *Works and Days* are usually classified as a
didactic poem – set-up like a brotherly dispute between the speaker
and his brother Perses[552], the poem offers advice for agricultural
practices among other topics. Hesiod's Golden Race offers an insight
into Hesiod's "[…] vision of non-ideal communities in the past,
present and future.[553]"

The concept of the Golden Age was copied by many succeeding
classic authors, Ovid being the best-known besides Virgil. During the
development of the concept, the descriptions of its ages became more
and more fictional.[554] Virgil's development of the Hesiodian base-
concept resulted in a terminological change from golden "race" to
golden "age"[555]. Whereas Hesiod uses the term γένος (genos) for all

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[550] The Greek text is quoted from West 1983.
[551] All Greek texts were translated by the author of this dissertation if not indicated
differently.
[552] Van Noorden 2015: 56.
[553] Van Noorden 2015: 27. "One further issue arising from Hesiod's Heroic race is the
potential for a return of Golden Age prosperity. […] the idea of a 'rerun' of the
Golden Age is in fact built into the fabric of the Work and Days, insofar as the
heroes' afterlife on the Blessed Isles, which produce fruit three times a year (WD
172-3) recalls the supernatural fertility enjoyed by the Golden race." Van Noorden
2015: 37.
[554] "Hesiod may have thought he was describing the original condition of man, but by
Plato's time the golden race is explicitly thought to be fictional." (Alpers 1979:
179).
[555] "The scholarly consensus is that what begins as a myth of human races in Greek
literature becomes a myth of ages or eras in Roman literature. […] Horace's phrase
tempus aureum (golden time, Epode 16.64) is viewed as an indicator of difference
between Greek and Roman tendencies to view the myth respectively as 'anthropology'
and 'history'." (Van Noorden 2015: 24.).

his described stages[556], Latin authors use "tempus" or "saeculum". The English Renaissance followed the Latin terminology, using and introducing the concept as the concept of the "Golden Age".

In Virgil's *Eclogues,* the Golden Age is a place of pastoral perfection: he could already rely on a public understanding of the concept when he introduces Pollio in *Eclogue 4* as a sort of saviour-figure whose birth introduces the beginning of a golden age.[557] His interpretation puts the Golden Age in the presence and future, installing hope, prospect and confidence for the future in his recipients: he connects the arrival of the Golden Age with the almost messianic birth of a child[558]. The civil-war struck contemporaries of Virgil, experiencing unsteadiness and a fragile political situation, were perfect recipients for such hopeful poetry: their reality under Augustus in 29 BCE was far removed from such ideals[559]. As Snell puts it: The tender emotion that vibrates through Arcadia is "the longing for peace and a home."[560]

The concept of the Golden Age has been closely intertwined with the concept of Arcadia and the motif of the *locus amoenus*: The spiritual landscape of Arcadia was discovered in the year 42 or 41 BC and its discoverer was Virgil.[561] Arcadia is the home of shepherds and the god Pan[562] – mountainous, meagre and not too far off from the sea it makes a perfect canvas for poetry projection. In the *Eclogues*, the Arcadian landscape displays features of various Italian landscapes, combining Greek and Roman elements from former and modern times:

> "[…] Virgil needed a new home for his herdsmen, a land far distant from the sordid realities of the present. Because, too, pastoral poetry did not mean to him what it had meant to Theocritus, he needed a far-away land overlaid with the golden haze of unreality."[563]

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[556] "[…] in the Works and Days, the main term for every stage in the sequence is γένος, which covers both 'race' and 'era'." (Van Noorden 2015: 25.).
[557] "[…] to say that the child is mythical or symbolic is entirely consistent with prophesying the golden age, which had long since been self-consciously regarded as a myth." (Alpers 1979: 179).
[558] "The prophecy of a returning Golden Age which opens Eclogue 4 is a bold montage of suggestions of different systems of time-reckoning […] alongside the birth and maturation of a person who will witness 'heroes mingling with gods' (vv. 7, 15-16, 18-36)." (Alpers 1979: 37).
[559] Alpers 1979: 12.
[560] Snell 1953: 292.
[561] Snell 1953: 281.
[562] Cf. Snell 1953: 281.
[563] Snell 1953: 282.

Arcadia's presence from Virgil's poetry onward[564] is described as a perfectly idyllic landscape: peace, harmony and happiness dominate the land. Kettemann describes it as follows: "In Arkadien kommt das Verlangen nach Befreiung aus der unheilvollen Situation zur Ruhe."[565] Arcadia, the perfect landscape setting for leisure and poetry production, connects the pastoral lifestyles of shepherds with the conception of perfection and thus lifts up the simple life of rurality into a golden, paradisiac context.[566] Snell describes Virgil's Arcadia as "[…] set half-way between myth and reality; it is also a no-man's land between two ages, an earthly beyond, a land of the soul yearning for its distant home in the past."[567] Albrecht, however, calls Virgils recurrent setting of Arcadia (mainly in Ecl. X) a "typisch römischer Akt der 'Vergangenheitsschöpfung'"[568] since his interpretation of the bucolic genre finds confidence in the support of established motifs, places and topics. However, only eclogues 7 and 10 are set in the much-talked about Arcadia.[569] Eclogue 10, especially, seems to define its entire context by a differentiation between Arcadia and a non-Arcadian state; pastoral modes, themes and topics appear in this "in-state" only.[570]

The strong feature of the Golden Age and Arcadia in the pastoral genre is no surprise since, as Barrell&Bull put it,

> "The Pastoral was supposed to be the first state of civilized man once he left behind him the solitary activities of hunting and fruit-collecting and entered society as a shepherd or

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[564] According to Kettemann, the theme of the golden age or golden race was not used in Theocritus and his successors and its intertwining with herdsmen poetry started with the Virgilian *Eclogues*. (Cf. Kettemann 1977: 76).

[565] Kettemann 1977: 17.

[566] „Die traumhaft verklärte Hirtenlandschaft, in der Natur und Menschenwelt ineinenaderklingen, in der die Götter sich mitfühlend dem Dichter nähern und der Gesang der Hirten von der belebten Natur verstanden und beantwortet wird, nimmt Motive des Goldenen Zeitalters in sich auf, die die Harmonie und ursprüngliche Einheit des Menschen mit der Natur und den Göttern mythisch ausgemalt hatten." (Kettemann 1977: 70). The interplay between anxieties as opposed to the paradisiac conditions in the Golden Age are also mentioned bei Gifford: "But for most classical Latin writers the poetry of an Arcadian Golden Age was located in a primordial past in which human anxieties had not yet surfaced." (Gifford 1999: 21).

[567] Snell 1953: 301.

[568] Albrecht 2006: 45.

[569] Cf. Albrecht 2006: 36. However, Gifford appreciates Virgil's role as Arcadia's introducer into the Western literary landscape: "[…] Virgil […] added to our culture discourse the notion of Arcadia as a literary construct of the location of pastoral retreat. Although based upon a real region of Greece, this literary Arcadia is a space in which the pastoral pretense can be acted out in its allegorical drama of interactions and dialogues between shepherds or their equivalents." (Gifford in Westling 2014: 19).

[570] Cf. Alpers 1979: 236.

> herdsman; and the first manifestation of art was thought to have been the pastoral songs and ballads produced by the shepherd."[571]

The Golden Age and Arcadia catered for a desire for simplicity and innocence. Both temporal and spatial places were abstract enough to be applied to literary uses detached from a specific timeframe or distinct location: The real Arcadia, a part of Greek land close to Sparta, must not be mistaken for the imagined Arcadian landscape.[572]

From the Middle Ages on, Christian authors "employ it as a metaphor for the age of innocence in Eden." [573] The Christian connotation of the Golden Age and Arcadia accompanies the development of Christian connotations of the pastoral genre[574]. In this context, the golden age is usually placed in a glorified past, as Hiltner asks:

> "After all, isn't Edenic literature, like pastoral texts that posit a golden age, in some sense just the opposite of the utopian genre in that the concern is not with an imagined future but rather with a lost past?"[575]

English Renaissance literature displays a great attachment to the concept of the garden Eden: Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* were widely appreciated and helped to spark discourse on the concepts of Eden and paradise[576]. The idea of Eden as prototypical paradisiac garden that may be lost but could potentially be regained[577] can be found in almost every cultural aspect of the time and Hiltner

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[571] Barrell&Bull 1974: 4.
[572] Cf. Alpers 1979: 236. As Gifford describes it: "Arcadia is significantly an alpine region that is cut off on all sides by other high mountains. It was the perfect location for a poetic paradise, a literary construct of a past Golden Age in which to retreat by linguistic idealisation." (Gifford 1999: 20).
[573] Marinelli 1971: 15.
[574] "There was a long tradition that held that both Eden and the golden age imagined in pastoral literature could be regained. In the case of the golden age, this had already occurred in antiquity when Virgil took the nostalgic tale of a lost golden race from Hesiod's Works and Days and transformed it in his Eclogue IV into a golden age that would be realized in the future with the birth of an extraordinary child, who in both the Middle Ages and the Renaissance was often presumed to be Christ." (Hiltner 2008: 4).
[575] Hiltner 2008: 1.
[576] "Milton did not believe, as did other thinkers of his time, that the world was in a state of irretrievable decay as a result of the Fall, rather he held out hope for a regenerative era here on earth." (Hiltner 2008: 3).
[577] Snyder sees the development of the pastoral ideal, which is potentially placed in the past in the Greek texts, in the future in the Latin and both past and future in the English text: "'Process' implies the temporal, something altering over time. In this context it has to do with paradise once possessed and then lost, with an original pastoral perfection that later transmutes into its opposite, time and change creating a gulf between idyllic then and blighted, alienated now." (Snyder 1998: 3). This temporal classification of pastoral ideals must be distinguished from the spatial, which is the pastoral retreat as it is presented in Marvell's *The Garden* and Calidore's dwelling with the shepherd in book VI of the *Faerie Queene*. This means that pastoral process refers to the Golden Age and pastoral retreat to places like Arcadia or Eden. (Cf. Ibid. P. 3).

sees the reason for this interest in a growing environmental awareness to crises and abuses of nature[578]. A wider look was cast at the colonies to potentially find a new Eden there. However, since most colonies were very far from the perfectly groomed, paradisiac Christian garden, the urge developed to regain Eden on English soil and to turn England into a new Eden[579], a plan supported by contemporary persons of influence, as "[…] Milton, a very careful Christian thinker, believed that our planet could literally be fashioned into a paradise again through human effort […]."[580] This hope went so far that in the 17th century, John Evelyn suggested in *Elysium Britannicum* that England could be refashioned in an Edenic state through careful gardening[581].

In poetry, this discourse was usually embedded in the pastoral genre: Renaissance pastoral heavily drew from the Edenic properties assigned to Arcadia and its *loca amoena*. Two main elements dominate in the Golden Age for a Renaissance audience: absence of ambition and aspiration (implicating absence of unvirtuous pride and avarice which usually spoil people's characters) as well as desire for sinless pleasure (insinuating refusal for lusty pleasures and sinful passions).[582] Arcadia's harmonious interplay between economic order and personal freedom guarantees ultimate happiness.[583]

Renaissance Pastoral's Arcadia must always be seen in a courtly context: either as a representation of the court or the direct opposite, as an escape place from urban and court life.[584] For the Renaissance poet, the Golden Age "suggests a sense of permanence, a world in which values are secure and the social order stable, and where the function of the artist is not threatened by social change."[585] The poet himself takes over the role of the innocent, country-bound shepherd living a peaceful life in concordance with nature. This

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[578] "What made Eden of particular interest to early modern England was that, as a pristine garden, it captured the imagination of a country in the midst of an environmental crisis of unprecedented proportions." (Snyder 1998: 1).
[579] Cf. Snyder 1998: 5.
[580] Snyder 1998: 83.
[581] Cf. Snyder 1998: 5.
[582] Cf. Marinelli 1971: 15.
[583] Cf. Marinelli 1971: 15.
[584] However, the discussion whether Renaissance Pastoral is a genre of mere escapism has been discussed by scholars for centuries. The stand of this dissertation follows the Alperian approach, namely that "Pastoral songs and representations are conceived as dealing with, not avoiding or retreating from, present situation and occasions." (Alpers 1996: 92).
[585] Barrell&Bull 1974: 4 f.

change or perspective and the impersonation of the shepherd's character allowed the poet insight into a "conveniently nostalgic view of a feudal past where a harmonious pre-urban community was still felt to exist […]."[586] Most pastoral poets look back in time to find this Arcadia and let their characters present a nostalgic attitude towards these simpler, more truthful and innocent times. All these observations do not seem courtly at all; the situation of many of the writers from the first generation nevertheless showed a strong connection to the court or royal patronage.

The concept of Arcadia represented in English Renaissance pastoral is by no means static. For example, Michael Drayton (born 1563) belongs to a second generation of pastoral poets and his Arcadia vastly differs from the Arcadia described by Spenser, Milton and Sidney.[587] This intellectual involvement with a concept so deeply connected with a poetic genre depicts the versatility of the world of pastoral poetry, the development of this young branch of literature in the literary landscape of English poetry as well as the active shaping and advancing of metatextual discourse.

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[586] Barrell&Bull 1974: 5.
[587] "Drayton's Pastoral for all its freshness and its brilliance of detail, is a self-conscious turning-back not to some imaginary idealized Arcadia but to a time immediately before he was writing, the great period of Spenser and Sidney […]." (Barrell&Bull 1974: 19) and "[…] Michael Drayton […] is clearly impatient with masquerades and searches for Arcadia. There is in Drayton's Pastoral no simple or formal nostalgia for the Golden Age - his shepherds are old, their time has passed, they live on to mock the pastoral pretensions of those around them. The few youthful shepherds in these eclogues are quickly relieved of their lyricism and their hopes by their much-lived elders." (Barrell&Bull 1974: 18 f.).

# 4.     Water Motifs

The close reading, translation and analysis of the three corpora resulted in the establishment of ten main water motifs. Not all motifs and functions can be found within all three corpora and different motifs and functions occur in varying quantity. The extraction and definition of these 10 categories followed the measures of frequency. Of course, not all instances of water-related vocabulary could be considered, but the selection aimed for adequate representation of the motif. The individuals motifs found can be divided in two large categories, 4.1. geographic and 4.2. cultural motifs. The establishment of the categories already gives first information of the structure and composition of the Idylls in relation to the motifs and functions of water.

Naturally, not every instance or occurrence of water can be fitted in the established categories. This dissertation does not aim for perfect and overall classification of the chosen corpus, but rather for an objective and helpful organisation of the water motifs and their functions to permit the analysis of the research questions introduced in chapter 1. Although it is impossible to avoid thematic overlap, repetitions were prevented by the generation of under-categories. This means, of course, that some water instances were left out of the analysis – a common problem with canonising. As the "uncategorised" examples will show, the selection suffices for the interpretational needs and analytic base of this thesis, since the overall number of uncategorised instances is considerably low.

The aim of the analysis of water motifs is to give a detailed overview of the functions and motifs of water in their development from Hellenistic to Renaissance literature: variance and differences need therefore to be thoroughly addressed. The respective categories and chapters of the motifs do not only analyse individual occurrences but also mark obvious trends and developments.

## 4.1.    Geographic Motifs

### 4.1.1.    Means of Orientation

Preoccupied with the truly idyllic aspects of the bucolic and pastoral corpus, one might expect to find the most frequent occurrences of water in the context of aesthetics, for example in a *locus amoenus*. However, this assumption is false: instead, the literary evidence clearly shows that one of the most frequent occurrences of water is in the context of geographic orientation. The category of "Means of Orientation" has, unfortunately and ironically, no clear-cut boundaries. Several occurrences could also be counted among these of "Meeting Points" and "Borders" and it may be argued that this deems scholarly analysis impossible, but it is exactly this liaison between motifs and categories which proves vital for this kind of literary evaluation.

The Greek poets abundantly rely on the help of the sea, rivers and springs to structure the spatial surrounding of their poems. Considering that Theocritus' world was the world of the 3rd century BC, his technique of relying on natural landmarks to pinpoint exact places seems obvious, but it is striking that water is used for this above all other natural helpers: trees and rocks are not used for geographic orientation – there is only one example of a tomb as a landmark (Theoc. Id. VII, 10-11.).[588]

One explanation for the excessive use of water as a point of orientation could be the innate, stable existence of some waters: trees can be felled, and rocks moved by storms and other natural causes, fields may change their appearance after a heavy rain and lose their distinctive features. Natural disasters, on the other hand, can only to a certain degree change the course and shapes of water. Especially larger rivers, lakes and seas are unlikely to disappear or radically change their appearance. Drought might endanger smaller rivulets, but these are hardly used for geographic orientation. Springs, however, lead a different role entirely; their ability to supply people and animals with cool, fresh water guarantees them a

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[588] The tomb as a landmark or a point if orientation is also used in Virgil's Ecl. IX. It "tells the shepherds they have completed half their journey." (Alpers 1979: 147).

solid position in the memory of the community. It can be anticipated that every human individual had at least basic but probably even specific knowledge of the wells and springs around him. As will also be elaborated on in the category of "Meeting Points" and the "Locus Amoenus", springs function as sources or starting points for many things and due to their objectification as "origins" (in this case of water), they are easy to pinpoint and hard to miss; springs function perfectly as a means of orientation. It may appear illogical and contradictory to highlight the stability of water, since the first associations with water are usually evanescence, transience, progress or change but the bucolic and pastoral poems of the corpus rely on its durability.

Secondly, some of the rivers mentioned in the Greek bucolic poems are specifically named and sufficient evidence can be established that people used their names in everyday-life. Their connection with the river gods, water deities and various kinds of spirituality might suggest that the prominence of the element in people's memory supports the imminent mentioning of water to structure their surroundings.

Most of the occurrences of water as a means of orientations carry not only primary but also secondary meaning. A close reading of the literary evidence suggests that three different kinds of structuring can be distinguished in the body of both bucolic and pastoral texts: macro-, micro- and temporal structuring[589].

The English corpus also offers a variety of examples for the use of the water motif. Since some of the Renaissance poems in the corpus are Country House and Mower poems, special attention is drawn to the imminent surrounding of houses and country estates, most of which appear in the context of micro-structuring. In the English corpus, water is rarely the only landmark or natural occurrence used for landscape structuring and location pinpointing but is usually combined with another natural feature or further descriptions. This could be down to the fact that many orientation-giving displays of waters are examples for macro-structuring and happen in frames; in recounted

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[589] The terms of macro- and micro- structuring are also used in the fields of economics and sociology. In the context of this dissertation, however, the terminology of micro- and macro-structuring was freely chosen and stands in no connection with the sociological, financial and economic theories.

events, adding further information supplies stories with credibility and trustworthiness. The utopian imaginations of spaces in *Paradise Lost* and *The Faerie Queene* feature several episodes of landscape descriptions which are clearly structured by waters. The most surprising revelation from the close reading is that unlike in the Greek and Latin corpus, the motif of water as a means of orientation is not among the most frequent: this does not correspond with the sheer number of water examples in the English corpus, as it contains more than ten poets and over 15 poems (including pastoral epic, one of the lengthiest genres of pastoral poetry) and a total page count of over 200 and is substantial enough to potentially offer a high number of occurrences for the motif of water as a means of orientation.

## 1. MACRO-STRUCTURING

The first category is macro-structuring: here, water is used to structure space and landscape from a distant, wide-eyed perspective. Specificity or distinct, precise descriptions of places are absent in macro-structuring, as are close-ups and individual descriptions of the waters and places. There is hardly any personal contact or connection between the speaker and the water he talks about; this detachment is usually achieved when the speaker describes a place he himself has never been to or he only heard about from second-hand sources such as legends, stories, or travel reports. The absence of specific linguistic markers such as definite articles or possessive and personal pronouns intensifies this effect.

### Vastness of Kingdoms

The sea is used to represent progress and space; it can also symbolise physical and emotional distance to persons or places in the poems. The infinity of oceans can therefore be used to express the vastness of kingdoms and realms as it always implements the mental picture of eternity, vastness and size. The use of waters to express the size and extensity of kingdoms is very prominent in all three corpora: Doing so, waters glorify the magnificence of realms and their reigning monarchs. This can be seen in Theoc. Id. XVII, 75 f.:

πολὺς δέ οἱ ὄλβος ὀπαδεῖ,
πολλᾶς δὲ κρατέει γαίας, πολλᾶς δὲ θαλάσσας.
(Theoc. Id. XVII, 75 f.)
"Abundant prosperity follows him and he reigns over many
countries and many seas."

Ptolemy's extensive kingdom is described in a vast geographic context; the reader now knows that he not only reigns lands but also seas. This might sound exaggerated and flattering, but since the 17th idyll of Theocritus is an encomium for the Egyptian leader, the nature of its content is not surprising.[590] A second example is this:

σαμαίνει, […]
καὶ νάσοις Κυκλάδεσσιν, ἐπεί οἱ νᾶες ἄρισται
πόντον ἐπιπλώοντι, θάλασσα δὲ πᾶσα καὶ αἶα
καὶ ποταμοὶ κελάδοντες ἀνάσσονται Πτολεμαίῳ.
(Theoc. Id. XVII, 89 ff.)
"He also reigns […]
over all the islands of the Cyclades because the best ships
Sail through the sea for him, also all the sea,
and whooshing rivers are ruled by Ptolemy."

This quotation, above all, highlights the connection between power and water and between water and might: Ptolemy's realm is almost completely described by water vocabulary (e.g. the sea, islands, rivers …). Every form of water is spoken for which creates the image of an all-encompassing empire, a strong navy and, in terms of the contemporary understanding, a perfect revelation of power and might.

Although the godly kingdom in *Paradise Lost*, the garden of Eden, might be a different kind of kingdom than those of Sisyphus or Ptolemy, its description bears similar features of micro-structuring:

"[…] for the Sun
Declin'd was hasting now with prone carreer
To th'Ocean Iles, and in th'ascending Scale
Of Heav'n the Starrs that usher Evening rose."
(Paradise Lost, Line 352 ff., S. 95)

Even though these isles are not specifically named, awareness for an abstract space is raised. Again, distance and emotional exclusion are highlighted. The second important information of the excerpt is the spatial (and, one might argue, temporal) extensity of the place.

In terms of De Jong's functions of space, water mainly takes on the ornamental function in examples of macro-structuring. However,

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[590] For further information on the Ptolemaic ruler and his influence on the Theocritean process of creation, please see Hunter 2003: 24-45 and Hunter 2003: 46-52.

the description of realms or monarchs by the help of waters is a strong indicator for the characterising function. For the concept of identity-creation and self-awareness, the latter is vital: since waters do not only help to describe landscapes but also people, their impact on the establishment of a self is uncovered.


**Abstract Places**

Macro-structuring is not only used in the context of monarchs and realms, it can also be found to structure space for lesser individuals:

> […] ἁ δέ τε κώρα
>  πάσας ἀνὰ κράνας, πάντ᾽ ἄλσεα ποσσὶ φορεῖται.
> (Theoc. Id. I, 82 f.)
> "The girl is circling every spring and every forest with her feet."

The girl mentioned above is looking for her love Daphnis and searches for him everywhere. Broader context is not necessary to understand the water-reference, as this quotation is a typical example for the macro-structuring use of water: the amount of ground she covers in her desperate appeal is described by "every spring" and "every forest" and it is not important where exactly she is roaming and searching. It is important to note here that the macro-structuring effect is only increased by the absence of specific names of springs or more specific means of orientation. This way it offers the image of infinity and adds to the poetic pathos of the lines. This kind of macro-structuring can also be found in Moschus' idyll *Megara:*

> […] τοὺς ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἀλώμενος ἠδὲ θάλασσαν
> μοχθίζει πέτρης ὀγ᾽ ἔχων νόον ἠὲ σιδήρου
> καρτερὸν ἐν στήθεσσι.
> (Mosch. Id. IV, 43 ff.)
> "These (labours) he works roaming land and sea with a mind as hard as a rock or with a strong iron in his chest."

Again, a sense of sublime magnitude is achieved by mentioning the sea as an uncountable element as well as the distant and impersonal inclusion of land and sea. The omnipresence of the worker in every aspect of geography correlates with the searching girl who covers enormous ground to find Daphnis. Water resembles extensity, vastness and space.

A similar use of the macro-structuring of water can be found in Virgil's 4th eclogue:

> Aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum,
> terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum![591]
> (Verg. Ecl. IV, 50 f.)
> Behold the trembling of the massy globe, the lands, the far-flung seas, the depths of sky![592]

Water is used to structure abstracts ideas and the presentation of space by mentioning imprecise concepts of locations: no special attention is paid to details of specific rivers or seas as the mere concept suffices to paint a vivid and holistic world picture for this poem.

The motif can also be found in the English corpus, as in this example taken from *Lycidas*, where the movements of young Lycidas are described:

> "So Lycidas sunk low, but mounted high
> Through the dear might of him that walk'd the waves;
> Where, other groves and other streams along,
> With nectar pure his oozy locks he laves,
> And hears the unexpressive song,
> In the blest kingdoms meek of joy and love."
> (Lycidas, P. 190)

Groves and streams are both stereotypically pastoral landmarks and, like land, sea and air in the Virgilian example symbolise the land/sea connection and their omnipresent meaning in literary contexts. The word "other" highlights the indefiniteness – the geographic places are described by the oozing nectar and the "unexpressive" song rather than by their exact positions. The groves and streams could be anywhere, and this awareness is carried to the recipients. The "it could be everywhere" feature of macro-structuring functions as conveyor of spirit, optimism, forlornness, desperation and defeat simultaneously.

The Theocritean example of Daphnis's death (when his lover circles every spring looking for him) is similar to the following example from *Britannia's Pastorals*, as it displays a grieving, running and searching female:

> "Well-minded Marine grieving, thought it strange

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[591] The Latin text is quoted from Greenough 1900.
[592] The English translation of the Latin texts is the translation of Paul Alpers in Alpers 1979.

> That her ingratefull Swaine did seeke for change:
> Still by degrees her cares grew to the full,
> Joyes to the wane, heart-rending griefe did pull
> Her from her selfe, and shee abandon'd all
> To cries and teares, fruits of a funerall:
> Running, the mountains, fields, by watry springs,
> Filling each cave with echoings."
> (BP, Book I, Song I, P. 35)

Unsurprisingly, the macro-structuring functions of water and the use of the motifs also share similarities: "every" spring introduces a generalisation rarely seen in the bucolic and pastoral corpus. The connection to a specific space is clearly absent but the recipient experiences a feeling of omnipresence of the runner.

Anonymity also adds to the notion of abstractness, as becomes obvious in *Britannia's Pastorals*:

> "And as within a Landtskip that doth stand
> Wrought by the Pencill of some curious hand,
> We may discry, here meadow, there a wood:
> Here standing ponds, and there a running floud:
> Here on some mount a house of pleasure vanted,
> Where once the roaring Cannon had beene planted:
> There on a hill a Swaine pipes out the day,
> Out-braving all the Quiristers of May."
> (BP, Book 1, Song 2, P. 78)

The "standing ponds" and "running floud" combine movement and dwelling as well as fresh and sea water. Both expressions are embedded in a list of landscape juxtapositions such as meadow, wood, hill and the soundscape of cannon and pipe. All these pieces of information weave a carefully composed net of detail in structuring the swain's surrounding and are crucial in the establishment of atmosphere and emotional involvement just as they contribute to the creation of a pastoral mood in the excerpt, culminating in the last two lines when a "Swaine pipes out the day."

In this subcategory of macro-structuring, the ornamental function is predominant as waters help to architect abstract places. If they tend to describe a stylised place, such as the *locus amoenus* (as in the Lycidas example), the ornamental function becomes symbolic, because the *locus amoenus* per se is recognised as a symbol in specific cultural spheres.

**Generic Images**

Macro-structuring is also used when commonplaces or proverbial sayings are uttered which do not relate to specific waters, but are used to revaluate a generally acknowledged truth, e.g.

> […] τί γὰρ ποιεῖν ἂν ἔχοι τις
> κείμενος ἐν φύλλοις ποτὶ κύματι μηδὲ καθεύδων [...].
> (Theoc. Id. XXI, 34 f.)
> "What is someone supposed to do when he lies on leaves by the wave and cannot sleep?"

This rhetorical question addresses a commonplace about the life of fishermen and everything that it generally entails: struggle, hard work, poor weather conditions and a life full of loneliness and exclusion[593]. Virgil uses the same technique in his *Eclogues*, as this excerpt from the seventh eclogue points out:

> Thyrsis:   Fraxinus in silvis pulcherrima, pinus in hortis,
>             populus in fluviis, abies in montibus altis.
> (Verg. Ecl. VII, 65 f.)
> Thyrsis:   Loveliest in woods the ash, in gardens pine,
>             Poplars by streams and firs on lofty mountains.

The specificity of this example perfectly shows how micro-structuring of trees and the macro-structuring abilities of water are combined: the specific mentioning of individuals, specific kinds trees is juxtaposed with abstract natural places. The streams nonetheless help to paint the overall landscape picture.

The English corpus also offers examples for generic images:

> "The Maple, Ashe; that doe delight in Fountaines,
> Which have their currents by the sides of Mountaines."
> (BP, Book 1, Song 2, P. 66)

This excerpt puts trees in the natural environs of fountains and fountains in the natural contexts of mountains. The surrounding is used to characterise nature's portrait and conveys the picture of timeless, undisturbed nature. The generic image conveyed here could better be described as a country lore which never forfeits its wisdom. The lack of specificity is crucial in this context.

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[593] Vryonis ascribes special importance to Greek fishermen as depicted by Theocritus, since they are a symbol for both the exploitation of the sea and the strong sense of connectedness of Greeks and the sea: "The maritime exposure of the Greeks early turned them to the economic exploitation of the sea as they realized that life could be expanded and made more bearable by reaping the wealth associated with it." (Vryonis 1993: 9). He goes on that "[…] these ancient Greek fishermen and divers not only harvested the sea, but they also came to know it intimately, and they figuratively became parts of the sea … an extension of Greece down into the sea." (Ibid. P. 11.).

Unsurprisingly, such commonplaces display the symbolic function of spaces and waters most frequently. This does not mean that this function is exclusive: the example from the seventh Eclogue includes both the ornamental and symbolic function of space. Symbols bear great importance for cultural spaces, since they offer insight into the perseverance and stability of mental and literary memorials. In doing so, they freeze part of cultural memory as a display and share universally acknowledged cultural symbolism.


## 2. MICRO-STRUCTURING

The second way to structure geography with water, micro-structuring, occurs when the speaking individual appears to know the landscape he talks about to a certain degree of proficiency. Springs and smaller rivers, precise places or abstract spatial concepts like "at the riverbank" or "down by the water" are typical micro-structuring references of water. The distance between speaker and the place he talks about is physically or emotionally reduced to a minimum; ideally this is achieved by presence or personal involvement of the speaker. It stands in stark contrast to related or secondary knowledge.


**Personal Experience**

A narrated incident or experience of the speaker himself is the ideal situation for the micro-structuring aspects of waters. A typical example for such micro-structuring is the following quotation from the 1st idyll of Theocritus:

> δεῦρ᾽ ὑπὸ τὰν πτελέαν ἐσδώμεθα, τῶ τε Πριήπω
> καὶ τᾶν Κραναιᾶν κατεναντίον, ᾇπερ ὁ θῶκος
> τῆνος ὁ ποιμενικὸς καὶ ταὶ δρύες.
> (Theoc. Id. I, 21 ff.)
> "Let us sit down under the elm facing Priapos and the spring where there is a bench for herdsmen and trees."

The two shepherds decide to rest together and start a typical bucolic singing contest in a very idyllic surrounding next to a spring. The spring is often associated with the origin of water and the origin of

bucolic song[594], as will be further elaborated in the context of "Meeting Points" and the "Dichterweihe", but this quotation also functions as a perfect example for micro-structuring: the singing takes place in a well-known, imminent surrounding that is described precisely by the individuals in it: elm, spring and bench help the shepherds pinpoint a specific place and water functions as a means of orientation; its description is deictically so unambiguous that the other shepherd cannot miss the described place. This *enargeia*'s effect on the reader is an increased awareness for the imagined space and an included aesthetic experience.

Micro-structuring occurs since the first shepherd's detailed description of the place allows the interpretation for him to know the area to a high level of proficiency, precision and familiarity. The micro-structuring aspect of water introduces a level of intimacy to this section of the poem. The function of water is ornamental and mood-setting, but also characterising, since emotional involvement in the imminent surrounding of poetic landscape reinforces sentimental assertion and heavily influences the mood of the whole idyll: the extra-diegetic recipients are drawn into the scenery and able to share the experience of the intra-diegetic recipient, which reduces distance and increases familiarity.

This is why micro-structuring strongly benefits from the concept of *enargeia*, as it adds detail and clarity to the description of specific objects, in the case of bucolic and pastoral poetry waters and landscapes and the interpretative meaning they carry: the detailed description of objects included in bucolic poetry (the best known example being the embroidered cup in the first Theocritian idyll), extends to the description of landscapes and bucolic lifestyle and add to the much-quoted realism and picturesqueness of the idylls. Zanker defines *enargeia* as "[…] the stylistic effect in which appeal is made to the senses of the listener and attendant circumstances are described in such a way that the listener will be turned into an

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[594] The whooshing of the bubbly, sparkling water flowing out of the spring has been connected to the originating, exuberant joy of poetry-production.

eyewitness." [595] This is the quintessential function of micro-structuring.[596]

As mentioned before, the examples for micro-structuring all bear the key feature of expressing proximity and emotional connectedness. Related personal experiences are common, as micro-structuring minimises extension, precisely structures space and extends personal involvement and emotional interaction of singer, his intradiegetic and extradiegetic recipients. This shepherd in *"Colin Clout Come Home Again"* gives a prime example for the micro-structuring use of water:

> "One day', quoth he, 'I sat (as was my trade)
> Under the foote of Mole, that mountain hore,
> Keeping my sheep amongst the cooly shade
> Of the greene alders by the Mullaes shore."
> (CCCHA, L. 56 ff, P. 687)

Not only is his description stereotypically pastoral, Colin also highlights his personal inclusion in the situation and pinpoints his physical involvement in both time and space; he has not only heard about "Mullaes shore" but is himself present there. This personal involvement is crucial.[597]

In the following example, another lover displays his connection to water in "Idea, The Shepherd's Garland"":

> "And thou cleare Brooke by whose fayre silver streame,
> Grow those tall Okes where I have carv'd her name,
> Convay her praise to Neptunes watery Realme,
> Refreshed the roots of her still growing fame,
> And teach the Dolphins to resound her name."
> (Idea, 5th eclogue, P. 18)

The name-carving gives evidence for personal presence and knowledge of the area and also a desire for active memory-building, since the

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[595] Zanker 1981: 297.
[596] For further literature on *enargeia* please see Otto 2009, Plett 2012 and Adler&Gross 2016.
[597] The English corpus offers several more examples for the micro-structuring use of water in connection of a highlighted personal involvement, such as the examples from "Cooper's Hill", "The Passionate Shepherd to his Love" and the 5th eclogue from "Idea, the Shepherd's Garland": "My eye descending from the Hill,/surveys where Thames amongst the wanton vallies strays." (Coopers Hill, L. 163 f., P. 84)
The important features here are "my eye" and "the Thames"; this example could double for a pontoscopy, only that the water watched is not the sea but the Thames. "My eye" leads extra focus to the personal aesthetic experience, making the voyeuristic apprehension the dominant impression. The Thames, however, functions as a golden thread in landscape structuring with help from the hill, giving a precise overview of the valleys. As an elevated seating place, it works as a lookout for the observation of perfect pastoral scenery. Both the elevated seating position on a hill as well as the observing and viewing of scenery, waters or ongoing proceedings down below will prove a typical motif of English pastoral poetry.

carving allows the swain to stay relevant in the future. The brook's clear water and the silver streams help to locate or imagine the oak tree with the carved inscription; the description of the area forms a mental map for the speaker to relocate the exact tree and waters are crucial for his orientation. The atmosphere is personal, emotionally charged even, and the portrayal is uttered in an affectionate tone.

Another example, just as pastoral as the first English example in this context, is the following from *Britannia's Pastoral*:

> "I that while are neere Tavies stragling spring,
> Unto my seely Sheepe did use to sing […]."
> (BP, Book I, Song I, P. 33)

Mentioning sheep and singing sets this quote unambiguously in a pastoral and artistic context.[598] In such contexts, nature builds the background and water helps to pinpoint the exact position of the seat. This example also connects flowing water with artistic work flow and poetry production.

Marvell's *The Garden* also offers a personal involvement when the lyrical subject describes a location as follows:

> "Here at the fountain's sliding foot,
> Or at some fruit tree's mossy root,
> Casting the body's vest aside,
> My soul into the boughs does glide."
> (The Garden, P. 218)

Unlike "some tree", the fountain is equipped with a definite article, highlighting its precise position. "My soul", on the other hand, underlines the personal involvement of the lyrical subject; both characteristics work well to embed the fountain in a micro-structured landscape description displaying a high level of personal involvement.

Such autopsies are always subjective, the characterising and ornamental functions of water are prevalent: The examples from Theocritus and BP use water and the singing next to it as characterisation for the singer's profession as a herdsman. In both examples, the self-perception of herdsmen as an individual group is drawn from their imminent surrounding.

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[598] The sheep are important accessories for the scenery created in the poem, as animals can function as props for the setup of pastoral: "Even in situations where their active response is not required, as when two herdsmen engage in a singing match, they are welcome as listeners […]." (Rosenmeyer 1969: 134).

**Directions**

The micro-structuring functions of water also include geographic directives. This function is mainly used in the Latin and English corpora: the following excerpt from the 8th eclogue includes the explicit mentioning of a river and a shore which makes it a perfect example for Virgilian micro-structuring; the aforesaid explicitness adds emotional involvement and connection to the statement and lets the singer display a specific knowledge of the voyage it talks about:

> Tu mihi seu magni superas iam saxa Timavi,
> sive oram Illyrici legis aequoris, en erit umquam
> ille dies, mihi cum liceat tua dicere facta?
> (Verg. Ecl. VIII, 6 ff.)
> Now, whether you skirt the Adriatic shore,
> Or get past great Timavus, with its rocks,
> Will the day come when I recite your deeds?

The English excerpts prove that micro-structuring also happens in the context of precise, knowledgeable depiction of landscape with the help of using water occurrences but without direct personal involvement:

> "Along the curled woods, and painted meads,
> Through which a serpent river leads
> To some cool courteous shade, which he calls his,
> And makes sleep softer than it is."
> (To Robert Wroth, P. 154)

In this example, the river is directly described as "leading" – this watery helper in locating and structuring landscape areas is clearly named as such. The only incident even more obvious in its micro-structuring function is the following from *Paradise Lost*:

> "Southward through Eden went a River large,
> Nor chang'd his course, but through the shaggie hill
> Pass'd underneath ingulft, for God had thrown
> That Mountain as his Garden mould high rais'd
> Upon the rapid current […]"
> (Paradise Lost, L. 223 ff., P. 91)

The recipients follow the way led by the river and are equipped to paint a mental picture for the background setting of the poem's plot with the help of the described directions. In this quote, water is not only a feature of the landscape but micro-structures the whole paradisiac world depicted in the poem. Since *Paradise Lost* heavily

relies on landscape description, geography and topology, a thorough explanation of the surroundings is crucial.

The primary function of these examples is geographic structuring as well as the ornamental presentation of background information. Importantly it must be mentioned that the directives outdo simple background information by far, since a directive usually has impact on the creation of a mental picture of spaces and hence carry interpretive weight.

## 3. TEMPORAL

Unlike with Theocritus, several examples of weather and seasons can be found in Virgil's pastoral and the English corpus; a potential reason for this could be a more general approach to pastoral scenes rather than the typical Theocritean snapshots of individual situations without specific temporal context. The following example shows that in these cases water is not only used to macro- and micro-structure space, but also time:

> et formosus ovis ad flumina pavit Adonis;
> venit et upilio; tardi venere subulci;
> uvidus hiberna venit de glande Menalcas.
> Omnes "Unde amor iste" rogant "tibi?" Venit Apollo:
> "Galle, quid insanis?" inquit; "tua cura Lycoris
> perque nives alium perque horrida castra secuta est."
> (Verg. Ecl. X, 18 ff.)
> By streams the fair Adonis pastured sheep.
> The shepherd came, the sluggish swineherds came,
> Menalcas too, wet from the winter's acorns.
> All ask, "What made you love?" Apollo came:
> "Gallus, what is this madness? Dear Lycoris
> Through snows and rugged camps pursues another."

Adonis sitting next to a river is the first example of micro-structuring in this excerpt, the wet Menalcas the second. The third is the description of Lycoris' behaviour: with their help, the recipients of the poem can easily deduce season and weather the story is set in. The water motifs support this deduction and help to structure both landscape and temporal surroundings using "by streams", "winter", its "acorns" and "snow".

Compared to the Greek and Latin corpus, the English corpus offers the most examples for waters as a means of temporal orientation, allowing weather to gain new momentum: rain, dew, frost and snow temporally structure years, months and days: seasonal structuring could already be found in the Latin corpus, where the specific mentioning of snow and frost highlights the course of the winter. These notions are the most important water occurrences in the context of seasons: wind, storm, snow and frost stand for winter, soft showers and rain collected in flowers' calyxes for spring.

Daytime structuring is usually connected to morning dew and dawn. There is no evidence for evening showers or similar structuring water-elements in the English corpus. The Greek and Latin corpus offers various instances of the midday-heat that makes even Pan weary; in these cases, it is the absence of water - especially in the forms of drought and thirst - that predominates the mindset of the individuals.[599]

The first example for water as a means of temporal orientation comes from *Britannia's Pastorals*:

> "But when their eyes their objects Masters were,
> And it for stricter censure came more neere,
> By all his properties one well might ghesse,
> Than of a man, hee sure had nothing lesse.
> For verily since old Deucalions flood
> Earths slime did ne'er produce a viler brood."
> (BP, Book 1, Song 4, P. 104)

Deucalion's flood is used to pinpoint a point of time in the past; it is eponymous for a bygone time and setting and functions as a highlighter of temporal and mythological distance[600]: the intent of the use is clear maximisation of an already stretched timeframe. The declamatory and hyperbolic use of "viler brood" compares with the descriptions of Deucalion's flood to prove its point.

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[599] The problem is commonly solved by a welcome break in a cool and shaded retreat, optimally close to a bubbling spring or river. These water descriptions can be found in great numbers in the categories of "Meeting Points", "Drinks" and "Locus Amoenus".
[600] The mythological background of Deucalion's flood is described by Tölle-Kastenbein as follows: „Die gesamte Menschheit straft Zeus in seiner Eigenschaft als höchster Wettergott mit der Deukalionischen Flut, der griechischen Version der großen Sintflutsage, die den Erhalt des Lebensraums und den Schutz gegen das Wetter enthält. Die Vernichtung durch das Wasser, das hier mit seinen negativen Auswirkungen in Erscheinung tritt, entkommen nur Deukalion, der Sohn des Prometheus (Element Feuer) und seine Frau. Damit wurde Deukalion Stammvater der Griechen und sein Sohn Hellen Eponymos der Hellenen." (Tölle-Kastenbein 1990: 12).

Other examples for temporal structuring can be found in *Cooper's Hill*; the following excerpt uses water's reflecting features to project the changing weather and light conditions onto a natural mirror:

> "(When like the Elixir with his Evening beames
> The Sunne hath turn'd to Gould the Silver Streams)."
> (Cooper's Hill, L. 238 f., P. 87)

The interplay between colours and watery surfaces paints a seemingly authentic but still idealised and romanticised picture of the nature around Cooper's hill. The silver stream is a concept the reader of pastoral poetry is well acquainted with; "silver" and "crystal" are frequent epithets for all kinds of waters, especially in an amoenic context but a golden stream is special. The association not only glorifies nature with a comparison to precious metals but also highlights the nonchalant embedding of water into nature.

However, water and weather can also have a negative impact on poetic surrounding:

> "When a Calme River rais'd with suddaine Raines,
> Or Snowes dissolv'd, oreflowes the adioyninge plaines […]."
> (Cooper's Hill, L. 307 f., P. 89 f.)

These two lines focus on the gloomy aspects of water and weather: the calming river is subject to nature's forces and, in connection with other waters, leaves his usual paths and becomes a threat. The development from a calm and peaceful to a dangerous, threatening natural force occurs quickly: Denham only needs two lines to bring it underway – an insinuation to the weather's real capriciousness. Whereas the functions of the motif encompass the creation of atmosphere as well as pinpointing a time of day in the first Cooper's Hill example, this example carries a "memento mori"-undertone: the brevity of nature's seasons and life is displayed, as is the changing of the season. Change and decay lie closely together.

The motif of water as a temporal structurer of plots shows that waters are used to guide through time and space of the poems; since weather and seasonal changes influence the states and visuals of water bodies, they function as a canvas for the projection of natural forces. The evanescence of water is directly juxtaposed with its varied ways of representation.

**Conclusion**

As these various examples proved, spatial and temporal structuring is the main function of water as a means of orientation. Macro-structuring's main function is first and foremost the implication of size and distance, abstractness and extension. Omnipresence and vastness are achieved by generalisation and absence of specificity: all of this can then be used for interpretational purposes such as the connection of vastness and might, of vastness and desperation or abstractness and personal exclusion. It also invites sentimental interpretations that can later be extended to micro-structuring; the distance between the narrated places and the speaker is often not only geographical but also emotional. Macro-structuring is therefore an important interpretative tool to extend emotional developments to geographical waymarkers and to semanticise abstract, distant spaces in bucolic and pastoral poetry: the motif is creating and diminishing subjective and objective distance (as in the separation of individuals through seas and abstract water concepts opposed to familiar stretches of nature) and emotional involvement in varying degrees, all of which contributes to the mood-setting of the poem by alluding to basic needs and sentiments of the poem's recipient.

However, macro-structuring also functions as an indicator for the opposite: mentioning far-away lands and landscapes allows every recipient to create their own mental picture of these areas. Water is the key helper for macro-structuring these examples since it functions as both landmark and geographic feature.

Geographic and temporal structuring is crucial for enthusiastic and emotionally-involved recipients, both intra- and extradiegetic, since the structuring enables a shared objective aesthetic experience. The sharing of personal stories and first-hand knowledge increases proximity to the related poetic subject. The autopsy examples show in how far detail, personal involvement and subjectivity increase emotional connection and reduce emotional distance. Micro-structuring allows the recipient of the poem to share a first-hand aesthetic experience "close to home", even though it might not their own. Doing so, recipient-involvement is increased.

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Of course, the close-reading of three text corpora from a time period of more than 1600 years unveiled not only similarities but also differences in the use of water as a means of orientation. The most crucial is the frequency of the motif used: the Greek corpus heavily relies on water as a means of orientation, the Latin offers a much-restricted choice and the English corpus cannot count it among its most frequent water motifs[601]. The selection presented is nevertheless representative for the individual uses and interpretational relevance for the respective poems.

The important conclusion that can be drawn from the existing examples is the following: the motif of water as a means of orientation survives in Latin pastoral and is carried to the Renaissance; moreover, its micro-, macro-, and temporal structuring functions are also conveyed from the Hellenistic period to the Latin classic and onwards. Water does not forfeit its supremacy as structuring element and key element of landscape architecture but is transferred from Theocritus and Virgil into the Renaissance. This does not mean that Virgil bluntly copied the motif; especially the mentioning of specific names of seas and rivers show a distinctive focus on variety, a "Roman", or rather, "Virgilian" version of bucolic poetry.

The main developments from the ancient Greek to the English Renaissance corpus is a boost in micro- and temporal structuring. The first is mainly visible in a rising frequency of autopsy-examples. Another difference is a maximised use of water as a means of temporal orientation. The Latin corpus offers various examples, but the English corpus uses the motif most extensively for this function. Increased demand of contemporary recipients for temporal specificity and the description of longer periods of time could be a possible reason. The

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[601] Macro-structuring of water can be found far more frequently in Greek bucolic poetry than micro-structuring. A reason for this could simply be that the genre of poetry does not necessary require precise geographic structuring to convey meaning and intention. Another possible explanation would be the importance and the innate macro-functioning properties of the sea and the ocean.
Virgil uses this motif of water far less extensively than the Greek and English poets, but the functions of the motif remain the same: emotional and physical distance is displayed and introduces in new layers of interpretation; it offers different perspectives on waters as land marks and uses them to structure space, and, very special for Virgil, time with the help of seasons and weather. Of course, this motif also highlights the importance of water in an everyday-context of contemporary lives: here it must be pointed out that in the Virgilian examples smaller bodies of water are almost neglected for this motif, whereas the sea and rivers or streams are featured dominantly.

Greek bucolic corpus hardly uses future outlooks or reminiscing over the past even though it actively engages with its preceding literary genres; this could mean that the Greek poetry focusses on frozen snapshot-pictures, universal time frames and important moments rather than developments and progress. The meaning of the world "Eidyllion" as "little character" would support this thesis.

The use of waters as structuring elements in the bucolic and pastoral poems embeds them into the cultural experience of home and naturality in both ancient and early modern societies. Using De Jong's categories, macro-structuring has both ornamental and symbolic function; especially the vastness of seas and kingdoms also receives a characteristic function, since association of places and people can be made. The inclusion of waters in commonplaces is highly symbolic and gives evidence for the cultural aspect of waters connected to common sayings. In terms of micro-structuring, autopsies display a high level of subjectivity – the functions of the waters in these scenarios are therefore the characterising and psychologising of the speaking individual[602]. These functions of waters are important, since they connect individuals with their spatial surroundings; a key concept for the establishment of a conscious self in a cultural space.

### 4.1.2. Borders

A frequent use of water in the Greek and English corpus is the motif of the border. Strongly connected to water as an orientation means, borders take on a special role in the aspects of structuring: however, the creation of distance and intimacy on the physical and emotional level is the most important function for the category of "Borders" as well. Based on the literary evidence of the structuring aspects of water, the category of "Borders" can be divided in different subcategories: They are used to divide the living and the dead (1), countries and realms, land and sea (2), gods and men (3) and lovers (4).

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[602] Directions can share this feature; since they are at least partially excluded from subjectivism, they also function as ornaments and symbols of landscape descriptions. In temporal structuring, waters mainly fulfil the ornamental and mirroring of De Jong's function of space.

All examples present the border as a negative, final thing, a visualisation of separation, highly charged with emotional energy. Segal claims that "water functions as a numinous substance whose presence marks man's entrance into a world beyond his normal ken and normal powers [...]"[603] and Beaulieu agrees:

> "In the Greek world-view, the sea is not only an intermediary space between countries and continents, but also the boundary between the worlds of the living, the dead, and the gods. In other words, the sea separates the visible and invisible worlds. For this reason, physical transitions at sea can represent psychological transformations. The sea is thus an appropriate setting to illustrate mental changes as diverse as male and female coming-of-age and contact with the divine, madness, and death."[604]

The sea and everything connected to it in this context (e.g. beach, shore) play a pivotal role in the category of borders. The geographic distinctiveness of the sea as a natural barrier between lands work as a canvas for emotional interpretation. Rivers do not necessarily divide geographical areas but can be instrumentalised for imperial and colonial needs as well as constructive helpers to divide areas within a realm or kingdom. As further analyses will show, almost every possible aspect of a border is presented in the Greek and English texts. The Virgilian interpretations of the border motif are slightly different to the Greek and English patterns due to restricted frequency, but the motif can still be found in Virgil[605].

## 1. A border between the living and the dead

Water as a border between life and death can be found several times in the Greek and English corpora. A distinction must be made between water as a cause of death (which is strictly not water as a border but rather as an agent), such as drowning, and water as a

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[603] Segal 1974: 22.
[604] Beaulieu 2010: 188.
[605] The varieties of water as a border between life and death can only once explicitly and once implicitly in the corpus, whereas the border between people such as Galateia and love-sick Polyphemus are strikingly absent. The search for the mentioning of specific dividing rivers such as the Acheron or Styx is in vain, as is the pursuit of examples for water as a border between gods and men; only the fountain Arethusa is mentioned in the tenth eclogue, but overall, the ratio between dividing salt and sweet waters are even.

symbolisation of death, such as in the crossing of the Styx or Acheron into Hades.

Water as a cause of death leads to an extremely negative connotation of the element as it can take on the active role of a murderer, personified evil or motif of ultimate separation. The pain of absence felt by those left behind, the literal "swallowing" of people and life and the imminent horrors of loss introduces a plenitude of negative emotions.

Daphnis' death by drowning in Theocritus' first idyll is a prime example of water as final destiny:

> […] τὸν δ᾽ Ἀφροδίτα
> ἤθελ᾽ ἀνορθῶσαι: τά γε μὰν λίνα πάντα λελοίπει
> ἐκ Μοιρᾶν, χὠ Δάφνις ἔβα ῥόον.
> (Theoc. Id. I, 138 ff.)
> "Aphrodite wanted to raise him up but the thread of the Moirae had run out and Daphnis went through the *stream*."

Daphnis' going through the stream is a mere euphemism for dying - he drowns. The recipient later finds out that the stream "hid him", the man who "the Moirai loved and the nymphs did not hate" (ἔκλυσε δίνα / τὸν Μοίσαις φίλον ἄνδρα, τὸν οὐ Νύμφαισιν ἀπεχθῆ Theoc. Id. I, 140 f.) and his disappearance is complete. This first bucolic singer, Daphnis, dies because of his dispute with the love-goddess Aphrodite. The water hides him (Theoc. Id. I, 140) as he enters the stream in a "vivid physical movement"[606] and "the herdsman vanishes into a sort of 'whirlpool', never to be seen again."[607] The function of water is highly symbolic here. Although the happenings are very grim and horrendous, the description of the landscape around the scene is very beautiful[608].

Beaulieu argues that "Diving into the sea operates a passage away from the ordinary world into another state of consciousness."[609] and then elaborates that "[…] Hellenistic and later poets use the motif of a leap into the sea to illustrate emotional turmoil, death, and renewal that accompany unsuccessful love chases."[610] As will be

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[606] Segal 1974: 24.
[607] Segal 1974: 24.
[608] Segal states that "a beautiful setting with paradoxically dangerous overtones goes back to the very beginning of Greek literature" and strongly links it to Homer (Segal 1974: 22).
[609] Beaulieu 2010: 147.
[610] Beaulieu 2010: 153.

seen in this subchapter, bucolic and pastoral text sources agree with this observation.

In Theocritus' 13th idyll, the young Hylas wanders off to seek water for the Argo's crew: at a spring, he meets water nymphs who fall in love with him and desire his company[611]. The nymphs lure Hylas into the water and pull him to the ground. His fall does not sound very graceful but rather sudden and brutal; with Hylas, the nymphs perform a kidnapping that can be compared to the abduction of Europa: gods take advantage of young mortals for their personal pleasure. Similar to the Daphnis example, the description of the surrounding of Hylas' disappearance is extremely beautiful, idyllic almost:

> [..] τάχα δὲ κράναν ἐνόησεν
> ἡμένῳ ἐν χώρῳ: περὶ δὲ θρύα πολλὰ πεφύκει,
> κυάνεόν τε χελιδόνιον χλωρόν τ' ἀδίαντον
> καὶ θάλλοντα σέλινα καὶ εἱλιτενὴς ἄγρωστις.
> ὕδατι δ' ἐν μέσσῳ Νύμφαι χορὸν ἀρτίζοντο […].
> (Theoc. Id. XIII, 39 ff.)
> "[…] and quickly he found the spring in a low-laying place, surrounded by thick rushes, dark blue tetterwort, and fresh, green celandine, blossoming celery and twirling deer-grass. But in the middle of the spring, the nymphs were gathering to dance […]."

The horrific effect is achieved by the relation of the spring's surrounding as a perfect locus amoenus and continued, to a certain degree, by the portrayal of the nymphs' behaviour (Theoc. Id. XIII, 54 f.).[612] The beautiful superficial observations of the surrounding, however, do not manage to cover up Hylas' situation: The extradiegetic recipient learns he is crying and hence compassion for the little boy

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[611] In the bucolic idea, nymphs live in groves and meadows, bath in springs and dance around rivers. Nymphs are generally connected to the element water and nature, more profoundly: they embody natural powers and experience and enchant religious happenings. Unseen, they interact with nature and animals and humans can often only hear their soft, echoing voices. This imagery was already established by Homer and succeeding poets then drew from this literary heritage. (Cf. Kambylis 1965: 39). "In der antiken Mythologie spiegeln vor allem die Nymphen, die als Töchter des Zeus und als Göttinnen der freien Natur besingen werden, die Kraft und die Wirkung des Wassers, naturgemäß besonders die Meernymphen (Nereiden, Okeaniden) und die Quellnymphen (Najaden)." (Tölle-Kastenbein 1990: 14).
[612] "νύμφαι μὲν σφετέροις ἐπὶ γούνασι κοῦρον ἔχοισαι / δακρυόεντ' ἀγανοῖσι παρεψύχοντ' ἐπέεσσιν." ("The nymphs now had the little boy on their knees and tried to console the weeping child with gentle words."). The holding and caressing sounds lovely until you hear that the child is still crying and expresses an unhappy attitude to his situation. Also, Theocritus does not fail to mention that the nymphs are note merely friendly; he describes them as "δειναὶ θεαὶ ἀγριώταις", "horrible goddesses for country people" (Theoc. Id. XIII, 44.). The negative connotation of δεινός introduces the downside of the lovely goddesses is even more intensified when the abduction of Hylas takes place.

is felt by recipients.[613] Hylas cannot be saved, but he also does not die – he becomes immortal. Juxtaposing horrible events with the beautiful landscape they take place can also be found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (such as Jupiter's kidnapping of Europa in Ov. met. II, 833-875, the death of Actaeon in Ov. met. III, 131-252, the suicides of Pyramus and Thisbe in Ov. met. IV, 55-166 or the rape of Proserpina in Ov. met. V, 385-571).

The Hylas-episode is disturbing, and water plays a very ambiguous role: on the one hand, the pool is described as a perfectly idyllic place, on the other it plays a crucial part in the disappearing of a young boy and introduces grim horror and pain.[614] The idyllic *locus amoenus* becomes the venue of an abduction, a forceful apotheosis.[615] The feature of water which is usually considered the most idyllic, its transparency, only adds to the dramatic effect of the border.[616] This very divisive perception of water is, according to Thommen, a realistic reflection of the contemporary view towards nature and water.[617] Beaulieu also emphasises the ambiguous nature of Greek waters:

> "As an intermediary space, the sea integrates features of all the regions it divides, and therefore presents paradoxical characteristics. The sea is a source of life and sustenance, but it is also associated with barrenness and death. The sea is described as a pathway or a road, yet marks an impassable

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[613] Elliger interprets the landscape description more negatively than I find appropriate. He claims that the nature around the spring is gloomy: " […] Der Eindruck des Dunklen, Zäh-Festhaltenden […] läd nicht zum Verweilen ein." (Elliger 1975: 355). In my opinion, this is too extreme: in many aspects, the characteristic of a *locus amoenu*s are met to produce a contrasting canvas for the horrors of abduction.

[614] Cf. Segal 1974: 27.

[615] Cf. Segal 1974: 22.

[616] As already mentioned in the context of Daphnis' suicide, both transgressions exhibit the specificities of abruptness and imminence. The net of the Moirae is no longer spun for Daphnis, so he goes through the stream. This is intensified in the 13th idyll: Hylas falls into the water "like a star falling into the sea" (Theoc. Id. XIII, 49 f), and Segal interprets the choice of the Greek word "ἀθρόος" (athróos) as conveying "the idea not only of suddenness, but of simultaneous collapse of all the limbs, total surrender, loss of control" (Segal 1974: 36). The climax of abruptness is logical, since Daphnis chooses to take his own life. Hylas however, is forcefully taken away from his previous life because he struck the nymphs' fancy. This is supported by the simile of the falling star: fatality and totality come together. The motif of falling into water to reach immortality can be found several times in Greek mythology. Hylas, who remains with the nymphs, undergoes a similar apotheosis. (Cf. Ninck 1960: 35).

[617] "Einerseits gab es die freundliche Seite der Natur, zu der etwa hilfsbereite Nymphen in Wäldern, Quellen und Wiesen sowie ein fröhliches, unbeschwertes Landleben gehörten. Andererseits herrschten in der Natur unheimliche Mächte – dunkle Wälder, reißende Gewässer, wogende Meere und wilde Tiefe riefen Angst und Schrecken hervor." (Thommen 2009: 30).

boundary. Finally, the sea is spatially ambiguous, since its
horizontal plane can also lead down into a vertical abyss."[618]

However, there is a very prominent, exceptional case in water as a
border between life and death: the Acheron. This river can usually be
equalised with the river Styx or Hades itself and is the ultimate
materialisation of the life/death border in both emotional and
physical sense.[619] Theocritus, Moschus and Bion all mention the
Acheron. It is usually accompanied by an emotional epithet such as
πολύστονος (mournful)[620], στυγνός (loathsome)[621] or ψυχρός (cold)[622], all
highlighting negative features. The Acheron symbolises death and
departure in their clearest form and usually implies totality. Greek
mythology places the Acheron between the world and the kingdom of
Hades, the underworld. The final rite of passage in a person's life
was, as was commonly believed by the ancient Greeks, the transgressing
of the border between life and death.

Water as a cause of death symbolises a double-border: there is
the actual transgression of a border between land and sea or earth
and water, and the metaphorical transgression from one state of body
to another, from life to death, from the upper- to the underworld.
Watery borders are a key element in the symbolisation of the contrast
of life and death.[623] Segal declares the springs and streams "symbols
of entrance to hidden realms, places where the paths of life and death
cross and where their secrets seem to lie closer to the surface. The
mortal wanderer there finds death, like Daphnis, or immortality, like
Hylas, but he does not return."[624]

Interestingly, water as a cause of death always appears in the
contexts of streams, springs and rivers: there is no evidence of any
murder, accident or suicide in the body of Greek bucolic poetry in
connection to the sea or ocean. Unlike in Greek epic or myths, where

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[618] Beaulieu 2010: 188.
[619] The Styx, however, also symbolises the double entendre in the meaning of water:
the Styx stands for death, or the transgression into Hades. Mythology names two
different Styx rivers: the Hades-river and an Arcadian Styx. Its water is dangerous
and deadly in some mythological stories, in others it offers immortality and
invincibility. Connections have also been drawn between night and day and special
times in the year, when bathing and drinking from the Styx offers protection and
eternal life. (Cf. Ninck 1960: 37 ff).
[620] Theoc. Id. XVII, 47.
[621] Theoc. Id. XVI, 42.
[622] Theoc. Id. XVI, 31.
[623] Cf. Segal 1974: 25.
[624] Cf. Segal 1974: 25.

several examples of death and the sea can be found (drowning in the *Odyssey*, suicide of Peleus etc), all fatal happenings in the Greek sources happen in fresh-water surroundings. A possible explanation for this could be a clear-structured distribution of tasks assigned to the different kinds of water in bucolic poetry: The sea usually displays the listener and soul-soother (as will be shown in chapter 4.2.1), the voyager, the border patrol between kingdoms and realms (as was shown in 4.1.1 and 4.1.2); springs symbolise the origin of progress and the poetry-making process, set the mood for a perfect *locus amoenus*(as will be shown in 4.1.3 und 4.1.5), work as hosts for social meetings and gatherings between mortals and immortals and perform final separations (as was shown in 4.1.2 and will be shown in 4.1.5 and 4.2.3).

Virgil, too, uses the Hylas-episode in his *Eclogues* and instrumentalises the story of his disappearance, the desperation of his shipmates, his death and final apotheosis for the re-creation of a pastoral classic: nonetheless, he clearly euphemises the events; with Theocritus, Hylas was not lost ("relictum", l. 42) but kidnapped by nymphs. The waters of the fountain or spring also represent the border between Hylas and his mates in the Latin version:

> his adiungit, Hylan nautae quo fonte relictum
> clamassent, ut litus "Hyla, Hyla!" omne sonaret.
> (Verg. Ecl. VI, 42 f.)
> The fountain next, where Hylas' shipmates lost him
> And called till the whole shore clamoured "Hylas, Hylas!"

Unlike in the Theocritean template, this is all Virgil lets his characters relate about the incident. The immense wealth of water and nature motifs and different possibilities of interpretation Theocritus draws again and again from the Hylas-episode are shortened in the *Eclogues*.[625] A potential reason for this could be the use of the episode

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[625] Another possible death by water is mentioned in the Virgilian Eclogues:
Omnia vel medium fiant mare: vivite, silvae!
praeceps aerii specula de montis in undas
deferar;
(Verg. Ecl. VIII, 58 ff.)
Let everything be ocean! Farewell, woods!
From windy cliff top headlong into waves,
I'll plunge.
Just as in the Greek bucolic corpus, we encounter water as the aiding element in a suicide attempt. Following the Theocritan example, the attempt is not very real but rather a pathetic exaggeration to underline an emotional statement. This suicide threat is, according to Albrecht, a direct adoption from the Theocritean idylls 3 and 9. (Cf. Albrecht 2006: 18 f.). Nevertheless, the function of water-borders as

as brief transmission of a well-known plot ("meta-pastoral"[626]) rather than the painstaking repetition of individual details.

The English corpus uses water differently and shows that suicide and death can very well happen in a salt-water surrounding. It features numerous examples for waters as a border between life and death or, more precisely, the living and the death, although it lacks the explicitness of a translucent barrier. However, the motifs of water as a life-death and land-sea border are the most frequent water-borders in the English corpus, too.

A lament modelled after the classic predecessor can be found in Milton's *Lycidas*[627]; the poem was written for a friend of Milton's who drowned at sea. The personal loss and grief felt by the Renaissance author is wrapped in a classic setting:

> "He must not flote upon his watry bear
> Unwept, and welter to the parching wind,
> Without the meed of som melodious tear."
> (Lycidas, P. 185)

The "watry bear" divides the deceased from the grievers and highlights the importance of proper burial and lament is focused on[628] – since Milton's friend drowned on the Irish sea, a traditional Christian burial was impossible[629]. Understandably, the water is connotated very negatively in this example: the death of Lycidas provokes emotional turmoil. The function of water is again highly symbolic, but the sea also mirrors the emotional state of the character.

The second example from *Lycidas* revives the ancient euphemisms of "going through the stream":

> "His goary visage down the stream was sent,
> Down the swift Hebrus to the Lesbian shore."
> (Lycidas, P. 187)

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dividing life and death and the conceptive knowledge of the Virgilian hero of it very much follow the ancient Greek pattern.

[626] In this context, "meta-pastoral" describes pastoral poetry which is very conscious of its own classification as such by copying and reusing already established pastoral concepts, imagery and motifs.

[627] Lyne describes the sources for Milton's Lycidas as Moschus' Lament for Bion and calls attention to the phenomenon of double sources found in many pastoral poets: they refer to Virgil who refers to Theocritus. (Cf. Lyne 2016: 63).

[628] Cf. Barrell&Bull 1974: 185.

[629] The topic of proper burial and its absence in *Lycidas* will be dealt with in chapter 4.2.2.

Lycidas disappears irretrievably, just as Milton's friend. The water displays high level of danger in these examples since it takes loved ones away. The highly emotional connotation can also be seen in the following example, where waters excessively mirror the grieving human parties:

> "Ay me! Whilst thee the shores, and sounding Seas
> Wash far away, where ere thy bones are hurld,
> Whether beyond the stormy Hebrides,
> Where thou perhaps under the whelming tide
> Visit'st the bottom of the monstrous world."
> (Lycidas, P. 189)

"Sounding seas wash far away" exemplifies distance and the "whelming tide" lets the deceased "visit'st the bottom of the monstrous world." Very obviously, the border between living and the death is not a welcome one in these examples and not a voluntary choice by the deceased. The passivity of the dead, his helplessness and being at the mercy of the threatening element are in the focus of this episode.[630]

*Britannia's Pastoral* provides the most examples for water as a border-motif between the living and dead in Marine's story in the 1st song. Her suicide attempt and the following interplay between waters, water gods and a shepherd does not only make the plot stereotypically pastoral, but also offers numerous useful examples for the analyses of this dissertation. Marine tries to commit suicide by jumping from the cliffs. This suicide, other than many threats in the Greek corpus, is indeed performed:

> "So stood she long, twixt Loue and Reasin tost,
> Vntill Despaire (who where it comes rules most)
> Wonne her to throw her selfe, to meet with Death,
> From off the Rocke imto the floud beneath.
> The waues that were aboue when as she fell,
> For feare flew back againe imot their Well;

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[630] Lycidas also reinvokes the image of a sinking star:
"For Lycidas your sorrow is not dead,
Sunk though he be beneath the watry floar,
So sinks the day-star in the Ocean bed,
[…]
So Lycidas sunk low but mounted high,
Through the dear might of him that walk'd the waves."
(Lycidas, P. 190)
The "watry floar" divides Lycidas from his former life, but the descriptions adopt a more conciliatory tone, when he is compared to a star which goes to bed. The Ocean is no longer a wet grave but a welcome home and, the speaker stresses that his might did not disappear but still "walks the waves". The water border and therefore death is now accepted; the grieving friend has found a way to cope with his loss.

> Doubting ensuing times on them would frowne,
> That they so rare a beauty help to drown.
> Her fall, in griefe, did make the streame so rore,
> That sullen murmurings fill'd all the shore."
> (BP, Book I, Song I, P. 39)

The reader learns very quickly that the girl does not die, since Marine's choice to plunge into the sea to end her life, making water the murderer and the crime scene, is not supported by the sea: the waters flow back to their source, refusing to help with this suicide – the waves even share her pain and utter "sullen murmurings". The soundscape provided by waters, shore and echo intensify Marine's desperation. When Marine crosses the land-sea border to conquer the life-death border, she does so voluntarily.[631] The waters from this example fulfil their psychologising function as they tell Marine's mental state without mirroring her emotions. The suicide of lovers out of despair and lovesickness is a recurring motif in classical literature. Very often this suicide is performed by a jump into water: for example, Menander and Ovid relate a legend in which the poetess Sappho died a lover's suicide when she threw herself from a rock in Lesbos.[632] Marine's act of misery alludes to this fatal jump.

Only a few lines later, the audience encounters a water god who openly displays his disgust over the suicide attempt:

> "Thus spake the God: but when as in the water
> The corps came sinking downe, he spide the matter,
> And catching softly in his armes the Maid,
> He brought her vp and, and hauing gently laid
> Her on his banke, did presently command
> Those waters in her to come forth: at hand
> They straight came gushing out, and did contest
> Which chiefly should obey their Gods behest."
> (BP, Book 1, Song 1, P. 54)

Again, waters refuse to take part in death and works as a reversed border. This situation is unique for the Greek, Latin and English corpus: in all scenarios of water as part of a scene of horrible

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[631] In her mind, when she comes to, she believes to have finalised the crossing and mistakes the swain who helped her with "Hells Ferriman":
"Who (thinking now that he had past Deaths dreame
Occasion'd by her fall into the streame,
And that Hells Ferriman did then deliuer
Her to the other side th'infernall River)
Said to the Swaine: O Charon, I am bound
More to thy kindnesse […]."
(BP, Book I, Song I, P. 40)
[632] For further information on Sappho's biography see Weigall: 1951 and Greene: 2005.

events, cause of death or border between life and death, the waters are actively or at least passively aiding the death described; there is no other examples apart from *Britannia's Pastoral* in which the waters and their deities vehemently deny their participation in death. This denial results in Marine's unsuccessful crossings of the life-death border. Although she jumps, the crossing is not final (as it is with Daphnis and Hylas): the maid is pulled up and saved to avoid watery interference. The waters swallowed by the maid exit her lungs to save her.

Still, death by water exists in the *Britannia's Pastoral*, as the following example shows:

> "There in a poole two men their liues expire,
> And die in water to reuiue in fire."
> (BP, Book I, Song V, P. 141)

The interplay between the elements of water and fire and the bodily states of life and death is striking, as the battle and bloodbath described in the fifth song complement the lament for Prince Henry and the woman Idya's (which symbolises Britain) destiny. The riot in and around the palace displays sheer mayhem and chaos – many lose limbs or even their lives. The two men in the pool remain anonymous: frailty and brittleness connected with the female body in life and death might be the reason for so different a use of the acceptance of a watery life and death border; death in battle is more masculine than feminine – whereas women can be saved from death (by male shepherds and water gods), men lose their lives and revive in fire, which probably refers to the purgatory. *Britannia's Pastorals* offer a unique, gendered view on water as a cause of death, only allowing males the crossing of the life-death and land-sea border.

## 2. A border between countries, lands and seas

Rivers are commonly used to divide countries, realms, land and seas. The Nile, above all, has been used to outline the borders of Egypt and the realm of Ptolemy:

> οὐ γάρ τις δηίων πολυκήτεα *Νεῖλον* ὑπερβὰς
> πεζὸς ἐν ἀλλοτρίαισι βοὰν ἐστάσατο κώμαις,
> οὐδέ τις αἰγιαλόνδε θοᾶς ἐξάλατο ναὸς

θωρηχθεὶς ἐπὶ βουσὶν ἀνάρσιος Αἰγυπτίῃσι.
(Theoc. Id. XVII, 98 ff.)
"No foe cries the battle-call in a foreign land, conquering the
*Nile* full of monster by foot, and no armed man dares to jump off
the swift ships at the beach in arms to steal Egyptian cattle."

In this example, the Nile exemplifies the border between the known
and the unknown, between a country familiar to people and a foreign
wilderness. The verb "ὑπερβαίνω"(hyperbaíno) explicitly shows the
crossing of the river, the conquering of this natural, watery border.
This border is both ornamental and symbolic and reflects the ambiguity
of waters can display simultaneously.

The land-sea border can be crossed in distinctive situations or
the crossing at least attempted: Moschus describes the transgression
of the land and sea border in *Europa* as follows:

ἡ δ' ὅτε δὴ γαίης ἀπὸ πατρίδος ἦεν ἄνευθεν,
φαίνετο δ' οὔτ' ἀκτή τις ἀλίρροθος οὔτ' ὄρος αἰπύ,
ἀλλ' ἀὴρ μὲν ἄνωθεν, ἔνερθε δὲ πόντος ἀπείρων,
ἀμφί ἑ παπτήνασα τόσην ἀνενείκατο φωνήν.
(Mosch. Id. II, 131 ff.)
"But after she was separated from the land of her father, there
appeared neither shore for many waves nor a mountain high; there
was only air above her and below the never-ending sea. So she
looked around and started to speak."

When the princess Europa can no longer see any land, she realises that
she has left the familiar country of her father. The crossing of the
land-sea border is a symbol for a variety of changes in Europa's life.
She starts to question the bull about her abduction: the realisation
of her situation in time and space leads to her first verbal
interaction with Zeus and initiates their divine relationship. The
transgressions from land and sea, from mortal to divine spheres and
from child to woman can all be found in Europa's story; these symbolic
border-crossings are initiated by her actual abduction via the sea.
In this case, her border-crossing can also be interpreted as a coming-
of-age process, as she leaves the familiar lands of her childhood to
reach Crete and, according to Myth, bear the children of Zeus.

Water as a border between countries, lands and seas is also
frequent in the Latin corpus, as Virgil uses the sweet water of rivers
in a pastoral context to mark borders:

Menalcas: Parcite, oves, nimium procedere; non bene ripae
          creditur; ipse aries etiam nunc vellera siccat.
(Verg. Ecl. III, 94 f.)

>     Menalcas: Don't go too far, you sheep: the banks cannot
>               Be trusted: the ram's still drying out his fleece.

In this example, Menalcas warns his sheep about the banks of a river or stream; the ram's fleece has not dried up yet from his previous fall into the water – a fall which is now presented as evidence for the dangers of flowing water. The bank functions as border between land and river, between safety and danger. Typically for the poems encountered so far, the transgression of this border is impossible for mortals and the ram is witness to this. Another land-water border is crossed in this example:

>     Lycidas:  Certe equidem audieram, qua se subducere colles
>               incipiunt, mollique iugum demittere clivo,
>               usque ad aquam et veteres (iam fracta cacumina) fagos
>               omnia carminibus vestrum servasse Menalcan.
>     (Verg. Ecl. IX, 7 ff.)
>     Lycidas:  I thought I'd heard that where the hills draw back
>               and begin to make the ridge slope gently down
>               To the stream and age-worn beeches, brittle-topped –
>               All this Menalcas had preserved with songs.

Lycidas uses the stream, hillside and beeches to organise the area his friend Moeris talks about. This is the function of the border motif par excellence: water, among other landmarks, is used to highlight the border between known and strange places, the safe and dangerous. Moeris mourns the land-seizing and the loss of family property.

English examples for the thematization of borders with the help of waters or their imagery start with the following from *The Shepherd's Calendar*:

>     "The salt Medway, that trickling stremis
>     Adowne the dales of Kent,
>     Till with his elder brother Themis
>     His brackish waves be meynt."
>     (The Shepherd's Calendar, July, L. 81, P. 33)

In this example, the different kinds of water divide different counties in Britain: Kent and the Thames lie between the sea waters and they structure British geography before they are finally united in "brackish waves".[633]

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[633] "Mythologische, christliche, literarische und empirische Elemente werden in der Form des Katalogs synkretisch miteinander verknüpft, um durch die spezifische Form der Organisation das Bewusstsein der Relevanz des Geschilderten für die Lebenswirklichkeit des Lesers zu schärfen." Kunze 1978: 36.

*Paradise Lost* describes a similar scenario within its landscape description of Eden:

> "[…] met the nether flood,
> Which from his darksome passage now appears,
> And now divided into four main streams,
> Runs diverse, wandering many a famous realm
> And country whereof here needs no account […]."
> (Paradise Lost, P. 233, P. 91)

In both examples, the acquired effect is very similar to that of water as a means of orientation and its geographic structuring – water can be regarded as direction-giver, introducing a deictic element to the existence of nature's flow, as mentioning places joined with the idea of a border or dividing element increases the perception of extensity. Moreover, both descriptions are at least partly ornamental, since they provide information about the poem's setting and background.

Unlike the Greek corpus, the English does not use waters to restrict realms or sees them as the natural border. The development of cartography and more proficient knowledge of maps in the Renaissance as well as the resulting understanding of artificial border-drawing detached from explicit natural landmarks might be a reason for this shortage of examples[634].

A similar border-crossing happens in *The Faerie Queene*:

> "Which to recure, no kill of Leaches art
> Mote him auaile, but to returne againe
> To his wounds worker, that with louely dart
> Dinting his brest, had bred his restlesse paine,
> Like as the wound Whale to shore flies from the maine."
> (The Faerie Queene, Book VI, Canto X, 31, P. 995)

The imagery of a whale fleeing to the shore is eerie and contradictory; in the context of Calidore, however, it displays bravery and heroic behaviour. The motif of the shore as a dangerous place rather than the sea is unique and acquires the connotation as a cause of death and crime scene. The transgression of the land and sea border is doomed, again, and nothing good can come of it. In this example, water's psychologising functions is displayed.

In CCCHA, the audience is reunited with Cynthia from *Idea, the Shepherd's Garland*:

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[634] For the development of cartography and travel writing in the English Renaissance see Woodward 2007.

> "Besides, a hundred nymphs, all heavenly borne
> And of immortall race […]
> Those be the shepheards which my Cynthia serve
> At sea, besides a thousand moe at land.
> For land and sea my Cynthia doth deserve
> To have in her commandement at hand."
> (CCCHA, L. 255, P. 690)

Cynthia can digress the land-sea border and even has shepherds at land and sea. The loving undertone insinuates hyperbolic flattery, but the basic idea of divinity as chimeric beings inhabiting land and sea is crucial.

The following example from *Bermudas* finally features human transgression of the land-sea border:

> "What should we do but sing his Praise
> That led us through the watry Maze,
> Unto an Isle so long unknown,
> And yet far kinder than our own?"
> (Bermudas, P. 210)

It is very important to point out that the land of this example is an island, because it carries important meaning in all pastoral and bucolic texts of the corpus: since Greece, Italy and England have special geographical positions as islands or peninsulas, their geographical interplay between land and sea is significant. A special relationship between islands or, more precisely, islanders, is reasonable. In the Bermuda-example, the "watry Maze" is the peril the characters flee from: the island appears as a safe haven. Again, water gains a negative connotation and the transgression from water to land is wished for.

Another example where, surprisingly, the crossing of the sea border is successfully performed by a swain and his kidnapped shepherdess, is offered in *Britannia's Pastoral*:

> "But in despaire runs headlong to the Sea.
> This was the cause them by tradition taught,
> Why one floud ran so fast, th'other so soft,
> Both from one head. Vnto the rougher streame,
> […] the cruell Swaine
> Hurries the Shepherdesse, where hauing laine
> Her in a Boat like the Cannowes of Inde,
> Some sill trough of wood, or some trees rinde;
> Puts from the shoare, and leaues the weeping strand,
> Intends an act by water, which the land
> Abhorr'd to boulster. […]."
> (BP, Book I, Song II, P. 76)

This time, the lands "abhorr'd to bolster" a horrible deed, namely an abduction. The strand is "weeping", but with the help of a canoe, the swain can flee the country. Since *Britannia's Pastorals* feature a refusing water god in Book I, Song I, the refusing land and shore is a repetition of the meaningful interplay between the powers. The criminal offense performed is serious, the mood of the excerpt is heavy and desperate and stands in direct contradiction to the following excerpt from song V, when a far more leisurely tone is adopted when describing youths at the beach:

> "[…] young Lads (to sport themselues)
> Run in a low ebbe to the sandy shelues:
> Where seriously they worke in digging wels,
> Or building childish forts of Cockle-shels:
> Or liquid water each to other bandy:
> Or with the Pibbles play at handy-dandy,
> Till unaware the Tyde hath clos'd them round,
> And they must wade it through or else be drown'd […]."
> (BP, Book I, Song V, P. 125)

Here, the beach is a place without negative emotional load: there are playful activities instead of the shore's presentation as a horrible strange place or as safe haven for travellers or castaways. The juvenile, playful interaction functions as a reminder of all the different possible connotations and interpretations of the same strip of land. The emotional circumstances and, frequently, the weather, influence the literary perception of this location enormously. The youths in the example are content with their current situation, there is no indication of aspired mobility or crossing of any kind. The place is enjoyed rather than feared or left.

The brink of water remains an important feature in the fifth song of the *Pastorals*:

> "And so the Trees grew on the waters brinke:
> Waters their streames about the Iland scatter;
> And Trees perform'd as much vnto the water:
> Vnder whose shade the Nightingale would bring
> Her chirping young, and teach them how to sing."
> (BP, Book I, Song V, P. 126)

The land-water border is represented as a place for artistic production; in this example by a nightingale and its young. It is a nourishing place in any way, as it lets plants grow and poetry

flourish. The island setting is typical for water and land engaging in a meaningful symbiosis.

## 3. A border between gods and men

Moschus is the predominant Greek poet to use water as a border between the human and the divine. In his idyll Europa, in which Zeus abducts a young princess and flees with her across the ocean, an intermezzo between mortals and immortals is addressed: this idyll is of high relevance to the topic of watery borders because it features the sea as a main player and highlights the importance of the ocean as a barrier between two worlds and its importance as a symbol of transgression and progress:

> αἰ δ' ἄλλαι μέλλεσκον. ἄφαρ δ' ἀνεπήλατο ταῦρος,
> ἣν θέλεν ἁρπάξας: ὠκὺς δ' ἐπὶ πόντον ἵκανεν.
> (Mosch. Id. II, 109 f.)
> "The other girls wanted to climb him as well, but the bull suddenly leapt up because he had the girl he wanted and he reached the sea quickly."

The bull leaves the steady land and conquers the water with his bounty. As a god, he can easily move between the elements and the worlds they represent: the maidens, however, have to stay on shore and cannot follow the divine animal. This is the start of a seafaring that unites the transgression of land-sea borders, borders between the human and the divine and, in the wider sense, a transgression from childhood to adulthood, since Zeus' abduction lets the princess Europa become an independent woman[635].

> καὶ δ' αὐτὸς βαρύδουπος ὑπείραλος Ἐννοσίγαιος
> κῦμα κατιθύνων ἁλίης ἡγεῖτο κελεύθου
> αὐτοκασιγνήτῳ […]
> (Mosch. Id. II, 120 ff.)
> "And the earth-shaker himself dived down into the sea, divided the waves and led the way through the salty sea for his brother."

God Poseidon himself, the earth-shaker, makes an appearance to help his brother in the pursuit of his plan, and his easy movement within

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[635] Beailieu agrees: "The sea also marks the difference between the undefined status of […] youths and the leadership position they assume as adults upon their return." (Beaulieu 2016: 59).

the waters characterise him as a water god - this habitat makes out great part of his personality, even though his Homeric epitheton is Ἐννοσίγαιος[636]: moreover, the attendance of all-important gods gives memento to the abduction of Europa. Thanks to the bull, the divine abductor, Europa can cross the land-sea border – however, this is not a voluntary encounter and the responsibility of this crossing remains with the deity. As Poseidon arrives, Europa questions him:

> ἀλλὰ σύ μοι μεδέων πολιῆς ἁλὸς Ἐννοσίγαιε
> ἵλαος ἀντιάσειας, ὃν ἔλπομαι εἰσοράασθαι
> τόνδε κατιθύνοντα πόρον προκέλευθον ἐμεῖο.
> οὐκ ἀθεεὶ γὰρ ταῦτα διέρχομαι ὑγρὰ κέλευθα.
> (Mosch. Id. II, 149 ff.)
> "But you, ruler of the grey sea, be well-disposed! Because I hope to see him who bestowed this seafaring on me. Nothing ungodly transgresses these moist paths!"

Europa boldly demands an explanation for her situation. Intelligently she concludes that the bull, her abductor, cannot be an ordinary animal since he so easily crossed the land-sea border and swam[637]; she grasps the notion of divinity surrounding her and, not at all timid, directly addresses the earth-shaker Poseidon.[638]

These examples show that the water of the sea, in most cases the surface of the ocean, functions as a border between the realms of gods and men. The transgression of the surface marks the entrance to a hidden underworld that is not, or only with divine help, accessible for mortals, whereas the gods can easily enter both worlds: they bridge the path for mortals. Poseidon, the Nereids, Zeus and all sea-creatures move happily and easily between the water's surface and the deep sea, whereas Europa stays above sea-level. Beaulieu agrees with this observation:

> "The sea marks the difference between human and divine stock, since […] mythical heroes can cross the water whereas mortals must check their ambitions and navigate within the limits of the known world."[639]

Here, the watery border is transparent, similar to the story of Hylas where the nymphs pulled him under the surface. The border between

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[636] E.g. in Hom. Od. I, 74.
[637] "[…] the sea not only defines the geographical and cosmological boundaries of the worlds, but also defines the individuals who can cross such boundaries in the political and social arenas." (Beaulieu 2010: 59).
[638] For further elaborations on the extraordinary wit of the princess Europa, see Elliger 1975: 369 f.
[639] Beaulieu 2016: 59.

humans and divinity undoubtedly exists, but these examples signify how unsteady and blurry it is.[640] It can be crossed (if initiated by a godly force) and, as it is the case with watery borders, seen through. The function of water as a border between the human and the divine is to symbolise both distance and closeness, detachment and familiarity. This ambiguity makes water a very important motif- and function-carrier.

Virgil also includes nymphs and their habitat in the *Eclogues*:

sic tibi, cum fluctus subterlabere Sicanos,
Doris amara suam non intermisceat undam.
(Verg. Ecl. X, 4 f.)
As under Sicily's waves you glide, in hopes
The bitter sea-nymph mingle not her flood.

This quotation introduces the spring Arethusa; this Sicilian water body was already mentioned in the Greek corpus. This excerpt addresses her ability to divide sweet waters from the Peloponnesian stream throughout their flow through the salty Ionian Sea[641]. The inclusion of Arethusa as a water example reflects the strong connection between Greek and Roman mythology. This quotation belongs into the category of "Borders" because even though different water types merge, in Arethusa's legend they remain separated.

The classic corpus already established borders between gods and men and their representation by the sea. In the Greek corpus, they are mainly transgressed by divinity. However, it is important to point out that the motif survives from the Greek corpus to the English. This survival is more than a coincidental similarity due to the genre, since various aspects of water motifs present in ancient bucolic and pastoral poetry do not survive in the English corpus and the thesis of the English poets merely copying the classical does not sustain, as will become clear in the rest of chapter 4.1. and 4.2.

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[640] This effect is only intensified by some version of the Hylas myth: although it is not mentioned in Theocritus' poetry, variants of the storyline include the transformation of Hylas into an echo, imitating Heracles desperate cries as he searches for his protégé. In this case, the border is transgressed by acoustic interaction, nevertheless forbidding a reunion. (Cf. Ninck 1960: 152).

[641] „Stellvertretend für die zahlreichen Nymphen sei an Arethusa und deren Kult in Syrakus erinnert. Nach einer von mehreren Mythosversionen flieht Arethusa, unterstützt von Artemis, vor den Liebeswerbungen des Flußgottes Alpheios und bricht in Syrakus als starke Quelle hervor. Bis dorthin verfolgte sie Alpheios, bezeichnenderweise in einen Süßwasserstrom verwandelt, der unter dem salzigen Meer von der Peloponnes bis Sizilien floß." (Tölle-Kastenbein 1990: 14).

Nymphs, connected to water from the very first moment, are the archetypical water deities used in pastoral poetry since they endow their meeting places and habitats with divine components. Usually they bathe and meet in springs, but they can be found in all kinds of waters, as Sidney claims "[…] nymphs which in the water's empire have […]."[642] Cynthia is one example for a nymph living in the depth of the ocean, but *Britannia's Pastorals* offers more:

> "Meane while I leaue thy thoughts at large,
> Thy body to my sisters charge:
> Whilst I into my Spring doe diue,
> To see that they doe not depriue
> The Meadowes neere […]."
> (BP, Book I, Song II, P. 63)

The example places the nymphs and goddesses in their watery surrounding. The use of "diving" highlights the motif of water as a border or barrier to a world hidden from the human eye and body is entered by the nymphs with a sudden movement. However, the crossing of water performed by humans is usually connected to sea-faring or death in the English corpus.

Water as a border between gods and men functions as a reminder of the almost uncrossable but transparent barrier between the human and the divine; water is the perfect signifier for this, since the border can be seen, heard and felt. The transparency of water and its moving character introduce a meaningful innuendo in the interpretation of this border.

The crossing of waters identifies the crossing individual, as only some can actually overstep the land-sea border successfully. All crossings and even attempts to do so are highly symbolic.

## 4. Borders between lovers

Water as a border between lovers is probably the most emotionally charged border function of the element. Since death is inevitable and, to a certain degree, accepted in all parts of society, the crossing of the life-death border might be pitied and grieved; unless the dead are young or innocent, a certain acceptance of this part of life

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[642] The Old Arcadia, 3rd Eclogue, L. 28, P.99

restricts the emotional connotation of this separation to a moderate proportion: death can be connected to extreme emotionality, a separation of lovers always is.

The first example comes from Moschus' fragments and clearly gives evidence of a very characterising water body:

> καὶ βαθὺς ἐμβαίνει τοῖς κύμασι, τὰν δὲ θάλασσαν
> νέρθεν ὑποτροχάει, κοὺ μίγνυται ὕδασιν ὕδωρ,
> ἁ δ' οὐκ οἶδε θάλασσα διερχομένω ποταμοῖο.
> κῶρος λινοθέτας κακομάχανος αἰνὰ διδάσκων
> καὶ ποταμὸν διὰ φίλτρον Ἔρως ἐδίδαξε κολυμβῆν.
> (Mosch. Id. VII, 4 ff.)
> "And deep down he goes into the waves and rolls down into the sea; water does not mix with water and the sea does not know the passing river. Wicked boy, evil-bringing teacher of disaster! Eros even teaches the river to dive for love."

The protagonist of this example is the personified river Alpheus who is in love with the spring Arethusa. Interestingly, the whole fragment is a manifestation of water's importance in Greek bucolic poetry: the personification of the river as a lover strengthens the connection between water and emotional involvement. The river is divided from his lover by the Aegean Sea. His divine features allow him to cross the watery border but, ironically, his water does not mix with the salty ways of the sea.[643]

One of Theocritus' most famous lovers appears in idyll XI, the *Cyclops*.[644] Here, the love-sick Polyphemus yearns for his lover Galateia but the nymph frequently disappears into the sea. The cyclops' desire for his loved one lets him wait for her on the shore. Again, the water characterises the individuals involved:

> ὤμοι, ὅ τ' οὐκ ἔτεκέν μ' ἁ μάτηρ βραγχί' ἔχοντα,
> ὡς κατέδυν ποτὶ τὶν καὶ τὰν χέρα τευς ἐφίλασα […].
> (Theoc. Id. XI, 54 f.)

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[643] A very similar mentioning of Arethusa can be found in Verg. Ecl. IV, 1-8. Alpers argues that "The hope that Arethusa […] will not have her water tainted by the bitter salt wave suggests the boundaries that the poem as a whole will define." (Alpers 1979: 226). We can apply this observation here, too: the innuendo of sea and spring water overdramatises the land/sea border.

[644] The figure of the cyclops has also been subject to ecocritical studies; Past argues that not only are they interwoven with Mediterranean mythology, but also with its geography: "[…] Southern Italy for many years was Magna Graecia, a collection of thirty or more independent poleis that would eventually be subject to Roman rule. The Cyclopes stand as a testament of the rise and fall of empires, and to the danger of collapsing notions of myth and progress." (Past in Zapf 2016: 376) This observation binds the cyclops into both the imminent landscape as well as mythological tradition of this cultural space.

"Dear me, why did my mother not birth me with fins! Then I would dive down to you and kiss your hand!"

Polyphemus, although of divine descent, cannot transgress the sea and sees the shoreline as an actual border. In his pain, he searches for creative ideas to overcome this barrier; his first is a wish for fins, the second is to learn how to swim:

> νῦν μὰν ὦ κόριον, νῦν αὐτόγα νεῖν κε μάθοιμι,
> αἴκά τις σὺν ναὶ πλέων ξένος ὧδ᾽ ἀφίκηται,
> ὡς εἰδῶ, τί ποθ᾽ ἀδὺ κατοικεῖν τὸν βυθὸν ὔμμιν.
> (Theoc. Id. XI, 60 ff.)
> "Well now, girl, I will learn how to swim immediately, as soon as a stranger comes ashore with a ship, so that I know why you live in the sweet ocean depth!"

In one way, Polyphemus acknowledges the border – a trait that makes him human. In another, he is not satisfied with his current inability to reach his beloved and rejects the situation. His desire to cross the border symbolises the divine part of his mind. In this idyll, the sea and his current inability to conquer it characterises the grieving cyclops. The watery border and Polyphemus' desperate plea evoke the picture of a classical *paraclausithyron*, "the song sung by the lover at his mistress's, after he has been refused admission to her house"[645]. Copley classifies it as "[…] usually a lament, a song of disappointment and sorrow."[646] Even though Galateia does not actively refuse Polyphemus' access to her habitat and the cyclops is not drunk, the theme of unreachability, despair and lament remains: She is unreachable as he sings about his despair. Copely argues that a *paraclausithyron* can appear in any genre with love as one of its subjects[647] – a frequent situation in pastoral poetry. Since the origins of both bucolic poetry and the *paraclausithyron* are assumed within the nebulously transmitted genre of the *komos,* street ballads and folk songs, their combination seems natural[648].

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[645] Copley 1956: 1.
[646] Copley 1956: 1. This excluded lover, the *exclusus amator*, classically meets with the following set-up: The lover is intoxicated and returns from festivities or dinner invitations and intends to visit his beloved, finds her door shut and then tries to persuade his lover to open up; this persuasion is performed as a song, an emotional lament.
[647] Cf. Copley 1956: 1. f.
[648] Cf. Copley 1956: 5. Even more so, since this *paraclausithyron* is not the only occurrence of the motif in the Greek corpus: Precise paraclausithyra can be found in Theocritus' idylls, namely eid. III, 1-6 where a shepherd sings outside Amaryllis' grotto. In eid. XXIII, a scorned lover sings at the door of his love interest and even threatens suicide. (Cf. Ibid. P. 15 f.). According to Newland, the *paraclausithyron* might have originated from the komos, when noisy, rowdy processions

*Paraclausithyra* can be distinguished in a dramatic and a non-dramatic type:

> "In the dramatic, the whole incident is usually depicted, and the lover's song appears only as a part of it. […] In the non-dramatic type, the poet's interest is centred on the lover's song and on those parts of the incident immediately surrounding it. […] The poem ends normally with the rejection of the lover and its tone is romantic-sentimental."[649]

Clearly, the Theocritean example of Polyphemus falls into the non-dramatic category, using the lament as a narrative tool for the display of scorned emotions and a lover's despair[650]: "The paraclausithyron epitomizes the frustrations and sufferings of love."[651] In a classic *paraclausithyron*, the prevalence of pain and love and the rejection by the adored lady tempt the lover to describe the sufferings he has or had to undergo for her sake; he often mentions his tears in this context. [652] These characteristics also apply for the love-sick Polyphemus.[653]

The setting of water for the *paraclausithyron* highlights the watery border and water's function as divider further – its inclusion in the bucolic poems endows the reflecting and separating qualities of water with new momentum and leads the focus to the separation of the two lovers. The possibility that the crossing of the border is possible and the distance not final drives the lovers to courses of action. This possibility is denied for everyone crossing the Acheron or any water that symbolises the life-death border. The retrieval of these people is impossible, the separation eternal. Notably, it is the water of the sea that separates the lovers, not rivers, springs, lakes, wetlands or other landmarks such as forests or mountain chains. Reason for this could be the emotional connection between the lovers, which is intensified by the closeness of the transparent, liquid

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through streets after alcohol-fuelled symposia ended with the arrival on the doors of brothels. (Cf. Newland in Greene 2012: 996). This behaviour was then redirected to the door of a beloved and songs were needed to soften the lover's heart rather than bolts to open her door. (Cf. Ibid.).
[649] Copley 1956: 7.
[650] This agrees with Copley's definition for the use of the non-dramatic type:
"The non-dramatic paraclausithyron is primarily a convenient vehicle for ideas associated with the literary love affair." (Copley 1956: 19.).
[651] Newland in Greene 2012: 996.
[652] Cf. Copley 1956: 19.
[653] For further information on the development of genre-categorising in Greek and Roman poetry and the originality in the use of such topoi please see Cairns 2007: 98-126.

barrier in micro-structuring examples such as the Hylas- or Cyclops-episode.

This subcategory proves that the sea supports the emotional connotation between water and love in the bucolic poems. Except for a mere wish, it would be safe to say that geographically divided lovers are mainly absent in the English corpus.[654] This does not mean that the lovers in the English corpus are overall happier; the category of "tears" will prove otherwise. However, it could be said that the lover's situation in the English corpus is not necessarily dominated by distance.

**Conclusion**

In conclusion, the motif of water as a border fulfils several functions in the bucolic and pastoral poems: it intensifies the feeling of distance and strengthens the impression of loss and division. It has a mood-setting function as it supplies the transmittance of atmosphere through lively descriptions. The distance transmitted by water can then be used for characterisation of different groups of individuals: the living and the death, the mortals and immortals, lovers, countries, realms … Water´s innate transparency only adds to the ambiguity of its use as a border since it is usually connected to clarity and progress. Based on this assumption, several new interpretative techniques can be applied to the occurrences of water as a means of division. The usage of different kinds of waters for different purposes in bucolic poetry can be established and the sea's position in the characters' emotional situation manifested; this well-spun net of water's interaction in almost every border-transgression

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[654] "Let one time (but long first) close up their days,
One grave their bodies seize,
And like two rivers sweet
When they, though diverse, do together meet,
One stream both streams contain;
O Hymen long their couples joys maintain."
(The Old Arcadia, 3rd Eclogue, L. 31, P. 100)
The border here is not real but appears in a wishful saying for a couple's future. The absence of a border or separation in general is predominant; they even share a grave and when they are compared to parting rivers, they are soon reunited. The classic corpus and its many examples for lovers divided by sea also features examples of rivers and springs but they usually do not flow together.

in life signifies the hidden importance of water in people's lives and poetry, respectively.

Moreover, water functions as a contrasting element of good and evil: its usage as a cause or place of death as well as an atmospheric device shows its strong ambiguous use in bucolic and pastoral poetry. It also functions as a liquid barrier between metaphorical parties or geographic distinctions and symbolises the realm of water deities in opposition to the land inhabited by mortals. This shows its function as an unreachable distance, a glassy separation between things, lands and men. Above all, water expresses totality and finality; it is the emotional connection between two parties that motivates them to cross the watery borders. Absence felt by separated individuals work as motivators to overcome physical or geographical borders, if possible, and if not, revoke a specific emotional response: mood-setting and determining the emotional undertone are key-elements in water's function of background-design.

The Virgilian body of text does not offer the Theocritean and Renaissance division of the motif in the different border-types as it concentrates on the borders between the living and the dead as well as land and sea are noticeable. Rivers are rarely mentioned at all in a border context and the precise naming of them is mainly absent, too; Virgil's poetry avoids almost every opportunity to specifically mention rivers like the Acheron or Styx, probably because mentioning death and its symbols would disturb the hopeful pastoral ideal. Few examples remain which function as highlighters of difference and distance. They also offer its ability as a structuring device in terms of localisation and enclosure. The example of eclogue 9 shows that the structuring of the land that used to belong to the family of Lycidas' friend highlights the border of the known and the foreign, the present and the past. Just like the motif of water as a means of orientation, Virgil adds a temporal dimension to the spatial aspects of his motifs.

The transfer of the clearly-structured distribution of water's tasks is also becoming more and more apparent: just as Greek bucolic, Latin pastoral assigns specific waters to specific areas of purpose: the border motif is mainly carried by streams and rivers and the abstract concept of shores. The strong connection between water and

the emotionality of the speaker is also a shared character trait of water as a border; every Virgilian border occurrence appears in a context of emotionality or sensitive distress.

A close reading of the English corpus regarding the border motif reveals agreement with its ancient predecessors. The conveyance of distance and barriers always raises the question of dissociation with a certain otherness – in the Greek and English corpus, water divides the world picture in known and unknown spaces. The crossings of these borders are therefore always more than simple water-border oversteppings and display emotional involvement. Suicide attempts or deaths are the most crucial and fatal undertaking of transgression from one body state to another. In any of these examples, water exemplifies separation and highlights the irretrievable process from one state to the other using the totality of natural phenomena to underline a sudden change – a reason why the crossings are often abrupt and immediate. The Greek corpus relies heavily on waters to structure realms and kingdoms on a macro-structuring level of familiarity and otherness – the English micro-structures realms and areas with the help of waters.

In general, the English corpus supplies the water borders with a more active role; waters and gods can have conscience and function as moral decision makers. The Greek bucolic poets do not use this motif extensively in general and not at all in the context of borders. The Acheron and Styx, direct symbolisations of death, do not receive a voice.

The repetitive use of water in these contexts highlights water's presence and beauty in the imminent surrounding of acting characters and poetic plots: the inclusion of nature's forces as a matter of course depicts the identity of countryside and country life. When water is used as a figure of speech in pathetic, hyperbolic assertions, it does not only add momentum to the declaration but also shows the individual's relationship with the element. Although the major function of border is to represent absence and distance, it must be borne in mind that water as a border can also function as a symbol of presence and closeness: the Hylas-episode and water's clarity and translucency as well as the Lycidas-poem from the English poet with the sea as a world of potential beauty all underline the fact that

water might be a cause of death, but that the border is see-through, transparent and some visual connection remains. The direct opposite would be a wall or a mountain impossible to overcome; a watery border always allows the association with progress and hope.

Out of De Jong's function explained in the chapter of spatial theory, the symbolic is the most dominant for the border motif; a crossing can never be a mere act without a secondary layer of meaning. Therefore, the ornamental function is rarer: however, its symbolic function as border and death is often entangled with the psychologising or mirroring function of the waters, as the Europa-examples suggest. The performed crossing can even characterise the crosser, as they identify themselves as part of emotional, geographical and cultural spheres.

### 4.1.3.    Locus Amoenus

Water as constituent of a *locus amoenus* might not be the most frequent use of the element, but it is one of the most important: the meaning carried by water in its most natural and pure occurrence plays a major role in the creation of atmosphere, context and the architecture of poetic landscape. It might even be argued that it is the *locus amoenus* which makes bucolic and pastoral poems idyllic.

Theocritus could draw from the full source of Homer, Hesiod and other predecessor poets when he included *loca amoena* in his poetry. Homer, for example, creates a paradisiac, beautiful, natural landscape in the ornamental description of Calypso's island (Hom. Od. V, 55 ff.) or Polyphemus' cave and its surroundings (Hom. Od. IX. 116 ff.) or Eumaeus' rural domicile.[655] It can therefore be anticipated that the audience of the 3rd century BC was well acquainted with the idea of this peaceful place perfectly integrated in a nature so free of sorrow and full of serene beauty that its perfection, peace and calmness is transmitted to any human, animal or plant. This beauty applies not only to its imminent surrounding but also to a literary context that allows individuals to imagine and experience the energy of the same

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[655] Richard Hunter also lists instances of *loca amoena* in the Iliad, in the works of Sappho, Aristophanes and even Plato. (Cf. Hunter 1999: 12 ff.).

place. The aesthetic experience of poets, characters and recipients of a *locus amoenus* should ideally match as it creates a specific atmosphere easily understood by all to evoke a similar emotional response.

Elliger claims that the use of the topos of the *locus amoenus* and its repetitive interweaving in the context and background creation of his idylls is characteristic for Theocritus' perception and use of landscape.[656] The inclusion of specific botanic vocabulary as well as description of trees and meadows are Theocritean specialty; the specificity of his detail and picture adds variety and authenticity to his landscape portrayal. Elliger even calls him a "Baumliebhaber"[657] ("tree lover") for his abundant narration of forests and woods.

Nevertheless, it is obvious that the use of *locus amoenus*-related themes in poetry increased in the Hellenistic period. Richard Hunter tries to find the explanation for this phenomenon in a growing interest in realism[658] in Hellenistic art rather than in the form of a universally felt tedium of city life.[659] This interpretation of interest in landscape literature and pastoral poetry also applies from Latin pastoral onwards. Virgil, for example, excessively uses the *locus amoenus* motif to contrast political developments and interference in urban and rural life and their impositions on private property[660].

Water has always played an important role in the *locus amoenus'* composition of rural beauty and natural perfection as a paradise-like place[661]. Curtius established the parameters of a *locus amoenus* in 1954 as follows:

> "Der locus amoenus (Lustort)… ist … ein schöner, beschatteter Naturausschnitt. Sein Minimum an Ausstattung besteht aus einem

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[656] His relying on the existing topos overshadows his own attitude towards nature. (Cf. Elliger 1975: 324).
[657] Elliger 1975: 330.
[658] Cf. Hunter 1999: 13.
[659] "Explanations in terms of a 'weariness' with life in increasingly large cities and a nostalgia for a past of constructed simplicity are easy enough to offer, but very hard to control." (Hunter 1999: 13).
[660] Cf. Elliger: 363.
[661] "[…] the term 'paradise' carries multiple significances. […] in the Bible it is applied both to the garden of Eden and to the heavenly abode of God and the angels; and in Renaissance literature it often refers to any place of surpassing beauty and bliss." (Lewalski in Hiltner 2008: 16) He goes on to explain: "Paradise is the burgeoning natural world of the garden of Eden requiring human control and cultivation to keep it from turning wild, but also, however partially, the fallen world (if governed by the spirit of faith and love) as humankind's place of necessary work and rest and responsibility."(Lewalski in Hiltner 2008: 30).

> Baum (oder mehreren Bäumen), einer Wiese und einem Quell oder
> Bach. Hinzutreten können Vogelgesang und Blumen. Die reichste
> Ausführung fügt noch Windhauch dazu."[662]

Here, water is mentioned as one of the key compoments of the *locus
amoenus* and the reason for it is easily comprehensible: the auditory
element of flowing water, its murmuring, swishing, rustling and
whirring works perfectly well in the composition of a *locus amoenus*,
because it helps to transmit the scenery and emotions by more than
one sense only. This way, the listener can picture himself in the
described place; seeing, feeling, listening to the surroundings,
diving into this pool of charm and attraction. Together with the other
features Curtius mentions (trees, meadows, birds, flowers and wind),
the creation of the motif and its imagery is complete. It is therefore
no surprise that water is frequently found in bucolic and pastoral
poetry. As was established in the beginning of this chapter,
Theocritus drew from the source of Homer in his description and usage
of the "perfect place", and it was also Homer, who already realised
that such a perfect place in which life is fruitful and fertile must
necessarily have water at its disposal: in every Homeric *locus
amoenus*, the element of water is therefore present, as is its allusion
to the opposition of heat and coolness. Water still appears in
different forms: springs are mentioned frequently and so is the sea
or morning dew.[663] Hence, the inclusion of water in Theocritus' *loca
amoena* emerges as natural phenomenon of literary reception and
production in the Hellenistic period.

The literary base Theocritus, Moschus and Bion could rely on for
their inclusion and development of the motif of the *locus amoenus* was
also well-known in the higher ranks of Roman education; Greek
literature was popular and frequently read among the Roman elite. It
even made out a key element in professional upper-class education. It
can be safely assumed that the Roman audience of Virgil's eclogues
was thoroughly acquainted with the idea and motif of the *locus amoenus*.
This important literary motif is also included in the English corpus
and hosts a substantial amount of water occurrences.

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[662] Curtius 1954: 202.
[663] Cf. Haß 1998: 19.

The *locus amoenus* in the English corpus offers numerous examples of water inclusions. The motif does not belong to the three most frequent uses of the water motif but is still common. It also bears witness to the interpretative phenomenon that frequency does not necessarily correlate with importance, since the inclusion of water in the *locus amoenus* as well as the topos itself are crucial for the interpretation and development of the motif.

The following subdivisions presented themselves to structure the plethora of *locus amoenus*-examples from all three corpora: The examples can be subcategorised into examples where water's presence is predominantly perceived through the eyes (1), through the ears (2), or stand in a context strictly related to animal husbandry (3).

## 1. **VISUAL**

The most extensive subcategory is the subcategory of visual representation of the water motif in the context of a *locus amoenus*. These examples all offer an imaginary viewing of the water in the place described which is predominantly perceived through the eyes of the onlooker rather than other senses. The surrounding of a traditional "Dichterweihe"[664] is usually a *locus amoenus* since the idea of whirling water bubbling out of the spring was equated with the process of words streaming out of a poet; this bubbling also introduces the divine dimension to poetic process since the Muses usually assemble at springs and rivers and take their part in the poets' literary composing. Water is therefore the perfect connector between nature, the human and the divine. Moreover, the paradisiac surrounding itself can be perceived as motivator for the creation of beautiful poetry.

An example for this is the following:

Κομάτας    οὐχ ἐρψῶ τηνεῖ: τουτεῖ δρύες, ὧδε κύπειρος,
           ὧδε καλὸν βομβεῦντι ποτὶ σμήνεσσι μέλισσαι:
           ἔνθ᾽ ὕδατος ψυχρῶ κράναι δύο: ταὶ δ᾽ ἐπὶ δένδρει
           ὄρνιχες λαλαγεῦντι: καὶ ἁ σκιὰ οὐδὲν ὁμοία
           τᾷ παρὰ τίν: βάλλει δὲ καὶ ἁ πίτυς ὑψόθε κώνοις.
(Theoc. Id. V, 45 ff.)

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[664] Cf. Segal 1974: 22

Komatas:     No, I will not go there! Here are oaks and umbrella
             palms and the bees are humming beautifully and circle
             around their hives! And here are two springs of cold
             water and birds twitter in the trees and the shade is
             not the same as at your's, and the pine tree throws
             down cones.

Before the agon in idyll 5 begins, the herdsmen decide on a meeting point optimal for this endeavour. Komatas boasts with the lovely landscape on his side of the meadow and describes a perfect surrounding for bucolic poetry-composition. This is extremely important for the 21st century interpreter, because he receives a first-hand description of what Theocritus lets a 3rd century BC herdsman regard as the ideal place to induce poetic process. Water is a key element for this panorama: "Wie ein Fluß, so strömen Rede oder Gesang dahin."[665] Komatas' description for his opponent is, of course, also a description for the extradiegetic recipients as they experience both story space and hypothetical frames through his descriptions and so must rely on his images.

Another example for water's beauty can be found in the following quotation from the 22nd idyll, the Dioscuri:

εὗρον δ᾽ ἀέναον κρήνην ὑπὸ λισσάδι πέτρῃ
ὕδατι πεπληθυῖαν ἀκηράτῳ: αἱ δ᾽ ὑπένερθεν
λάλλαι κρυστάλλῳ ἠδ᾽ ἀργύρῳ ἰνδάλλοντο
ἐκ βυθοῦ […].
(Theoc. Id. XXII, 37 ff.)
They found an ever-flowing spring full of clear water underneath
a smooth rock: From the ground below pebbles gleamed like
crystals.

The spring's description is straightforward praising and dominates this *locus amoenus*. It shares many features with the spring Hylas encounters in Idyll 13[666] but instead of a divine kidnapping, the two young men of idyll 22 have a negative encounter with a wanderer next to the beautiful spring:

"The spring […] is focalized by the Dioscuri, who […] were
looking for drinking water; hence the emphasis on the water's
clearness. This spot is a true locus amoenus, shadowed by all
kinds of trees, fragrant with flowers from the nearby meadow,

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[665] Asper 1997: 111.
[666] "The two poems, of course, have different poetic requirements: what is important in Idyll 13 is the mysterious darkness and fertile lushness which marks the locus as a female space, whereas in Idyll 22 the remarkable variety of undestroyed nature is set against the solitary and imposing figure of Amycus." (Hunter 1996: 61).

and buzzing with bees. But its loveliness only serves to create a contrast."[667]

Again, woeful experience is juxtaposed with beautiful landscape to dramatise the horrific effect. This description is of a fabula space, a frame: water acquires an almost wealth-like, valuable status: vocabulary like "crystal", and "shimmer" introduce prosperity to the element and the fact that it is "ever-flowing" adds the perception of abundance.[668] The clarity of the spring is highlighted: it is not only "clear", but clear enough for an observer to make out single pebbles on the ground of the pool.[669]

All the previous examples describe *loca amoena* which include water in the form of rivers and springs. There is a passage in Moschus' corpus which substantiates that this is not the only possibility and mentions the sea as a *locus amoenus* in his fifth fragment:

> Τὰν ἅλα τὰν γλαυκὰν ὅταν ὤνεμος ἀτρέμα βάλλῃ,
> τὰν φρένα τὰν δειλὰν ἐρεθίζομαι, οὐδ' ἔτι μοι γᾶ
> ἐστὶ φίλα, ποθίει δὲ πολὺ πλέον ἁ μεγάλα μ' ἅλς.
> (Mosch. Id. V, 1 ff.)
> It evokes my poor heart when the wind swirls around the blue salty sea fearlessly: then I do no longer love the land, but I long for the great, salty sea.

This individual's personal relationship with the sea and the salty water is expressed by their emotional statement which can almost be interpreted as a declaration of love to the element and can be seen as its *locus amoenus*. As was already established in the category of "Borders", the sea is usually no place for mortals: it is inhabited by sea monsters and water deities and travelling it exposes men to their supernatural powers. In this example this expectation is completely overhauled: we find a sea-loving and sea-faring individual who longs for the sea as his happy place and waters make out a substantial part of this personal *locus amoenus.*

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[667] Klooster in De Jong 2012: 115.
[668] See also Sens 1997: 106: "Springs are a characteristic feature of the ancient locus amoenus […] and since those that flowed throughout the entire year without drying up were of great practical value […] literary springs are often described as 'ever-flowing' […]."
[669] "Ancient descriptions of such idyllic locations regularly emphasize the freshness of the spring's water […]." (Sens 1997: 106). The inclusion of pebbles adds the visual element. (Cf. Sens. 1997: 108 f.)

Virgil also offers examples of *loca amoena* where the existence of water is predominantly perceived through the eyes. In his ninth eclogue, the herdsman Lycidas speaks of the following *locus amoenus:*

> Lycidas:   […]
>            quis caneret nymphas; quis humum florentibus herbis
>            spargeret, aut viridi fontes induceret umbra?
> (Verg. Ecl. IX, 19 f.)
> Lycidas:   […]
>            Who would sing of nymphs? Or spread the grassy earth
>            With flowers, or bring in fountains with green shade?

The disappearance of his comrade Menalcas is painful for Lycidas and in his grief he lists every positive feature of his friend. The relationship between a *locus amoenus* and a specific person functions as characterisation of the person rather than just providing an ornamental background. Several examples for it can be found in the laments for Bion or Daphnis in the Greek corpus. It is, however, new for Virgil. Nature's reaction to the absence of a human individual is used to show the peer's grief and desperation: the event gains the momentum of a world-shaking incident. Lycidas laments that there is no one to narrate this lists the elements that would be required in order to generate a *locus amoenus* individually: again, the narrated *locus amoenus* consists of fountains, shade and greenness. Water's nurturing function must be counted among the most important aspects in this *locus amoenus*. "Grassy earth" and "green shades" are attributes which fuel its visuality for the recipients.

Another example from the ninth eclogue brings back Polyphemus as Moerus weaves the cyclops' mythology into his song:

> Moerus:    […]
>            `huc ades, O Galatea; quis est nam ludus in undis
>            hic ver purpureum; varios hic flumina circum
>            fundit humus flores; hic candida populus antro
>            imminet, et lentae texunt umbracula vites.
> (Verg. Ecl. IX, 39 ff.)
> Moerus:    […]
>            "Come Galatea; what sport is there at sea?
>            Here earth pours forth spring flowers, many hues
>            Brighten the streams, and silver poplars arch
>            The cave where vines compliant weave their shade."

Just like in the Greek corpus, Polyphemus describes his lofty living arrangements, a cave in the mountains, in the brightest colours to persuade his lover to leave her element, the sea, and visit him on

land. This hyperbolic description and uplifting of a rural shelter to a paradisiac surrounding is very common with the cyclops' myth: sweet waters and lovely land are contrasted with the sea and the cyclops' description bears all the characteristic features of a typical *locus amoenus*: flowers, trees, vines, water and shade are offered to Galateia. This example surpasses the pure ornamental function of waters, since Polyphemus attempts to use the landscape's mirroring function to present himself in a good light.

The English corpus offers an example from *Astrophel*:

"And many a nymph both of the wood and brooke,
Soone as his oaten pipe began to shrill,
Both christall wells and shadie groves forsook,
To heare the charmes of his enchanting skill;
And brought him presents, flowers if it were prime,
Or mellow fruit if it were harvest time."
(Astrophel, L. 43, P. 700)

Since the sound of a shrilling pipe is dominant, a first impression could be the acoustic supremacy of the excerpt. The shrilling pipe, however, is not a sound caused by water. The waters, however, consist of the "brooke" and "christall wells", and they are described visually rather than acoustically. The example describes how Astrophel's music makes the nymphs forsake their natural habitat. The *locus amoenus* is a classic one: woods and brooks, wells and groves. In this example, the waters characterise the nymphs and the familiar picture is readily used for Astrophel's song.

One of the most obvious examples of a *locus amoenus* is the following excerpt from "The Baite", where waters and other features are described in a way that relies heavily on visual reflection:

"Come live with me and bee my love,
And we will some new pleasures prove
Of golden sands, and christall brookes,
With silken lines and silver hooks."
(The Baite, P. 149)

The poem mimics Marlowe's "*Passionate Shepherd*", but unlike Marlowe, John Donne includes water in the architecture of this *locus amoenus*. The "christall brookes" are essential to situate this *locus amoenus* in a very watery environment – the introduction to the poem's main theme is obvious in these few lines: the sands, brooks and hooks all prepare the background for the poem's topic, fishing. The visual

landscape is predominant in this example and soundscape or olfactory impressions absent.[670] The waters fall in line with the topic of the poem and characterises the fisherman by his profession.

Another *locus amoenus* situated in a water context can be found in *Of Solitude,* where waters are included in a frame and display ornamental functions:

> "A Stream shall roll his waters neer,
> Gilt with the Sun-beams here and there
> On whose enamel'd Bank I'll walk,
> And see how prettily they Smile, and hear
> How prettily they Talk."
> (Of Solitude, P. 207)

This short excerpt offers a plethora of water vocabulary: the stream, its waters and banks are not only mentioned to create the *locus amoenus*, the perception of them (in this case both visual and acoustic, they "smile" and "talk") is essential for the atmosphere; the manifestation of nature is depicted in all its wealth: "gilt" and "enamel" are words used to describe it, preying on water's variability and reflective features. These five lines describe water both as an object of value and as a human being – all connotations in these contexts are overly positive; although the acoustics of water are served ("and hear / How prettily they Talk", the "Stream shall roll his waters"), the visual impressions are supreme: the colour-play of the waters reflections, the "enamel'd bank" and the observation "I'll walk, / And see how prettily they Smile […]" emphasises the visual perception. This does not diminish the importance of the acoustics: the interplay between the two senses guarantees a universal aesthetic experience.

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[670] "To Penshurst", one of the Country House poems in the corpus situates the manor itself in an idyllic, amoenic background:
"Thou joy'st in better markes, of soyle, of ayre,
Of wood, of water: therein thou art faire.
Thou hast thy walkes for health, as well as sport:
Thy Mount, to which the Dryads doe resort,
Where Pan, and Bacchus their high feasts have made,
Beneath the broad beech, and the chest-nut shade;
That taller tree, which of a nut was set,
At his great birth, where all the Muses met."
(To Penshurst, P. 151)
The English country house is placed in a spiritual environment that is almost mystic; Dryads, Pan, Bacchus and Muses meet in this perfect surrounding of natural symbiosis "of soyle, of ayre, of wood, of water". The role of water is not impressive on its own; this example highlights the omnipresence and unity of the elements to achieve the impression of holistic natural reflection.

Since the *locus amoenus* is a literary topos usually connected with purity, perfection and paradisiac conditions, it is no surprise that *Paradise Lost* offers manifold examples for the description of faultless places and water's role in their architecture. A very scenic example for it can be found in L. 235 ff.:

> "[…] And country whereof here needs no account,
> But rather to tell how, if art could tell,
> How from that sapphire fount the crisped brooks,
> Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold,
> With mazy error under pendant shades
> Ran nectar, visiting each plant, and fed
> Flowers worthy of Paradise which not nice art
> In beds and curious knots, but nature boon
> Poured forth profuse on hill and dale and plain,
> Both where the morning sun first warmly smote
> The open field, and where the unpierced shade
> Embrowned the noontide bowers; thus was this place,
> A happy rural seat of various view; […]."
> (Paradise Lost, P. 91, L. 235)

This excerpt is followed by very detailed descriptions of the paradise perceptible with all senses, including smells and scents. The overall picture of this example is one of a beautiful interdependent natural wonderland full of bliss and divine delight. The "sapphire fount" and the "crisped brooks" introduce the natural descriptions which soon develop into specific mentions of plants, shades and fields. Again, a holistic picture of perfection is perceived, enhancing waters innate features and attributes by value-endowing adjectives like "sapphire". The colourful descriptions trigger emotional and visual responses. Like the Latin *locus amoenus*, which usually features shades and coolness to block the noontide sun, this example mentions times of day and features shelters.

As established before, the introduction of valuable materials as well as vivid colour schemes to the description of waters adds a strong visual connection between speaker, the recipients and the *locus amoenus.*

## 2. ACOUSTIC

The inclusion of water in the architecture and creation of a *locus amoenus* also consists of its soundscape, such as bubbling

brooks, humming bees or rustling wind. The inclusion of animals in the soundscape of *loca amoena* is described by Rosenmeyer as follows:

> "The animals are the instrumentalists; without their voices the locus amoenus might easily become still and barren. Especially at moments of grief the animal chorus furnishes both the corroboration and the consolation."[671]

The latter observation will be repetitively included in the aspects of *Naturtrauer*.

One of Theocritus' most famous *loca amoena* can already be found in the introduction of the first idyll, when nature's music is introduced:

> Ἁδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα καὶ ἁ πίτυς αἰπόλε τήνα,
> ἁ ποτὶ ταῖς παγαῖσι μελίσδεται, ἁδὺ δὲ καὶ τὺ
> συρίσδες […].
> (Theoc. Id. I, 1 ff.)
> "Sweet is the whispering, goatherd, of the pine over there by the springs, and sweet is your pipe […]."

The goatherd continues a few verses later:

> Ἅδιον ὦ ποιμὴν τὸ τεὸν μέλος ἢ τὸ καταχὲς
> τῆν' ἀπὸ τᾶς πέτρας καταλείβεται ὑψόθεν ὕδωρ.
> (Theoc. Id. I, 7 f.)
> "Your song is sweeter than the swooshing water that flows down from the rocks up there."

Obviously, the motif of water fulfils several functions here; firstly, it is part of this very beautiful *locus amoenus* in visual and, more importantly for this subcategory, acoustic sense. The water does not only look beautiful in the landscape's scenery, it also "swooshes" and helps to create a soundscape. Elliger even argues that the reader of Theocritus often relies on a "Wahrnehmung der Landschaft durch das Ohr"[672]. Klooster agrees with the obvious acoustic properties of the first idyll:

> "The first line, an onomatopoeic series of a, i and u. sounds (hedu ti to psithurisma kai ha pitus aipole tena) evokes the fluty sound of the panpipe […], the bucolic instrument par excellence."[673]

In the context of these two examples from the 1st idyll, water has an atmospheric and mood-setting function, almost sucking the recipients into the scenery by the beautiful meaning and melodiousness of the

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[671] Rosenmeyer 1969: 134.
[672] Elliger 1975: 327.
[673] Klooster in De Jong 2012: 106.

words. The aesthetic experience of these idyllic bucolic poems is literal and very emotional, as it includes all senses. This way, an overall identification with the situation is achieved that would be missing without water: the combination of all elements and all senses creates a strongly-tangled web between humans and nature, a perfect interaction and symbiosis of all participants.

This divine connection between nature, immortals, humans and poetic progress can also be found in Idyll VII:

> πολλαὶ δ᾽ ἀμὶν ὕπερθε κατὰ κρατὸς δονέοντο
> αἴγειροι πτελέαι τε: τὸ δ᾽ ἐγγύθεν ἱερὸν ὕδωρ
> Νυμφᾶν ἐξ ἄντροιο κατειβόμενον κελάρυζε.
> (Theoc. Id. VII, 135 ff.)
> Above our heads, poplars and elms were rustling and holy water bubbled nearby and rushed forth from the nymph's grotto.

In this idyll, Klooster draws attention to the inclusion of all 5 senses in the *locus amoenus*:

> "The direct and sensual description of the rustic banquet, on a leafy couch, with cool splashing water, abundant, sweet-scented fruit, a 'bucolic orchestra of woodland animals and fragrant wine (all five senses are appealed to) is interrupted by references [...]."[674]

Again, the creation of land- and soundscape is the overpowering first impression, but the water's epithet "holy" (ἱερός, *hierós*) and the mentioning of the nymphs make this passage of text a very religiously charged insight into Hellenistic perception of water. This perception is not subject of coincidence or poetic hyperbole: water (and fire) were basic cleansing elements included in cultic and religious performances and water deities received worship in specific forms.[675] This consistent belief in a divine connection between water, nature and humans put water at the beginning of all things.[676]

Many *loca amoena* in the Virgilian context appear in a pastoral surrounding and include livestock and herdsmen, but a selection of examples can be found which transmit the features of the *locus amoenus* through the ear. A perfect example for this is the following:

> Meliboeus: [...]
>         Fortunate senex, hic, inter flumina nota

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[674] Klooster in De Jong 2012: 105.
[675] Thommen 2009: 59 f.
[676] "Sowohl das Wasser als auch das Feuer und die Luft galten als Urstoff, aus dem sich alle Dinge entwickelten. [...] Das Wasser war nicht nur Urelement, sondern bildete die Voraussetzung jeglichen Lebens." (Thommen 2009: 60).

et fontis sacros, frigus captabis opacum!
                    hinc tibi, quae semper, vicino ab limite, saepes
                    Hyblaeis apibus florem depasta salicti
                    saepe levi somnum suadebit inire susurro.
        (Verg. Ecl. I, 51 ff.)
        Meliboeus: […]
                    Lucky old man! Here by familiar streams
                    And hallowed springs you'll seek out cooling shade.
                    Here for you always, bees from the neighbouring hedge,
                    Feeding on willow blossoms, will allure
                    To slumber soft with their sweet murmurings.

As the political dimension of Virgil's *Eclogues* must not be underestimated, this excerpt shows the traceable opposition of past and present. The *locus amoenus* described features the familiar elements of springs and shades, blossoming nature and an acoustic interaction between landscape and viewers. The key words here are "familiar streams" ("flumina nota"): Meliboeus deems the old man lucky because he can still reside in a true *locus amoenus*, *his* personal paradise, which means he can spend time on his own land.[677] Alpers even describes the being among familiar streams as Meliboeus' "hallmark of happiness"[678]. The dilemma of home vs. foreign lands is described in the lines following this example: the *locus amoenus* at home is juxtaposed with horrible places abroad.[679] "Hallowed" is a common epithet for water: its holiness is achieved through their dedication to local deities[680] – this motif is very common in Theocritean Bucolics but is mentioned far less frequently in Latin Pastoral. Interestingly, the water produces "sweet murmurings" – "murmur" being a very common word in connection to waters in the English corpus. The "whispering" of the archetypical *locus amoenus* in Theocritus' first idyll has evolved.

    In the English corpus, the examples for sound-inclusion in a *locus amoenus* are introduced by the following excerpt from the *Shepherd's Calendar*, in which water sounds are joined by the sounds of wind, plants and birds:

    "The simple ayre, the gentle warbling wynde,
    So calme, so coole, as no where else I fynde,
    The grassye ground with daintye daysies dight,

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[677] Albrecht describes the mode of this passage as festive: "Der Ton ist dennoch im Ganzen feierlich (man denke an die „heiligen" Quellen: fontis sacros 52), fast hymnisch." Albrecht 2006: 16.
[678] Alpers 1979: 85.
[679] Cf. Albrecht 2006: 16.
[680] Cf. Alpers 1979: 85.

> The bramble bush, where byrds of every kynde
> To the waters fall their tunes attemper right."
> (The Shepherds' Calendar, June, P. 29, L. 4)

The individual elements here result in a murmuring soundscape with a soothing effect on the recipients[681]. The acoustic perception is the first direct connection of positivity and the place described. All sounds tune in one melodious ambient noise, creating a sense of well-being for the listener. CCCHA prays on a similar effect:

> "The speaking woods and murmuring waters fall,
> Her name Ile teach in knowen termes to frame:
> And eke my lambs, when for their dams they call,
> Ile teach to call for Cynthia by name."
> (Colin Clout's Come Home Again, L. 636, P. 694)

In this excerpt, the *locus amoenus* and its soundscape is combined with pastoral surrounding, and bleating lambs join the melodious orchestra of nature.

A self-conscious understanding of sound-creation and inclusion can be extracted from the following excerpt of the *Faerie Queene*:

> "And at the foote thereof, a gentle flud
> His siluer waues did softly tumble downe,
> Vnmard with ragged mosse or filthy mud;
> Ne mote wylde beastes, ne mote the ruder clowne
> Thereto approch, ne filth mote therein drowne:
> But Nymphes and Faeries by the bancks did sit,
> In the woods shade, which did the waters crowne,
> Keeping all noysome things away from it,
> And to the waters fall tuning their accents fit."
> (The Faerie Queene, Book VI, Canto X, 7)

Silver waves "softly tumble downe" but the nymphs and fairies sit by the river bank and keep "all noisome things away from it" so that they can tune their singing voices to the sounds of water ("And to the waters fall tuning their accents fit."). Here, water functions as a natural background to tune divine singing. The whole excerpt is a homage to the element and its sound-making abilities. Not only is the place's visual beauty described and works as typical *locus amoenus* where even goddesses and fairies meet, it is also a paradise for the ears.[682]

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[681] Kunze notes that "In dieser Ekloge wird nahezu das gesamte traditionelle Repertoire bukolischer Naturmotivik aufgeboten. […] Mit heimatlichen Zügen ausgestattet, vermag die ländliche Bildlichkeit die Vorstellung zu evozieren, dass hier und jetzt die Bedingungen der Vollkommenheit zu erfüllen seien." (Kunze 1978: 29 f.).
[682] In Lycidas, the idea of an acoustic paradise is picked up; John Milton combines the phonic expressions with visual:

*Britannia's Pastorals*, the longest poem in the corpus, offers surprisingly few examples for waters in the context of a *locus amoenus.* However, in Book I, the crystal condition of water is mentioned:

> "Iust halfe the way this solitary Groue,
> A Crystall Spring from either hill-side stroue,
> Which of them first should wooe the meeker ground,
> And make the Pibbles dance vnto their sound."
> (BP, Book I, Song IV, P. 118)

Crystal waters and dancing pebbles can also be found in the Hylas-episode, but this *locus amoenus* is different as it gives evidence for the manifestation of natural land- and soundscape and the appreciation of an unspoilt state of nature in pastoral poetry: without human interference, nature leads a happy, peaceful and paradisiac life.

### 3. **Pastoralism and Human Interference**

Pastoral poetry cannot rely on nature descriptions alone but requires human and natural interaction as well as social symbiosis; this proves that a *locus amoenus* can include humans as well as animals and gods and that human interference in nature must not necessarily be evil. The ancient and English corpus mention several examples of *loca amoena* in a directly pastoral context; pastoral, in this respect meaning "anything related to animal husbandry". In the following example from the Theocritean corpus, the description of a resting place appears in the cloak of a paradisiac *locus amoenus*:

> Δάφνις:   ἔστι δέ μοι παρ᾽ ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν στιβάς, ἐν δὲ νένασται
> λευκᾶν ἐκ δαμαλᾶν καλὰ δέρματα, τάς μοι ἀπάσας
> λὶψ κόμαρον τρωγοίσας ἀπὸ σκοπιᾶς ἐτίναξε.
> (Theoc. Id. IX, 9 ff.)
> Daphnis:   I made camp here next to the cool water and stretched
> out on fine skins of my white heifer, which the west-
> wind tossed down the cliff while they were grazing.

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"Ye valleys low where the milde whispers use,
Of shades and wanton winds, and gushing brooks,
On whose fresh lap the swart Star sparely looks,
Throw hither all your quaint enameld eyes
That on the green terf suck the honied showres,
And purple all the ground with vernal flowers."
(Lycidas, P. 189)
Acoustic elements such as "whispers" and "gushing brooks" are combined with colourful attributes: "enameld eyes" must take in "green terf", "honied showres" and "purple […] ground". These descriptions are a feat for the senses. Colourful images float the audience's minds. Water, specifically, is intertwined in both sensual perceptions: "gushing brooks" and "honied showres" convey both acoustic and visual impressions.

The *locus amoenus* here might be rural and simple but it fulfils the important function of radiating subjective perfection and personal perception of beauty. Again, partial insight into the herdsman's awareness and appreciation of his surroundings is given. This instance is one of the most realistic descriptions of what a herdsman might have perceived as his ideal space: a soft bedding close to their happily grazing flock and water nearby for washing, cooking and drinking. It must be kept in mind, however, that this description is architected by a Ptolemaic protégé living in Egypt who supplies his opinion on Sicilian country life.[683] This does not diminish the traces of Hellenistic realism in this example. According to Snell, Theocritus' relationship to his shepherds is as follows:

> "Theocritus, too, stands at a distance from his shepherds; being a man from the city, he looks down upon them partly with a feeling of superiority, partly with an open mind for the straight simplicity of their primitive life. The simplicity is more ideal than fact, and so his shepherds, in spite of all realism, remain fairly remote from the true life in the fields."[684]

He goes on to explain why Theocritus' shepherds are rather sophisticated:

> "Theocritus takes some pains to present a realistic picture of the life led by Sicilian shepherds. But in one respect they are anything rather than countryfolk: their mode is a literary one. […] "With deliberate irony he makes his Sicilian shepherds live above their intellectual means."[685]

The reason for this is the following:

> "Theocritus' herdsmen, notwithstanding their pastoral status, often prove to be urban intellectuals in disguise. […] The rustic life is made palatable to good society by its acquisition of manners and taste." [686]

It is very important to note that, again, water is present as a matter of course in this example, offering Daphnis' subjective attitudes towards nature.

A similar example can be taken from Moschus:

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[683] Marinelli sees the beginning of pastoral with "Theocritus remembering his Sicilian boyhood from the perspective of the over-ripe court of Alexandria in the first half of the third century." (Marinelli 1971: 10). His scepticism about Theocritus' actual expert knowledge on authentic shepherds' lifestyle and animal husbandry is obvious.
[684] Snell 1953: 287.
[685] Snell 1953: 285 f.
[686] Snell 1953: 287. f.

αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γλυκὺς ὕπνος ὑπὸ πλατάνῳ βαθυφύλλῳ,
καὶ παγᾶς φιλέοιμι τὸν ἐγγύθεν ἆχον ἀκούειν,
ἃ τέρπει ψοφέοισα τὸν ἀγρικόν, οὐχὶ ταράσσει.
(Mosch. Id. V, 11 ff.)
I think sleep is sweet under the many-leafed plane tree and I
love to hear the spring's sound close to me which brings joy to
a rustic person with its noise and does not frighten him.

This example offers a first-glimpse into the emotions of this "rustic
person" (τὸν ἀγρικόν, tón agrikón) and his expectations of a nice
place to rest.[687] He, too, mentions a spring and includes its acoustic
properties: the sound is a pleasure for him. It almost feels as if
the fact that the man can indulge in water's presence and soundscape
makes him a "rustic person". Here, water takes on the role of identity-
provider and highly characterises the individuals included.

   In the Latin corpus, the first example for a truly 'pastoral'
*locus amoenus* comes from the fifth eclogue, when the herdsman Mopsus
pays homage to the promethean herdsman Daphnis:

    Mopsus:     […]
                Spargite humum foliis, inducite fontibus umbras,
                pastores, mandat fieri sibi talia Daphnis;
                et tumulum facite, et tumulo superaddite carmen:
                "DAPHNIS EGO IN SILVIS HINC VSQUE AD SIDERA NOTVS"
                "FORMONSI PECORIS CVSTOS FORMONSIOR IPSE."
    (Verg. Ecl. V, 40 ff.)
    Mopsus:     […]
                Strew foliage on the ground and shade the springs,
                You shepherds – Daphnis calls for rites like these.
                Build him a mound and add this epitaph:
                "I woodland Daphnis, blazoned among stars,
                Guarded a lovely flock, still lovelier I."

The grief for the archetypical pastoral shepherd and poet Daphnis and
the poet Bion is an important theme in the literature of the Greek
bucolic poets: the fact that Daphnis is included in the Latin corpus
as well supports the precise reception of this Theocritean idyll. In
this example, the spring is clearly an essential part of the *locus
amoenus* that surrounds Daphnis' funeral rites: the spring is located
in a typical shade, uniting the ultimate sense of cooling, refreshment
and water's background noises make out the beauty of the spot. Here,
water is crucial for atmospheric setting and mood guidance and relies

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[687] Elliger contrasts this description of a lovely spring with the mentioning of the
rough sea later in the poem. For him, the spring emits the feeling of safety and
refuge everybody can comprehend whereas the seafaring and sea-loving individual's
emotions towards the relentless and dangerous are not commonly shared. (Cf. Elliger
1975: 370).

on its ornamental function. Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that this *locus amoenus* describes a funeral: the juxtaposition of beautiful surrounding and sad event is typically Theocritean feature and its transfer to Latin pastoral remarkable.

Eclogue seven gives the prototypical description of a pastoral *locus amoenus* in pastoral context:

> Meliboeus: […]
> "huc ades, O Meliboee, caper tibi salvus et haedi;
> et, si quid cessare potes, requiesce sub umbra.
> huc ipsi potum venient per prata iuvenci,
> hic viridis tenera praetexit arundine ripas
> Mincius, eque sacra resonant examina quercu.
> (Verg. Ecl. VII, 9 ff.)
> Meliboeus: […]
> "Come here, Meliboe; your goat and kids are safe.
> If you can stop a while. Rest in the shade.
> To drink here, willing bullocks cross the fields;
> Here slender reeds border the verdant banks
> Of Mincius, and the cult-oak hums with bees."

Meliboeus talks of a prototypical place for the convention of herdsmen: shade, peaceful animals, cool drinks, slender plants, reeds and bees. The whole description is a perfect picture of fertility and celebrates nature's assets: the herdsmen and their flocks fit well within their natural habitat and do not cause disruptions but rather harmoniously add to the landscape's wealth. Water is mentioned twice in this excerpt in the forms of sweet drinking water and the river Mincius. Unlike in the Greek convention of herdsmen, this meeting takes place at a river rather than a spring and the herdsmen do not attempt a singing contest. The explicitly mentioned humming of the bees adds to the pastoral soundscape.[688]

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[688] Again, in Eclogue 7 there is another herdsman, Corydon, relating the surroundings of a *locus amoenus* and the inclusion of water:
Corydon:      Muscosi fontes et somno mollior herba,
              et quae vos rara viridis tegit arbutus umbra,
              solstitium pecori defendite; iam venit aestas
              torrida, iam lento turgent in palmite gemmae.
(Verg. Ecl. VII, 44 ff.)
Corydon:      You mossy founts, and grass as slumber soft,
              You green arbutus. Spreading checkered shade,
              Screen my flock from the heat, the scorching season
              Comes: now curling vine shoots swell and bud.
The topic bears great similarity to Meliboeus' description but it lacks the social function: Meliboeus narrates the invitation someone else gave to him. Corydon, however, describes his individual experience. In his example, moss and founts, soft grass, growing vines and cooling shade are the key elements of the *locus amoenus* that is contrasted with the dry heat: „Die uns eher abschreckende Vorstellung schattiger Kühle […] suggeriert dem von Hitze geplagten Südländer umgekehrt ein behagliches, mäßig warmes Klima." (Albrecht 2006: 16).

All examples for strictly pastoral *loca amoena* in the English corpus come from *Idea, The Shepherd's Garland* and *Britannia's Pastorals*:

> "Come lovely shepheards sit we down & chant our Betas prayse:
> And let us sing: so rare a verse,
> Our Beta prayses to rehearse
> That little Birds shall silent be, to heare poore shepheards sing,
> And riuers backward bend their course, & flow vnto the spring."
> (Idea, the Shepherd's Garland, Eclogue III, P. 8)

This "sitting down" happens as a spur-of-the moment decision as does the chanting; the waters of rivers and springs are so touched by the springing that it influences their course. The singing also trumps the birds' singing. The situation is typically pastoral since love-sick shepherds start artistic creation in a nature-embedded surrounding. Since the pastoral convention had already been established, the scene can be seen as meta-pastoral: this means that the shepherds, being aware of their emotional and professional state, would directly seek out a pastoral meeting point for sing according to preceding pastoral traditions based on symbolised conventions.

In *Britannia's Pastoral* the first example comes from the fifth song:

> "For where I whilome sung the loues of Swaines,
> And woo'd the Crystall Currants of the Plaines,
> Teaching the Birds to loue, whilst every Tree
> Gaue his attention to my Melodie […]."
> (BP, Book I, Song V, P. 126)

Swains are mentioned as are song and landscape descriptions. The inclusion of trees, "plaines" and "Crystall Currants" involve nature and spatial positions in the creation of this *locus amoenus*. Again, this description bears crucial pastoral traits.

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Fruitfulness and prolificacy dominate in the paradisiac surrounding of the *locus amoenus,* introducing recreation and peace to the strained herdsman. Here, water functions as the base of life and development. The moist surrounding is crucial in the contrast between coolness and heat, work and relaxation. Very remarkably, the Virgilian herdsmen mention their flock more regularly in the context of the *locus amoenus* than their Greek predecessors. This might be to show close attachment between the cattle and their profession and their profession and their sense of identity: separation of these elements seem impossible.

**Conclusion**

In all corpora and subcategories, the predominant function of waters in the *locus amoenus* is the ornamental function. Starting from this observation, its resulting functions of characterising characters (such as the unknown speaker in the Moschus example) and the intent of a mirroring nature (as can be seen in Polyphemus presentation of nature and himself) becomes strikingly obvious.

Theocritus and Moschus use the *locus amoenus* for several reasons: The most important one, mood setting and evoking emotional responses as preparation for the poem, have already been named in the beginning of this chapter. Several more include the juxtaposition of peaceful silence in the countryside and the herdsmen's inner turmoil. Rural space works as a white canvas on which the protagonists can project their emotions. This "human distress" clashes with the calmness of the animals the herdsmen guard; they are forced to look at their peaceful, natural life, free of emotions and unbothered by Eros.

The background-providing features of water with visual and acoustic elements function as base for an all-sense experience of the poem's surrounding. With their help, all recipients receive first-hand emotional and aesthetic experiences of the background providing the base for song production through the way of eyes and ears. All this secures perfect identification and involvement of both intra- and extradiegetic recipients.

The example from Moschus' fragment V introduces the function of water as an identity-establisher for a "rustic person" who described his feelings towards water and its sounds as a thing typically loved and tolerated by a specific group of people; not only does he describe his personal *locus amoenus* around a spring, he also explains the necessity of water to the "rustics" and underlines the important relationship between water and human inhabitants of nature. This scenario displays identity-providing features.

Due to the connection between waters and holiness, water functions as an intermediator between nature, gods and humans in the *locus amoenus*. This knowledge is acquired by the symbiosis between water deities and the social aspect of the spring as meeting points for poetic song production. Water is an opportunity for mortals to

interact with divine forces (e.g. Europa, Polyphemus) and connects (as well as divides) the realm of the mortals and the divine. Further examples for water's implied holiness will be discussed in the following chapters.

Several individual *loca amoena* encountered in the poems of Theocritus and Moschus present another side of the water-motif: the function of water as a personal canvas for subjective information about the perception of aesthetics; through the individuals' description of their personal *locus amoenus* and its watery components, the reader gets a glimpse of their subjective opinions. The self-evident inclusion of water into these spatial designs show the naturalness and importance of water as an ever-present component of these individual's everyday surrounding and add to the interpretation that water was usually considered an important object in people's everyday life. Nünlist agrees: "In den poetologischen Vergleichungen ist das lebensnotwendige Wasser ebenso präsent und wichtig wie im 'normalen' Leben."[689] This individual spatial design conveys cultural aesthetics and hence cultural identity.

The Virgilian approach to the *locus amoenus* emphasises the inclusion of cattle in water-contexts and the obvious inclusion of shade and coolness as opposed to heat and exhaustion. Both remarks belong together: with Virgil, a herdsman can only rest happily when his flock is safe and well taken care of. Another aspect of the shade is humidity: moss and shades are mentioned several times and slow nurture is dominant in these examples, opposed to the bubbling fountains promoting poetry production and quick growth in the Greek examples: The focus is laid on dwelling moisture instead of flowing waters.

In terms of soundscape creation, display of beauty perception and recipient inclusion, Virgil agrees with the Greek corpus. The realism found in Greek bucolic with its distinct descriptions of landscapes is clearly transferred to the Latin pastoral. In contrast to Theocritus, Moschus and Bion, Virgil does not fail to utilise his *loca amoena* as a canvas for the portrayal of political interference. Whereas Theocritus instrumentalises water as connector between nature, human and the divine (the frequent use of the epithet "holy" for water

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[689] Nünlist 1998: 205.

bears proof of this), Virgil avoids the inclusion of gods and goddesses in the context but rather mentions the effects of political developments on beautiful countryside[690]: the "lucky old man" from the first eclogue who can still reside in familiar spaces is the key witness for this Virgilian juxtaposition of life before and after political interference.

There are no examples of sea waters used as a motif in the *locus amoenus* in the Latin and English context. The Latin corpus offers several landlocked examples for the *locus amoenus* and the political and the opposed, figuratively pastoral interaction bear more importance; again, the limited text body of the Latin corpus also restricts the number of suitable examples for the subcategories.

The conventions of the English corpus on fresh waters in a *locus-amoenus* context could be explained with a heavy reliance on divine appearances usually connected to fresh waters rather than the sea Also, the English corpus offers several examples featuring animal-husbandry, shepherds and swains as the imminent pastoral world in the English corpus is usually situated in landlocked places. Moreover, this *locus amoenus* functions as the background for the meeting and resting of swains and is embedded in a hilly scenery or a forest: trees and springs are mentioned and so are birds and their chirping. Since the birds associated with the sea are usually seagulls, their song might not be as suitable as the melodies of songbirds like the nightingale's.

Many similarities between the classic corpus and the English can be found in terms of using the water-motif as an essential part of the organisation and creation of a *locus amoenus.* The motif functions as a mood-setting device, relying heavily on its impressive visual and acoustic presentation. These descriptions guarantee shared, similar experience by characters and recipients and a deeper connection to the whereabouts and the mood of the poems.

The most remarkable difference between the examples of the ancient corpus and the early modern is the excessive use of colourful and valuable epitheta for the individual waters in the English corpus.

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[690] „Die Paradoxie, dass der civis durch den barbarus aus seinem Besitz vertrieben wird und seinerseit in die Fremde gehen muss, kennzeichnet eindrucksvoll die völlig aus den Fugen geratene Zeit." (Kettemann 1977: 16).

The imagery of colours reflected on the water bodies as well as the outstanding chromaticity of surrounding features does not only underline the water's importance due to its reflecting abilities but also human appreciation of the element.

The English corpus offers numerous examples of *loca amoena* including water-related visual and acoustic output, creating a holistic sensual experience for any recipient of the poem. It also functions as a reminder of the diversity and variability of the water motif.

### 4.1.4.    Horrible Places

In the previous chapters, waters were featured in various natural surroundings and worked as a transmitter of positive emotions and an aid in creating an idyllic background for poetry production and love declaring (some aspects of the border motif present exceptions). However, there are several instances in all three corpora which present water as something dangerous or horrific despite the already mentioned symbol of water as border and death. such occurrences introduce a new facet of water's integration into nature, and the imminent effects of horrible fabula and story spaces have on characters and recipients.

The most frequent use of water as *locus horribilis* is, as the name suggests, antithetical to its use in the *locus amoenus:* the poets play with the usually established picture of water as a peaceful, atmosphere-creating device in the architecture of an idyllic place and juxtapose it with the element's raw natural force. Snyder finds this ambiguity of beauty and horror vital for the thematic versatility of pastoral poetry:

> "Pastoral postulates the ideal, then, but derives its power from including, or being predicated upon, antipastoral elements: time, death, conflict, civilization, frustrated desire."[691]

In the *locus horribilis*, various forms of waters serve these antipastoral elements, ranging from fresh to sea waters as well as storm, rain and hail. All occurrences of waters in the context of a

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[691] Snyder 1998: 3.

negatively-connotated place gathered in this category give examples for the water-motif as literary tool to implement the feeling of unpleasantness or horror.


## 1.FRESH WATERS

Fresh water examples for the creation of a *locus horribilis* include rivers, streams and springs. This excerpt from the 25th idyll offers proof of nature's innate force and uses waters and animals as a simile. Theocritus instrumentalises the image of an overflowing river as example of the external threat of natural disaster in the following simile :

πάντας γὰρ πισῆας ἐπικλύζων ποταμὸς ὢς
λῖς ἄμοτον κεράιζε, μάλιστα δὲ Βεμβιναίους […].
(Theoc. Id. XXV, 201 f.)
"Then the lion attacked the inhabitants of the plain horribly
just like an overflowing river, the Bembineans most of all […]."

It is important to point out that in this case, the threatening water force is represented by a river rather than a raging sea. The effect is intimidating and creates a bleak background for the story. Since the 25th idyll deals with the 12 labours of Heracles, this setting as frame of the time "before the intervention of the hero" is strategically important. The darker the picture before Heracles' intervention, the more glorious his actions: water aids the achievement of a feeling of oppression and fear.

The second example from the classical corpus comes from Virgil's tenth eclogue, which mainly focusses on water as an indicator for weather- conditions and seasonal developments:

Alpinas, ah dura, nives et frigora Rheni
me sine sola vides: ah, te ne frigora laedant!
ah, tibi ne teneras glacies secet aspera plantas!
(Verg. Ecl. X, 47 ff.)
You see the snowy Alps and icy Rhine,
Alone, without me. Oh, may biting frosts
Not harm you, nor ice wound your tender feet.

Mentioning foreign areas and water's appearance in its most uncomfortable and harmful weather dimension (ice and snow) sets a negative mood. Waters are the most important helper in the architecture of these places in the examples. The prevalent feeling of the recipients after experiencing these lines is distress,

bleakness and discomfort – an effect mainly achieved by using the negative aspects of different forms of water. Moreover, the inclusion of far-away areas and rivers adds to the emotional distance and uneasiness of these lines. It is implied that this emotional and physical distance needs to be reduced and the water bodies overcome to turn this *locus horribilis* to a personal happy place. At the end of the poem, the following lines reverse the *locus horribilis* and the *locus amoenus* once again: "The shade weighs heavily on singers, / The shade of junipers, and shade harms crops- / Go home well fed, my goats, go: Vesper comes."[692] The end of Ecl. X is also the end of the *Bucolica,* when sheep are led home and vesper is ready: Notably, the interplay between good and bad shade is prominent in these lines of farewell,[693] perfectly demonstrating the interplay between an actual *locus amoenus* and its counterpart.

Negative examples of fresh waters are more frequent in the English corpus; they appear in various forms but start with *Astrophel* in the context of *Naturtrauer* and lament:

> "Woods, hills and rivers now are desolate,
> Sith he is gone the which them all did grace:
> And all the fields do waile their widow state,
> Sith death their fearest flower did late deface.
> The fairest flower in field that ever grew
> Was Astrophel; that was, we all may rew."
> (Astrophel, P. 703, L. 25 ff.)

In this example, water blends into the landscape description of a now deserted place loaded with emotional connection; Astrophel's absence is felt by the whole of nature and waters, in this case rivers, are part of the holistic picture. The location described is a before-after comparison marking Astrophel's disappearance: in perfect contradiction of a *locus amoenus*, the creation of these places evokes negative emotional responses and highlights the absence of the recently deceased Astrophel. All elements of the place could also be put in a positive context, but the intention changes their appeal. The ambiguity of natural elements and their varying use in contradictory compositions are a speciality of pastoral poetry.

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[692] "solet esse gravis cantantibus umbra, / iuniperi gravis umbra; nocet et frugibus umbrae. / Ite domum saturate, venit Hesperus, ite capellae." (Verg. Ecl. X, 70 ff.)
[693] "[…] the shade […] elsewhere in the Eclogues is a sign of pastoral ease and the peacefulness of evening." (Alpers 1979: 238).

Sir Walter Ralegh's literary reply to Christopher Marlowe's *Passionate Shepherd* uses the reversal of Marlowe's poetry composition itself to achieve an almost comical turnaround. Instead of Marlowe's beautiful, highly idolised idea of pastoral and the wooing of lovers, Ralegh confronts his recipients with a similar set-up loaded with negative connotation:

> "Time drives the flocks from field to fold,
> When Rivers rage, and Rocks grow cold,
> And Philomell becommeth dombe,
> The rest complaines of cares to come."
> (The Nymph's Reply, P. 78)

Suddenly, the marvellous pastures and lovely meadows of Marlowe's country-life description disappear into the architecture of a horrible place: "Rivers rage" and all the other features of a *locus amoenus* disappear, too. Ralegh's eloquent, cold turn to the demystification of the pastoral lifestyle is another involvement of poetic realism; of course, his version is just as exaggerated as Marlowe's. The intent, however, is very clear: nature is unpredictable and a lifestyle dependent on natural forces is not only dangerous, but also troublesome and tedious. Ralegh's "raging rivers" bear witness to these ideas.

The descriptions of landscape and nature in Country House poems are predominantly amoenic, as can be seen in *To Saxham* or *Description of Cookham*[694]. *Cooper's Hill* is very different in that regard:

> When a Calme River rais'd with suddaine Raines,
> Or Snowes dissolv'd, oreflowes the adioyninge plaines;
> The husbandmen with high rais'd banks secure
> Their greedy hopes, & this hee can endure:
> But if with Bays, & Dams they strive to force
> His current to a new or narrow Course,
> No longer then within his banks he dwells,
> First to a torrent then a deluge swells:

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[694] In *Description of Cookham*, Noble argues for a change from *locus amoenus* to *locus horribilis*. This is, however, not predominantly caused by water: "[…] the landscape transforms itself from a *locus amoenus*, an idealized environment (the estate's gardens and grounds in all their glory) to a *locus horribilis,* a depraved environment (this same landscape stripped bare) in a cultural-ecological imperative wherein the disempowerment of the female speaker and the degradation of the human and nonhuman produces a poetics of ecological awareness deeply critical of existing hierarchical systems that exploit both people and the environment." (Noble in Munroe 2015: 99). He then goes on to explain this shift as trait of ecological decline: "The shift from *locus amoenus* to locus horribils is rapid and devastating. In this expression of ecological decline the poem performs a cultural-ecological function and inserts itself into the reality of what was occurring in the surrounding environment." (Ibid. P. 105.).

> Stronger & fercer by restraint he Roares,
> And knows no bound, but makes his power his shores."
> (Cooper's Hill, P. 90, L. 307 ff.)

Using a river that was once "calme" but is now "rais'd with suddaine Raines", this excerpt takes the audience on a journey following the river's way to the shore. The nature and water descriptions in this example are powerful rather than beautiful; in ecocritical terms the raging of rivers could be interpreted as revolting against human interference and protesting constraint. The horrific effect of humans shivering at the imagination of such an untameable natural force is reached. The river which "knows no bounds" signifies the power of nature and demonstrates human defencelessness in the cosmos. In this example, the water motif is used in various interpretative aspects: it functions as a divider, an increaser of distance between recipients and described landscape. The scaring effects do not increase the recipient's desire to reduce this distance but rather act to the desire to leave this place behind.

## 2. SEA WATERS

Sea waters in a negative context are much more frequent in the classic corpus than fresh waters[695]. The first example from Theocritus is in many ways unique:

> ἀλλ᾽ ἀφίκευσο ποθ᾽ ἀμέ, καὶ ἐξεῖς οὐδὲν ἔλασσον,
> τὰν γλαυκὰν δὲ θάλασσαν ἔα ποτὶ χέρσον ὀρεχθεῖν.
> ἅδιον ἐν τὤντρῳ παρ᾽ ἐμὶν τὰν νύκτα διαξεῖς.
> ἐντὶ δάφναι τηνεῖ, ἐντὶ ῥαδιναὶ κυπάρισσοι,
> ἔστι μέλας κισσός, ἔστ᾽ ἄμπελος ἁ γλυκύκαρπος,
> ἔστι ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ, τό μοι ἁ πολυδένδρεος Αἴτνα
> λευκᾶς ἐκ χιόνος ποτὸν ἀμβρόσιον προΐητι.
> τίς κα τῶνδε θάλασσαν ἔχειν καὶ κύμαθ᾽ ἕλοιτο;
> (Theoc. Id. XI, 42 ff.)
> "So, come with me, you will not find it worse! Let the blue sea rumble against the shore, you will spend a sweeter night with me in the cave! Here there are laurels and slender cypresses, dark ivy and a grapevine heavy with sweet fruits and there is a cool stream, which Etna with the many trees fills me with white snow for ambrosial drink! Who would choose the sea and its waves instead?"

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[695] For a detailed account of the sea's dangers please also see chapter 4.2.5. and its section on sea-faring.

The cyclops Polyphemus desperately pleads to his love Galateia to come to him and spend time in his company; since Galateia is a nymph and inhabits the depths of the blue sea in distance, he draws a very negative picture of the ocean to praise his habitat in the forestry mountains on the shore.[696] He contrasts the aggressive and rumbly sea and its waves with the lovely sweet waters in the snow-fed stream: in only eight verses, Theocritus creates both a *locus amoenus* and *locus horribilis* with the help of different kinds of waters: as Polyphemus himself cannot cross the border to reach Galateia, an invitation to his grove is the only option for him to be close to his loved one, so he attacks and discounts Galatea's habitat, the sea and produces a very emotional and positive description of his lovely surroundings – a method crucial for persuasion. Here, water functions as a carrier of both emotional and natural atmosphere.

The threatening features of the sea are pointed out in another example of Theocritus' poems:

> οὐδεὶς δ᾽ ἐν μέσσῳ γείτων· πενία δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτὰν
> θλιβομέναν καλύβαν τρυφερὸν προσέναχε θάλασσα.
> (Theoc. Id. XXI, 17 f.)
> "There was no neighbour around; they lived in poverty and around the dear shelter the sea came up close and pressed on the shore."

The pressing sea may not present an imminent and fatal threat: after all, the fishermen are humans and must live on land. However, the closeness of their shelter to the element that feeds and supports them is by choice. The narrator still emphasises the presence of a threatening and rumbling sea – a fact that could classify him as an outsider, since the fishermen in the shelter are probably already used to the smell and noise of the sea and would not mention its noisy presence specifically. This lets the interesting question after the intended recipient arise[697]. As mentioned before, this idyll has been

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[696] Elliger agrees: „Vor diesem Hintergrund des ungastlichen Meeres sollen sich die idyllischen Vorzüge der Polyphembehausung um so verführerischer entfalten." (Elliger 1975: 345).

[697] In the same idyll, one fisherman relates a dream to his companion where he caught a golden fish and was then scared of Poseidon's possible fury. He ends the narration of this dream with the following sentence:
ὤμοσα δ᾽ οὐκέτι λοιπὸν ὑπὲρ πελάγους πόδα θεῖναι,
ἀλλὰ μενεῖν ἐπὶ γᾶς καὶ τῷ χρυσῷ βασιλεύσειν.
(Theoc. Id. XXI, 59 f.)
"And I swore that in the future I would never again touch the sea with my foot but to stay on land and reign over the gold."
Because of his theft the sea has now become a frightful place for the fisherman, whose chosen profession used to make it a familiar, hospitable place. The imagined

called one of the most realistic mimes of Theocritus[698] and does not display romanticised views on rustic life.

In the following example, the watery threat for sea-faring travellers and its perils is touched upon; in the Dioscuri, the recipients witness a terrible storm and shipwreck.

> […] παταγεῖ δ᾽ εὐρεῖα θάλασσα,
> κοπτομένη πνοιαῖς τε καὶ ἀρρήκτοισι χαλάζαις.
> (Theoc. Id. XXII, 15 ff.)
> "The wide sea clashed around and was pierced by wind and broken hail."

Unsurprisingly for this topic, a quotation full of sharp and aggressive vocabulary can be found in this excerpt: the water is "pierced" by "broken hail" and the sea "clashes around".[699] In the Greek original, an accumulation of plosive consonants, especially π (pi), intensify the effect of abruptness; the eruptive nature of these sounds adds to the effect of sudden and unpredictable interruptions and the unsteadiness of natural forces.

For mortals, the sea is inhospitable and scary. They much prefer the land, as can be seen in the final example:

> ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν ἀχήσῃ πολιὸς βυθός, ἁ δὲ θάλασσα
> κυρτὸν ἐπαφρίζῃ, τὰ δὲ κύματα μακρὰ μεμήνῃ,
> ἐς χθόνα παπταίνω καὶ δένδρεα, τὰν δ᾽ ἅλα φεύγω,
> γᾶ δέ μοι ἀσπαστά, χἀ δάσκιος εὔαδεν ὕλα,
> ἔνθα καὶ ἢν πνεύσῃ πολὺς ὤνεμος, ἁ πίτυς ᾄδει.
> (Mosch. Id. V, 4 ff.)
> "When the grey deep and the sea flare up and great waves foam from far away, I look around for land and trees and flee the salty water. I only like the trusty pastures and shadowy forests, where the pine tree sings when strong wind blows."

Again, the *locus horribilis* of the sea is contrasted with a true locus amoenus on land. As soon as the sea shows an unpredictable, dangerous behaviour, the character flees and remains on shore. To underline his

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anger of Poseidon drives this individual to extremes: he forsakes water forever and vows to stay on land. In this example, the presence of a god makes the sea a horrible place. The much talked about connection between water, nature and divinity is here turned into a negative linkage. Theocritus skilfully contrasts the poor life of the fisherman with incredible wealth: usually, the person of the fisherman was considered a poor worker at the bottom of society; he did not grow agricultural goods (where wealth and security lay), but relied on old methods of hunting and gathering in an environment that let wealthy towners shiver: the sea was often considered a dangerous parallel world, hard, relentless and barren. (Cf. Thommen 2009: 55 f.).

[698] Cf. Böschenstein-Schäfer in Garber 1976: 11.

[699] Very prominent in this idyll is the inclusion of Homeric vocabulary: εὐρεῖα θάλασσα (heureia thálassa), "wide sea" is a "common Homeric epithet […]." (Cf. Sens 1997: 87).

choice, the setting on land is described with an overly beautiful and exaggerated portrayal of landscape idyll; a normal countryside or shore area becomes a locus amoenus nothing short of what would now be perceived as paradise or the Garden Eden. Strikingly enough, the narrator also includes a soundscape in his description: whereas the aggressive sea "flares up" and "foams", the wind "blows" and the trees "sing", pointing out the difference between the areas. This personal preference corresponds to a pastoral identification of the characters, as the preferred waters identify the poetic personae and their lifestyle.

The following example from Virgil's ninth eclogue is a direct correspondence with the 11ᵗʰ idyll of Theocritus and repeats Polyphemus' plea to Galateia for a visit of his home. Very similarly, he marks his cave on land in the brightest and most beautiful colours while bad-mouthing Galateia's current home, the sea:

Moeris:     […]
            `huc ades, O Galatea; quis est nam ludus in undis
            hic ver purpureum; varios hic flumina circum
            fundit humus flores; hic candida populus antro
            imminet, et lentae texunt umbracula vites.
            huc ades: insani feriant sine litora fluctus.
(Verg. Ecl. IX, 39 ff.)
Moeris:     […]
            "Come Galatea, what sport is there at sea?
            Here earth pours forth spring flowers, many hues
            Brighten the streams, and silver poplars arch
            The cave where vines compliant weave their shade.
            Come – leave the waves to rage and lash the shore!"

The hyperbolic and idealised description of the land only serves the purpose of luring Galateia away from her natural habitat. Suddenly the "waves rage" and they "lash the shore". This negative vocabulary is juxtaposed with the lovely fresh water she might find on land with him: hues "brighten the streams" there and really, no "sport" or fun is left at sea. Cleverly, the cyclops constructs the *locus horribilis* right next to a beautiful location in text and in person: his cave is very close to the shore, and so is the locus amoenus to the *locus horribilis* in the text - the lines directly follow each other.[700] Since this episode was obviously modelled after the Theocritean original,

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[700] The concept and imagery of water as the door of the performed paraclausithyron explained in 4.1.2. is repeated here.

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it proves that the underlying idea of amoenic and horrific waters survived the time gap and literary developments from the Hellenistic period to the Roman classic.

English examples for sea water in horrible places use the interplay of waves, tides and the sea's depth for the motif in terms of danger, brutish force and unpredictability. In CCCHA, a shepherd utters his opinion on the sea:

> "'[…]So to the sea we came; the sea? That is
> A world of waters geaped up on hie,
> Rolling like mountains in wide wildernesse,
> Horrible, hideous, roaring with hoarse crie.'
> 'And is the sea' quoth Coridon, 'so fearfull?'
> 'Fearful much more' quoth he, 'then hart can fear:
> Thousand wyld beasts with deep mouthes gaping direfull
> Therin stil wait poore passengers to teare. […]'"
> (CCCHA, P. 689, L. 196 ff.)

This example explicitly mentions wild beasts and horrible sea-monsters setting out "poore passengers to teare". The acoustics support the horrors: the sea is "hoaring with hoarse crie". All in all, the shepherd delivers a convincing description of abominations and the shepherd identifies himself as a land-loving herdsman through his abhorrence of the sea. Later in the poem, this disbelief for voluntarily crossing the land-sea border and risking life in the depths of the sea is repeated:

> "And yet as ghastly and dreadful as it seems,
> Bold men, presuming life for gaine to seek,
> Dare tempt that gulf, and in those wandring stremes
> Seek waies unknowne, waies leading down to hell."
> (CCCHA, P. 689, L. 208 ff.)

The "wandring stremes" indicate the ever-ongoing change in the natural surroundings; they might point to tides directly or indirectly, to constant development in landscape and nature. All features of the description have a chilling overtone, accentuating the bravery of sea-faring men.[701] It can be argued that CCCHA displays a very unfavourable

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[701] The perception of a dangerous sea is again mentioned in L. 271 of the poem:
"[…] An island which the first to west was showne.
From thence another world of land we kend,
Floting amid the sea in jeopardie,
And round about with mightie white rocks hemd,
Against the seas encroaching crueltie."
(CCCHA, P. 690, L. 271 ff.)
The juxtaposition of a safe, yet foreign, island versus the relentless and cruel sea is striking. Even though unknown foreign lands might bear numerous dangers and potentially life-threatening encounters (the *Odyssey* is a perfect example for this

view on the sea altogether; this is not surprising since the pastoral lifestyle connected to Colin Clout and his fellows is based on a landlocked way of life. The sea, on the other hand, represents the great unknown – ignorance about its uncertainty and unpredictability make the sea a horrible place for a herdsman.

The danger that comes with travelling the sea is also a topic in Milton's lament *Lycidas*:

> "Now Lycidas the Shepherds weep no more;
> Henceforth thou art the Genius of the shore,
> In thy large recompense, and shalt be good
> To all that wander in that perilous flood."
> (Lycidas, P. 190)

The flood is described as "perilous", which is relatable since the protagonists of the poem, just as Milton's dear friend, died in the flood. Unlike CCCHA, *Lycidas* ends on an almost positive note with a hopeful outlook into the future; he is now guiding and guarding future sea-farers and receives the epithet of "Genius of the shore". Still, the anticipation of the sea as a dangerous place remains.

The dangers of sea-faring are also mentioned in *Bermudas*:

> "What should we do but sing his Praise
> That led us through the watry Maze,
> Unto an Isle, so long unknown,
> And yet far kinder than our own?
> Where he the huge Sea-Monsters wracks,
> That lift the Deep upon their Backs.
> He lands us on a grassy Stage;
> Safe from the Storms, and Prelat's rage."
> (Bermudas, P. 210)

The island is appreciated as a saviour from the sea's peril, a safe haven to escape the sea-monsters that already scared others. The "grassy stage" is opposed to the sea, the "the Storms, and Prelat's rage." The sea, a "watry maze", intimidated the sea-farers just as its monsters; all in all, the sea is described as dangerous and gloomy, dark compared to the light of the island and the positivity it represents.

The motif of horrible sea creatures, beasts and monsters can also be found in the 8th eclogue of *Idea, The Shepherd's Garland*:

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theory), the crew is still happy to leave the sea behind. Nevertheless, it is mentioned that even this safe-haven is in jeopardy since it is "floting amid" and only has white rocks to safe itself from "the seas encroaching crueltie."

> "Then lofty Pines were by ambition hewne,
> And men sea-monsters swamme the brackish flood,
> In wainscot tubs, to seeke out world vnknowne,
> For certain ill to leaue assured good."
> (Idea, The Shepherd's Garland, 8th Eclogue, P. 31)

Again, sea-faring is portrayed very negatively; unlike the example from CCCHA, the brave men undertaking this endeavour are not praised but rather represented as greedy fools ready to leave "assured good" in order "to seeke out world vnknowne". The flood, too, receives the negative epithet "brackish" and ships are derogatorily called "wainscot tubs".[702]

*Britannia's Pastorals* offers another interplay between water and death:

> „[…] but when as in the water
> The corpse came sinking downe, he spide the matter,
> And catching softly in his arms the Maid,
> He brought her vp, and hauing gently laid
> Her on his banke, did presently command
> Those waters in her to come forth: at hand
> They straight came gushing out, and did contest
> Which chiefly should obey their Gods beheft."
> (BP, Book I Song II, P. 54)

The water god who refuses to have his elements involved in the murder of a young maid interferes with the natural progression of things and saves the young women. This water god was already included in the "Border" chapter - once again this excerpt is special because it shows the element personified and distributes emotions and thoughts to it. It also does not present water as the scrupulous murderer of a young woman nor a cold and wet crime scene but opens up new dimensions of interpretation by adding a conscience to the element. The episode is building up tension as the recipient wants to see whether the maid is saved. The ambiguity of water in this example is extraordinary for the English corpus: in no other excerpt turns water from the wet grave of a "corpse came sinking downe" to the saviour of a suicidal maid when "they straight came gushing out, and did contest which chiefly should obey their Gods beheft." Although the situation and place described is far from beautiful, the threatening waters from this

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[702] Sea-faring and ist identity-providing abilities will be dealt with in detail in chapter 4.2.5.

excerpt end up in a positive context when they leave and hence save the girl.

A very different picture is painted later in the poem, when waters take on a negative role and help create an unhappy location:

> "So for the Swaine the Floud did meane to him
> To shew in Nature (not by Art to limbe)
> A Tempests rage, his furious waters threat,
> Some on this shoare, some on the other beat.
> Here stands a Mountaine, where was once a Dale;
> There where a Mountaine stood is now a Vale.
> Here flows a billow, there another meets:
> Each, on each side the skiffe, vnkindly greets.
> The waters vnderneath gan vpward moue,
> Wondering what stratagems were wrought aboue:
> Billowes that missed the boat, still onwards thrust,
> And on the Cliffes, as swolne with anger, burst.
> All these, and more, in substance so exprest,
> Made the beholders thoughts to take no rest.
> Horror in triumph rid vpon the waues:
> And all the Furies from their gloomy causes
> Came houering o're the Boat, summond each fence
> Before the fearfull barre of Conscience."
> (BP, Book I Song II, P. 79)

The powerful imagery of raging tempests, bursting waves, waters crushing on a cliff and raging furies groping the passing boats creates the very essence of a *locus horribilis*. Every sensual perception leads to a horror for both swain and recipients. Unpleasantness, uneasiness and disposition dominate the perception of this situation and location and water is the key transmitter of these emotions. Here, the mirroring function of water is highlighted.

For the motif of sea waters and their impact on the creation of horrible places it needs to be mentioned that they rather create horrible situations than locations; most of these scenarios include the dangers of sea-faring and sea-travel and do not point to one specific place.[703] It is also important to point out that the dangers connected to waters, and sea waters especially, usually surface in the context of turmoil and changing weather conditions and can be found to varying extent in all three corpora; they often respond with

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[703] The sheer endless width and depth of the sea justifies inaccuracy in this respect. In the examples dealing directly with water, the sea's acoustics play a major role: the soundscape is just as important as the landscape in the context of mood-setting and atmosphere-creation. This was already mentioned in the category of the *locus amoenus*, but its essence can easily be applied to the creation of a horrible location as well as an amoenic. The special case of sea-faring will be dealt with in chapter 4.2.5.

the character's emotional situation (pathetic fallacies) and mirror their state of mind.

Several examples of weather-induced horrible waters can be found in the English corpus, the first is taken from *The Shepherds Content*:

> "And last of all, if any wanton Weather,
> With briers and brambles teare his fleece in twaine,
> He shall be forc'd t'abide cold frosty weather,
> And powring showres of ratling stormes of raine,
> Till his new fleece begins to grow againe.
> And for his rashness he is doom'd to goe
> Without a new Coate all the Winter throw."
> (The Shepherds Content, P. 176)

This example tells of the hardships and struggles of the pastoral lifestyle- weather and seasons as well as the punishment for carelessness and laziness. The storms of rains as indicator for the upcoming winter are predators to the herdsman's safety and health. His strong relationship with his animals (in this example signified by the growing fleece), his closeness to the land and necessitation to earn his daily bread in bonding closeness with nature's resources expose him to the negative side of a rural lifestyle, too.

*Britannia's Pastorals* draws a similar picture:

> "In winters time when hardly fed the flocks,
> And Icicles hung dangling on the Rocks;
> When Hyems bound their floods in siluer chaines,
> And hoary Frosts had candy'd all the Plaines."
> (BP, Book I Song IV, P. 112)

The hardships of wintertime (rain, flood, cold, frost) are depicted here in all clarity. The created situation evokes uneasiness in the recipients. The cold is almost sensible, the described place uncomfortable. Water (in all its forms) is the key transmitter of these emotions.

**Conclusion**

As became obvious from the selected examples, the negatively connotated waters are usually fresh and sea waters in a before-after picture to highlight change and interference in a natural order; these before-after situations are marked by weather, human intrusion with

nature, a criminal act or the disappearance of a loved one. Whereas springs and rivers as natural components of a *locus amoenus* usually carry positive imagery and meaning in the classic corpus (as was shown in 4.1.3 and will be elaborated on in 4.1.5), most of the negative examples for a *locus horribilis* appointed the sea as an aggressive force. This is further evidence for the thesis that waters have specifically distributed areas of purpose. Of course, there are exceptions (such as the river-example in Theoc. Id. XXV), but the majority of water examples in an antithetical *locus amoenus* that create fear, threat and unease feature the salty sea instead of fresh waters. The English corpus, on the other hand, offers a balanced distribution of dangerous waters in its examples for the creation of a *locus horribilis*.

The motif of the *locus horribilis* also serves as evidence for the designation of specific task and expertise areas to different water kinds, since the negative examples of water occurrences have almost exclusively been allocated to the sea in the Greek context and agree with the designation of rivers and streams to other areas made in the previous chapters.

The functions of water in the creation of a horrible place are diverse: first and foremost, it works as an aide in the architecture of an anti-locus amoenus, an anti-idyll. In doing so, it juxtaposes its usual positive representation with negative imagery, highlighting water's usual beauty through the absence of its charm and prettiness. Moreover, water functions as a carrier of emotional and natural atmosphere. This function was already singled out in the chapter of the actual locus amoenus, but here, the emotional end natural atmosphere is changed into a negatively connotated surrounding. Doing so, the antithetical function of water in this context is visualised in the mental picture of the informed reader of the Greek bucolic poems, as well as Latin and Renaissance Pastoral.

Finally, a manifestation of nature's force and overthrowing power can be found in the representation of water: the imagery of a pressing, threatening, inhospitable, vast amount of (sea) water intimidates both intra- and extradiegetic recipients of the poems; again, the extradiegetic recipient shares a similar aesthetic experience to the receiving characters in the poem and forms

coordinated emotional response. This is how the mood-setting function of water takes on an important position in the motif of a horrible place.

The functions of the *locus horribilis* in Latin Pastoral are very similar to the Greek. Typically for Virgil, weather and seasons play an important role in these examples and are marked as specifically negative in the *locus horribilis* examples; in fact, it is this structuring element if water that mostly conveys the dreadful and horrid perception of the recipients intended by the narrator of the episode.

In the English corpus, the function of water in the creation and depiction of a horrible place is first and foremost the transmittance of emotions: waters help set the mood, create atmosphere and structure the place described – their acoustic element is a sensual helper in this regard. Unlike in the context of the *locus amoenus,* water adds extremity to all examples of the *locus horribilis* and sheds light on the relationship of human and nature; the pastoral lifestyle is depicted as extremely vulnerable because of its relentless exposure to nature's force and unpredictability. The shepherd is introduced as an everyman. These examples of the *locus horribilis* connect the helplessness of man to the superiority and mercy of nature, and, since the English corpus was written in a time fairly occupied with religious ideas, god.

Coherence between a character's emotion and nature-display could already be found in Theocritus' examples for horrible places such as the fishermen-episodes; this pathetic fallacy created by the weaving of natural and emotional extreme is further evidence for the transmission of the water motif from Theocritus, Moschus and Bion to Virgil: the ability of water to appear in different shapes, forms and phases of matter help in the establishment of the locus horribilis motif. Far away are all these examples from the usually very positive depiction of waters – soothing sounds are turned into menacing noises, calmly flowing rivers and swooshing seas make way for predatory waves and swelling streams overtaking their boundaries.

Several characters experience an episode of emotional extremity in front of the background of a locus horribilis. These pathetic fallacies are not accidental but add to the emotional and spiritual

connection between individual and nature. In these cases, water's mirroring function is dominant.

The whole category heavily relies on perceptions, emotions and subjectivity; only in doing so can the highly emotional aspects of subjective perception and objective descriptions be merged. It must be borne in mind, however, that the examples of the English corpus only serve that purpose because characters from the poems and the 16<sup>th</sup> century- as well as the 21<sup>st</sup> century-recipients share a similar experience. Although subjectivity can never be excluded from sensual perception, the literary evidence suggests uniformity; the negative connotations to the places and situations described are unequivocal. The opposite is the case in some examples of the *locus amoenus:* the moistness, darkness and shadows in some of the "amoenic places" described would trigger a negative emotional response in the modern reader whereas the Virgilian shepherd fully rejoice at the thought and sight of it.

In terms of De Jong's functions, waters in the horrible places work their ornamental, mirroring, characterising and psychologising function. Mirroring was already mentioned in the context of pathetic fallacies; the display of personal attitudes towards waters exposed the characterising and psychologising functions of the element. Since the *locus horribilis* is sometimes used to overturn the aspects of the *locus amoenus,* the function of their waters can also be ornamental and mood-setting. Like in the *locus amoenus,* water's main function in the *locus horribilis* is the ornamental function. However, psychologically, the descriptions reach another effect. The Polyphemus-examples are prime paradigms for the creation of unhomely situations, so is the fishermen's pain, the Virgilian example of the Alps or the weather examples. Even more than in the amoenic example, the waters in the horrible places symbolise decay, uneasiness or fright. Doing so, they mirror the character's situations but also characterise the included individuals (e.g. the fishermen, Europa or Colin). The inclusion of negative features of water in the bucolic and pastoral corpus further signifies the aspiration for complete nature-representation of the genre.

### 4.1.5.    Meeting Points

Partly related to the chapter of geographic orientation, this chapter closely analyses the motif of water (especially of rivers and springs) as meeting points. Two groups of individuals meet and assemble at springs: Gods (and demigods) and Mortals (Human beings such as royalty, shepherds, crews and livestock). In this chapter, the landmarking and space-structuring abilities of water will be specified to the social and poetic function of assembling and meeting, of what Alpers calls "pastoral convention"[704]. Here, the connection of an idyllic, happy place and poetry production, a traditional "Dichterweihe" and the relationship between flowing water and flowing poetic process will be elaborated on.[705]

#### 1. "Dichterweihe"

The first "Dichterweihe", or poetic initiation, takes place in Hesiod's *Theogony*. Hesiod reveals his own initiation, which turned him from a shepherd to a poet, in this work and describes the Muses' poetic assignment for him. The *Theogony* begins as follows:

> μουσάων Ἑλικωνιάδων ἀρχώμεθ᾽ ἀείδειν,
> αἵθ᾽ Ἑλικῶνος ἔχουσιν ὄρος μέγα τε ζάθεόν τε
> καί τε περὶ κρήνην ἰοειδέα πόσσ᾽ ἀπαλοῖσιν
> ὀρχεῦνται καὶ βωμὸν ἐρισθενέος Κρονίωνος.
> καί τε λοεσσάμεναι τέρενα χρόα Περμησσοῖο
> ἢ Ἵππου κρήνης ἢ Ὀλμειοῦ ζαθέοιο
> ἀκροτάτῳ Ἑλικῶνι χοροὺς ἐνεποιήσαντο
> καλούς, ἱμερόεντας: ἐπερρώσαντο δὲ ποσσίν.[706]
> (Hes. Theog. 1 ff.)

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[704] Alpers explains the pastoral convention as follows: "A convention is a usage that brings human beings together; a pastoral convention brings them together under the figure of shepherds." (Alpers 1996: 93) He elaborates: "Pastoral poems make explicit the dependence of their conventions on the idea of coming together. Pastoral convenings are characteristically occasions for songs and colloquies that express and thereby seek to redress separation, absence or loss." (Ibid.).

[705] There is plenty of literary evidence for the use of water as "inspirational fluid" (Nünlist 1998: 195 ff.) for poetry production in early Greek poetry (e.g. Pindar and Sappho)– however, examples of the actual drinking of water connected to artistic progress are almost absent. Water plays a more important role as scenery, background and religious input, as will be shown in the following chapters. However, Waszink and Hardie talk about then inspirational aspects of water: Waszink makes the connection of waters and poetry with the help of sweet song, flowing honey and honeydew (Waszink 1974: 8 f.). He also mentions Plat. Ion. 274 f., when Socrates relates that poets resemble the Bacchae who draw inspiration from streams of milk and honey (Cf. Ibid. 17 ff.). Hardie connects inspiration with the concepts of mousiké, art and the mysteries of their symbolism. (Hardie in Murray&Wilson 2004: 12-38.).

[706] The Greek text is cited from: West 1983.

> "Let us begin to sing from the Heliconian Muses, who hold the great and holy mount of Helicon and dance around the blue spring and the altar of the almighty Cronos-son on their soft feet. And when they have washed their delicate bodies in the Permessus-stream or in the Horse-spring or in Olmeius, they dance their beautiful, lovely dances at the highest point of the Helicon and move around with their feet."

Several components of this quotation are now characteristic for the pastoral genre, such as the springs, the muses and the mentioning of nature and mountains. These muses, who are often equalled with nymphs[707], instruct the shepherd Hesiod to become a poet:

> αἵ νύ ποθ᾽ Ἡσίοδον καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν ἀοιδήν,
> ἄρνας ποιμαίνονθ᾽ Ἑλικῶνος ὕπο ζαθέοιο.
> (Hes. Theog. V. 22 f.)
> "And they now taught Hesiod beautiful song while he was tending to his lambs under the holy Helicon."

Hesiod gives an explicit description how this "Dichterweihe" went forward:

> καί μοι σκῆπτρον ἔδον δάφνης ἐριθηλέος ὄζον
> δρέψασαι, θηητόν: ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδὴν
> θέσπιν, ἵνα κλείοιμι τά τ᾽ ἐσσόμενα πρό τ᾽ ἐόντα.
> καί μ᾽ ἐκέλονθ᾽ ὑμνεῖν μακάρων γένος αἰὲν ἐόντων,
> σφᾶς δ᾽ αὐτὰς πρῶτόν τε καὶ ὕστατον αἰὲν ἀείδειν.
> (Hes. Theog. V. 30 ff.)
> "And they plucked and gave me a rod, a shoot of robust laurel, a wonderful thing, and breathed into me a divine voice for me to sing of future and past things; and they ordered me to sing of the race of the ever-being gods, but to always sing of themselves first and last."

The Muses order Hesiod to remember and honour them with an obligatory invocation and farewell in his poems. This invocation of the Muses can be found in Homer and should be echoed and copied by many poets to come. [708] More importantly, Hesiod describes the actual

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[707] Kurt Latte claims that this equalisation of Muses and Nymphs is legit due to a coalescence of the concept of the figures of the Olympian Muses and the Boeotian mountain nymphs; he argues that "Die Verschmelzung mit den heimischen Göttinnen des Helikon muss sich umso leichter vollziehen, als Nymphe ja im Griechischen kein Eigenname ist, sondern nur die junge Frau bezeichnete, ein Menschenkind so gut wie eine Göttin." (Latte 1946: 158). Kambylis agrees and calls it a "[…] Einswerdung der bekannten Gottheiten des Singens mit den anmutigen Gottheiten […] die die griechische Natur beseelten und vornehmlich an den Quellen, in wasserreichen Gegenden sich aufhielten. Diese ‚Verschmelzung' hat man sich allerdings nicht als Identifikation, sondern vielmehr als innige Begegnung der Musen und der Nymphen […] vorzustellen." (Kambylis 1965: 39).
[708] Latte denies the later poets the honesty in their invocations to the Muses. He sees it as an established mechanism, a literary tradition and "ein allegorisierendes Spiel, Ausdruck des hohen Ernstes, mit dem das eigene Schaffen erfaßt wird, oder auch nur eines starken Selbstwertgefühls." ((Latte 1946: 154). I disagree: the fact that this first invocation to the Muses is copied by later poets does not necessarily

"Dichterweihe": the Muses breathe the spirit of poetry into him and supply him with the staff of the rhapsode. Of course, the imagery of the staff resembles a royal sceptre, endowing the poet with both the poetic authority of an artist as well as the political authority of a king; the laurel is a typical symbol for this consecration (Cf. Hes. Theog. V. 90 ff.), another is water, as can be found in "Dichterweihen" described by Callimachus[709]– both carry the meaning of holiness and immortality. It is those essential symbols that endow the initiation with actual sacristy. The strong connection between water and mantic supports the religious connotation that outlives Hesiod's "Dichterweihe" and carries on as an inherent symbol.[710]

The Heliconian Muses are not only connected to the Helicon but also to its springs and pools of water: they wash in its springs before they dance, they gather at the shore. Water as divine meeting points for gods, muses and nymphs is also used in bucolic poetry, as bathing Horae, the goddesses of seasons and weather, are mentioned in Theocritus first idyll (Ὡρᾶν πεπλύσθαί νιν ἐπὶ κράναισι δοκησεῖς. Theoc. Id. I, 150. "It will seem to you like it was washed in the springs of the Horae!") and spring nymphs (e.g. Theoc. Id. I, 26-28 or the bathing nymphs in the Hylas-episode in the 13th idyll).[711]

The English corpus offers numerous examples connecting the meeting of individuals close to water with poetry production. However, the classical concept of the "Dichterweihe" including water, a poet, the divine and the touching of a hollowed reed or stick is developed further: even though the English corpus follows the ancient examples, the touching is commonly missing. It could be argued that these

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prove the genuineness of only Hesiod's invocation: the self-classification into the ranks of poets by using this literary tradition symbolises more than excessive self-esteem; self-assured authorship, proud identification with their profession and respect for a literary tradition are more reasonable reasons for the continuance of the archaic custom of honouring the Muses at the beginning of poetic work.

[709] Cf. Kambylis 1965: 17.

[710] For further information on mantic and water see Kambylis 1965: 24 ff. The laurel, δάφνης (dáphnis) in Greek, then stands in strong relation with the myth of the nymph Daphne: her mother Gaia saved her from Apollon's pursuit and swallowed her into the ground. She only left a laurel tree at the spot of her disappearance forever intertwining the plant with the god Apollon, patron of art and mantic. (Cf. Kambylis 1965: 20 f.)

[711] The motif of the "Dichterweihe" cannot only be found in Hesiod but also with other authors such as Callimachus, Propertius and Ennius. Callimachus' "Dichterweihen" give evidence for the Hellenistic appreciation of the motif and his use of water in these episodes is significant: Callimachus followed the Hesiodian model of the "Dichterweihe" but undertook slight modifications, such as the actual consumption of water. (Cf. Kambylis 1965: 118-123).

initiations are therefore incomplete according to the classic role model, only that the strong didactic and divine component of the "Dichterweihen" in the English corpus may allow a reassessment of the importance of ritual touching. Since all these meetings between the artistic, the human and the divine are held next to water, the element might substitute this specific part of the rite.

The English corpus often includes the ancient Greek Muses in their "Dichterweihen" mirroring the first poetic initiation of Hesiod. Since Renaissance Pastoral is written and produced in a religious context far away from such mythology, the copying of ancient gods and goddesses of inspiration must be emphasised: again, the transmission of Greek bucolic and Latin pastoral into the Renaissance is visible in the conscious use and further development of such cultural markers. Other included deities, which are predominantly female in the English corpus (Apollo, for example, is mentioned only once), are nymphs. Compared to the classic corpus, the English "Dichterweihen" examples often include birds and other kinds of natural music, focussing on their acoustics and aesthetic effects. The often-mentioned holistic approach to landscape description is mirrored in these inclusions, since the presence of water's acoustic features initiates the experience of art through more than one sense.

This example of a divine/artistic meeting next to a water body comes from *The Shepherd's Calendar* and includes an invocation to the Nymphs:

> "Ye dayntye Nymphs that in this blessed brooke
> Doe bathe your brest,
> Fordsake your watry bowres, and hether looke,
> At my request.
> And eke you Virgins that on Parnasse dwell,
> Whence floweth Helicon, the learned well,
> Help me to blaze
> Her worthy praise
> Which in her sexe doth excell."
> (Shepherd's Calendar, April, P. 19, L. 37 ff.)

The speaker does not long for inspiration but rather support for poetic craftsmanship. In this sense, he asks for a poetic initiation: the topic, the praise of a young maiden, is found, but the poet requires help with the creation of the poetic song itself. His invocation to the ancient goddesses includes two geographic indications of utmost importance: Parnassus as well as Helicon refer

directly back to ancient poetic heritage and provide the request with a sense of informed seriousness. The Helicon, the sacred mountain of Hesiod's Muses stands out specifically.

This inclusion of the Helicon is not an exception but highlights its importance for Renaissance Pastoral by its frequent use in the English corpus. It is mentioned again in *Idea, the Shepherd's Garland:*

> "The flood of Helicon, forspent and drie,
> Her sourse decayd with foule obliuion,
> The fountaine flowes againe in thee alone,
> Where Muses now their thirst may satisfie,
> An old Apollo, from Pernassus hill,
> May in this spring refresh his droughty quill."
> (Idea, The Shepherd's Garland, 6th Eclogue, P. 21)

Unlike other examples from meeting points and poetic initiations, this example distinguishes itself by tone; usually, the connection with Helicon, Parnassus, the nymphs and poetry production carry a very positive undertone. This excerpt, however, talks about the decay of the natural sources of inspiration and transfers it to the human. The six lines feature numerous instances of poetic or poetry-related vocabulary and then juxtapose potential positive expectations with an opposing attitude to the classic "Dichterweihe", focussing only on one human instead of nature and divinity. The only natural element remaining is water in absence and presence: the "fountaine flowes againe" and thirst can be satisfied as well as a "droughty quill" refreshed. Inspiration and poetry are not dead but their sources have shifted.

A different, completely idyllic "Dichterweihe" happens in *Britannia's Pastoral*, when a bird is taught how to sing by its mother:

> "It was a Roundell seated on a plaine,
> That stood as Sentinell vnto the Maine,
> Enuiron'd round with Trees and many an Arbour,
> Wherein melodious birds did nightly harbour:
> And on a bough within the quickening Spring,
> Would be a teaching of their young to sing.
> Whose pleasing Noates the tyred Swaine haue made
> To steale a nap at noone-tide in the shade."
> (BP, Book I, Song III, P. 92)

This situation, a pastoral ideal, includes every stereotypical aspect of a *locus amoenus* and water provides the perfect meeting point for artistic production (here exemplified by birds); next to a spring tanimals gather as well as the tired swain, creating a paradisiac,

amoenic symbiosis of pastoral lifestyle. However, this initiation is not sacred since there is no divinity to sanctify the new poet, the little bird, which makes the learning process of the newcomer artist a symbolic one: it agrees with the idea of birds as singers and artists from the previous example. Once more, the example bears witness to the natural symbiosis of wildlife and elements.

Contrarily, in the following example goddesses are mentioned in abundance:

> "[…] Haile glorious Deitie!
> (If such thou art, and who can deeme you lesse?)
> Whether thou raign'st Queene of the Wildernesse,
> Or art that Goddesse ('tis vnknowne to me)
> Which from the Ocean drawes her pettigree:
> Or one of those, who by mossie bankes
> Or drisling Helicon, in airie rankes
> Tread Roundelayes vpon the siluer sands […]."
> (BP, Book I, Song IV, P. 109)

The addressing of various deities includes several options as part of a "catch-all" formula: he addresses a "queene of the wildernesse", an ocean goddess of the nymphs or Muses connected to the Helicon. Water is included twice: once in form of the ocean and secondly of the Helicon and its "mossie bankes". The poet is missing from this example. It shows that several characteristics must be met to conclude a full "Dichterweihe" in the classic sense, but that the connection of flowing water as meeting point for poetry production might be sufficient to trigger said association. The inclusion of new poets and their learning process into the community of poets is a symbolic rite of passage rather than a strictly performed "Dichterweihe" according to Hesiodian example. These texts exemplify the transition from cultural tradition to cultural memory, which is transferred to new cultural spheres through the medium of literature.

There are two examples in the English corpus which connect song and poetry with the imagery of flowing language. The subject was already touched upon in the contexts of springs and the question in how far the flowing of water could be used to describe the flowing of speech. In this context, Homeric precedent was mentioned in which speaking or singing was directly connected with flowing honey (e.g. the marvellous speaker Nestor). It is also featured in the English corpus:

> "Her words were like a streame of honny fleeting,
> The which doth softly trickle from the hive,
> Hable to melt the hearers heart unweeting,
> And eke to make the dead again alive."
> (CCCHA, P. 694, L. 596 ff.)

Such "Honey-words" install a thoroughly pleasant mental picture in the audience and introduce sensual experience as suddenly words cannot only be heard but almost tasted. The description is exaggerated but its mode lingers and the recipients are amazed by those words[712]. It is important to repeat that this example, as well as Colin, shows the repeated allusion to this specific imagery of the water motif from the Hellenistic period to the Renaissance.

The following example does not include honey but rather the element of inspiration itself:

> "Or could my lines fully & smoothly flow,
> As thy pure flood: heaven should noe longer knowe
> Her ould Eridanus, thy purer Streame,
> Should bathe the God's & be the Poets Theame
> Here Nature whether more intent to please
> Us […]."
> (Cooper's Hill, P. 86, L. 199 ff.)

Since Theocritus, "holy" has been one of the most important and frequent epithets of water. This holiness is then transferred to the poet during his initiation. The flow and progress of water and its direct connection to the flow of poetry or song is demonstrated, as is its relationship with the spiritual. Again, water and art function as connectors or transmitters between the divine and the human. Another Hellenistic author to include such "Dichterweihen" and meta-poetical deliberations in his poetry is Callimachus: his *Hymn to Apollo* thematises the divine dimension of poetry and art and celebrates the connection of clear, flowing streams and beautiful poetic song (e.g. Callim. Hymn 2, 110-114), this example of *Cooper's Hill* might allude to.

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[712] "Flowing" in general, has since Homer been used in the field of speaking and singing: Nestor, for example, is praised for his voice and rhetoric, "sweeter than honey" (Hom. Il. I, 248 f.). The relation of flowing speech and sweet honey directs the interpretation of progress, sweetness and flavour to the motif.

## 2. GODS

The Horae are not the only gods and goddesses to assemble and bathe in springs and waters. The nymphs on the Hylas-episode have already been mentioned as abductors of the little boy; their gathering is described as follows:

> ὕδατι δ᾽ ἐν μέσσῳ Νύμφαι χορὸν ἀρτίζοντο,
> νύμφαι ἀκοίμητοι, δειναὶ θεαὶ ἀγροιώταις,
> Εὐνείκα καὶ Μαλὶς ἔαρ θ᾽ ὁρόωσα Νύχεια […].
> (Theoc. Id. XIII, 43 ff.)
> "In the middle of the water danced the nymphs, the relentless nymphs, the horrible goddesses for country folk: Eunika and Malis and Nycheia with springtime in her eyes[713]."

This quotation depicts the nymphs in their natural, perfect habitat: the spring's water surrounds them, they dance and display intimidating and beautiful behaviour. Three goddesses are called by name to make this description even more personal. Their sublime bath and dance happen before they abduct Hylas and are contrasted with his forceful kidnapping. Klooster argues that the nymphs femininity and fertility is conveyed to their natural surroundings:

> "The spring is focalized first by Hylas, then the narrator breaks in by mentioning the Nymphs, obviously unseen by Hylas. Usually the refreshing shaded coolness of springs is emphasised (cf. 5.33, 7.7-9, 136-137), but here 'the learned botanical catalogue is highly evocative of the pool's mysterious dangers' and its lush vegetation, which practically smothers the spring itself, is suggestive of feminine eroticism."[714]

Gods do not only gather in sweet water, they use the sea as a meeting point as well. In the following example from Moschus' *Europa*, the water gods and goddesses gather around the swimming bull:

> τοὶ δ᾽ ἀμφί μιν ἠγερέθοντο
> Τρίτωνες, πόντοιο βαρύθροοι αὐλητῆρες,
> κόχλοισιν ταναοῖς γάμιον μέλος ἠπύοντες.
> (Mosch. Id. II, 122 ff.)
> And around him the Tritones assembled, the flute-players of the deep-flowing sea and they played a wedding-song with long conches.

This gathering of sea-gods and -goddesses around Poseidon is an allusion to early epic scenes in which Nereids gather around Achilles' mother Thetis (Hom. Il. XVII, 37 ff.). Such manifestation of divine

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[713] The Greek word ἔαρ - "spring" refers to the season following winter, not the body of water.
[714] Klooster in De Jong 2012: 115.

presence in every element, landscape and soundscape introduces a sense of godly celebration: their company of the bull pulls Europa into the world of the immortals, which she experiences with every sense of her being.[715] The sea as well as her crossing the land-sea border mark the beginning of a new existence and the end of her former life as princess.

Uniting different kinds of people, gods and goddesses and even animals through meeting points introduces the social function of water: it points to a specific place where gathering individuals become a community. The natural habitat of nymphs is in fresh waters like streams, rivers and spring and it is exactly these waters which are then used to create divine meeting points:

> "I sawe Calliope wyth Muses moe,
> Soone as thy oaten pype began to sound,
> Theyr yvory luyts and tambourine forgoe,
> And from the fountaine, where they sat around,
> Renne after hastely thy silver sound."
> (Shepherd's Calendar, May, P. 30, L. 57 ff.)

In this example, Calliope the Muse herself is attracted by the sound of the oaten pipe. The simple instrument, typical of shepherds, swains and herdsmen is thereby raised to sacred levels and the most basic ways of making music such as singing or piping on self-made instruments are endowed with divine qualities because of the goddess lending her ear. The fountain provides the ideal acoustics.

Water's acoustic features and its visual implementation of beauty are equally important. Some "Dichterweihe" examples already mentioned the inspiring sound of flowing waters, but the following excerpt from the *Faerie Queene* presents a perfect selection of poetic, natural and divine features of a pastoral *locus amoenus* with the help of the water:

> "But Nymphes and Faeries by the bancks did sit,
> In the woods shade, which did the waters crowne,

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[715] This meeting between immortals and mortals in the idyll includes almost every sea god and goddess there are: "The most prominent subjects of Poseidon are the nymphs known as Nereids. Originally land spirits, the Nereids were also thalattized, probably because of all the nymphs they were the ones associated with fresh water springs […]. The large troops of Nereids were given as their maritime consorts the Tritons, probably pre-Greek maritime spirits, which the Greeks adopted." (Vryonis 1993: 11). Vryonis also argues that the encounter and faring of the sea triggered the anthropomorphising of sea deities. In this process, he claims, "the Greeks created a kindlier and less fearful set of sea divinities and spirits […]. […] in this respect the encounter with the sea did result in a considerable Hellenization of the sea at the religious level." (Ibid f.).

> Keeping all noisome things away from it,
> And to the waters fall tuning their accents fit."
> (The Faerie Queene, P. 989, Book VI, Canto X, 7)

The exclusion of disturbing noises allows the concentration on the pleasant soundscape of the place. The gathering of nymphs and fairies at the river banks, dwelling, singing and enjoying each other's compamy while experiencing a situation and its surrounding with every sense. The poetic implications and outcomes of meetings like these promise the creation of divine art. Water identifies and characterises the gods and goddesses by their habitat.

Another spring is mentioned in *Britannia's Pastorals*, linking nymphs and muses unmistakably to rivers, streams and fountains:

> "Meanewhile, faire Nymph, accompanie
> My Spring with thy sweet harmonie;
> And we will make her soule to take
> Some pleasure, which is said to wake,
> Although the body hath his reft."
> (BP, Book I, Song II, P. 60)

This example is special since it requests the nymph to make music herself: usually the water's background and the artists singing in the presence of nymphs and muses make up the meeting point situations; here, water's sounds and the invitation for divine song is exceptional. Art is always special and precious, but art composed and performed by deities themselves reaches a whole new dimension. Even though both examples do not explicitly mention a social gathering, the musical production by the spring clearly has a uniting effect. The recipients of this songs as well as the speaker are close enough to perceive the music, uniting all listeners in a geographic circle around the meeting point.

However, *Britannia's Pastorals* also gives an example for explicit meetings close to water bodies:

> "Yes, Thetis raves,
> And bids her waues
> Bring all the Nymphes within her Emperie
> To be assistant in her sorrowing:
> See where they sadly sit on Isis shore.
> And rend their haires as they would ioy no more."
> (BP, Book I, Song V, P. 132)

In the *Iliad*'s 1st book, Thetis, mother of Achilles, finds her son sitting at the shore of the Greek camp, desperate and upset. The

meeting in the BP-example is very similar to this: Thetis summons her
water nymphs to Isis shore to sit and grieve with her about Britain's
state. The classical perception of grief, hair tearing, is usually
found during a *laudatio funebris*[716]*,* when mourners beat their chests
and pull their hair to display distress. Unlike the other meetings at
waters, this meeting does not carry a positive note: pain and grief
predominate the mood. The waves, helpers in gathering the other
goddesses, as well as the seating at a shore show Thetis' close
connection to waters and the sea in general. Her moist habitat as well
as her peers offer solace. Even though Thetis is a Greek goddess,
English divinity is also mentioned in *Britannia's Pastorals*.[717]

### 3. MORTALS

With water being the connecting element between the human and the
divine, it functions as a meeting point for gods, humans and other
mortals creating gatherings which transcend social or even religious
boundaries. It is therefore no surprise that mortals among themselves
choose meeting and seating points close to water for poetic discourse,
as seen in the following example of Theocritus:

> […] ἐπὶ κράναν δέ τιν᾽ ἄμφω
> ἐζόμενοι θέρεος μέσῳ ἄματι τοιάδ᾽ ἄειδον.
> (Theoc. Id. VI, 3 f.)
> And both of them sat at the spring in the summer and they sang
> in the middle of the day.

The two herdsmen from the sixth idyll choose the spring for their
mutual song and provide a prime example for waters and springs as
meeting points: this choice probably falls also because of practical
reasons, as shepherds in the high summer in Greece need a cool,

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[716] The *laudatio funebris* can already be found in book XVIII and XXIV of the Iliad.
[717] "Never forget her (Albions louely Daugthers)
Which led you to the Spring of liuing Waters!
And if my Muse her glory faile to sing,
May to my mouth my tongue forever cling!"
(BP, Book I, Song V, P. 136)
Instead of relying in the ancient gods and goddesses and classic mythology in general,
Britannia's Pastorals mention "Albion louely Daughters". Albion is one of the eldest
names for Great Britain – his daughters take over the role of the ancient nymphs and
muses in this example: the connection between art and waters as well as an inspiring
spring is clearly mentioned yet clothed in another nationality. The interpretative
influence of this minor switch is enormous, since it models Britain's own mythology
on top of the ancient mythology: this intermediate stage between mimesis and
individual reinvention is crucial for the development of pastoral poetry.

refreshing place to rest: in this example, the described location is not only a pleasant place to sit and cool feet and hands from the labours of the morning but the springs offer fresh, clear water for drink and an unmistakable meeting point in landscape. The choice of a *locus amoenus* for the meeting is important to induce creative and artistic song.

Water can also be used as a very basic geographical meeting point. The geographic function of water in a natural landscape has already been discussed in the chapter of "Means of Orientation". The following examples thus specify the social function of this orientation:

> ἐκβάντες δ᾽ ἐπὶ θῖνα κατὰ ζυγὰ δαῖτα πένοντο
> δειελινοί, πολλοὶ δὲ μίαν στορέσαντο χαμεύναν.
> (Theoc. Id. XIII, 32 ff.)
> They stepped out to the shore and prepared dinner in the evening, always in pairs. Many of them put together a bed for the night.

This example from the Hylas-idyll very plainly describes the typical behaviour of a ship's crew on their arrival on a foreign shore. Similar descriptions can already be found in Homer (especially the *Odyssey* where Odysseus and his companions reach various shores during their long seafaring, e.g. in Hom. Od. XII, 611 ff.) and Theocritus follows this tradition. A further example for it is this:

> ἐκβάντες δ᾽ ἐπὶ θῖνα βαθὺν καὶ ὑπήνεμον ἀκτὴν
> εὐνάς τ᾽ ἐστόρνυντο πυρεῖά τε χερσὶν ἐνώμων.
> (Theoc. Id. XXII, 32 f.)
> They stepped out to the deep shore and allotted the beach to make camp. They also divided up the fire tools with their hands.

It is noticeable that crews always choose the shore for their camp and assembly[718]. After all, the choice is based on obvious reasons: the physical proximity to the ship does not only offer the security of flight in foreign land, it also enables the seafarers to watch their ships. Another explanation would be the exhaustion most of the crews face when they finally reach land: in the bucolic and pastoral corpus, the heroes tend not to go too deep into the foreign land but are happy to set camp the minute they leave the water, except for the acquisition of provisions and water. The shores, however, identify them as strangers.

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[718] This also happens in Greek epic (e.g. Od. IV, 573-580).

A special convention in the context of water as a connective tool between the human, settings and production are invocations to waters. There are several instances in the bucolic corpus where invocations to bodies of water occur. Two examples for it can be found in Theocritus:

> Μενάλκας:  Ἄγκεα καὶ ποταμοί, θεῖον γένος, αἴ τι Μενάλκας
> πήποχ᾿ ὁ συριγκτὰς προσφιλὲς ᾆσε μέλος,
> βόσκοιτ᾿ ἐκ ψυχᾶς τὰς ἀμνάδας.
> (Theoc. Id. VIII, 33 ff.)
> Menalkas:  Valleys and rivers, godly lineage! If Menalkas sang you a lovely song on the syrinx, tend the lambs with your souls.

> Δάφνις:  κρᾶναι καὶ βοτάναι, γλυκερὸν φυτόν, αἴπερ ὁμοῖον
> μουσίσδει Δάφνις ταῖσιν ἀηδονίσι,
> τοῦτο τὸ βουκόλιον πιαίνετε […].
> (Theoc. Id. VIII, 37 ff.)
> Daphnis:  Springs and herbs, sweet weeds! If Daphnis sings as beautiful as the nightingales, feed his herd of cattle […].

All these examples express a strong emotional connection between the speaker and his surroundings since it is nature's impact which motivates the speaker to such an uttering. These utterings characterise both speaker and the background of the meeting points. They also bear witness to the natural banter between the herdsman and add to the realism of such related situations. The prominent position of waters in the natural features mentioned points to its close proximity to the speaker and underlines the social aspect of waters as meeting points.

It is Europa and her maidens who show that a meeting at the shore can also be a voluntary choice because of the beautiful scenery:

> […] ποτὶ δὲ λειμῶνας ἔβαινον
> ἀγχιάλους, ὅθι τ᾿ αἰὲν ὁμιλαδὸν ἠγερέθοντο
> τερπόμεναι ῥοδέῃ τε φυῇ καὶ κύματος ἠχῇ.
> (Mosch. Id. II, 34 ff.)
> They went down to the meadows close to the sea where they always assembled and delighted in the red blossom and the sound of the waves.

Again, it is notable that not only the visual but also the acoustic element of water is highlighted: Europa, just like Nausicaa in the *Odyssey*, plays innocently with her friends at the shore before her

encounter with the bull (or in Nausicaa's case, Odysseus) suddenly ends her maidenhood.[719]

A specific group of mortals are made up by herdsmen and their livestock. In the corpus of Theocritus, there are two examples for meeting points closely connected to animal husbandry; those examples are the most "pastoral" of all the meeting point examples:

> Τίτυρ' ἐμὶν τὸ καλὸν πεφιλαμένε, βόσκε τὰς αἶγας,
> καὶ ποτὶ τὰν κράναν ἄγε Τίτυρε, καὶ τὸν ἐνόρχαν
> τὸν Λιβυκὸν κνάκωνα φυλάσσεο, μή τι κορύψῃ.
> (Theoc. Id. III, 3 ff.)
> Well my beloved Tityros, feed the goats and lead them to the spring! But beware of the grey Lybian ram so he cannot get you!

In this example, the goats need to be led to the spring for drink – it also functions as an imminent meeting point between the goatherds, since all herding animals will require water at some point during the day of grazing in the Mediterranean heat. The spring was probably also used to herd the animals together and perform a head count. Another example for the meeting of animals can be found in the eighth idyll.[720]

The choice of meeting points always mirrors cultural convention and tradition and characterises the meeting individuals: where people meet displays information of who they are and what their situation is. The English corpus follows the lead of pastoral conventions. Gathering humans are generally shepherds or ship crews and the reason for the meetings are midday or evening breaks, the collection and counting of livestock, the quenching of thirst or, rather plainly, resting in general. In these meetings, the opportunity to sing or pipe together is commonly seized and these concepts are the very base of most of the English examples of mortals meeting at waters.[721]

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[719] This parallel was also recognised bei Elliger: "In diese poetische Ökonomie des Gedichtes ist auch die Landschaft eingepaßt, genauer: die beiden Schauplätze des Geschehens, die Blumenwiese und das Meer. […] Die am Strand spielenden Mädchen haben ihre Parallele in der Nausikaaszene der Odyssee […]." (Elliger 1975: 366).

[720] Μενάλκας: ὦ τράγε, τᾶν λευκᾶν αἰγῶν ἄνερ, ὦ βάθος ὕλας
μυρίον, ὦ σιμαὶ δεῦτ' ἐφ' ὕδωρ ἔριφοι.
(Theoc. Id. VIII, 49 f.)
Menalkas:    Oh ram, man of the goats, white one, come into the endless depth of the forest! Flat-nosed kids, come to the water!
By listing the animals singularly and addressing several of them personally, the herdsman Menalcas can make sure he did not lose any cattle during the day. The social function of the spring is combined with the economic: the spring as a meeting points offers the possibility to stay on top of the count of the herd as well as meet with other shepherds.

[721] "Literary herdsmen need each other to hear their complaints and share the sentiments and pleasures that sustain them: singing for someone […] is fundamental to these poems." (Alpers 1996: 69) Alpers then goes on to include these conventions

*The Shepherd's Calendar* gives an example of water as an unconventional seating point rather than a meeting point for a sole shepherd resting at a spring:

> "The gentle shepheard satte beside a springe,
> All in the shadowe of a bushye brere,
> That Colin hight, which wel could pype and singe,
> For he of Tityrus his songs did lere.
> There as he satte in secreate shade alone,
> Thus gan he make of love his piteous mone."
> (Shepherd's Calendar, December, P. 52, L. 1 ff.)

Even though this shepherd is alone, the excerpt functions as example for a meeting point; he frequents this specific place by a spring to sing his songs for specific reasons. These reasons might be the beautiful landscape around that spring as well as the shadows and shades mentioned in the episode and piping and singing is somehow encouraged through the environment – in this example, the spring is a meeting point for art and artist, rather than a social gathering of humans or gods. Even though the social function of water is reduced, its inspirational is heightened. This example is paying direct homage to the old masters, as it is often done in *The Shepherd's Calendar*, by mentioning the ancient Tityrus and his song-making abilities by name.

Another lonely shepherd can be found in *Arcadia*:

> "As I my little flock on Ister bank
> (A little flock, but well my pipe they couthe)
> Did piping lead, the sun already sank
> Beyond our world, and ere I gat my booth
> Each thing with mantle black the night did soothe,
> Saving the glow-worm, which would courteous be
> Of that small light of watching shepherds see."
> (Arcadia, 3rd Eclogues, P. 106, L. 1 ff.)

This example is special because the narrator relates his reasons for choosing the exact spot in all clarity: the imagery he paints with sounds and lights creates a unique atmosphere. The river bank is convincingly portrayed as a recluse, a lovely place which invites pausing, dwelling and, finally, piping.

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in a cycle of text reproduction: "Literary shepherds often recall and sing for each other the songs of their masters and predecessors; so too the intertextuality of pastoral brings poet and reader(s) together in a literary space whose modulor […] is the representative herdsman." (Ibid.).

A meeting of several swains can be found in the 7th eclogue of *Idea, The Shepherd's Garland,* where an idyllic gathering of shepherds and their simple lives in perfect accordance with nature are described:

> "Now shepheards layne their blankets all awaie,
> And in their lackets minsen on the plaines,
> And at the riuers fishen daie by daie,
> Now none so frolicke as the shepheards swains,
> Why liest thou here then on thy loathsome caue,
> As though a man were buried quicke in graue."
> (Idea, The Shepherd's Garland, 7th Eclogue, P. 24)

The quiet, straightforward actions of the shepherds, such as lying in the plains and fishing, are interpreted as happy pastimes in direct coherence with its basic attitudes. As it is very often the case in pastoral poetry, the simple life is not only idealised but its descriptions always carry a longing, yearning feeling. This ornamental function of space works as a trigger for artistic process and exceeds its setting-providing functions by far. At this point, the poetic initiations have reached the status as an established pastoral motif and the example can be regarded as meta-pastoral: poets include "Dichterweihen" to justify their claim for advanced poetic skill.

Another shepherd is singing and piping in the fifth song of *Britannia's Pastorals* and in his creation of music and poetry he is compared to famous predecessors:

> "A truer loue the Muses never sung,
> Nor happier names ere grac'd a golden tongue:
> O! they are better fitting his sweet stripe,
> Who on the bankes of Ancor tun'd his Pipe:
> Or rather for that learned Swaine whose Layes
> Diuinest Homer crown'd with deathlesse Bayes."
> (BP, Book I, Song V, P. 151)

The "golden tongue" is a reference to ancient literary production, since the epithet "gold mouth" (Greek: χρυσόστομος, chrysóstomos) was bestowed on extraordinary orators and poets from classic times onwards. The second reference mentions "Diuinest Homer" and his "deathlesse Bayes", which symbolise his immortal fame. For an ordinary shepherd the comparison to the bard is an enormous honour, since he is not telling his story as a famous rhapsode but "on the

bankes of Ancor tun'd his Pipe". However, the example gives further evidence for the recreational and inspirational character of water.

It must be pointed out that beautiful landscapes and waters which invite social meetings and lingering are not exclusively connected to poetry production. The garden of Eden in *Paradise Lost*, for example, overwhelms Adam and Eve with its exorbitant landscape and a manifestation of beauty and perfection and, doing so, encourages them to take in the atmosphere:

> "So hand in hand they passed, the loveliest pair
> That ever since in love's embraces met,
> Adam the godliest man of men since born
> His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve.
> Under a tuft of shade that on a green
> Stood whispering soft, by a fresh fountain side
> They sat them down, and after no more toil
> Of their sweet gardening labour than sufficed
> To recommend cool zephyr […]."
> (Paradise Lost, P. 94, L. 321 ff.)

This place is clearly a locus amoenus: it includes soft wind and a fresh fountain. Here, water functions as a meeting point or, in this example, a seating point. The freshness of the fountain insinuates fruitfulness, fertility and productivity; its inclusion in the locus amoenus as provider of life anticipates the creation and populace of earth.

However, the English corpus offers one example of a meeting point where shepherds built a shelter situated not directly next to a water body. But even in this example waters are near:

> "When Remond left here (Remond then vnkinde)
> Fida went downe the hale to seeke the Hinde;
> And found her taking soyle within a flood:
> Whom when she call'd straight follow'd to the wood.
> And found an arbour by the Shepherds made
> To frolicke in (when Sol did hottest shine)
> With cates which were farre cleanlier the fine."
> (BP, Book I, Song IV, P. 102)

Just like in the Greek and Virgilian examples for the locus amoenus, this location offers recluse from the hot mid-day sun. Usually, shelters like these are endowed with the features and characteristics of a classic *locus amoenus,* but this one is different: the basic idea of building a hide-out from a tree strikes every keynote of the aspired simple lifestyle of the herdsman. Fida only finds the place because

she follows a hind "taking soyle within a flood". The natural behaviour of the hind emphasises the perfect blend-in of pastoral poetry and nature.

There are no examples of pastoral animal-meeting points (such as cows or sheep) in the English corpus apart from the abstract one of the above-named hind and the "Dichterweihen" of birds. However, there is one example highlighting water as an animal meeting point:

> "Iust in the midst this ioy-forsaken ground
> A hilloke stood, with Springs embraced round:
> (And with a Crystall Ring did seeme to marry
> Themselues, to this small Ile sad-solitarie)
> Vpon whise brest (which trembled as it ran)
> Rode the faire downier-siluer-coated Swan:
> And on the bankes each Cypresse bow'd his head,
> To hear the Swan sing her owne Epiced."
> (BP, Book I, Song V, P. 126)

Since waters, riverbeds and shores are the natural habitat of swans, their watery meeting point is unsurprising but the whole composition of a specific place swans come to sing shows a different focus. The whole excerpt is a celebration of different waters and their ability to evoke song at a specific place – springs embrace a hill like a ring, making it a solitary island; the banks are planted with cypresses bowing their heads, expressing admiration to both the water and the singing swan.


**Conclusion**

Waters as meeting-points endow the element with new interpretative and narrative functions for the analysis of the bucolic and pastoral genre. Firstly, springs, rivers and the sea as specific meeting points fulfil a social function: a gathering always creates a "common ground" and a sense of equal presence. This can be found in the gathering of herdsmen as well as in the gathering of gods. In special cases, such as in the whole concept of the "Dichterweihe" or in the examples of abduction of Europa or Hylas, this community can even consist of both gods and mortals. This special assembly initiates community and enables humans to feel part of an omnipresent cosmos; water, just as poetry, functions as a transmitter between humans, nature and god.

The example of Europa and her maiden friends who gather at the shore because it offers beautiful meadows as well as soft sounds from the waves introduces the aesthetic or ornamental function of water as a meeting point: Bodies of water do not only make excellent meeting points because they are easily distinguished, they also offer the appreciation of natural beauty. This can also be found in "Means of Orientation" or the "Locus Amoenus".

The second most important function is the poetic function. This idea is based on the social function since in this context the meeting of individuals with each other or with gods and inspiration leads to the production of poetry and song. Water is the connecting element between these groups of individuals, since it functions as an inspirational fluid and moves poets and gods with their visual and acoustic stimulus. The "Dichterweihe" takes a special position in these inspirational episodes: although no complete poet initiation is performed in the English corpus, the imagery established from Hesiod onwards plays with the idea of didactic, lyrical inspiration from gods via waters. This leads to a stabilisation of water imagery: many of its innate abilities and features survive centuries of literary landscape, such as the associations of flowing water with process and progress as well as moving in general. This symbolism stands in direct connection with the water-poetry bond and emphasises the symbolic function of waters.

Hesiod's "Dichterweihe" first introduced the idea of nymphs, or muses, living and gathering close to springs and waters who introduce poetic production to individuals and bless them with divine artistic support. Interestingly, the English poets show great interest in the concept and can be found echoing several poetic initiantion scenarios in their works, supplying their poetry with even more ancient heritage. The function of water is highly symbolic in this context.

The meeting points chosen by the poems' characters also help characterise the individuals: the underlying concept of pastoral conventions implies that this form of coming together for song characterises the participants as herdsmen. Another example would be the association/characterisation of specific water gods and goddesses and the areas they inhabit. Clearly, waters and spaces are important carriers of identity in these situations.

Another function of water as a meeting point in the classic corpus is purely economic: gathering livestock at a specific place enables the herdsmen to perform a head count and control their cattle. Springs and rivers are ideal for this, since the cattle drink the water and move relatively little. The bringing together of the herdsmen's goats, cows and sheep at the spring functions not only as a welcome rest and offers the opportunity of a friendly chat, it also secures the quality of their work.

The final function of water as a meeting point is the function of introducing security: it offers the possibility of safe retreat for ship crews on foreign shores. The proximity of the shore to the landed ships and the sea's evident feature of progress and moving allows the setting up of a secure camp.

It is important to point out that all watery meeting points function as micro-structuring elements for landmarking. Following the examples from the chapter of "Means of Orientation" (5.1.), the close acquaintance and private involvement with the meeting points qualify them for micro-structuring. The emotional distance between the chosen meeting points and the choosing individual is thereby diminished and sentimental involvement increased.

The motif appears more frequent in the English corpus than in the Greek or Latin. A possible reason for this could be the changed attitude towards focalisation and perspective in Renaissance poetry compared to the ancient bucolic and pastoral: in the ancient corpora dialogues are often found as part of the shepherdian agon. The English corpus, however, often features extradiegetic narration, reducing direct stichomythic exchange and propositions like "let's meet at …" or "let's sit down here, where …".

The water bodies in the English contexts are rarely mentioned by name except for the classic acquaintances of Helicon and Arethusa. This implicates that the related situations of the water motif could happen anywhere where nature and humans coexist in harmony. The poets hereby create a template in ancient fashion which enables the relocation of antique bucolic and pastoral poetry into new geographic and temporal spheres. In a politicised dimension, this relocation is very important, since it means proceedings happen far away from the English court or Rome and still proves cultural continuities.

It needs to be mentioned that the English poets excessively pay homage to their ancient predecessors: not only are ancient poets mentioned and flattered directly (such as Homer) but their ideas, motifs and mythology are also reciprocated (e.g. Helicon, Parnassus, Thyrsis). Water and its innate sacredness and connection to deities can therefore be seen as the enforcer of English Pastoral to slowly undertaking the process away from its ancient heritage to a self-assured, independent English genre.

## 4.2.    Cultural Motifs

### 4.2.1.     Gaze

> […] αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς
> δακρύσας ἑτάρων ἄφαρ ἕζετο νόσφι λιασθείς,
> θῖν᾽ ἔφ᾽ ἁλὸς πολιῆς, ὁρόων ἐπ᾽ ἀπείρονα πόντον.
> "But Achill sat far away from his men, weeping, at the shore
> of the grey, salty depth and watched the endless sea."
> (Hom. Il. I, 347 ff.)

The bucolic and pastoral corpora offer several instances were waters represent a substantial part of therapeutic landscape-gazing. The love-struck shepherds in these poems follow ancient predecessors, as Homeric heroes, mythological figures and ancient poets also indulged in this kind of concept for self-preservation and mental serenity, such as the cyclops Polyphemus, the swift-footed Achilles, the ingenious Odysseus or his son. All of them turn to landscape for help and moments of contemplation and draw strength from peaceful gazing.

In the Greek corpus, this landscape is primarily represented by the sea. The first examples can already be found in Homer's epic: Odysseus finds himself in a position of distress when, after years of enjoying the company of the goddess Calypso, he finally grows weary of the life on the island Ogygia. His home-sickness drives him to tears and despair and he retreats to the shore, desperately reaching out for the water (Hom. Od. V, 81-84 and 149-158). This concept is not restricted to the *Odyssey*; in the *Iliad*, Achilles tries to calm

his inner turmoil after the fight with Agamemnon and the abduction of Briseis with a visit to the beach (Hom. Il. I, 347 ff.). Angry and desperate he pleads to his mother Thetis for help. Thetis finds her son sitting at the shore of the Greek camp, desperate and upset. Kirk claims: "The grey salt sea […], Akhilleus' gazing over the sea, the shore itself, all intensify the pathos of events and develop the loneliness and despair […]."[722] The going off to the shore to a liminal space and away from community can also be found in the distant prayer of Telemachus in Od. VI, 236 ff. when Odysseus'son searches for the sea's atmosphere and silence to pray.

This motif of "sea-watching" will be described through "pontoscopy", a term of my own coining (from Greek πόντος, *póntos* "sea" and σκοπεῖν, *skopein* "look at, behold, watch, contemplate"). The term derives from the teichoscopy ("wall-watching" or more precisely "from a wall-watching") that can be already found in the *Iliad* and describes the narrative technique of relating what happens in front of Troy's city walls by following the discussion between Helen and Priam. In the *Iliad*, this allows an introduction of the fighting heroes as well as a summary of previous events. Moreover, the heterodiegetic omniscient narrator of the *Iliad* lets characters give their subjective opinions (focalised by the narrator, of course), introducing a broader narrative variety. Sea-watching does not function in the same way, but it is still a literary technique that should not be overlooked: it allows personal sentimental insight in an individual's personal and emotional state, enabling the extradiegetic recipient to participate in a very intimate sentimental exchange between suffering protagonists and the soul-soothing element of the sea. In this chapter, the motif and functions of therapeutic gazes in the bucolic and pastoral poems of the corpora will be discussed.

In the Greek corpus, the sea is only indirectly addressed in situations of emotional turmoil: no answer is expected, of course, but the pontoscopy still transfers the features of an almost human confidant to the sea. Asper claims that in contrast to rivers and springs, whose continuity is generally connected to poetic progress,

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[722] Kirk 1985: 88.

the sea is restricted to a "rein akustisches Phaenomen"[723]. The motif of the pontoscopy contradicts him: it suggests that the sea's atmosphere indeed moves individuals to song and speech. The love story of Polyphemus and Galateia is just one example of the impulse to sing while watching the sea: in this example, the element supplies the cyclops with a second motivation for song because it is the nymph's habitat.

The literary characteristics for a complete pontoscopy are the following:

A verb associated with gazing, watching, seeing.

(At least one) Reference to the sea, beach, waves or shore.

Signs of emotional distress.

A stereotypical pontoscopy is found in the 8th idyll of Theocritus:

> ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ τᾷ πέτρᾳ τᾷδ᾽ ᾀσομαι, ἀγκὰς ἔχων τυ,
> σύννομα μᾶλ᾽ ἐσορῶν, τὰν Σικελὰν ἐς ἅλα.
> (Theoc. Id. VIII, 55 f.)
> "But under the rocks I will sing and hold you in my arms, surrounded by sheep, and watch the Sicilian sea."

This example displays a singing contest between two herdsmen Daphnis and Menalcas. The pontoscopy is performed by Daphnis in the context of a *locus amoenus*: he forsakes a paradisiac place to sit under the rocks with his loved one and watch the sea. All characteristics apply, even though emotional distress is turned into an emotional connection. In these two lines, a perfect bucolic idyll is created: The audience encounters an individual whose personal *locus amoenus* only requires his livestock, the sea and his loved one. Simplicity and homeliness go together in the architecture of this specific happy place[724]. The function of the pontoscopy is the transmission of a calmness and peace; water helps to create this visual scenerey through its atmosphere-creating and mood-setting function. The intimacy shared between two lovers and their immediate surrounding adds to the

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[723] Asper 1997: 111.
[724] Bull and Barrell thematise the idea of individuals looking at nature: "[…] the Idylls do exhibit something of an original, non-urban simplicity, the countryside evoked by Theocritus already allows a distinction between the 'real' and the literary, and the Pastoral is already in the process of becoming a way of not looking at the country, at least as much as a way of looking at it." (Barrell&Bull 1974: 4). The shepherd in this example could well be real, his desires are felt and shared by many. His way of gazing at the sea invites the reader to imagine what he is *not* looking at to project attitudes and expectation onto the gazing process.

emotional connection between the protagonists and the sea. Of course, water also has ornamental functions in the pontoscopy, but they only add to the sentiments present. It is no surprise that the function of the pontoscopy equals many functions of water in the *locus amoenus*; in this example, especially, the classic *locus amoenus* works as a template for this herdsman's interpretation of his personal idyll. The gaze, however, is pivotal to actively engage with the natural surroundings.

The connection between the pontoscopy and love becomes even more clear in the following example: the herdsmen lets Polyphemus sing sadly for his desired Galateia and chooses the shore for this ultimate presentation of love-sickness, no doubt to attract her pity and move her to come out of her wet habitat:

> […] ὁ δὲ τὰν Γαλάτειαν ἀείδων
> αὐτόθ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀιόνος κατετάκετο φυκιοέσσας
> ἐξ ἀοῦς, ἔχθιστον ἔχων ὑποκάρδιον ἕλκος
> Κύπριδος ἐκ μεγάλας, τό οἱ ἥπατι πᾶξε βέλεμνον.
> ἀλλὰ τὸ φάρμακον εὗρε, καθεζόμενος δ᾽ ἐπὶ πέτρας
> ὑψηλᾶς ἐς πόντον ὁρῶν ἄειδε τοιαῦτα.
> (Theoc. Id. XI, 13 ff.)
> "But he was melting away and sang for Galateia at the shore that was full of seaweeds in the morning light, and he was hurting from the wound in his heart which the arrow of Kypris had pierced into his liver. But he found a cure: sitting on the high rocks, watching the sea, he sang the following […]."

Here, Polyphemus performs a generic pontoscopy meeting all three criteria.[725] Moreover, he introduces the sea-watching and the resulting song as a medication, a cure, a "φάρμακον" ("pharmakon", V. 17). In his case, the pontoscopy offers him the soul-soothing qualities of a confidant, a friend. The longing for a pharmakon takes emotional pain to a medical, physical level: the interaction with the sea gains the status of an actual remedy for the sick and takes on the role of a supporting friend or painkilling drug. Of course, the singing also provides the scorned lover with the opportunity to process his feelings. The transfer of pain into song achieves a sentimental catharsis. Elliger describes the "watching" as an active substitute to the passive "melting away" from emotional distress that is often

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[725] The song performed next to the sea's watery border evokes the imagery of an *exclusus amator*, crying at the threshold of his loved one. For paraclausithyron see 4.1.2.

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found in Homeric epic.[726] Polyphemus' pain and his longing on the sea bears many parallels to the aforementioned pain of Odysseus at the island of Ogygia;[727] the scenes and descriptions are composed very similarly and in both cases, a pontoscopy is performed where all three criteria are met. Nonetheless, Klooster is one of the scholars who point out the ridicule of this gazing situation, which is due to its heroic predecessors prone to the notion of a parody:

> "Seated at the edge of sea and land, looking out over the waves like a parody of Achilles (Il. 1. 350) or Odysseus (Od. 5.101), heroes from the epic domain to which he traditionally belonged, Polyphemus, now the unlikely denizen of a bucolic world, sings."[728]

Snell agrees with her:

> „Dass in hellenistischer Zeit der einsame unglückliche Dichter keine unbekannte Figur war, zeigt die Parodie Theokrits, der den Kyklopen Polyphem […] seine Geliebte Galatea besingen lässt […]. [..] Theokrit deutet den unzivilisierten Grobian ironisch um zum gefühlvoll-melancholischen Dichter."[729]

Also, the image of the crying giant cyclops Polyphemus on the beach appears to have moved several other lovers - reception of this pontoscopy can be found in Bion's poetry:

> Λῆς νύ τί μοι Λυκίδα Σικελὸν μέλος ἀδὺ λιγαίνειν,
> ἱμερόεν γλυκύθυμον ἐρωτικόν, οἷον ὁ Κύκλωψ
> ἄεισεν Πολύφαμος ἐπ‹ᾇ›ονία Γαλατείᾳ;
> (Bion II, 1 ff.)
> "Don't you, Lykidas, want to sing a sweet song for me, a tender Sicilian one, just like the one the cyclops Polyphemus sang for Galateia at the beach?"

In this case, the motif of the pontoscopy is used indirectly to attain a sense of love and intimacy: the herdsman in this example wants to hear the song uttered by Polyphemus as part of a romantic gesture. This gives evidence for the subconscious acknowledgement of this motif, and the implied strong connection between Greeks and the sea.

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[726] Elliger 1975: 349.
[727] Cf. Elliger 1975: 345.
[728] Klooster in De Jong 2012: 107.
[729] Snell 1965: 186. Most publications on Greek parody focus on Athenian comedy such as Marshall&Kovacs 2012 and Sells 2019. Rosen describes one kind of parody as "[…] this trope either 'literalises' a notion that was intended to be construed as metaphorical or mischievously lowers the register of an idea that was supposed to remain elevated." (Rosen in Kovacs&Marshall 2012: 179). Sells finds parody "might find expression in the juxtaposition of that linguistic register and the physical disposition of the comic speaker, e.g. in his or her ugliness, gesture, conduct and even given dramatic situation." (Sells 2019: 3). Both definitions would fit such interpretation of the cyclops-example.

Moschus also uses the image of Polyphemus and Galateia, but in his example from the *Lament for Bion* he switches the roles:

> κλαίει καὶ Γαλάτεια τὸ σὸν μέλος, ἅν ποκ' ἔτερπες
> ἑζομέναν μετὰ σεῖο παρ ἀϊόνεσσι θαλάσσας.
> οὐ γὰρ ἴσον Κύκλωπι μελίσδεο· τὸν μὲν ἔφευγεν
> ἁ καλὰ Γαλάτεια, σὲ δ' ἅδιον ἔβλεπεν ἅλμας.
> καὶ νῦν λασαμένα τῶ κύματος ἐν ψαμάθοισιν
> ἕζετ' ἐρημαίαισι, βόας δ' ἔτι σεῖο νομεύει.
> (Mosch. Id. III, 58 ff.)
> "Galateia also cries your song because she loved to listen to it when she was sitting at the shore of the sea. You do not sound like the cyclops! Him she flew, the beautiful Galateia, but she likes to watch you more than she likes to watch the water of the sea. But now she sits lonely in the sand of the wave and even tends your cattle."

Moschus' version of the Cyclops and Galateia myth in the epitaph is a passionate intensification of the Theocritean model.[730] Galateia forgets the cyclops in her grief for Bion and reverses the character set-up: A crying Galateia despises the cyclops and tenderly cares for the deceased poet Bion. Subconsciously, she mimics Polyphemus' pontoscopy in her own grieving process for the dead poet. Moschus uses the hyperbolic grief of immortals to strengthen Bion's poetic influence, presence and importance: the idea that he would drive the nymph Galateia to such emotional despair that she not only performs a pontoscopy as remedy against the pain but also "tends his cattle" (βόας δ' ἔτι σεῖο νομεύει, V.63) is very clearly exaggerated, but Galateia's pontoscopy helps her to cope with the loss of her favourite singer and poet. Her closeness to the sea could mean that it was convenient for her to come out of the sea to listen to the mortal Bion before he died since she lives close by and his songs were very moving. Also, her advent at the shore would imply past pontoscopies performed by Bion while singing and tending his cattle[731] and that the sea works as a φάρμακον which gives the grieving Galateia the solace she needs.

A geographic approach to the beach and the shore points out the mood-setting and atmosphere-creating functions of the sea: the water

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[730] Cf. Elliger 1975: 375.
[731] The passive inclusion of cattle into bucolic song is typical for bucolic and pastoral poetry, where animals can be included both as actors as well as listeners: "More typically, then, the animal, tame or wild, is a companion. Animals share in the freedom, in the absence of mastery and servitude, that characterizes the relation between men. [...] The motif of companionship blurs the outline of human nature sufficiently so as to undercut the isolation of man and to adjust him to a larger natural world." (Rosenmeyer 1969: 138).

transmits a sense of calmness and homeliness so familiar to the individuals that they even share the intimacy between lovers at the shore or beach. This function is further evidence for the aforementioned emotional connection between Greek protagonists and the sea. A pontoscopy appeals to the most basic human needs such as peace and understanding and is performed not only by mortals but also by gods and demigods. The fact that pontoscopies can be found with all three bucolic poets further supports the importance of this motif. This geographic interpretation, however, is ambiguous, as the shore can also be interpreted as a dangerous place of changeability and danger: strange crews are forced to build camps there (as in examples from Homeric epic, such as Hom. Od. IV, 573-580, the Theocritean and Virgilian Hylas-episode or the fishermen-idyll). In the pontoscopy examples the positive attitude towards the sea and shore remains nonetheless. During the close reading of literary texts in search for pontoscopies, it is very important to be mindful of all three criteria[732].

Interestingly, the motif of the pontoscopy cannot be found in Virgil's eclogues. The only feature it shares with the Greek corpus is a pseudo-pontoscopy and self-reflection: in idyll VI, Polyphemus gazes at his reflection in the water and in Virgil's second eclogue, the herdsmen Corydon performs a very similar reflection-gazing:

> Nec sum adeo informis: nuper me in litore vidi,
> cum placidum ventis staret mare; non ego Daphnim
> iudice te metuam, si numquam fallit imago.
> (Verg. Ecl. II, 25 ff.)
> "Nor am I ugly: once by the shore I saw
> Myself in the wind-calmed sea. I would not fear to
> Compete for you with Daphnis: mirrors don't lie."

This example clearly corresponds to the Greek version of Theocritus – the assertion of physical beauty and the wind-calmed sea bears striking resemblance to Theocritus' sixth idyll. Just like in the Greek version, Corydon does not stare at the sea for contemplation but rather into the sea to see himself. Unlike Narcissus, the cyclops and the herdsman do not fall into their reflection but are still very

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[732] Otherwise, pseudo-pontoscopies could be misinterpreted as real ones: a pseudo-pontoscopy is a sea-watching that only meets one or two of the three established criteria (such as Mosch. Id. II, 48 f. or Theoc. Id. VI, 35 f.).

happy with their appearance.[733] This example provides further evidence for the thesis that Virgil heavily relied on his Greek predecessor for content ideas in the establishment of Latin pastoral. Polyphemus, a very Greek mythologic figure, and his pastoral living arrangements as well as his tragic-romance with Galateia present a very suitable episode for the pastoral genre, easily to be adapted for the needs of herdsmen and their loved ones.

Like the Latin corpus, the English corpus only offers pseudo-pontoscopies, such as a Narcissus-episode in *Britannia's Pastorals* (BP, Song I, Book II, P. 67). Here, the water acquires symbolic function in this example as it resembles those of the border motifs. The reflecting feature of water is used for self-perception[734].

Although the absence of the pontoscopy motif symbolises a clear cut and difference from the ancient Greek bucolic corpus, the English corpus relies on another frame for gazing or watching as a soul-soother. These situations do not occur at sea but on land; more precisely, on a hill: this "from-a-hill-watching" will be called "bounoscopy" (from the Greek word βουνός, 'hill'[735]) and permits the individual a dwelling moment of reflection. The elevated seating position enables the watcher to take in countryside and landscape in total, receiving a sublime rush of emotions and triggering the feeling of harmonic nature. One example for a bounoscopy can be found in *Cooper's Hill:*

> "My Eye descending from the Hill surveyes:
> Where Thames amongst the wanton valleys strayes.
> Sweet Thames, the eldest & noblest Sonne
> Of ould Oceanus; doth swiftly Runne,
> Hasting to pay his tribute to the Sea
> Like mortall life to meete eternity."

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[733] „Während bei Theokrit die offenbare Hässlichkeit des Cyclopen dessen schmeichelhaftes Selbstporträt ad absurdum führt, reduziert Vergil die Komik […]. Vergil stellt die Schönheit und den hohen poetischen Anspruch seines Sprechers nicht in Frage." (Albrecht 2006: 19).

[734] The viewing of a stream is repeated in the fifth song of the Pastorals:
"Here puls his line here throwes it in againe,
Mendeth his Corke and Bait, but all in vaine,
He long stands viewing of the cursed streame;
At last a hungry Pike, or well-grown Breame
Snatch at the worme […]."
(BP, Song I, Book V, S. 144)
This example features a frustrated fisherman – even though he is looking at water displaying angry emotions, it cannot be classified as a pontoscopy for obvious reasons.

[735] The coining of the term resulted as a pendant to the pontoscopy and a similar coining-technique focuses on their coherence.

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(Cooper's Hill, P. 84)

Clearly, the viewpoint on the hill allows a thorough inspection of
the scenery and enables the watcher to take in nature in its entirety.
Another example for the bounoscopy in the English corpus is the
following:

> "And such the roughnes of the hill, on which
> Dian' her toyles, Mars his tents might pitch
> And as our angry supercilious Lords,
> Big in theire frownes, haughty in their Words
> Looke downe on those whose humble fruiteful paine
> Their proud & barren greatnes must Sustayne,
> So looks the hill upon the streame, Betweene
> There lyes a spacious and a firtile greene
> Where from the woods the Dryads oft meete
> The Nayads, with their nimble feet
> Soft dances leade. [...]."
> (Cooper's Hill, P. 87)

This example stands out from the others because the hill itself rather
than a character of the poem is the focaliser and performs an active
gaze: his view covers a complete landscape, including waters. It is
very important to point out that most bounoscopies lead the gaze
towards streams and rivers, in the Cyclops-examples even the sea – a
pontoscopy can therefore also be a bounoscopy; a bounoscopy, however,
does not necessarily require the presence of maritime waters. The
following bounoscopies, performed by characters, prove this. The first
comes from Marlowe's *Passionate Shepherd*:

> "And we will sit upon the Rocks,
> Seeing the Sheepheards feede theyr flocks,
> By shallow Rivers, to whose falls,
> Melodious byrds sings Madrigalls."
> (The Passionate Shepherd to his Love, P. 77)

The passionate shepherd tells of a voyeuristic encounter between him
and his lover and nature and its countryfolks: the shallow rivers and
the melodious birds accompany the couple's gaze. Fresh waters are
present, sea waters are not.[736] In Marlowe's example, the gazer watches
landscape as well as people; the two shepherds from *The Shepherd's
Calendar* Perigot and Willye follow this example:

> "Perigot:        Sitting upon a hill so hye,
> Willye:          Hey ho, the high hyll!

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[736] For this example, it could be argued that sitting on a rock does not qualify as a
bounoscopy, since no mountains or hills are mentioned. The elevated position and the
wide-eyed perspective, however, allow its sorting into this category.

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Perigot:          The while my flocke did feede thereby,
Willye:           The while the shepheard self did spill;
Perigot:          I saw the bouncing Bellibone,
Willye:           Hey, ho, bonibell!
Perigot:          Tripping over the dale alone;
Willye:           She can trippe it very well."
(The Shepherd's Calendar, Eclogue VIII, L. 57)
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Perigot watches the girl Bellibone walk through the dale. Even though he appreciates the valley, his focus lies on the young maid. Perigot's gaze is a male gaze and implicates power: since it is unlikely that Bellibone knows she is being watched, Perigot puts her in a prey-like situation. All three examples share the distinctive feature of watching landscape or people from an elevated position; hills as nature's towers present the perfect observation points. Most gazing individuals are well acquainted with the landscape they are watching or focus on the simple elements rather than the impressive whole: bounoscopies present an exception to this routine.

Even though the English corpus does not follow the Greek example for the pontoscopy, the subconscious desire for taking in nature in its purest and most holistic form can be worked out as a shared human need. In terms of ecocriticism, the sensual progression of dwelling in nature cannot be underestimated, since it proves conscious interaction with natural features and provides atmosphere-creation as well as emotional structuring.

The topic of visual perception (as opposed to auditory perception) was briefly introduced in the chapters of the "Locus Amoenus" and "Horrible Places" and its different ways of visualisation as well as the literary importance was already discussed. The research field of gaze studies, which focusses on the psychological, sociological and theoretic approaches to the acts of seeing or being seen would classify these types of sea-watching or "from-a-hill-watching" under different categories of gazes. Since most of the characters featured in pastoral poetry are male, one could argue for the male gaze rather than the female. Since the English undertook imperial endeavours in the respective time the poetry was produced, it might also be possible to treat their watching as an imperial or

colonial gaze.[737] However, the argumentation would fall short quickly here: the described incidents stand in no direct or indirect connection with the nation's imperial undertakings but rather rely on mythological predecessors and individual love-relationships.

Kampakoglou&Novokhatko dedicated a whole anthology to the topic of vision and gazing in ancient Greek literature. They argue that seeing, looking or gazing, is more than a simple action:

> "[…] it means not the mere act of looking, but a socially-determined, complex interactive relationship of agents and viewers, which is characteristic of a particular set of social circumstances."[738]

The inclusion of social and interactive circumstances as intention and triggers of the gaze is important here, since the Greek examples try to initiate interactivity with their song and fail, wheras the English bounoscopies serve both active and passive dwelling. Letoublon uses this theory on the already-mentioned teichoscopy from the 3rd book of the *Iliad*:

> "The same holds true for the episode of Book 3 called the Teichoscopia, where Helen is seen first through the critical eyes of Trojan old men, then depicted as describing for King Priam the main leaders of the Achaeans whom she herself sees at the bottom of the walls."[739]

She describes the switching of perspectives on an interpersonal level (between the young Spartan Helen and the old Trojan Priam) and a narrative level, since this change of viewpoints offers subjective perceptions of characters. Both observations are valuable, but it is Lovatt's differentiation of gazes into divine, mortal and prophetic and Grethlein's interpretation of the blinding of the cyclops in the *Odyssey* support the importance of the pontoscopy. Grethlein connects staring out from below with the impression of a hostile gaze which triggers aggression and can even lead to an assault by analysing several examples from the *Odyssey* featuring the formula 'ὑπόδρα ἰδών'.[740] In Grethlein's examples, staring from below sends out an assaultive, respectless gaze[741] and he therefore agrees with Lovatt on

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[737] For further information on the female and imperial gaze see Kaplan 1997.
[738] Kampakoglou&Novokhatko 2018: XVI.
[739] Létoublon in Kampakoglou&Novokhatko 2018: 11.
[740] Cf. Grethlein in Kamakoglou&Novokhatko 2018: 42 f.
[741] "The gaze expressing control thus frames the assaultive gaze exercised […]." (Grethlein in Kamakoglou&Novokhatko 2018: 45).

the presence of assaultive gazes in Greek epic[742]. Since the pontoscopy or the "hill-watching" in the English corpus is always performed from an elevated position and landscape is gazed at from above rather than below, the gaze is endowed with a respectful, positive attitude towards the gazed object or person, in these cases the sea or landscapes. These recipients are taken in without negative associations or intentions.

Grethlein then analyses situations where visuality has vanished. The absence of a gaze is used in the *Odyssey* to display helplessness and loss of control – after the cyclops Polyphemus loses his eyesight in Hom. Od. IX., he is outsmarted and defeated by Odysseus[743]. Lovatt defines the divine gaze as "more penetrative and more effective than that of mortals"[744] but Polyphemus is a demigod only whose eyesight can be destroyed by a mortal's cunning plan. Grethlein then overturns the power-impairment through loss of eyesight to the conclusion that the gaze is irrevocably connected to power.[745] Of course, blindness takes the loss of control to an extreme; a loss of sight must not be permanent to evoke fear and a feeling of helplessness.[746]

Grethlein's observation is also effective for the interpretation of the gazes in bucolic and pastoral poetry: as established in the introductory phrases of this chapter, pontoscopies or bounoscopies are always performed in situations of emotional extremity. The explained empowerment through the gaze is the reason why upset individuals strive for elevated seating positions to perform a pontoscopy; even though the emotional incidents they are exposed to suggest the loss of control in one area of their life, the pontoscopies in the ancient corpora as well as the hill-watching in the English let the gazer regain a specific sense of empowerment in another. The calming aspects of the sea or the sublime impression of the open landscape are then chosen to salvage this power with the help of an acquainted environment: the haptic aspects accentuate the regaining of actual power. It is in this context that the chosen object of the

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[742] Cf. Lovatt 2013: 310-346.
[743] Cf. Grethlein in Kamakoglou&Novokhatko 2018: 46.
[744] Lovatt 2013: 30.
[745] "The loss of control effected by Polyphemus' loss of his eye highlights ex negativo the empowering aspect of the gaze." (Grethlein in Kamakoglou&Novokhatko 2018: 46).
[746] Claudia Michel elaborates on the concept of blindness in ancient Greek literature in Kamakoglou&Novokhatko 2018: 63 ff.

gaze identifies the gazer, or, more precisely, lets the gazer identify himself.

The instances of pontoscopies and bounoscopies mentioned in the introduction as well as the closer-examined bucolic and pastoral examples, different as they may be in date, genre and content, share special similarities: in every situation, the poets describe a main character in emotional distress who seeks the shore of the sea for a moment of peace and quiet; characters reminisce over their situation, and yearn for a solution to their pains. This longing and dwelling is typical for pastoral poetry and the gazing situations fit perfectly in the genre.

It is remarkable, however, that all choose a specific place for their contemplation: they use the sea as a soul-soother, as a sweet escape from reality. The serenity and infinity of the sea is visible and audible, but it is not the only place they could seek refuge from their troubles: they could reminisce in the mountains or the meadow, in the woods or in the valleys, but strikingly, they all choose the sea. This attention drawn to the sea as a chosen surrounding for emotional processing could be seen as evidence for the Greeks close relationship with the element: the infinity of water and its ever-flowing qualities symbolising process and progress might leave a positive outlook for the future and mimic a movement from pain to relief. The landscape's and water's function in these gazes are diverse: they can mirror the character's feelings, evoking a pathetic fallacy, or work as a symbol as in the Narcissus examples. The most frequent functions, nonetheless, are the characterising and psychologising function: with the help of water and natural features, the recipients receive information about the character's emotional situation.

The gazing at valleys, rivers or the sea and its water take on various functions: the provision of a happy, familiar surrounding for the intellectual involvement of personal sentiment and emotional distress might be the most important one, but the soul-soothing qualities of the sea to work as a confidant, a serenity-inducing, calming companion should not be underestimated. In the latter, the landscape acquires human features and builds a close relationship with the individual. In both ways, the pontoscopy or bounoscopy works as

φάρμακον, a pain-remedy, a sentimental cure for emotional pain. The gaze is a vital and powerful tool to achieve this goal.

### 4.2.2.    Tears

The previous chapters have already connected water with emotional responses of both characters in the poems as well as its audience.  Rivers, springs and the sea fulfil several functions in the context of emotional situations but the most emotional form of salt water presents itself in the shape of tears. There are numerous instances of tears and crying in the bucolic poems of all three Greek authors as well as in the Virgilian *Eclogues*, but in the English corpus the motif of tears makes out the most frequent uses of all water motifs. A closer look at the contents of bucolic and pastoral poems supports this fact: love stories, love sickness, epitaphs and mythologic references explain the frequent use of tears due to high rates of emotionality and pathos. The English corpus heavily relies on the concepts of empathy and humanity, as well as dramatic and pathetic storylines, justifying the excessive use of tear-related sequences.

A close reading of the occurrences of tears shows that the Greek and English corpora share the presupposition of only three groups of crying individuals: lovers, mourners and nature. Within every of these groups, tears fulfil a different function and appear in different contexts. The *Naturtrauer* plays a very important role in the Renaissance corpus: examples for grieving nature are so frequent that they can be sorted into their own subcategory.

**1.Lovers**
The most obvious choice for crying people in the very erotic and sensual context of the bucolic and pastoral love poems are lovers of any form: separated lovers, scorned lovers and unhappy lovers in general. This category does not only include erotic lovers but also the love that can be expressed between siblings, parents and children. In his fourth idyll, *Megara*, which describes the destiny of Heracles'

wife, Moschus uses several examples for tears shed in the context of love between parents and children:

> ὣς ἄρ ἔφη: τὰ δέ οἱ θαλερώτερα δάκρυα μήλων
> κόλπον ἐς ἱμερόεντα κατὰ βλεφάρων ἐχέοντο,
> μνησαμένη τέκνων τε καὶ ὧν μετέπειτα τοκήων.
> ὣς δ᾽ αὔτως δακρύοισι παρήϊα λεύκ᾽ ἐδίαινεν
> Ἀλκμήνη […].
> (Mosch. Id. IV, 56 ff.)
> "So she spoke and tears fresher than apples flowed down from her eyelashes into her graceful bosom when she remembered her children and the parents she left behind. Alcmena's white cheeks were wet with tears, too."

This example is unique: due to Alcmena's introduction, we find a doubled grief about a destroyed family since mother- and daughter-in-law cry together, establishing the feeling of a community and help in shared pain. The social function of communal tears is touched upon here. On another dimension, Megara mourns the loss of her own parents as well, making the collective grieving even more intense.

A more abstract "family" situation where a son is mourned can be found in Moschus' idyll *Lament for Bion*:

> […]καί σε λέγοντι
> μύρασθαι καλὸν υἷα πολυκλαύτοισι ῥεέθροις,
> πᾶσαν δ᾽ ἔπλησας φωνᾶς ἅλα: νῦν πάλιν ἄλλον
> υἱέα δακρύεις, καινῷ δ᾽ ἐπὶ πένθεϊ τάκῃ.
> ἀμφότεροι παγαῖς πεφιλημένοι, ὃς μὲν ἔπινε
> Παγασίδος κράνας, ὃ δ᾽ ἔχεν πόμα τᾶς Ἀρεθοίσας.
> (Mosch. Id. III, 73 ff.)
> "It is said that you mourn for this beautiful son together with much-crying waters and the whole salty sea was full of voices: but now you cry for another son and melt away in grief. Both were loved by the goddesses of the spring! One drank from the Pagasian spring, the other from Arethusa."

In this context, the metaphorical grieving mother is the river Meles who already lost Homer, her "son" to the underworld and now, with Bion, another loved poet. The love, too, is metaphorical and not personal as it refers to Bion, the poet and his talents, and not Bion, the person. This connection between Bion and Meles makes him a spiritual brother to Homer and lets Moschus flatter his fellow poet. The example gives evidence for another way of family love and family mourning that does not display personal involvement: The family mentioned here, Meles, Bion and Homer, are a metaphorical and poetic union of individual poets. The bonds of their union, poetry instead of blood relation, are the reason for their grief. Here, mourning and

loving are taken to an impersonal level, underlining identity and profession rather than blood relation.

The pastoral ideal of piping shepherds in a *locus amoenus* who are discussing their love endeavours in a singing agon supports the association of the heartbreak of crying lovers. It is therefore no surprise that the English corpus, which strongly relies on the *locus amoenus* and other pastoral symbols, uses this motif excessively. The majority of poems feature at least one example.

The first example is taken from *The Shepherds Calendar*:

> "Or bene thine eyes attempted to the yeare,
> Quenching the gasping furrowes thirst with rayne?
> Like April shoure, so stremes the trickling teares
> Adowne thy cheeke, to quenche thy thirstye payne."
> (The Shepherd's Calendar, April, P.18, L. 8)

The shepherd Thenot talks to the lovesick Hobbinol. Interesting in this example is not only the fact that Hobbinol must have been considerably upset, but the excessive use of the word-field of water in connection with weather and seasons. The reader experiences a kind of subverted *Naturtrauer*, since it is not nature which expresses grief in human terms but rather a human whose suffering is described with natural associations. Hobbinol's pain is so fundamental that a description with natural terms and comparisons seems to be obvious. Thenot describes things with the help of familiar situations and incidents; this example is ideal to point out the firm relation between shepherds and their surrounding nature. Ironically, the "April shoure" is mentioned in the 4th eclogue of the Calendar, which is named after the month April.

In the 12th eclogue of *Idea, the Shepherd's Garland*, Colin himself speaks of his toils:

> "The fragrant flowres that in my garden grewe
> Bene withered, as they had bene gathered long:
> Theyr rootes bene dryed up for lacke of dewe,
> Yet dewed with teares they han be ever among.
> A! who has wrought my Rosalind this spight,
> To spil the flowres that should her girlond dight?""
> (The Shepherd's Calendar, December, P.54, L. 112)

Sitting next to water, Colin sings for the other shepherds. Again, the references to nature made border on a *Naturtrauer* moment; although nature is grieving with Colin, the implication that nature has been

watered by the dew of Colin's tears is a hyperbolic climax and the garden's decay adds to Colin's pain. The referential connection between tears and dew will be repeated several times in the English corpus. Dew, of course, falls during the night; the time where lovers suffer most: additionally, in shape and quantity, dew drops and tear drops bear similarity.[747]

In the ninth eclogue of *Idea, The Shepherd's Garland*, the recipients are reunited with the lovesick Rowland who narrates his views on love and poetry:

> "If drery sighes the tempest of my brest,
> Or streames of teares from floods of weeping eyes,
> If downe-cast looks with darksome cloudes opprest,
> Or words which with sad accents fall and rise,
> If these, nor her, nor you, to pittie moue,
> There's neither helpe in you, nor hope in love."
> (Idea, The Shepherd's Garland, 9th Eclogue, P.36)

This excerpt offers waters in abundance: "streames of teares" come "from floods of weeping eyes." The intensity of the mode is increased by this imagery and the pain gains momentum. The functions of the tears are clear since they are not only used to heal the crying individual but also work as instruments to reach a desired effect. The expression of extreme emotions such as sorrow or love makes the expressing individual vulnerable and is usually answered with a reassuring gesture from the loved one. Rowland sees no future or hope for love if he does not receive this reassurance.

The 4th eclogue of *Arcadia* offers another example for increased imagery, when dew drops and floods of tears turn into a storm:

Klaius:    "Enough to make a fertile mind lie waste

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[747] Another example for tears and dew can be found in the following excerpt from Idea, The Shepherd's Garland, when shepherd Rowland laments lost love:
"With holy verses heryed I her glove,
And dew'd her cheeks with fountains of my teares,
And carold her full many a lay of love,
Twisting sweete Roses in her golden hayres.
Her wandring sheepe full safely haue I kept,
And watch'd her flocke full oft when she hath slept."
(Idea, The Shepherd's Garland, 9th Eclogue, P.36)
Rowland narrates his unsuccessful love-story with a fellow shepherdess; despite all his endeavours and favours to win her over his love remains one-sided. In his narration, the girl even remained unimpressed when he "dew'd her cheeks with fountains of my teares": this, of course, is a poetic exaggeration; however, the remarkable confrontation of "dew" and "fountain" in the same verse presents a total contradiction: one water is weather related, scarce, and only appears in drops; the other water is flowing, gushing even. The latter was probably the effect aimed for, since Rowland tries to evoke the pity of his fellow shepherdess and to emphasise the degree of his affection.

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>            Is that huge storm which pours itself on me.
>            Hailstones of tears, of sighs a monstrous blast,
>            Thunders of cries; lightnings my wild looks be,
>            The darkened heav'n my soul which naught can see […]."
>    (Arcadia, 4th Eclogue, P.118, L.31)

Klaius and Strephon sing of their love to Urania who has left the country. Basileus, king of Arcadia, has recently died, but the shepherds colour their songs of lament with their own sorrow and focus on unhappy loves rather than grieving for their monarch. Klaius' "Hailstones of tears, of sighs a monstrous blast, Thunder of cries" raise crying to a new extreme: the description of the situation now appeals to three senses; sight and sound are joined by touch, since the hailstones of tears introduce a new state of the waters. The effect of the imagery is the transmittance of distress[748].

All the crying lovers mentioned so far were men, but *Britannia's Pastorals* introduce Marine as a female lover lamenting her unhappy situation with beloved Celandine who was only interested in her seduction and has since no longer shown any interest:

>    "Well-minded Marine grieuing, thought it strange
>    That her ingratefull Swaine did seeke for change.
>    Still by degrees her cares grew to the full,
>    Ioyes to the wane, heart-rendering griefe did pull
>    Her from the selfe, and she abandon'd all
>    To cries and teares, fruits of a funeral."
>    (BP, Book I, Song I, P.35)

When Marine realises the full extent of her situation, tears are all she is left with. Her grief is immense as can be seen in the denotation of cries and tears as "fruits of a funeral"; just as in the example before from Arcadia, crying and tears relate to mortality and death. In both cases, the waters help to express extremity rather than simple pain. The swain who saves Marine from her attempted suicide

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[748] Arcadia also offers another example of a crying lover, when Philisedes talks about his sorrows in loving the beautiful Mira in the lands of Samothea:
"Can those eyes, that of eyes drowned in most hearty flowing tears
(tears, and tears of a man) had no return to remorse;
Can those eyes now yield to the kind conceit of a sorrow,
which ink only relates, but ne laments, ne replies?"
(Arcadia, 4th Eclogues, P.127, L. 15)
This example presents another extreme to the dimension of tears, since it mentions eyes "drowned in most hearty flowing tears", "without remorse". The lament expressed loudly and with tears is the only way to receive some pain relief, since "ink only relates but ne laments, ne replies". This example highlights the practical function of tears as efficient, visual pain relief versus the intellectual, written lament. The chapter of the gaze thematised the issue of impaired eyesight, impaired gazes and loss of control. "Blinded by tears" is a concept further elaborated by Michel in Kamakoglou&Novokhatko 2018: 70 ff.

falls in love with her but knows about her distress with Calendine. He uses his own tears as instruments for winning over the young maiden. Again, tears are used as a tool to reach a specific goal – in this case, to win over a loved one.

The situation unravels as follows:

> "The Swaine first, of all time, this best did thinke,
> To shew his loue, whilst on the Riuers brinke
> They sate alone, then thought, he next would moue her
> With sighs and teares (true tokens of a Louer).
> And since she knew what helpe from him she found
> When in the Riuer she had else beene drown'd,
> He thinketh sure she cannot but grant this,
> To give reliefe to him, by whom she is."
> (BP, Book I, Song I, P.43)

The shepherd now hopes to woe Marine in a romantic setting (notably, a river bank is chosen as a meeting point for this rendezvous) and underlines his pursuit with tears and sighs, the "true tokens of a Louer". These tokens, the romantic setting as well as his saving hand in her suicide attempt are the instruments the young boy relies on to win her over; overall, they make him confident.[749]

Whereas the classic corpus featured several examples of crying mothers or family members, the English offers only one in *The Faerie Queene*:

> "Well she it markt, and pittied the more,
> Yet could not remedie her wretched case,
> But closing it againe like as before,
> Bedeaw'd with tears there left it in the place."
> (The Faerie Queene, Book VI, Canto XII – 8, P. 1015)

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[749] The story continues and this time the tears are very openly called an "instrument":
"The Thunder-stroke Swaine lean'd to a tree,
As void of sense as weeping Niobe:
Making his teares the instruments to wooe her,
The Sea wherein his loue should swimme vnto her:
And, could there flow from his two-headed font,
As great a flood as is the Hellespont."
(BP, Book I, Song I, P.45)
This excerpt is a horn of plenty when it comes to waters and their different functions: the tears are "the instrument to wooe her", and they form a sea (indicating a great amount of tears) which lets the love travel to its destination (indicating waters as a means of transportation as well as a border between two parties. His eyes, the "two-headed font", dispersing the tears and creating a flood "as is the Hellespont" again displays an abundance of tears as well as the reference to an ancient river, highlighting the heritage of the text.

Clariwell is forced to leave her new-born child in a field. The father, Sir Bellamour, is strikingly absent which adds to her despair. Clariwell then hides behind a bush to see how and when the crying infant is found. The situation is not only pitiful and heart-breaking, but also crucial for the progression of this subplot of the *Faerie Queene*. Even though Clariwell parts somewhat voluntarily with her child, her tears and pain are easily compared to Megara's, building a temporal and spatial bridge between the two poems with the help of ever-lasting, unchanging pain.

## 2. Mourners

The second group of crying individuals, the mourners, are by far the most considerable: The subject of "mourning" is not unique to this category, since every Greek bucolic poet from the corpus includes at least one poem in his surviving corpus with the topic of an epitaph, lament or the inclusion of a tragic death.

In the Greek corpus, a connection between mourning and the shedding of tears in a water-including surrounding is evident. The typical mourners of the deaths of bucolic "superstars" like Adonis or Bion are either gods and goddesses or animals and plants. This adds a dimension that is higher than the human or god they mourn, respectively: the mourning reaches a divine and omnipresent symbolic state. Of course, this functions as an interpretative tool since the mourner adds significance to the deceased and this technique works perfectly in the praising of the dead. The death of both Adonis and Bion are treated by poets as a world-changing catastrophe which shakes the natural order and even moves gods to tears.

In the first example, the Charites and Moirae cry for the dead Adonis:

> αἰ Χάριτες κλαίοντι τὸν υἱέα τῶ Κινύραο,
> 'ὤλετο καλὸς Ἄδωνις' ἐν ἀλλάλαισι λέγουσαι.
> 'αἰαῖ' δ' ὀξὺ λέγοντι πολὺ πλέον ἢ Παιῶνα.
> χαἰ Μοῖραι τὸν Ἄδωνιν ἀνακλείουσιν Ἄδωνιν,'
> καί νιν ἐπαείδουσιν: ὁ δέ σφισιν οὐχ ὑπακούει:
> οὐ μὰν οὐκ ἐθέλει, Κώρα δέ νιν οὐκ ἀπολύει.
> (Bion. Epit. Adon. I, 91 ff.)
> "The Charites cry for the son of Kinyras: 'The beautiful Adonis is lost!', they say among each other, 'Oh no!'. And they speak with a louder voice than Paian. And the Moirae cry for Adonis,

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too. They call: 'Adonis!' but he does not hear them. Not because he does not want to, but because Kora does not let him."

This is a perfect example for divine lament: the episode offers a variety of gods and goddesses gathering and grieving in Adonis' absence. This gathering is used to safely place Adonis in a positive surrounding and assure his position among the beautiful, bright and positively associated immortals.

This divine convention is copied by Moschus for Bion's lament:

σεῖο Βίων ἔκλαυσε ταχὺν μόρον αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων,
καὶ Σάτυροι μύροντο μελάγχλαινοί τε Πρίηποι:
καὶ Πᾶνες στοναχεῦντο τὸ σὸν μέλος, αἵ τε καθ' ὕλαν
Κρανίδες ὠδύραντο, καὶ ὕδατα δάκρυα γέντο.
(Mosch. Id. III, 26 ff.)
"And even Apollon himself cried for you, who died swiftly! And the Satyrs let tears flow and the dark-cloaked Priapos: Pan sighs your song, the spring-goddesses from the forest wail and their tears turn to waters."

In this passage, Moschus lets the god Apollon himself cry for the deceased: gods mourning a mortal is an extraordinarily honourable situation and is used to place mortal Bion in spiritual and divine heights. Moschus' lament is a veiled encomium for his colleague Bion as well as a presentation of his own poetic skills. Not only does he introduce five groups of gods mourning Bion (Apollon, the Satyrs, Priapos, Pan, the spring goddesses) and the speciality of the god's domains that are all connected to poetry in general and bucolic in particular, he also includes water in a special way in this lament[750]. This reference is extremely valuable for the accentuation of water's importance in a grieving process: tears as the ultimate expression of pain and grief are intertwined with other kinds of waters such as springs or rivers. The amount of water and tears shed correlate directly with the intensity of grief: crying takes on a special role in the interaction between grieving individuals and the surrounding's involvement in the lament.

The mourners in the English corpus usually grieve over the death of a loved one. Compared to the classic corpus, the English offers a higher number of examples for human mourners and mourning nature. The

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[750] Firstly, Priapos is a river god frequently mentioned in bucolic poetry. Secondly, the spring goddesses from the forest join his lament and mourn Bion and, finally, the sentence "and tears become waters" (καὶ ὕδατα δάκρυα γέντο/ kai hýdata dákrya génto). From the Greek syntactic setup, subject and object could be turned over and it could easily also be translated as "and waters become tears".

first example for it comes from *The Shepherd's Calendar* and shows a part of Colin's song in the shepherd's agon:

> "Up, then, Melpomene, thou mournefulst Muse of nyne!
> […] Dido, my deare, alas! Is dead,
> Dead, and lyeth wrapt in lead:
> O heavie herse!
> Let streaming teares be poured out in store:
> O carefull verse!
> Shepheards, that by your flocks on Kentish downes abyde,
> Waile ye this wofull waste of Natures warke."
> (The Shepherd's Calendar, November, P.49, L. 53)

This example merges multiple reasons for crying: mourners and lovers are very often the same person. Colin compares his pains to those of mythological figures such as Melpomene and Dido. The example is unique because it unites the toils of love with tradition, poetry and pain as well as pastoral lifestyle and landscape descriptions. Moreover, the "Kentish downes" mentioned in the same context of Dido and Melpomene as well as the placement of shepherds and pastoral states in a truly English environment shows the development Renaissance pastoral underwent from its Greek and Latin predecessors. This excerpt is witness to the gradual emancipation of English pastoral from its literary heritage and the growing self-confidence of English pastoral poets. The tears function as a connecting element between the characters – crying over similar pain is a uniting action which does not only connect peers and contemporaries but also conquers temporal and spatial border.[751]

This example of the *Faerie Queene* lets Pastorella mourn both her deceased lover and her own pain after the ambush of strangers:

> "What now is left her, but to wayle and weepe,
> Wringing her hands, and ruefully loud crying?
> Ne cared she her wound in tears so steepe,
> Albe with all their might thise Brigants her did keepe."
> (The Faerie Queene, Book VI, Canto XI – 23, P. 1005)

The pastoral princess did not only witness the death of her lover but was also herself injured. The picture of horror painted in the lines leaves every recipient stunned. Pastorella neglects her own pain and

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[751] These developments to a British confidence can also be found in an example from Cooper's Hill which includes the Thames rather than mythological rivers and will be further analysed in the chapter of *Naturtrauer.*

cries over the death of her lover. The tears function as emotional outlet to deal with the absurdity and horror of this situation.

Shortly after, Coridon assumes that Pastorella was also killed in the ambush. His pain is described as follows:

> "Where Pastorell? Who full of fresh dismay,
> And gushing forth in teares, was so opprest,
> That he no word could speake, but smit his breast,
> And vp to heauen his eyes fast streming threw."
> (The Faerie Queene, Book VI, Canto XI – 28, P. 1007)

Just like in a traditional *laudatio funebris*[752], Coridon displays classic signs of grief such as crying, beating his chest and turning to the sky for help. His example suggests that tears and crying have a specific place in the ritual of grieving; the initiation of it is felt as a necessity to cope with the pain of losing a loved one.

Coridon's pain of absence is shared by the grieving audience of *Lycidas* in the eponymous poem. After the death of Lycidas, many mourn his destiny:

> "Who would not sing for Lycidas? He well knew
> Himself to sing, and build the lofty rhyme.
> He must not flote upon his watry bear,
> Unwept, and welter to the parching wind,
> Without the meed of som melodious tear."
> (Lycidas, P. 185)

Lycidas' death requires the proper etiquette of weeping and goodbyes. Since he met his death in water, just as Milton's friends, he is denied a proper burial; the adequate weeping is necessary to bid him farewell.[753] The importance of a burial according to the appreciated customs in ancient Greece can never be underestimated; tragedies like *Antigone* or *Elektra* tell of the adhering to divine laws and the distress of friends and family of the deceased individuals who are

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[752] A *laudatio funebris* is a Roman funeral speech held at the burial of a family member or close friend to praise and honour the deceased and to include the audience in the family's pain and grief. (Cf. Kiendorf 2006). For further information on the *laudatio funebris* please also see Kierdorf 1980.

[753] This observation is shared by Poggioli: "The avowal that death by water has prevented Lycidas from receiving the tribute of tears to which he is entitled provokes a poignant realization of the jury done to his remains, which are now tossed about in the vast expanses or in the awful depths of the sea." (Poggioli 1975: 96). He repeats:

"[…] Lycidas is refused the considerations of burial and the grave, consisting of the tears which the friends of the dead shed on their urns […]." (Poggioli 1975: 96 f.). The issue of inconsistent burial rites and missing tears is prompted.

not properly buried[754]. Since *Lycidas* is modelled after ancient laments, the lack of proper burial is emotionally loaded. This particular example underlines the ritual importance of crying in the grieving process. The "melodious" epithet lends the tears a positive connotation: in this example, crying is not a negative activity but the decent reaction to the situation.[755]

In *Arcadia*, the death of Basileus, king of the shepherds, shakes the pastoral society. Agelastus mourns the death of his monarch and the overall idea of loss is carried throughout the poem. The shepherds' pain is described as follows:

> "Let tears for him therefore be all our treasure,
> And I our wailful naming him our pleasure.
> Let hating of ourselves be our affection,
> And unto death bend still our thoughts' direction."
> (Arcadia, P.133)

The shepherds collectively mourn a mutual loss; the pain unites them and helps to build a group identity: their individual tears become a mutual feature, a shared expression of pain. The value of these communally shed tears is high. The loss of their monarch brings all its subjects together.

The connection between falling tears and song has already been mentioned and so has the effect of grieving as an impulse for literary production. The following example from *Britannia's Pastoral* takes this creational impulse one step further, when mourning initiates the writing of poetry:

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[754] For further reference on 'proper burial' and ancient burial rites and customs please see Binder&Effe 1991, Herfort-Koch 1992, and Kurtz&Boardman 1985. Improper burial followed, when the usual funeral rites such as washing the body, grieving next to the deceased, carrying the deceased out of the house, arranging burial objects and building an impressive funeral monument (Cf.Kurtz&Boardman 1985: 237) were not or only inadequately performed.
[755] This is clearly shown a few lines later, when the audience learns that the tears reached their desired, cleansing effects and there is hope again:
"There entertain him all the Saints above,
In solemn troops, and sweet Societies
That sing, and singing in their glory move,
And wipe the tears for ever from his eyes.
Now Lycidas the Shepherds weep no more."
(Lycidas, P. 190)
The emotional outlet worked as a cleansing: the appropriate grieving was performed and now the grievers can allow themselves a positive outlook on things: "the Shepherd weep no more" and Lycidas can find his peace. The mourning has been completed according to custom. Kunze refers in this context to the establishment of a new paradise, a new Arcadia: "[…] auch im Lycidas [mündet ] die Abkehr von den überlieferten Arkadienvorstellungen schließlich in die Konzeption eines neuen Paradieses ein, dessen signifikantes Merkmal die eternisierende Qualität der Bildlichkeit ist." (Kunze 1978: 52).

> "My blubbring pen her sable tears lets fall,
> In Characters right Hyrogliphicall,
> And mixing with my teares are ready turning,
> My late white paper to a weed of mourning."
> (BP, Book I, Song V, P.127)

Aletheia's destiny is mourned in more ways than one since it is captured on paper and therefore preserved for any future times to come. The need to find release in writing down the overbearing emotions of the griever endows the activity of grieving itself with poetic features: not only is it worth writing about it but it is also necessary to bring it to paper, since both tears and paper work together in the cleansing process of grieving. The examples for mourners and grievers showed the importance of tears in the customary and ritual context of the processing of bereavement.

## 3.Nature

The final subcategories of tears are the examples of grieving nature; all imagery of waters and tears displays a strong connection between crying individuals and nature, but *Naturtrauer* takes these implications further when pain felt by human characters is shared by their imminent surrounding. *Naturtrauer* can be found within all three corpora and with most of the poets: the Greek corpus gives examples for crying animals, waters and valleys, usually connecting men and divinity through the means of nature.

In the first example from the Greek corpus, gods and nature are involved in the grieving process for Adonis:

> τῆνον μὲν περὶ παῖδα φίλοι κύνες ὠδύραντο
> καὶ Νύμφαι κλαίουσιν ὀρειάδες.
> (Bion. Epit. Adon. I, 18 f.)
> "The dear dogs wail for the boy and the mountain nymphs cry,
> too."

The wailing dogs add to the soundscape of grief as do the mountain nymphs since they implement progressive wailing and introduce repetitive crying: the crying parties of this example prove the intertwining of natural and divine forces. This is a very typical scenario for *Naturtrauer*, as can also be seen in the following example:

> καὶ ποταμοὶ κλαίουσι τὰ πένθεα τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας,
> καὶ παγαὶ τὸν Ἄδωνιν ἐν ὤρεσι δακρύοντι,

ἄνθεα δ' ἐξ ὀδύνας ἐρυθαίνεται.
(Bion. Epit. Adon. I, 33 ff.)
"Rivers cry for Aphrodite's agony and springs in the forest cry
for Adonis; blossoms redden because of the pain."

The symbiosis of crying springs and rivers creates the impression of vast amounts of shed water, implementing the feeling of ultimate grief. Moreover, the crying waters in bucolic and pastoral poetry epitomise process in a natural context and humanise landscapes: the feeling of all-encompassing, united, lament is intensified by the inclusion of nature's tears[756].

This can also be found in this example from Moschus:

Αἴλινά μοι στοναχεῖτε νάπαι καὶ Δώριον ὕδωρ,
καὶ ποταμοὶ κλαίοιτε τὸν ἱμερόεντα Βίωνα.
(Mosch. Id. III, 1 f.)
"Sigh horribly, valleys and Doric waters! Rivers, cry for the
charming Bion!"

The request for active involvement in the lament and public crying emphasises the necessary role of surroundings for the successful grieving over a deceased and suggests that his death has world-shaking effects on every aspect imaginable. The interpretative relevance of this is the usual hyperbolic poetic language used in laments. The parallel structure of Moschus' laments as well as the numerous similarities between Bion's own poetic work, the epitaph for Adonis, and Moschus' lament for the poet must be understood as a respectful copying of style and an honouring homage. Respect and admiration are felt in every line of the lament for Bion.

Virgil also instrumentalises the concept of *Naturtrauer* for ultimate effect. This first example features the death of Daphnis, the first pastoral poet:

Mopsus:   Extinctum nymphae crudeli funere Daphnim
          flebant; vos coryli testes et flumina nymphis […]
(Verg. Ecl. V, 20 f.)
Mopsus:   Snuffed out by cruel death, Daphnis was mourned
          By nymphs – you streams and hazels knew their grief
          […].

Just like in the Greek model, nymphs, waters and plants mourn the corpse of the poet. The structure of tears, streams and waters

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[756] The motif of *Naturtrauer* is not restricted to bucolic poetry but can also be found in other poetic forms such as Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. (Cf. Mardaus 2001). A detailed description of other occurrences would go beyond the scope of this dissertation.

producing other forms of waters transfers from Greek bucolic poetry to Latin Pastoral[757].

The following example puts the grieving in an even more animal-related context: when Gallus is mourned, the group of mourners is joined by the most pastoral bystanders of all, sheep:

> Illum etiam lauri, etiam flevere myricae.
> Pinifer illum etiam sola sub rupe iacentem
> Maenalus, et gelidi fleverunt saxa Lycaei.
> Stant et oves circum; nostri nec paenitet illas,
> Nec te paeniteat pecoris, divine poeta.
> (Verg. Ecl. X, 13 ff.)
> Even the low shrubs and the laurels mourned
> Him stretched beneath a solitary rock;
> Menelaus mourned and the cold Lycaean cliffs.
> The sheep too stand around; be not displeased
> With them (they're not with us), inspired poet.

Here, a list of nature's mourners can be found: shrubs, laurels, cliffs and sheep mourn together with Menelaus (l. 16). Since the list can be looked at as a climax, the end weight makes sheep the most important and emphasises the importance of animals in Virgil's *Eclogues*: increased inclusion of pastoral animals is one of the main differences between Greek and English versus Latin Pastoral.

Since the motif transfers to Latin Pastoral and the examples bear a striking resemblance to the laments and epitaphs in the Greek corpus regarding structure, vocabulary, imagery and content, the symbolisation of the motif has progressed to the Latin context. Similar descriptions can also be found in the English corpus which makes the *Eclogues* important literary transmitters for bucolic motifs. The function of waters and tears as supporters for the cathartic effect of grieving and crying is crucial. In Virgil's corpus, crying is used as an emotional catalyst to cope with extreme situations of loss.

The English corpus uses the concept of *Naturtrauer* most excessively of all corpora. Here, grief can be expressed by rain, one of the most obvious connotations between nature and tears, and several other natural groups performing open lament and communal grieving.

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[757] Albrecht notes the importance of landscape in the context of grief: „Die Landschaft spielt in den Bucolica aktiv mit; sie teilt als Trägerin menschlicher Empfindungen Jubel und Trauer. Berge, Wälder und immer wieder namentlich genannte Pflanzen und Tiere vergegenwärtigen eine mitfühlende – oder auch grausame – Umwelt." (Albrecht 2006: 45). A similar relationship between nature and emotions was already found in the Greek bucolic corpus.

A crying tree can be found *in Idea, The Shepherd's Garland*:

> "Wynken be wayleth Elphins losse,
> The God of Poesie,
> With Rowlands rime ecleepd the tears
> Of the greene Hawthorne tree."
> (Idea, The Shepherd's Garland, 4th Eclogue, P.10)

*Britannia's Pastoral's* even offer a list of trees connected to grief and tears:

> "And Trees whose teares their losse commiserate,
> Such are the Cypresse, and the weeping Myrrhe,
> The dropping Amber, and the refin'd Fyrrhe,
> The bleeding Vine, the watry Sycamour,
> And Willough for the forlorne Paramour."
> (BP, Book I, Song IV, P.12)

The grief over Endymion is expressed by nature as well as humans; in this context, different trees and their grieving abilities are mentioned as "Trees whose teares their losse commiserate"; interestingly, even though Virgil also gives a list of mourning trees, there is no overlap with Browne's tree-catalogue.

*Lycidas* also features crying plants:

> "Bid Amaranthus all his beauty shed,
> And Daffadillis fill their cup with tears,
> To strew the Laureat Herse where Lycidas lies."
> (Lycidas, P. 189)

The flowers accompanying Lycidas endow the funeral rites with bittersweet natural involvement: the first connotation with amaranth and daffodils is the beauty of their shape and colour.[758] In this context, however, they are used to express tears and pain. Milton plays with ambivalent imagery to introduce grieving nature and the ray of hope in only three lines, hinting at the different functions of waters in nostalgia:

> "The waters called up by pastoral nostalgia are different: fountain, rill, and fresh dews in the remembered idyll of the high lawns, gushing brooks, and honeyed showers in the flower-passage, smooth-sliding Mincius and Deva spreading her wizard stream. The motions suggested or stated for them are gentle, nonurgent, without direction to any end: sliding, spreading. Or they are cyclical, the downward movement of the showers becoming

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[758] Daffodils were a very English notion in pastoral poetry, since they were first introduced by Spenser; by including daffodils, English poets paid homage to the British Spenser rather than the ancient Virgil or Theocritus. They can also be found in Milton's Lycidas (among others). (Cf. Lyne 2016: 74)

circular as the moisture is sucked up through the flowers' roots and stems."[759]

In *Astrophel*, the mourning is extended to the sky and firmament as a crying star is introduced as homage to Astrophel's lover Stella:

> "And in the midst thereof a star appears,
> As fairly formd as any star in skyes,
> Resembling Stella in her freshest yeares,
> Forth darting beames of beauty from her eyes;
> And all the day it standeth full of deow,
> Which is the teares that from her eyes did flow."
> (Astrophel, P. 702, L. 187)

The inclusion of the sky into the circle of mourners is unique to the English corpus and an open homage to ancient myths, which regularly features astronomic constellations and their human designates. Moreover, the imagery of a star introduces the dimension of eternity to the grieving process. Whereas other examples of *Naturtrauer* relied on the idea of a hopeful feature and passing grief, Stella's star will remind the mourners of their loss forever.

Finally, the English corpus provides several examples for crying waters. Crying waters are the highest form of *Naturtrauer* in pastoral poetry, since the element bolsters the everlasting circle of life when waters and tears merge. When tears are shed by waters, the grieving reaches a meta-level of impressive and expressive grief[760]. Even if tears are salty and therefore not the same water as found in rivers and streams, their comparisons and analogies with water are interesting in the context of emotional display in bucolic and pastoral poetry.

The first example comes from *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*. The absence of Colin was felt by nature as a whole - according to Hobbinol's information for the returning shepherd:

> "The running waters wept for thy returne,
> And all their fish with languor did lament:
> But now both woods and fields and floods revive,
> Sith thou art come, their cause of merriment,
> That us, late dead, hast made againe alive."
> (CCCHA, P. 687, L. 27)

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[759] Snyder 1998: 72.
[760] These forms of Naturtrauer are also used in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; for more information please see Mardaus 2001 and Tissol 1997.

The hyperbolic description of Colin's almost magical abilities to revive nature in all its elements are an open act of flattery, which makes the description of his grief very similar to the ancient examples of laments.

In *Cooper's Hill*, the audience finds the Thames crying for her lover:

> "[…] And as a parting lover bids farewell
> To his Soules ioy, seeing her Eyelidds swell
> He turns againe to save her falling teares,
> And with a parting kiss secures her feares […]."
> (Cooper's Hill, P. 85, L. 179)

This example is unique for *Naturtrauer* in the context of evolving national identity; the crying and parting river described is the Thames, whose course diverges from another stream. Cooper's Hill describes the Thames as "the eldest & noblest Sonne/of ould Oceanus […]." (L. 165) and compares his farewell to other waters to the leave-taking of two lovers. Again, waters are crying indirectly into each other – the whole swirl of streams, their merging and their changing courses introduce the idea of a goodbye. The mentioning of a British river situates the pastoral poem in an English background even though the Thames genealogy is declared from the ancient god Oceanus (L. 165).

*Idea, The Shepherd's Garland* uses the concept of grieving nature as a whole to reinforce the lovesickness of Rowland as an individual:

> "Ther's not a groue that wonders not my woe.
> There's not a riuer weeps not at my tale:
> I heare the ecchoes (wandring too and froe)
> Resound my griefe in euery hill and dale,
> The beasts in field, with many a wofull groane,
> The birds in ayre help to expresse my moane."
> (Idea, The Shepherd's Garland, 9th Eclogue, P.37)

Just like tears in some previous examples, Rowland instrumentalises nature for his means – his description is purely hypothetic and hyperbolic to stress his emotional pain. Rowland's natural surrounding works as a white canvas which he uses for the projection of his emotional situation: nature's response to his situation, the pathetic fallacy so frequently found in pastoral poetry is, on full display in this example and almost every aspect of nature is included in the grieving (groves, rivers, hills, dales, field and

birds). All five elements join Rowland in his mourning and his pains are shared, increasing the relationship of mourner and mourning nature to a united group.


**Conclusion**

Although the different groups of crying individuals cry for various reasons and in individual situations, the function of water and tears remains similar. The motif of water as tears does not only persist throughout the spatial and temporal dimensions of Greek bucolic, Virgilian eclogues and Renaissance Pastoral, but gains individual interpretative weight in each epoch.

First and foremost, they fulfil a symbolic function, since tears symbolise grief and unhappiness and work as ultimate evidence for mourning and misery as extreme emotional emergencies. The crying evokes pity and compassion in the recipients of the lamentation, allowing for an emotional exchange to take place. In a different approach, the shedding of tears functions as the signifier of emotional involvement with another human being, demigod or god: it is a display of affection, since the crying characterises both the mourner and the mourned. This allows tears to take on mirroring or psychologising functions as they provide information on an individual's emotional situation. In some cases, the mourners add significance and reflect the popularity of the mourned, in others they display personal relationships towards them. It is, for example, a great honour for nature and gods to grieve for the human poet Bion.

In the case of a goodbye, whether temporary or definite, the tears work as a final seal between two parting individuals. This could be found with the tears of Hylas in the spring's water. Clariwell's goodbye to the child she must leave behind is another example for this liquid seal. In this sense, water, functions as a border.

The actual progress of crying has a cleansing function: tears wash away things, and this washing, this cleansing can be used for various interpretative purposes in given contexts this form of crying is always highly symbolic. The shedding of tears always includes the hinted idea of process and movement, a hopeful outlook in the future; the sprouting of flowers from tears and blood in Bion underline this

perfectly. The cleansing can also take the shape of emotional purging from negativity and pain felt by the crying individuals.

Unlike the classic corpus, the English does not feature any crying lovers who are gods or demigods. However, it uses examples in which tears and the expression of pain is instrumentalised to arouse pity: these can be used by lovers for wooing purposes but also by mourners or desperate individuals pleading for help to save their lives. The instrumentalisation of tears emphasises the importance of empathy and human interaction. It also allows insight to the mental state of the crying characters. Again, water's function is mirroring and psychologising the parties involved.

Tears illustrate the connection between men and nature as much of the imagery used to describe the tears of crying characters are taken from natural contexts. In these cases, water's pathetic fallacies' function is both mirroring and psychologising. The amounts of tears are thereby classified by comparable water bodies taken from nature such as dew, floods, rivers, streams. These kinds of natural connectors are only surpassed by actual *Naturtrauer* in terms of natural involvement. In these contexts, waters can play an ornamental role, as they provide the background setting for the grieving process. Nonetheless, their function is never purely ornamental: tears may be the ultimate expression of grief, but the ornamental function always corresponds with other, more emotional functions. The English corpus pays respect to its ancient predecessors in terms of using the motif of *Naturtrauer*, as the creation of these laments are very similar to Moschus' and Bion's examples. The English corpus uses this motif far more frequently than the ancient corpora. This allows the assumption that the creation of these *Naturtrauer*-excerpts was popular with Renaissance poets: their context and content is already very dramatic, but the grieving-performing forces add another layer of pathos. The poets excelled in the creation of these scenarios of lamenting nature; their procession from copying aspects of the old master's work towards a uniquely British perspective on the composition of these instances is remarkable and proved by the Kent- or Thames-example.[761]

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[761] The subject of imitation must not be overestimated; it would be wrong to accuse the British poets to simply copy their ancient role models – a presupposition like this would do the poets great injustice. As the British corpus overtly shows, the imitation or mimesis of old masters only goes so far: instead of simply copying

Communal crying in the English corpus shows the social function of tears and waters: shared pain creates an identity-providing group environment. This does not only help to ease the pain, but also creates an emotional connection with other individuals. The tears have characterising function, since they unite crying individuals to members of a grieving community: grieving and crying in a communal context also raises the questions of adequate grieving, funeral rites, customs, traditions and rituals required to be met in all three literary corpora. Tears are both major indicators and necessities to guarantee proper burial and farewell.

Tears also function as inspiration for poetic production such as written literature or oral song, since extreme emotional situations drive the individuals to various methods of expressing their feelings – this way, grief functions as poetic inspiration and emotional outlet: pain can be used as a helpful tool for poetry composing. In this description, tears and their explanations allow a personal resume for feelings and situations. From a narrative perspective, these kinds of meta-poetry give "objective" individual insight into the poems' characters, as their crying characterises the crying individuals and identifies them as members of specific groups.

### 4.2.3. Drink

The chapter of "Meeting Points" already touched upon the subject of water as a drink. In these examples, the drinking of water is primarily performed by animals. A closer look at the instances of water-drinking reveal that this is no exception: animals make up the largest group of water-consumers in Greek bucolic poetry. In Theocritus' idylls, humans and gods tend not to drink water but rather ambrosia, milk, wine and nectar.

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established concepts, forms and ideas, the Renaissance Pastoral establishes itself through the wit, digestion, creation and individual thought processes of its British poets. Hiltner even goes one step further and reduces the impact of mimesis on a content-level: "[…] Renaissance nature writing, which is frequently in the pastoral mode, often works best when it neither mimics nor represents anything." (Hiltner 2011: 5.).

In Greek and Latin bucolic poetry there is little evidence for sole human water consumption and cattle are usually led to the spring or stream to allay their thirst. The chapter "Meeting Points" established the social and economic function of cattle's drinking at a spring or river, but this chapter's focus will be on the actual consumption of water, an action very prominent in the English corpus, which features drinking humans and drinking nature (plants and animals). In many examples, the interplay between drink and thirst as well as water and drought is thematised to reach specific dramatic effects. The most frequent is the connection of cool drink and the *locus amoenus*, which naturally highlights the recreational necessity of drink and refreshment; another strongly connected function is the expression of grief and before-after descriptions of situations point out the passing of a specific event and its imminent interference with natural order. In real life, Greeks did indeed consume water, and fresh waters from springs was appreciated and preferred[762]. Even more so, as both the Heliconian Hippocrene and the Sicilian spring Arethusa are strongly connected to song production and poetic inspiration: legend has it that Hesiod himself drank from the Hippocrene and the bucolic poet Bion from the Arethusa.[763]

## 1. NATURE

The first example for water as a drink comes from Virgil: Palaemon finishes a singing contest and equalises the end of his song with the finalisation of watering the fields:

> Palaemon:  Non nostrum inter tantas componere lites.
> Et vitula tu dignus, et hic, et quisquis amores
> aut metuet dulces, aut experietur amaros.
> Claudite iam rivos, pueri, sat prata biberunt.
> (Verg. Ecl. III, 108 ff.)
> Palaemon:  It is not for me to settle such a contest.
> You each deserve a heifer – as do all
> Who fear love's sweets or taste its bitter woes.
> Shut off the streams; the fields have drunk enough.

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[762] „Als Frisch- und Trinkwasser wurde in der Antike keine Wasserart so hoch geschätzt wie das Quellwasser. Griechen und Römer verehrten zahlreiche Quellen, pflegten an Quellen eigene Kulte oder statteten mancherorts Quellheiligtümer mit tempel- oder fassadenhafter Prunkarchitektur aus." (Tölle-Kastenbein 1990: 21).
[763] Cf. Saunders 2008: 65. The drinking of specific waters as inspirational fluid is later repeated in the English corpus and can be seen as a reverse-initiation.

The fields and meadows have been watered by purposefully redirecting the streams. This is the only example of the Greek and Latin corpus where humans intendedly interfere with water's natural course and use simple mechanics and its inherent feature of flowing to facilitate their work. This example is extremely valuable from an ecocritical viewpoint, since human interference worked out to botj benefit and potentially exploit nature and agriculture. It also shows the involvement and dedication of the herdsmen to their surrounding: they do not only care for their animals but take responsibility for their work environment. The holistic approach to nature already initiated by Theocritus is perfected by Virgil.

Natural features indulging in drink for recreational and nurturing purposes are mentioned several times in the English corpus. This example stresses water's ability to nourish plants as a motif for fertility and productiveness: In *Paradise Lost*, water's ability to provide other natural features with vital refreshment is self-evidently included in the construction of the garden Eden:

> "Southward through Eden went a river large,
> Nor changed his course, but through the shaggy hill
> Passed underneath engulfed, for God had thrown
> That mountain as his garden mould raised
> Upon the rapid current, which through veins
> Of porous earth with kindly thirst up drawn,
> Rose a fresh fountain, and with many a rill
> Watered the garden […]."
> (Paradise Lost, Book IV, P. 91, L. 223)

Here, the thirsty "porous earth" finds drink in the water from a "fresh fountain" which is fed by a "rapid current". The appearance of these different kinds of waters which offer perfect supply for its surroundings dovetails with the remaining natural descriptions preceding and following the excerpt. Nature's need for water is evident in this example: absence of it disturbs the natural balance – an impossible situation for the establishment of the concept of the amoenic features of the Garden Eden.

Another example of water nourishing nature is the following from *Idea, The Shepherd's Garland*:

> "Those mirtle Groues decay'd, done growe againe,
> Their rootes refresh with Heliconas spring,
> Whose pleasant shade inuites the homely swayne,
> To sit him downe and heare the Muses sing."

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This example is special because the mentioning of the Helicon places the *locus amoenus* described in a strictly poetic context following ancient tradition. It is this Helicon, the swain, muses and song make the situation described overwhelmingly pastoral. The Helicon, a general source of inspiration, doubles as life-providing and poetry-inspiring source. In this example, the absence of water leads to decay and only the refreshment of the plants' roots lets them come alive again. The refreshed plant then offers shade to the "homely swayne", making the circle of natural inclusion complete.

*Damon the Mower*, a traditional Mower-poem, uses the motif of watering flowers in the verses of Damon's self-introduction:

> "I am the Mower Damon, known
> Through all the Meadows I have mown.
> On me the Morn her dew distils
> Before her darling Daffadils."
> (Damon the Mower, P. 214)

These lines point out Damon's inclusion in nature's course: the frequent motif of dew always introduces a point of temporal orientation, suggesting Damon spends day and night outside so that in the "Morn her dew distils" on him, refreshing him as well as nature's "darling Daffadils".

The Greek corpus focusses on drinking animals rather than watered nature:

> Δάφνις ἐγὼν ὅδε τῆνος ὁ τὰς βόας ὧδε νομεύων,
> Δάφνις ὁ τὼς ταύρως καὶ πόρτιας ὧδε ποτίσδων.
> (Theoc. Id. I, 120 f.)
> "I am Daphnis who is tending the cows here. I am Daphnis who is watering the bulls and calves."

In this example, the watering of the animals as well as tending them reveal Daphnis' self-perception. He, the cowherd, seems to define himself by his bucolic profession: the tending and watering also has an incantatory effect and magnifying effect: the ὅδε and ὧδε used in connection to his name add significance and weight. In this respect, similarities to the self-introduction of Damon in *Damon the Mower* can be established.

Virgil also offers water-drinking scenarios in his *Eclogues* which are strictly pastoral in eclogue 5:

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Non ulli pastos illis egere diebus
frigida, Daphni, boves ad flumina; nulla neque amnem
libavit quadrupes, nec graminis attigit herbam.
(Verg. Ecl. V, 24 ff.)
No one, in those days, drove his well-fed cattle,
Daphnis, to cooling streams: no wild steed tasted
The running waters, or touched a blade of grass.
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Since everyone is mourning Daphnis, cattle and steed are deprived of drink and the herdsmen's lives are turned upside down.[764] The imagery of fresh, cooling water for the refreshment of the animals usually evokes an extremely positive picture. This example triggers the opposite and a feeling of longing and unhappiness is induced. Since the quenching of thirst with fresh, cool water implies ultimate refreshment and relaxation, the real effects of Daphnis' passing are experienced by his loyal comrades as well as their cattle and steed.[765]

Just like the ancient corpora, the English offers an example for the watering of animals; more precisely, the watering of wild animals and the watering of cattle as part of the tending of livestock in a very pastoral context: *Lycidas* relies on the pleasures of past memories, when reminiscence of former experiences with the deceased are mentioned:

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Together both, ere the high Lawns appear'd
Under the opening eye-lids of the morn,
We drove a field, and both together heard
What time the Gray-fly winds her sultry horn,
Batt'ning our flocks with the fresh dews of the night,
Oft till the Star that rose, at Ev'ning, bright
Towards Heav'ns descent had slop'd his westering wheel."
(Lycidas, P. 186)
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[764] A high degree of realism is displayed by this way of grieving: "The modulation of this passage and the attention to plausible renderings of grief can be regarded as Virgil's refusal to indulge in extravagant versions of the pathetic fallacy." (Alpers 1979: 193). The laments in the Greek corpus feature a much more abstract and highly stylised dealing with emotional pain and grief.

[765] In the following example, the positive connotation prevails again:
huc ipsi potum venient per prata iuvenci,
hic viridis tenera praetexit arundine ripas
Mincius, eque sacra resonant examina quercu.
(Verg. Ecl. VII, 11 ff.)
To drink here, willing bullocks cross the fields;
Here slender reeds border the verdant banks
Of Mincius, and the cult oak hums with bees.
Very clearly, features of the *locus amoenus* can be found in this example, too; the inclusion of livestock and flocks in the actual *locus amoenus* was already mentioned in its category before, but these examples show that the inclusion work both ways. Bullocks and reeds feast on the waters in their surrounding; plants and animals both enjoy nature's bounty and supply of cool water. The humming of the bees, so typical for the acoustic underlining of a *locus amoenus,* is also present in this episode.

The mentioning of livestock being watered and tended in fresh, dewy meadows maintains the pastoral context of the poem but also praises a simple life spent in friendship as the greatest luxury. The temporal dimension introduces duration and repetition, affirming the terms of the individuals' comradeship and their pastoral occupation.


## 2.PEOPLE

The Hylas-idyll is one of the exceptions where water is indeed needed for people as drink and for the preparation of the evening meal. Hence, the young boy is sent out to fetch fresh, cool water for the crew. It is on this quest that he is abducted by nymphs:

> κῴχεθ᾽ Ὕλας ὁ ξανθὸς ὕδωρ ἐπιδόρπιον οἰσῶν
> αὐτῷ θ᾽ Ἡρακλῆι καὶ ἀστεμφεῖ Τελαμῶνι [...].
> (Theoc. Id. XIII, 36 f.)
> And fair Hylas went, too, to fetch water for the evening meal for him and Heracles and the brave Telamon.

The actual drawing of water from the crystal-clear spring is his fatal downfall:

> ἤτοι ὁ κοῦρος ἐπεῖχε ποτῷ πολυχανδέα κρωσσὸν
> βάψαι ἐπειγόμενος, ταὶ δ᾽ ἐν χερὶ πᾶσαι ἔφυσαν:
> (Theoc. Id. XIII, 46 f.)
> And when the boy wanted to dip in the wide cup for his drink and leaned forward, they took his hand.

The vulnerable young boy is drawn into the pool of water and forced to remain with the nymphs. Just like in the example before, the dependency on water is a weakness for both animals and humans: since there is an absolute necessity to find a daily source, some unwanted encounters might not be avoided. In foreign land this search for water requires the penetration of unknown soil. This vulnerability is also significant in the 22nd idyll of Theocritus. Here, the Dioscuri, two brothers ask a passing wanderer for a cup of water. Just like in the Idyll 13, with which the 22nd idyll shares many distinctive features in language and storytelling, the brothers set out to explore the land they landed on and to find supplies.

> Πολυδεύκης:    δαιμόνι᾽, οὐδ᾽ ἂν τοῦδε πιεῖν ὕδατος σύγε δοίης;
> Ἄμυκος:        γνώσεαι, εἴ σευ δῖψος ἀνειμένα χείλεα τέρσει.
> (Theoc. Id. XXII 62 ff.)
> Polydeukes:    Horrible man, will you not give me water to drink?

Amykos:                  You should know how to help yourself if thirst
                         dries out your lips!

The harsh response of the wanderer functions as accelerator for the
following fight. All his answers to the friendly requests and
questions of the Dioscuri are rude and unfriendly; he does not meet
the social protocol and violates the rules of hospitality. This
sacrilege as well as refusing aid in helping to find water draws the
picture of a horrible human being and functions as a justification
for the following brawl.[766] It would be very unheroic for the Dioscuri
to just start a fight with any stranger; his behaviour delivers perfect
vindication for it and sympathies can remain with the protagonists.[767]

Despite these few examples, the absence of water as drink for
humans is so striking that it lets the question arise which drinks
were consumed instead. Water was already introduced in the beginning
paragraphs of the chapter, but the focus in the Greek corpus lies on
different drinks. Several instances of milk can be found[768], a love
potion[769], a healing potion[770] and seven occurrences of unspecified
drinks[771]. There are three instances of nectar[772], one of honey[773] and
one of poison[774].

The Virgilian corpus does, however, introduce drinking humans
and is not strictly relying on nature feasting on nature. The first
eclogue mentions the following example:

Tityrus:   Ante leves ergo pascentur in aequore cervi,
           et freta destituent nudos in litore pisces,
           ante pererratis amborum finibus exsul
           aut Ararim Parthus bibet, aut Germania Tigrim,
           quam nostro illius labatur pectore voltus.
(Verg. Ecl. I, 59 ff.)

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[766] Sens argues that the inclusion of water for drink was merely used in this context
to clarify the parallels to the Hylas idyll. (Cf. Sens 1997: 123).
[767] The fisticuff is narrated by Polydeuces himself which explains the extremely
negative picturing of the wanderer's (Amycus') behaviour. Sens summarises the story
as follows: "[…] The encounter is cast as one between the barbaric and uncultivated
Amycus and the civilized Polydeuces, who behaves with all the refinement and courtesy
of a well-mannered Hellenistic gentleman, ultimately teaching the crude Bebrycian to
treat strangers with better manners […]." (Sens 1997: 95). Hunter juxtaposes the
king's behaviour with the setting of the incident: "Clearly, the king IS strikingly
contrasted with the natural beauty of the spot." (Hunter 1996: 62).
[768] (Theoc. Id. XI, 35 – XXIV, 30 – XXIX, 4 – XXIII, 104 and Mosch. III, 33).
[769] (Theoc. Id. XI, 1).
[770] (Theoc. Id. XXIII, 24).
[771] (Theoc. Id. XIV, 17 – XIV, 29 – X, 52 – XVIII, 11 – XXIX, 1 – XXIX, 31 and Mosch.
Id. II, 139).
[772] (Theoc. Id. XV, 108 – VII, 82 – VII, 154).
[773] (Mosch. Id. III, 33).
[774] (Mosch. Id. III, 109).

> Tityrus:   Sooner light-footed stags will graze in the air,
>            The waves will strand their fish bare on the shore;
>            Sooner in exile, roaming frontiers unknown,
>            Will Gauls and Persians drink each other's streams,
>            Than shall his features slip out of our hearts.

Tityrus introduces an adynaton: Gauls and Persians drink peacefully side by side, just like the hinds and hounds in the eighth idyll. The functions of this examples are similar to these of eclogue 8, when the social function of water is articulated. In this near impossible scenario, nature works contrary to every expectation - waves strand their fish and enemies drink together. The function of this whole episode is to accent unlikelihood and improbability. Its most important feature is mentioned in line 63: "Than shall his features slip out of our hearts." The pathetic connection to this individual (meant is "illius", l. 63) and Tityrus' hyperbolic outburst of impossibilities is emphasised by this line.

The concepts of meeting points and the "Dichterweihe" are both rarely served in the Virgilian corpus.[775] The following quote from eclogue five shows, however, that the imagery of running, streaming water and poetry production is not lost in Latin Pastoral:

> Menalcas:  Tale tuum carmen nobis, divine poeta,
>            quale sopor fessis in gramine, quale per aestum
>            dulcis aquae saliente sitim restinguere rivo.
> (Verg. Ecl. V, 45 ff.)
> Menalcas:  Your song, inspired poet, is like slumber
>            On soft grass to the weary, or a brook
>            Of sparkling water, quenching noontime thirst.

Although water sparkles from a brook and not, as would be typically Theocritean, a spring or a fount, the connotation remains effortlessly. This example is also exceptional because it is the only incident of people really drinking water[776]. This example gives a striking presentation of water as a drink for humans with a very positive connotation and is even interwoven with a compliment for poetic art. Just like in his *loca amoena*, Virgil juxtaposes coolness and heat, shade and sun to accentuate refreshment and recreation.

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[775] The only appearance of the "Dichterweihe"-motif can be found in the sixth eclogue (Verg. Ecl. VI, 74-73), where Cornelius Gallus is lost next to the Permessus-stream when a muse leads him to the mountains of Boeotia. There he receives Hesiod's pipe as his initiation (Cf. Albrecht 2006: 27 f.). This initiation was not included since the connection to water is not clear enough and does not aid the interpretation of the water motif.

[776] It must be borne in mind that eclogue I merely gave an adynaton-example.

In this respect, the Renaissance corpus differs immensely from its classic counterparts: the English corpus offers numerous examples of humans enjoying the fresh drink of water. The named individuals are also predominantly human and mortal, such as the shepherd Colin, who is praised in the following excerpt from *The Shepherd's Calendar*:

> "Nay, better learne of hem that learned bee,
> And han be watered at the Muses well:
> The kindlye dewe drops from the higher tree,
> And wets the little plants that lowly dwell."
> (Shepherd's Calendar, 11th Eclogue, P. 48, L. 29.)

The herdsman Thenot praises Colin's poetic ability in a singing contest and endows him with almost divine competences. His being "watered at the Muses well" implicates a kind of poet baptism rather than "Dichterweihe", following the idea of the mythological initiation. The delegation of poetic talent as well as the muses' inspiration for an upcoming poet is achieved with the help of water, as the drinking of waters from the "Muses well" has almost magic functions: the water is a sacred potion which helps to become a poet.

Sacred waters are also mentioned indirectly in *Cooper's Hill*:

> "Sure we have Poets that did never dreame
> Uppon Pernassus, nor did taste the Streame
> Of Hellicon, And therefore I suppose
> Those made not Poets, but the Poets those:
> And as Court make not Kings, but Kings the Court,
> So where the Muses & their Troops resorte
> Pernassus stands […]."
> (Cooper's Hill, P. 79, L.1)

Here, poets are mentioned who did not need the inspiration coming from Parnassus. However, this does not diminish the importance of the mythology of the sacred water but rather emphasises the Muses' inspiration for poetic creativity.

Unlike the Dioscuri, Calidore meets great hospitality with the herdsmen who take him in:

> "The one of them him seeing so to sweat,
> After his rusticke wise, that well he weend,
> Offered him drinke, to quench his thirstie heat,
> And if he hungry were, him offered eke to eat."
> (The Faerie Queene, Book VI, Canto IX – 6, P. 977)

The pastoral world then described glorifies the simple life of the herdsmen who have everything they need without living in abundance. They take in the stranger and treat him with utmost hospitality and

respect. In this episode, the topos of the ideal rustic life in simplicity is addressed, since Calidore does not only find help with the shepherds but is also introduced to their way of life. The need for food and drink brings him into company, so the social function of drinks and care must again be pointed out. The positive description of the simple life in the countryside is elaborated on when the herdsman Meliboe answers the noble Calidore's speech about the paradisiac, rural life he just encountered:

> "And when I wearie am, I downe doe lay
> My limbes in euery shade, to rest from toyle,
> And drinke of euerey brooke, when thirst my throte doth boyle."
> (The Faerie Queene, Book VI, Canto IX – 23, P. 981)

Meliboe agrees with Calidore that pastoral life is very beautiful and describes it in the brightest colours; nonetheless, he speaks from experience and clearly states that even though he is supplied with everything he needs he does not live a luxurious life. The basic need such as rest or thirst are easily met, but opulent or ostentatious commodities are clearly absent from his life. Doing so, Meliboe dampens Calidore's enthusiasm with reality.[777]

In *Britannia's Pastorals*, another lover wishes for a bitter drink to forget about the toils of love:

> "But prithee Ferriman direct my Spright
> Where that blacke Riuer runs that Lethe hight,
> That I of it (as other Ghosts) may drinke,
> And neuer of the world, or Loue, more thinke."
> (BP, Book I, Song I, P. 40)

Lethe, the stream whose water lets the drinker forget, is this lover's last resort to escape his pain. Just like in the example of poetic inspiration transmitted via the drinking of specific waters, water is consumed to achieve a specific, supernatural effect unrelated to the quenching of thirst; water becomes a tool, a helper in achieving specific goals.

The following example from *Britannia's Pastorals* also features magic waters used for the achievement of a certain result:

> "At last found out that in a Groue below,

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[777] In this respect, Meliboe is a typical herdsman: "The herdsman of pastoral poetry is conceived as the opposite of the hero: he is able to live with and sing out his dilemmas and pain, but he is unable to act as to resolve or overcome them, or see them through to their end." (Alpers 1996: 69). Unlike many other herdsmen, Meliboe does not seem to struggle with this fate.

> Where shadowing Sicamours past number grow,
> A Fountaine takes his journey to the Maine,
> Whose Liquors nature was so soueraigne,
>  (Like to the wondrous Well and famous Spring,
> Which in Boeotia hath his issuing)
> That whose of it doth but onely taste,
> All former memorie from him doth waste.
> Not changing any other worke of Nature,
> But doth endow the drinker with a feature
> More louely, faire Medea took from hence
> Some of this water, by whose quintessence,
> Aeson from age came back to youth."
> (BP, Book I, Song II, P. 62)

The waters from the unnamed fountain in a grove are capable of the following intervention of fate's natural cause: they delete memories so that "All former memorie from him doth waste" and they endow the drinker with a lovely, rejuvenated outer appearance, "a feature More louely", so that Medea turned Aeson, Jason's father, into a young man with the help of these "Liquors whose nature was so soueraigne".

Another supernatural water can be found in the first book of the *Britannia's Pastorals* when the water god saves the drowning maiden:

> "This done, her then pale lips he straight held ope,
> And from his siluer haire let fall a drop
> Into her mouth, of such an excellence,
> That call'd backe life, which grieu'd to part from thence,
> Being for troth assur'd, that, then this one,
> She ne'er possest a fairer mansion."
> (BP, Book I, Song I, P.54)

This watery drop coming straight from a water deity helps to bring back life to the maltreated body of the young suicide-attempter; its reviving powers are beyond human understanding and only work in connection with the god.

## Conclusion

The use of water as a drink consumed by nature and men increases with time as bucolic and pastoral move to a form of meta-pastoral in the Renaissance that includes wider ranges of topics away from a rudimentary pastoral set-up; the Greek corpus offers the least examples, followed by Virgil. Most examples for it are found in the English corpus.

The idea that specific drinks are only consumed in particularly significant situations and surroundings simplifies the introduction of "poetic landscape": in this context, landscape does not necessarily refer to nature but to the scenery and dramatic plot in which a poem is set. Although Theocritus relies on everyday situations and ordinary people for his idylls, the plots appear not to be basic enough to feature human water consumptions. Instead, he mentions honey and nectar, potions and medicines. Drinking water might be too basic to be specifically named in any other context than the Hylas- idyll or the Dioscuri.

Just like in the Greek corpus, the largest group of individuals drinking from natural water sources in Virgil are livestock like bulls and goats, dogs and game – unlike the Greek poet, Virgil adds the meadows and fields to this group, supplying nature's green with human interference.

Virgil's use of the water motif "Drink" can be summed up as follows: water functions as both refreshment and attribute of a recreational area: the innate characteristic traits of water, coolness, movement, clarity and cleanliness display nature's nurture in its most basic and most beautiful form. The resulting functions of waters as meeting points and communal drinks place the drinking of water in a social context; this social context is disPlayed by the psychologising function of the waters, since it provides information about its drinkers (e.g. the Dioscuri example or the "Dichterweihen"). The Virgilian examples of water consumption put the motif in strong connection to the prior established motif of the locus amoenus: unlike in the Theocritean examples, where the need for drink can put individuals in danger and points to human vulnerability, the corpus of Latin pastoral rather relies on the positive features of nature and the opportunity to quench thirst with fresh, clear water endows every place with a positive connotation. These effects are reached by water's ornamental as well as its characterising functions: Water functions as the nurturer of plants and animals, men and poets and the idea of nature feasting on nature highlights the Virgilian approach to a holistic picture of nature. Nature, and water more precisely, is of utmost importance for the pastoral profession: the tending of fields and meadows as well as the flock underlines this

assumption. The motif of water as a drink provides further evidence and support for the idea of the harmonic life shepherds lead with their flock in unison with nature and its providing abilities.

In the English corpus, the watering of animals is neglected and recedes to the concept of a nurturing nature, perfectly embedded in a circle of life. Human interference is reduced to a minimum, whereas there is a significant increase in water-consuming nature: the English corpus mentions the watering of trees and flowers as well as meadows. Economic interest, such as watering fields for agricultural purposes, is strikingly absent, as are obvious pastoral chores in relation to water.

Even so, humans drinking water receive a new focus in the English corpus, since waters are consumed as a remedy or supernatural elixir to achieve specific effects, such as rejuvenating, poetic inspiring, reviving or forgetting. The mysterious drink from the mentioned examples is not described as a magic potion or elixir but very clearly as simple water. The magic powers ascribed to it derive from a very complex belief system which is not elaborated on in the corpus. Interestingly enough, no such allusions can be found in the ancient corpora. Even though waters are clearly connected to divinity in the Greek and Latin corpora, there is no evidence of the ingestion and drinking of water to achieve a certain supernatural effect and  the almost magical forces of water and its ability to induce metamorphoses from dry to moist, withered to fresh and also from memory to forgetting and ugly/old to lovely/young is restricted to the English corpus. This elaborates on the further development of the motif. These specific effects are reached through the characterising and psychologising function of waters, since they supply the drinker with a specific, desired result and work as an inspirit

ion. Doing so, they work as indicators for human desire and display subjective wishes and attitudes.

### 4.2.4.    Washing / Cleansing

The motif of water as a means for washing and cleansing is present in all three corpora: close analysis reveals the use of the motif is embedded either in a very rustic everyday context or in mythological, metaphorical and poetic relation. This typical interplay between the basic and the poetic points out the ambivalent nature of bucolic and pastoral poetry, as it often combines opposing concepts such as sophisticated shepherds, dialect speech in epic metre and horrific events set in beautiful surroundings etc.

**1. EVERYDAY SETTING**

The first example for the occurrence of washing in a basic and rustic setting comes from Theocritus. A cup is exchanged whose beauty and smell is praised through divine comparison:

> Ὡρᾶν πεπλύσθαί νιν ἐπὶ κράναισι δοκησεῖς.
> (Theoc. Id. I, 150)
> "It will seem to you like it was washed in the springs of the Horae!"

This quotation describes the handover of the promised ornamented cup after a singing contest. The imagery of its beautiful look and smell, comparable to the springs of the Horae, rests on the idea of the cleansing function of water. Since the spring is connected to a divine patron, the link to water deities and religious connotation is obvious. The beautiful cup functions as a trophy for the winner of the agon who is deemed worthy of this divine treasure: the imagined washing transfers a supreme condition. Even though the "springs of the Horae" bear a mythologic reference, the context of the exchange is rustic and typically bucolic.

A more rustic situation, typically for Theocritus, can be found in the following example: here, the washing is substantial and natural and does not function as a carrier for divinity:

> αἶγες ἐμαὶ θαρσεῖτε κερούτιδες: αὔριον ὔμμε
> πάσας ἐγὼ λουσῶ Συβαρίτιδος ἔνδοθι λίμνας.
> (Theoc. Id. V, 145 f.)
> "My goats, take courage! I will wash you tomorrow in lake Sybaris."

Here, the recipient witnesses an encounter between herdsman and his flock. The direct speech creates a unique atmosphere and enables a

shared emotional experience between reader and goatherd. Leading the animals to rivers and springs was a substantial part in the everyday life of their keepers. The inclusion of these low and humble tasks in poetry secures the all-encompassing nature that is characteristic for Theocritus' work as not only Horae wash in waters, but also animals.

The English corpus follows the Greek examples and mentions cleaning and cleansing in its poems. For example, casual mentioning of washing and bathing is mentioned in *The Baite*:

> "When thou wilt swimme in that live bath,
> Each fish, which every channel hath,
> Will amorously to thee swimme,
> Gladder to catch thee, then thou him."
> (The Baite, P. 149)

The poem imitates Marlowe's *Passionate Shepherd to His Love* but places the praised maiden in a context of fishery rather than country life. The address of a loved one does not only transgress the land/water border but puts the addressee right into the element. The bathing itself is necessary in this poem to place the beloved directly to the fish; there is no ritual or religious connection to the act, rather than it bears unmentioned resemblance to the graceful bathing of nymphs or other deities.

Just like the ancient corpus, the English offers examples for cleaning in a pastoral context:

> "The scalie herd, more pleasure tooke,
> Bath'd in thy dish, then in the brooke:
> Water, Earth, Ayre, did all conspire,
> To pay their tributes to thy fire […]."
> (To Saxham, P. 177)

This country-house poem draws the audience's attention to the beauty of the estate and praise its paradisiac, all-encompassing features. Oxen and lambs are described as bathing in brooks or the dish of Saxham[778]. The glorification of an act as basic as bathing animals embeds the estate in a scenario of perfect inclusion and synchronisation with nature, emphasising its shared features with a locus amoenus such as the Garden Eden. Of course, the implication of Saxham, being a well-tended country estate, as a place untouched by human interference is bizarre; however, the praising and glorification

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[778] The "dish" of Saxham might be interpreted as a lake or pond in this context.

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performed in the pastoral subgenre of the Country House poems requires such hyperbolic references.

*Damon the Mower* describes a life in perfect simplicity and harmony with nature and his bath is just as natural:

> "And, if at Noon my toil me heat,
> The Sun himself licks off my Sweat.
> While, going home, The Ev'ning sweet
> In Cowslip-water bathes my feet."
> (Damon the Mower, P.214)

In this example, the progress of bathing is used for two reasons: firstly, the bathing in cowslip-water shows Damon's inclusion in rural life, his appreciation of his chosen profession and the dedication to the lifestyle it entails. Secondly, after the struggles and heat of the day, the bathing of feet in cowslip-water allows the impression of cleaning, cleansing and refreshing. Just like the shady grove and fresh, bubbly springs mentioned in the context of many *loca amoena*, the feeling of a refreshing bath conveys an overall positive connotation of the water motif.

In the second eclogue of *Arcadia*, the shepherds Nico, Pas and Discus talk about their loved ones and how they once watched the maidens bathe:

> Nico:      She once stark nak'd did bathe a little tine;
>               But still (methought), with beauties from her fell,
>               She did the water wash, and make more fine.
> Pas:       She once, to cool herself, stood in a well;
>               But ever since that well is well besought,
>               And for rose-water sold of rarest smell.
> (Arcadia, 2nd Eclogue, P. 79, L. 105)

The girls, Cosma and Leuca, and their basic task of cleaning themselves are lifted to almost divine proportions when Nico describes how water did not clean them but rather they cleaned the water: his loved one is even cleaner and clearer than water. Pas points out that his maiden consecrated the well she bathed in and left the ordinary water smell of rose-waters. Of course, these descriptions are exaggerated by lovers and dominated by gazing men. However, this example shows the conceptions the herdsmen seem to have about water: firstly, its clarity and cleanliness is highlighted. The description of the bathing maidens as well as their ability to consecrate natural features almost

raises them to goddesses. Secondly, the turning of water into rose-water categorises the value of different waters.

*Britannia's Pastorals* uses the motif of washing and cleansing several times. The first example is taken from an extreme situation, where sea-water is used to wash away blood-stains:

> "Left that her waues might wash away the guilt
> From off their hands which Albans blood had spilt:
> He conceded and the nimble waue
> Her fish no more within that channel draue […]."
> (BP, Book I, Song IV, P. 110)

The washing away of blood always carries secondary as well as primary meaning, since the cleansing of a miasma is performed. The washing and cleaning of hands can always symbolise the cleansing from guilt. This example openly points out the cleaning and cleansing functions of water and its transformed importance for the performing individuals.


## 2. POETIC SETTING

A variety of examples for washing and cleansing in an everyday or rural context have already been mentioned, but the three corpora offer more example of this water-motif in a poetic setting filled with mythological references. Since all examples are taken from a grand context, of course, the description of the first category as basic situations can be problematic. Nevertheless, during the reading of the examples, the difference between the situations should become apparent, namely mythological references to heroes or gods and goddesses as opposed to "ordinary" people like shepherds and maids.

The following excerpt from Bion's lament for Adonis describes the washing of the deceased god as part of the preparation for his funeral:

> χὦ μὲν ἔλυσε πέδιλον Ἀδώνιδος, οἳ δὲ λέβητι
> χρυσείῳ φορέουσιν ὕδωρ, ὃ δὲ μηρία λούει,
> ὃς δ' ὄπιθεν πτερύγεσσιν ἀναψύχει τὸν Ἄδωνιν.
> (Bion epit. Adon. I, 83 ff.)
> "One untied the shoe of Adonis, another brought water in a golden jug, another washes his thigh and another cooled the head of Adonis with a fan."

Ritual washing of the body before a funeral can also be found in Homer and his description of Hector's washing in the 24th book of the *Iliad.* The loving demotion of the bereaved intensifies grief and pity in the recipient and adds to the emotional mood of the poem. The cleaning of the maltreated and abused god is an attempt to restore him to his beautiful, living self. While performing the deeds on the dead body, the realisation of his passing reaches his surroundings and crying gods and demigods mourn the deceased. Flowing water and flowing tears create a binary presence of the element and touch the subject of *Naturtrauer* that was already encountered in the chapter of "Tears".

Nevertheless, ritual washing or cleansing with a cleansing connotation usually performed before embracing activity such as the performance of religious worship at a temple or altar is largely absent in the Greek bucolic corpus[779]. This is in so far surprising as religion and belief are very present in bucolic poetry – it only lacks an institutionalised religious experience. An explanation could be the basic and rustic nature of most of the poems: religious festivals or bathing for pleasure are indeed mentioned, as in Theoc. Id. XXIII, where a lover escapes to the public baths after he found his deceased admirer. In his case, the bath could be interpreted with a wish for forgetting; the bath in the public gymnasion would then equal a bath in the river Lethe to clean himself of the negative experience. None of this, however, qualifies as ritual bathing. The only borderline exception would be the washing of Adonis. Although the bathed is already dead, he passively participates in a religious activity.

The English corpus offers a great number of examples for washing and cleansing in a grand context. Even though ritual washing is widely absent as well, poetic washing and cleansing appear several times, as in the following example from *The Shepherd's Calendar*:

> "The axes edge did oft turne againe,
> As halfe unwilling to cutte the graine:
> Seemed, the sencelesse yron dyd feare,
> Or to wrong holy eld did forbeare.
> For it had bene an ancient tree,
> Sacred with many a mysteree,
> And often crost with the priestes crewe,
> and often hallowed with holy water dew."
> (The Shepherd's Calendar, 2nd Eclogue, P.14, L. 203)

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[779] Cf. Tölle- Kastenbein 1990: 14.

Even though the practices of cutting down trees and grain is more basic than mythological, the spiritual meaning allocated to both tree and water make the scenario a prime example for the mythological and poetic setting of performed washing. The hallowing of the mystery tree with holy water as well as the inclusion of a priest in these processes endow the simple element of water with extraordinary powers; very much related to the category of drink, the assumed special powers of the waters are used for intended effect - in this case the establishment of a religious symbol. Again, water consecrates an action as well as an object and functions as instrument for spiritual transmittance.

An example for bathing nymphs can be found in the 7th Eclogue of the *Shepherd's Calendar*, where the shepherd Morrell sings the following lines to Thomalin:

> "Here has the salt Medway his sourse,
> Wherein the Nymphes doe bathe:
> The salt Medway, that trickling stremis
> Adownes the dales of Kent,
> Till with his elder brother Themis
> His brackish waves be meynt."
> (The Shepherd's Calendar, 7th Eclogue, P.33, L. 79)

This example must be analysed for several important points: the first is the mentioning of the nymphs and their salty habitat, since the nymphs are usually brought in connection with sweet waters rather than the sea; the second is the use of the "dales of Kent" and the "Themis" in direct context with unspecified water nymphs. The nymphs, usually an ancient reference to poetic tradition, are generally found with classic references rather than British. This example, just like many others mentioned in previous chapters, shows the relocation of pastoral song and tradition from Sicily and Arcadia to England and proves the gradual emancipation from the ancient predecessors and sources in terms of an awakening English conscience expressed in pastoral poetry.

The English corpus also presents its own versions of the washing of the deceased Adonis in the following excerpt from *Astrophel:*

> "His palled face, impictured with death,
> She bathed oft with teares and dried oft;
> And with sweet kisses suckt the wasting breath
> Out of his lips like lilies pale and soft:
> And oft she cald to him, who answered nought,
> But onely by his looks did tell his thought."

(Astrophel, P. 702, L. 163)

Stella washes the dying Astrophel with her tears before she, too, dies. This pastoral love story follows ancient traditions of grieving and bears striking resemblance to the Adonis-example or even the *Lament for Bion*. Astrophel does not waste away unloved or uncared for but is tended to according to customs by his love Stella. Since Stella uses her own tears to clean Astrophel, the washing and grieving process acquires a highly emotional second meaning. The tears prove a liquid barrier between the lovers, a motif discussed in the chapter of "Tears", but in a situation with highlighted physical contact and ultimately diminished distance, these liquid barriers increase the haptic experience of both characters and recipients.

In the following example from *Cooper's Hill*, a stream and its cleaning abilities are described:

> "O could my lines fully & smoothly flow,
> As thy pure flood: heaven should noe longer knowe
> Her ould Eridanus, thy purer Streame,
> Should bathe the God's & be the Poets Theame
> Here Nature whether more intent to please
> Us […]."
> (Cooper's Hill, P. 86, L. 199)

The flood mentioned in the context is the Thames and proves that English pastoral poetry slowly lets go of the immediate imitation of its ancient heritage and substitutes established associations from its Greek and Roman predecessors to English counterparts: the bathing of gods and inspiring of poets is moved from the Helicon to the Thames.

Another English river is mentioned in the following example from *Idea, The Shepherd's Garland*:

> "See how faire Flora decks or field with flowers,
> And clothes our groues in gaudie summer's greene,
> And wanton Uer distils rose-water showers,
> To welcome Ceres, haruests hallowed Queene.
> Who layes abroad her lovely sun-shine haires,
> Crown'd with great garlands of her golden eares."
> (Idea, the Shepherd's Garland, 7th Eclogue, P. 24)

The river Ver, which is situated near Hertfordshire, "distils rose-water showers" and is perfectly included in a paradisiac, pastoral scenario. In this case, the showering of the landscape relies on the association of water as life-providing nurturer.

The final example of washing in a poetic, mythological or spiritual context can be found in the eighth eclogue of *The Shepherd's Calendar*:

> "And who erects the braue Pyramides,
> Of Monarches or renowned warriours,
> Neede bath his quill for such attempts as these,
> In flowing streames of learned Maros showres."
> (Idea, the Shepherd's Garland, 8ᵗʰ Eclogue, P. 30)

In this example, the bathed object is not a human, god, plant or animal but rather a quill, making it one of the meta-poetic excerpts of the pastoral corpus; the bathing of a quill in an inspiring stream again connects water and poetry by simultaneously stressing the supernatural powers attributed to a simple natural element.

**Conclusion**

In conclusion, the functions of the water-motif "washing" and "cleansing" are the following: The mentioning of everyday-tasks and chores increases the level of intimacy and closeness the recipient feels for the individuals mentioned in the poems; such realist inclusion of everyday-tasks in poetry written and consumed by the upper class adds to the rustic nature of the idylls. The motif of washing and cleansing also refers to the inclusion of water in daily life: enjoying public baths or nature's brooks show the importance of the elements in both rural and urban contexts. The inclusion of washing goes hand in hand with the holistic depiction of human life and all its aspects in the bucolic and pastoral poems, since various stages of a human's biography present in the washing-incidents: washing is performed inevitably, actively and passively. The girls watched by the wooing shepherds from *Arcadia* almost reach divine likeness while bathing in the stream. Thus, washing functions as important connecting element in the holistic life approach bucolic and pastoral poetry represents.

Of course, washing can carry the meaning of cleaning and cleansing: the washing away of blood, memories, life and traces of grief symbolise the metaphorical use of waters in the context of washing. This way, the cleaning is not only restricted to the cleaning

of bodies but also a cleansing of the mind and functions as cathartic tool. With this, the basic idea is very much like the function of crying and tears; flowing water functions as the symbol of process and progress but it also carries away unwanted emotions or grime of any kind.

In most examples from the bucolic and pastoral corpora, the washing of things goes hand in hand with the cleansing of the mind, which results in the simple act of performing this everyday task gaining secondary meaning. Grief, pain, guilt and despair can be washed away by tears or other waters to cleanse the mind of the washer. The depiction of everyday tasks to achieve this cathartic mental effect plays vigorously into potential self-conception of the pastoral genre. The cleaning of an object, area or body restores it to a status of originality and purity.

This creation of intimacy and closeness is another function of the motif. Nonetheless, intimacy must not only be interpreted on an interpersonal level but can also be used to highlight relationships between humans and animals (in the pastoral context of washing and herding livestock) as well as humans and nature (in the context of pastoral self-conception as found in the example from *Damon the Mower*).

The English corpus does not only offer a higher number of examples than the Greek and Latin but also includes the washing of mortal bodies and the cleaning of natural features such as plants and meadows. Sea waters are used for cleansing purposes as well. The connection of the water motif as an inspirational fluid is also crucial for the English corpus, as can be seen in the washing of the quill from *Idea, The Shepherd's Garland* and the poet in *Cooper's Hill.* In both cases, the bathing in special waters helps poetic process. The latter example even specifically names a stream to relocate the pastoral scene to a strictly English environment.

In the everyday context, the function of the washing waters is either ornamental or characterising. The poetic settings display other functions entirely: the laudatio funebris for Astrophel, Bion or Adonis uses the psychologising function, since the washing is performed in a ritual context which conveys the emotional situation of all included. Above all, the characterising function of waters can

be found in the English corpus, when the washing of poets or quills in the Kent-example transform them into another state that will from then on change their profession.


### 4.2.5.    Uncategorised and Missing Pieces

It is with the help of this sub-chapter that the dissertation offers a complete overview over the topic and points out the several opportunities for future research projects the topic provides. An overview of all possible motifs and functions and the concentration on the most frequent and relevant bears witness to the fact that academic work and selection highly relies on prioritising. In this chapter, uncategorised motifs and motifs which might have been expected to live through the corpus but were missing or underrepresented in some corpora are dealt with; sea-faring, for example, a topic hardly touched by the ancient corpora rises to importance in the English, whereas others remain neglected. The shorter analyses of water instances of this chapter serve the purpose of sufficiently representing all facets of the topic. Uncategorised examples can be found in all three corpora; their exclusion from the categories, however, does not result in a corruption of the analysis as they could be neglected without clouding the research.

Although the established categories paint an overall picture of water's integration in almost aspect of daily life in Hellenistic Greece, Rome or Renaissance Britain, the absence of expected water motifs is just as important for analysis and intercultural comparison. The following topics were extracted for this final close reading chapter: Swimming, sea-faring, cisterns and wells, and metaphors including water and blood.


**1.Swimming**

Swimming is one example for a water motif which would be expected to occur frequently in a context of such maritime proportions, as swimming is by its movement connected to the idea of travelling, crossing or even sea-faring. However, the imminent intent of water-

crossing humans is much more personal and physically demanding as the transgression of the land-sea border via ship, raft, or vessel.

In the Greek corpus there is no mentioning of humans crossing the sea for a swim. The only swimmers are sea gods and goddesses and Zeus, who – in the shape of a bull – abducts Europa and crosses the sea with her. Polyphemus mourns the fact that he is not able to swim and reach Galateia in her wet and salty underwater habitat. Although Hesiod paints a picture of many Greeks abhorring and fearing the open sea, several religious celebrations existed which included water sports and racing contests. The reason for the absence of swimming in the corpus is very hard to determine; one explanation could be the landlocked location of most pastoral poems in general. Another explanation could be the above-mentioned negative connotation of crossing the open sea and being confronted with its perils: the sea-faring experience of mythological figures like Odysseus, who had to interact with the open sea several times in fight for his life, acted as deterrent for voluntary sea-faring endeavours and were locked in Greek cultural memory for the dangers and negative experiences at sea.

The English corpus, on the contrary, mentions swimming humans in a positive context. Astrophel, for example, is described by his athletic abilities which also include swimming:

> "For both in deed and words he nourtred was,
> Both wise and hardie (too hardie, alas!)
> In wrestling nimble, and in renning swift,
> In shooting steddie, and in swimming strong:
> Well made to strike, to throw, to leape, to lift,
> And all the sports that shepheards are emong."
> (Astrophel, P. 701, L. 71)

*The Baite* mentions a swimming maiden in between the natural world of the fishes in its wooing verses:

> "When thou wilt swimme in that live bath,
> Each fish, which every channel hath,
> Will amorously to thee swimme,
> Gladder to catch thee, then thou him."
> (The Baite, P. 149)

Apart from these examples, swimmers are usual non-human in the English corpus: the excerpt of *The Baite* gives an example for swimming fishes,

another is mentioned in *Britannia's Pastorals*[780], which also mentions swimming swans.[781] Swimming animals are present in the Greek corpus, too, making its use consistent: fish and swans are depicted in their natural environment so that the pastoral world-view of natural balance and harmony is served. The English corpus, however, includes swimming as a leisurely interaction with and expansion into water, whereas the Greek and Latin do not. This could be interpreted as a changing attitude towards the crossing and conquering of the element which is also visible in the developmental mindset towards sea-faring discussed later in this chapter.

The water's function in the swimming examples is purely characterising, since the swimming makes out a great part of the individual's persona: Astrophel, the hero, excels in swimming among other things as he is brave and athletic. The bull in Europa can transgress the land sea border and move confidently on all surfaces, just like the mighty Zeus. Moreover, swimming animals are depicted in their natural habitat which works as an identifying cross-reference.

## 2.Sea-Faring

Some negative attitudes towards crossing the sea and resulting sea-faring were already displayed in the chapters of "Border" and "Horrible Places". Sea-faring, travel and trade are some of the topics a 21st century recipient bucolic and pastoral poems would expect in abundance, since most poems take place on islands such as Sicily, Cos or sea-surrounded Italy or Britain. Interestingly, sea-faring is another motif neglected in the Greek and Latin corpora.

Except for mythological inclusions such as Europa and the Argonauts and some examples of fishermen, there are no evident hints for sea-faring or a navy[782], trade ships or excursions. The absence of

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[780] "He […] puls vp his rod, but soft (as hauing skill)/ Wherewith the hooke fast holds the Fishes gill, / Then all his line he freely yeeldeth him, / Whilst furiously all vp and downe doth swim / Th'insnared Fish, here on the top doth scud, / There vnderneath the banks, then in the mud." (BP, Book I, Song I, P. 144).

[781] "The thunder-stroken Swaine lean'd to a tree,/ As void of sense as weeping Niobe: / Making his teares the instruments to wooe her, / The Sea wherein his loue should swimme vnto her." (BP, Book I, Song I, P. 45)
"But as a snowy Swan, who many a day / On Thamar's swelling brests hath had his play, / For further pleasure doth assay to swim / y natiue Tauy, or the sandy Plim." (BP, Book I, Song I, P. 129)

[782] This absence is not representative for classic and Hellenistic reality; Vryonis connects Greek sea-faring from an early time onwards with a sense of Greekness: "The

this motif of water is therefore striking. Virgil, however, includes several examples of sea-faring in the *Eclogues*:

> Pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis,
> quae temptare Thetim ratibus, quae cingere muris
> oppida, quae iubeant telluri infindere sulcos:
> alter erit tum Tiphys, et altera quae vehat Argo
> delectos Heroas;
> (Verg. Ecl. IV, 31 ff.)
> Yet lingering traces of our ancient guilt
> Will cause men to attempt the sea in ships,
> Girdle walled towns, cleave furrows in earth.
> Another Argo, with another Tiphys,
> Will carry chosen heroes.

This example mentions the sea, ships, the Argo and sea-faring heroes. Unlike Theocritus, Moschus and Bion, Virgil lets his characters express interest in the possibility of traveling, transgressing and expanding via the sea. This also works as opposition of new possibilities and opportunities outside of the unjust city. For example, the economic function of sea-faring is further explored in the following excerpt from Virgil's fourth eclogue:

> Hinc, ubi iam firmata virum te fecerit aetas,
> cedet et ipse mari vector, nec nautica pinus
> mutabit merces: omnis feret omnia tellus:
> (Verg. Ecl. IV, 37 ff.)
> Later, when strengthening years have made you man,
> Traders will leave the sea, no sailing pine
> Will barter goods: all lands will grow all things.

The ability to cross, conquer and exploit the sea as a means of transportation is mentioned but only until the young boy, Pollio, becomes a man. Once this point is reached, sea-faring and trade disappear.[783] This course of events is predetermined by the Parcae; with the birth of the little boy, a golden age begins, since "the birth and growth of a child represent the nature, value and human

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theme, 'The Greeks and the Sea', implies a particular relation of man to nature in which man is influenced by this close relation to the sea and he in turn places a certain value on maritime life." (Vryonis 1993: 4.). He goes on to explain that stranger's interfering with the Greek sea triggered the evolvement of protective sea-faring: "The political and military response of the Greeks came early, remained constant, and was accompanied by gradual improvement of naval technology." (Ibid. P. 6.).

[783] This attitude towards sea-faring as a dangerous struggle or nuisance is shared by ancient Greeks, according to Benardete: "Sailing, in a most obvious way, brings together what nature has kept apart. Sailing did not exist in the Golden Age, when people lived by themselves without the contamination of the alien." (Benardete in Vryonis 1993: 59.).

proportions of the new age that the poem desires and foretells."[784] Noticeably, sea-faring for trading purposes is rather negatively connotated in the eclogues; it is something that remains in the old days before the precious boy reaches manhood and indirectly lets old burden disappear[785]. This example is joined by several others which portray sea-faring in a negative light:

> Quid loquar aut Scyllam Nisi, quam fama secuta est
> candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstris
> Dulichias vexasse rates, et gurgite in alto,
> ah, timidos nautas canibus lacerasse marinis[…].
> (Verg. Ecl. VI, 74 ff.)
> Why speak of Scylla, who, the story goes,
> Her clear white loins girdled by howling beasts,
> Harassed Ulysses' ships in the whirling depths,
> With her sea dogs tore frightened sailors' flesh[…].

The mentioning of harassed ships and whirling depths, beasts and sea dogs paint a gruesome picture of potential perils. Odysseus and Jason are the two most prominent sea-farers mentioned in both Greek bucolic and Latin pastoral: their obstacles and dangerous adventures seem to have left a very negative mark on the shared mythological heritage towards the concept of sea-faring, whatever the motif for the journey may be; the respective reception of Homeric epic and Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica* as parts of literary culture in the Greek language show the significance of remaining contemporary associations with sea-faring. Even though the journey's of Odysseus and Jason and their supernatural encounters are far removed from Virgil's contemporary reality, negative imagery concerning sea-faring apparently remains.

The function of waters and sea-faring is often clouded by a 21st century, globalised world view on conquering the seas and travelling the globe for business and pleasure; clearly, the ancient perception was entirely different.[786] Theocritus' fishermen give evidence for the negative connotation of sea-travel: they arouse pity for their hard life with the relentless, barren sea. The association of travelling by ship seems to have been immensely overshadowed by worry over the

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[784] Alpers 1979: 178.
[785] Cf. Albrecht 2006: 24.
[786] In Hesiod's *Work and Days*, sea-faring is mentioned as part of the life in an unjust city; whereas a just city offers possibilities to live off the land and highlights agriculture, an unjust city forces its inhabitants to make a living off the sea and mentions sea-faring as an unjust profession such as warfare (Hes. op. 236-237 and 247 ff.).

sea's brutal side, storms, monsters and shipwreck. Clearly, water's most horrific features are taken into main consideration which then create horrible places: scary depths are combined with lack of precise knowledge about water animals and strong religious belief in water gods, nymphs and horrible monsters.

In the third century BC, *apoikíai* had already been established and Greek colonies founded in wide parts of the Mediterranean. Due to the fact that Sicily and Cos are both islands surrounded by other islands, peninsulas and promontories, their trade positions were optimal. The avoidance of the sea-faring topic is therefore striking and cannot be traced down to lack of knowledge or significance of the subject, as the Ptolemies had a navy at their disposal. A possible explanation for it could be concentration on bucolic and agricultural life: as a matter of nature, anything related to animal husbandry tends to happen at the shore, detached from sea-faring, navy or international politics.

The situation is entirely different in early modern England when the expansion of the Empire had already begun: The Americas had been discovered and Britain had established several colonies in the Caribbean. Sea-faring and its resulting trade soon became important markers in the establishment of national pride and self-consciousness. Especially the 17th century saw a rise of windborne mercantile fleets[787].

> "A new world emerged in this period: previously remote parts of the globe were connected; empires and trade routes were reconfigured […] The processes that began to shape modern Britain – capitalism, colonialism and consumerism – were formulated in the flows of people, materials, and ideas into and out of England."[788]

Despite this evolving interest in oversea-exploration, people in the 16th and 17th century people were still divided between fear, respect and curiosity towards the sea. This curiosity led to the discovery of foreign countries, establishment of international trade relationships, wealth and the foundation of an empire. The tendency to see the sea as a profitable comrade grew throughout these centuries: "The negative image of the evil sea and its many associated dangers

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[787] Cf. Ransley&Sturt 2013: 164.
[788] Ransley&Sturt 2013: 164.

is traditionally seen to be replaced in the 18th century […]."[789] Kinzel describes this fascination with the sea as the "Oceanic turn of occidental culture in the 16th century"[790], which he sees manifested "in the voyages of discovery and circumnavigation. At the same time these events heralded a complex cultural change, the impact of which reaches far into our own modernity."[791] Kinzel reconstructs this oceanic turn by three discursive practices: navigation, a shift in the portrayal of Fortune and travel observations.[792] The improvement in navigation entails the improved quality of compasses, quadrants and maps. Systematic log books supported the knowledge-gain during expeditions to foreign countries, which influenced better documentation, statistics and improved overall orientation as well as literary output to include and fascinate the consumers of travel literature.[793]

Interestingly, the oceanic turn also brought a change to the imagery of Fortune: usually connected with the wheel, the allegory was now depicted in relation with maritime experiences:

> "The 15th and 16th centuries witness a remarkable rise of the allegory of Fortune; this coincides with an iconographical change which signifies a reorganization of self-practice. Instead of turning a wheel, we now see Fortune taking the place of a ship's mast and catching the wind in her sail."[794]

In this imagery, the wind does no longer stand for destructiveness as a deadly whirl but "promises the energy and dynamics of a ship sailing out to bring home the riches of far-off countries. Goblets and horns of plenty are what she now holds in her hand as a reward for the successful merchant adventurer."[795] These positive connotations bear witness to a fundamental change in popular opinion towards the sea, laying the foundation for the self-classification of England as a sea-faring nation.

As a consequence, these attitudes are mirrored in the English corpus; it offers a variety of text sources dealing with the idea of

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[789] Klein 2002: 3.
[790] Kinzel in Klein 2002: 28.
[791] Kinzel in Klein 2002: 28.
[792] Cf. Kinzel in Klein 2002: 29.
[793] Cf. Kinzel in Klein 2002: 32-35.
[794] Kinzel in Klein 2002: 39.
[795] Kinzel in Klein 2002: 39.

crossing the land-sea border, sea-faring in general. It even mentions the concept of trade and its gains:

> "[…] social, political, and economic changes relied on England's ports and ships, on mariners and port communities, but equally on the fisheries and salt production, coastal trade, and the networks of small harbours. Even those whose lives seemed at some distance from the sea were affected by it."[796]

Unlike the Greek corpus which relies on a very negatively connotated picture, the English corpus offers examples for almost all attitudes towards sea-faring and thematises its glory and exciting ways as well as its dangers and toils, as will be shown later in this chapter. Nonetheless, the positive depictions outweigh the negative. The most striking observation is the strong connection between the topic of sea-faring and Britain as a nation and in terms of identity-development, these connotations cannot be valued enough. The waters in the sea-faring examples as well as the activity itself therefore has both characterising and psychologising function, since it is part of individual and communal self-identification and -definition of the English nation as epitheta and connotations express contemporary attitudes towards the subject: waters and sea-faring become markers of cultural and national identity: O'Hara, for example, describes the British in their connection to the sea as Merchants, Renegades, Slavers, Migrants and Warriors.[797] In English Renaissance Pastoral, the first connotation prevails: as will be seen, an emerging feeling of national identity rooted in the mercenary connection of waters, bravery and wealth[798].

Text examples which reflect sea-faring in a very positive light are the following:

> "Behold! A huge great vessel to us came,
> Dauncing upon the waters back to lond
> As if it scornd the daunger of the same;

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[796] Ransley&Sturt 2013: 164.
[797] This can be seen in the structure and overview of his publication O'Hara 2015.
[798] "[…] Britain's maritime orientation was fundamental to her economic transformation. It was no accident in this respect that the seventeenth century, during which Britain began to aspire to maritime commercial dominance, witnessed the first attempts to synthesise a language of political economy." (O'Hara 2015: 37). This economic transformation came with great political and financial gain: "[…] the great majority of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century political thinkers saw trade and commerce as simply one element of the constant struggle for power between states." (Ibid. P. 16.). It must be borne in mind, however, that "[…] it was the Dutch, not the British, who were masters of the trading oceans from the 1640s […]." (Ibid. P. 15).

> Yet was it but a wooden frame and fraile,
> Glewed together with some subtile matter,
> Yet had it armes and wings, and head and taile,
> And life to move it selfe upon the water.
> Strange thing, how bold and swift the monster was,
> That neither car'd for wynd, nor haile, nor raine,
> Nor swelling waves, but thorough them did passe
> So proudly that she made them roare againe!"
> (CCCHA, P. 689, L. 212)

The shepherds in *Colin Clout's Come Home Againe* marvel at the sight of an oncoming ship and its ability to travel through wild, foreign waters. In this scenario, the ship is endowed with majestic descriptions rather than doubtful connotations: its appearance is almost sublime.

*Bermudas*, by name connected to sea-faring, also offers a positive example:

> "Thus sung they, in the English boat,
> And holy and a cheerful Note,
> And all the way, to guide their Chime,
> With falling Oars they kept the time."
> (Bermudas, P. 211)

This sense of comradeship and progress is later juxtaposed with a shipwreck and the resulting relief to safely reach an isolated island. The positive imagery of rowing does not continue as the wreck introduces the vicissitudes of nature, sea and weather.

In *Cooper's Hill*, the positive aspects of sea-faring and trade and its advantages for kings and their kingdoms are pointed out:

> "As a wise king first settles fruitefull peace
> In his owne Realmes & with their rich increase
> Seekes warre abroade & then in triumph brings
> The Spoyles of Kingdomes, & the Crowne of Kings,
> So Thames, to London doth at first present
> Those tributes, which the neighbouring Countreys sent.
> (Cooper's Hill, P. 85, L. 187)

A long list of visited areas and geographic locations follows this excerpt. The connection between a magnificent example for reigning and expanding a powerful kingdom and England is supported by the distinct use of English place names such as *London* and the *Thames*.[799]

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[799] Generally, it must be said that London plays a key role in the creative process of writing pastoral poetry; not only did most of the writers live there or at least know the area, the court was also situated in the capital for most times. The largesse of the city also allowed for prototypical urban-rural comparisons and the country estates described in most country-house poems were situated around London, too: "Renaissance pastoral in England is largely a London phenomenon, as most artists

A sense of British pride can certainly be found within these lines, as well as a very positive attitude towards travelling the sea. The Thames as a lifeline for transportation, business and stock exchange is clearly underlined.[800] On the downside, however, imperialism and forceful invasion are already hinted ("the spoyle of kingdoms").

Usually, pastoral poetry juxtaposes the sea-faring ways of traders and merchants with the land-oriented, pastoral lifestyle of the herdsmen. The controversial contemporary attitudes adopted towards sea-faring by pastoral poets are displayed in Poggioli's remark concerning the life of land-dwellers and sea-farers in *Lycidas*:

> "Milton fails to touch one of the commonplaces of pastoral poetry: the device whereby the secure and happy existence of the land dweller is praised through an invidious comparison with the precarious way of life of the seafarer, whether he crosses the water as a sailor, a merchant, or a traveller."[801]

The following example from *The Shepherd's Content* makes it strikingly obvious that even land-bound shepherds can appreciate and entertain the idea of sea travel and mobility:

> "But now good fortune lands my little Boate
> Vpon the shoare of his desired rest:
> Now I must leaue (awhile) my rurall noate,
> To think on him whom my soule loueth best;
> He that can make the most vnhappie blest."
> (The Shepherd's Content, P. 179)

The stereotype of sea-farers being inevitably drawn to the sea and their trade and unable to ever refrain from it despite their negative experience[802], is dealt with in the following examples from *The Shepherd's Calendar*:

> "The soveraigne of seas he blames in vaine,
> That, once seabeate, will to sea againe."
> (The Shepherd's Calendar, P. 12, L. 33)

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contributing significantly to pastoral's development in the early modern period lived in or near London at some point. Whether named outright or simply referenced as the 'City' or 'Town', London looms large in Renaissance England's pastoral art." (Hiltner 2011: 8.).

[800] The appreciation of foreign goods and international trade is also visible in Britannia's Pastorals:
"Would she be won with me to stay, / My waters should bring from the Sea / The Corrall red, as tribute due, / And roundest pearles of Orient hue."
(BP, Book I, Song II, P.56).

[801] Poggioli 1975: 88.

[802] This stereotype outlives the Renaissance and can also be found in later literature such as *Robinson Crusoe*; the adventurer Crusoe returns to his sea-faring ways after he is rescued from the remote island and arrives back in England, even though his experience at sea has been traumatic.

Here, the sea clearly has a characterising function, since people's attitudes towards it shape part of their personality and profession.

*The Shepherd's Content*, a poem dedicated to the illustration of the pastoral ideal and its happiness-providing features, adopts a very unequivocal position to sea-faring and trading:

> "The wealthie Merchant that doth crosse the Seas
> To Denmark, Poland, Spaine, and Barbarie;
> For all his ritches, liues not still at ease;
> Sometimes he feares his ship-spoyling Pyracie,
> Another while deceipt and treacherie
> Of his owne Factors in a forren Land;
> Thus doth he still in dread and danger stand."
> (The Shepherd's Content, P. 173)

The danger of the unknown is highlighted, as well as the inconstancy of wealth and economic gains of the trade. The merchant's life is obviously depicted very negatively to glorify the herdsman's.

In the *Faerie Queene*, fears of shipwreck are also addressed by the narrative voice of the introductory stanza of book VI, canto 12:

> "Like as a ship, that through the Ocean wyde
> Directs her course vnto one certaine cost,
> Is met of many a counter winde and tyde,
> With which her winged speed is let and crost,
> And she her selfe in stormie surges tost;
> Yet making many a borde, and many a bay,
> Still winneth way, ne hath her compasse lost:
> Right so it fares with me in this long way,
> Whose course is often stayd, yet neuer is astray."
> (The Faerie Queene, Book VI, Canto 12 – 1, P. 1013)

Still, this example ends on a rather positive note, even though dangers and toils are mentioned, as the as the simile of the ship progresses to an imagery of steadiness and resilience. This simile is used to compare story-telling to sea-faring.

An important aspect in the analyses of water motifs in this dissertation is the development and establishment of a sense of national identity. This shows very clearly in the Renaissance and the contemporary attitudes towards sea-faring. As Armitage puts it:

> "The originating agents of empire were the Elizabethan sea-dogs,
> Gloriana's sailor-heroes who had circumnavigated the globe,
> singed the King of Spain's beard, swept the oceans of pirates
> and Catholics, and thereby opened up the sea-routes across which

English migrants would travel, and English trade would flow, until Britannia majestically ruled the waves."[803]

Waters used in the context of sea-faring plays a major role for this topic, since water-related epithets and possessive attitudes towards Britain and British waters are mentioned repetitively and carry important secondary meaning. In the analyses of different water motifs conducted in the previous chapters, British waters were regularly used to place pastoral plots and locations in a British context. These gradual detachments from ancient pastoral locations such as Sicily, Cos and Arcadia showed a self-conscious emancipation and on-going development of the pastoral genre in Renaissance England. Such liberations can also be found among the following examples, which prove the developmental stages of the evolving genre of pastoral poetry in the English corpus. Unsurprisingly, most examples for it come from the eponymous *Britannia's Pastorals*.

The first example bears witness to the secession of British poets from the ranks of ancient bucolic and pastoral poets and the establishment of a self-assured British genre:

> "What need I tune the swaines of Thessaly?
> Or bootlesse, adde to them of Arcadie?
> No: faire Arcadia cannot be compleater,
> My praise may lessen, but not make thee greater,
> my muse for lofty pitches shall not rome,
> but homely pipen of her native home:
> And to the swaines, love rurall minstralsie,
> thus deare Britannia will I sing of thee."
> (BP, Book I, Song I, P. 34)

The turn to sing of British Pastorals instead of paying direct homage by copying Greek and Roman text is openly expressed here; the poet turns his back to Thessaly and Arcadia and towards British locations, stating that these ancient pastorals have been glorified enough and a new focus is needed. The pastoral topic still remains: clearly, it is felt that content-wise, the concept of the pastoral life-style and plots is a shared feature between antiquity and the Renaissance.

The Thames has been mentioned in various contexts before; the following example shows the relocation of pastoral rivers to a British environment:

> "But as the Queene of Riuers, fairest Thames,

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[803] Armitage 2000: 100.

> That for her buildings other flouds enflames
> With greatest enuie: Or the Nymph of Kent,
> That stateliest Ships to Sea hath euer sent."
> (BP, Book I, Song I, P.43)

Other British epithets mentioned previously can be found in the following example:

> "When showers of tears from the Caelestiall Globe
> Bewaild the fate of Sea-lou'd Britanie;
> When sighs as frequent were as various sights,
> When Hope lay bed-rid, and all pleasures dying,
> When Enuy wept,
> And Comfort slept:
> When Cruelty it selfe ate almost crying,
> Nought being heard but what the minde affrights,
> When Autumne had disrob'd the Summers pride,
> Then Englands honour, Europes wonder dy'd."
> (BP, Book I, Song V, P.130)

The title "sea-lou'd Britanie" shows conscious interaction with the perception of Britishness, the sea and its characterising, identity-providing relationship. This overly passionate description of Britain's decay gives information about self-perception and evolving national pride (e.g. " Englands honour, Europes wonder"). Examples like these attests to the contemporary engagement with the topic of national pride, self-perception and the establishment of a national identity. All these aspects can also be found in the following example:

> "England was ne'er ingirt with waves till now;
> Till now it held part with the Continent:
> Aye me! some one in pittie shew me, how
> I might in dolefull numbers so lament;
> That any one which lov'd him, hated me,
> Might dearely love me, for lamenting him.
> Alas! my plaint
> In such constraint
> Breakes forth in rage, that though my passions swimme,
> Yet are they drowned ere they landed be:
> Imperfect lines! O happy! were I hurld
> And cut from life as England from the world."
> (BP, Book I, Song V, P.132)

The thematisation of Britain and its political and geographical position in Europe is mentioned several times and turns out to be a significant part in the composition of the *Britannia's Pastorals*[804]. In these examples, a sense of pride can be established; Britain as a nation is not only mentioned repetitively, but also described with

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[804] Another example is BP, Book I, Song V, P.132.

positive connotations and associations, praising its special geographic and political situation. They all prove the evolving discussion and examination of British self-conception and national identity as portrayed in contemporary pastoral poetry.

Crossing the land-sea border is, of course, symbolic. Just like in the chapter of water as a border, sea-faring conveys the ideas of progress, change, entrepreneurship and farewell. This way it does not only characterise individuals and the nation they belong to (in this case, a perfect development from individual memory to collective memory, cultural memory and cultural identity can be seen), but also provides various attitudes towards the progression of sea-faring, a notion which lets individuals express subjective aspects of their situation towards a specific subject.

## 3.Cisterns and Wells

The pastoral self-understanding of symbiotic rural life between shepherds and nature without urban or courtly corruption heavily relies on the concept of little to no human or institutional interference in country-life, nature or the country environment itself. Since the pastoral idea has always, at least to some degree, been linked to escapism and the idea of individual architecture of space, human interference in nature is usually avoided. There are few exceptions to this unspoken rule; in the context of waters, these are cisterns and wells.

The Greek corpus does not feature any cisterns, wells or any man-made intrusions into nature's natural flow[805]. The Latin corpus offers one example in Ecl. III, 108 ff. when two herdsmen redirect a rivulet to water a field. On the other hand, the English introduces several examples of cisterns and wells; they can be found in ancient

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[805] The exclusion of cisterns and wells are not representative for an absence of both in Hellenistic Greek life. As Tölle-Kastenbein puts it: „Das Auffangen, Sammeln und Verwenden von Niederschlagswasser, im Mittelmeerbereich vor allem von Regenwasser, nahm in allen Teilen und zu allen Zeiten der antiken Welt eine wirkungsvolle und nicht zu unterschätzende Stelle ein […]." (Tölle-Kastenbein 1990: 106). She goes on to explain that Aristotle already mentions cisterns in his *Constitution of the Athenians* (Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία) (Cf. Ibid.) and also stresses the establishment of wells in daily ancient life: "Eine feste Etablierung von Brunnen in das tägliche Leben der Antike ist ebenfalls bewiesen." (Ibid. P. 177). Previous literature, such as Menander's comedy *Dyscolos*, also features wells and their inclusion in rural life.

contexts as well as timeless Renaissance descriptions. Contrary to any expectation towards the concept of man-made water sources in a strictly pastoral complex, both cisterns and wells blend in perfectly with the landscape described and are not depicted as interfering monstrosities destroying nature's unity.

The first example features a natural cistern in a stony environment which collects waters: a rock stops the water and redirects the passage of the stream to a narrow rivulet and functions as a natural boundary to prevent overflow:

> "Right so the rocke the water long time stops,
> And by degrees lets it fall downe in drops.
> Like hoording huswives that doe mold their food,
> And keepe from others, what doth them no good.
> The drops within a Cesterne fell of stone,
> Which fram'd by Nature, Art had never one
> Halfe part so curious."
> (BP, Book I, Song II, P. 64)

Contrary to this example, human interference is openly named in the following example:

> "As when a dainty Fount, and Crystall Spring,
> Got newly from the earths imprisoning,
> And ready prest some channel cleere to win,
> Is round his rife by Rocks immured in,
> And from the thirsty earth would be with-held,
> Till to the Cesterne's top the waues have swell'd.
> But that a carefull Hinde the Well hath found,
> As he walkes sadly through his parched ground;
> Whose patience suffring not his land to stay
> Untill the water o'er the Cesterne play,
> Hee gets a Picke-axe and with blowes so stout,
> Digs on the Rocke, that all the groves about
> Resound his stroke, and still the rocke doth charge,
> Till he hath made a hole both long and large,
> Whereby the waters from their prison runne,
> To close earths gaping wounds made by the Sunne."
> (BP, Book I, Song IV, P. 119)

This interference is not negatively connotated but rather shows the well as a redeemer and saviour for the waters, releasing them into the open and nurturing animals.

The following example connects the watering of livestock with the cistern, revealing economic understanding and interests of shepherds and farmers:

> "Whilst I a Swaine as weake in yeares as skill,
> Should in the valley heare them on the hill,

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> Yet (when my sheepe have at their Cesternes beene,
> And I have brought them backe to sheare the greene)
> To misse an idle houre, and not for meede,
> With choicest relish shall mine Oaten Reede,
> Record their worths: and though in accents rare,
> I misse the glory of a charming ayre,
> My Muse may one day make the Courtly Swaines
> Enamour'd on the Musicke of the Plaines,
> And as upon a hill shee bravely sings,
> Teach humble Dales to weepe in Christall Springs."
> (BP, Book I, Song V, P. 151)

This example uses the cistern and the watering of the animal as a means of temporal orientation and interweaves its description into the introduction of the swain's song.

The examples from the English corpus suggest that the well is used and interpreted very much like the spring or fountain and that these sources of water and its different origins find their way into the English corpus as a natural matter of course; their existence is not explained or highlighted in a special way. It is important to point out, however, that the growing number of wells and cisterns included in the English corpus shows an evolving acceptance of man-made water sources as natural and beautiful; they are not seen as intruders or negative witnesses of men's increasing intrusion and exploitation of nature. On the contrary, these waters are integrated into the pastoral landscapes without further ado. The second field of knowledge gained from the analysis of man-made water sources reveals the economic side of water preservation, since saving water for future uses can always carry the meaning of economy and practicability. Some of these aspects use water's ornamental function to achieve these desired effects.

In terms of ecocriticism it could be argued that the early modern poets had developed a specific awareness for nature and its needs, but also nonchalantly included exploitive tools into an otherwise untouched landscape. These concerns are valid but the description of a functioning relationship between humans and their nature is probably much more to their intent. The often-quoted symbiosis between shepherds and their surrounding or, more generally, humans and nature, in pastoral poetry is presented as a successful inclusion of pastoral life in nature's intention. Even cisterns and wells do not disturb the friendly picture.

## 4.Blood and Water

Moschus and Bion repetitively use the imagery of blood in the description of their laments and epitaphs; usually these depictions are described using water-related vocabulary, imagery and symbolism such as gushing bloody streams leaving freshly-cut wounds as well as dripping and flowing blood. The English corpus heavily relies on this imagery for its gruesome descriptions of battles and wounds.

The first example displays typical water-related vocabulary, such as "huge streams" and "flow":

> "So deadly was the dint and deep the wound,
> And so huge streames of blood thereout did flow,
> That he endured not the direfull stound,
> But on the cold deare earth himselfe did throw."
> (Astrophel, P. 701, L. 121)

Astrophel's wounds are described in detail to justify the following lament, grief and pain. These "red streams" or "bloody streams" are mentioned several more times in the corpus:

> "Next him a great man sate, in woe no lesse;
> Teares were but barren shadowes to expresse
> The substance of his griefe, and therefore stood
> Distilling from his heart red streames of blood."
> (BP, Book I, Song IV, P. 120)

> "[…] or else a sharpned Beame
> Pierceth her brest, and on the bloudy streame
> Shee pants for life: So whilome rode this Maide
> On streames of worldly blisse, more rich arraid,
> With Earths delight, then thought could put in ure,
> To glut the senses of an Epicure."
> (BP, Book I, Song V, P.129)

Bion, however, shows a specialty in the use of water as tears in his lament:

> δάκρυον ἁ Παφία τόσσον χέει, ὅσσον Ἄδωνις
> αἷμα χέει: τὰ δὲ πάντα ποτὶ χθονὶ γίνεται ἄνθη.
> αἷμα ῥόδον τίκτει, τὰ δὲ δάκρυα τὰν ἀνεμώναν.
> (Bion. Epit. Adon. I, 64 ff.)
> "Paphia sheds as many tears as Adonis sheds blood and everything turns into flowers in the soil: blood creates roses and tears anemones."

The parallel structure of the words "tears" and "blood" is lost in the English translation but the repetition is still visible. This

allows the association of tears and blood due to their similarity as well as difference: of course, similar vocabulary can be used for blood and water since they are both liquids but their tasks in poetry are usually extremely contrary. Here, Bion uses the semantic interplay to add dramatic effects to his already dramatic lament. The inclusion of blood in the architecture of such scenes introduces bright colours: nature is changed and reddened because of pain which juxtaposes the transparency of water with the redness of blood. The brutal aspect is lessened by the connection of blood with flowers: again, the tears (and blood) are shed in connection to nature: they allow hope and progress, since fertile flowers sprout from the horrors of death. Through tears, there is a potentially positive future outlook.[806] Another explanation would interpret the flowers as visible witnesses of this tragic story and explain their growth with tears shed by the mourners: in this aetiological approach would rest on the flowers as σήματα (sémata) and would see the tears and their resulting flowers as an end product rather than the beginning of survival and progress. However, the beautiful flower imagery remains.

The final example in this context magnifies the streams into a whole sea of blood:

> "Whilst neigh'bring Kings upon their frontires stood,
> And offer'd for her dowre huge Seas of blood."
> (BP, Book I, Song V, P.129)

Of course, the transferred imagery from water-motifs to the description of blood as well as the similar vocabulary used to describe these bloody situations is not far-fetched; a transfer like this could already be found in the chapter of "Tears". Blood, with all its differences to waters and tears, is still fluid and therefore entitled to similar vocabulary; however, the comparisons with water bodies and its imagery like "streams" or "seas", serves more than a literal purpose and is also used for interpretative reasons. Using these expressions of magnitude implements poetic hyperbole to emphasise the extremity of the blood loss and the horrible emotional situation of the included individuals.

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[806] These aspects can also be found in the context of Naturtrauer; the ambivalence of many examples again shows that they are no clear-cut boundaries between men and nature.

Unlike waters, blood is naturally connected to a negative scenery and plot. The extremity expressed in the previous examples is one way to represent blood, another is offered by the concept of blood tainting a friendly and beautiful situation or location, leaving a stain. To underline this tainting, the red colour of blood is juxtaposed with other natural colours, usually represented by clear water. In these contexts, water's tranquillity works as a canvas for the projection of evil. The powerful colour schemes used in these oppositions help to ensure the audience's attention.

The first example for this concept shows the miasma of blood-tainted water as result of ill-meaning and curses:

> "And if it were, he solemnly then swore
> His Spring should flow some other way: no more
> Should it in wanton manner ere be seene
> To writhe in knots, or give a gowne of greene
> Unto their Meadowes, nor be seene to play,
> Nor drive the Rushy-mils, that in his way
> The Shepheards made: but rather for their lot,
> Send them red waters that their sheepe should rot.
> And with such Moorish Springs embrace their field,
> That it should nought but Mosse and Rushes yeeld."
> (BP, Book I, Song II, P. 53)

The nurturing and life-giving qualities of waters are overthrown to introduce decay and doom to the environment and all its inhabitants. In this example, the angry party is a water god appalled by the human's way of treating his waters – he threatens retaliation. Shortly after, a horrible battle ensues, leaving several men wounded. One description of a death is especially graphic:

> "[…] a sharpned flint,
> Which in the faire boyes necke made such a dint,
> That crimson bloud came streaming from the wound,
> And he fell downe into a deadly swound.
> The bloud ran all along where it did fall,
> And could not finde a place of buriall:
> But where it came, it there congealed stood,
> As if the Earth loath'd to drinke guiltlesse blood."
> (BP, Book I, Song II, P. 72)

In this example, the earth refuses to take part in senseless killing and abhors the notion to be stained with large amounts of "guiltlesse blood". The topos of nature revolting against a blood is not new to the pastoral genre - in the *Iliad* (Hom. Il. XXI, 120 ff.), the river Scamander revolts against the bloodshed in his waters and starts a

fight with Achilles, who only prevails against the river god with divine support. In the example from *Britannia's Pastorals*, soil and earth are revolting instead of a river; still, the stains of blood are strongly abhorred by nature.

The tainting of natural resources with blood is repeated in *Cooper's Hill*[807]:

> "By such a wound, he falls. The Cristall flood
> Dying he dyes, & purples with his blood."
> (Cooper's Hill, P. 89, L. 279)

Staining by blood can also be inflicted upon other surfaces than natural elements; *Britannia's Pastorals* gives an example of blood staining a bed:

> "And shee directed how to cure the wound,
> With thankes, made home-wards, (longing still to see
> Th' effect of this good Hermits Surgerie)
> There carefully, her sonne laid on a bed,
> (Enriched with the bloud hee on it shed)
> She washes, dresses, bindes his wound (yet sore)
> That griev'd, it could weepe bloud for him no more."
> (BP, Book I, Song III, P. 85)

The situation is highly emotional and not without ancient precedent, since caring and grieving for the fatally wounded or recently deceased does not only appear several times in the ancient bucolic corpus and various examples from the English corpus (e.g. Astrophel) but can also be found in the *Iliad* or classic Greek drama. The stained bed proves the fatality of the wound; the speciality of this example is not only the drenched sheet but also the expression that the wound "could weepe bloud for him no more." This shows a new connection between established water motifs of this study and the concept of bloodshed: the idea of weeping wounds is a further example for the merging of the water motif and its assigned imagery and vocabulary with other literary concepts, proving its versatility and adaptability.

The use of blood in water-related plot and its conferred imagery must be mentioned: the function of these uses of water is logical and comprehensible – the connection of blood images with water imagery and vocabulary uses established concepts for a transferred interpretation to intensify the emotional involvement of the audience.

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[807] The ecocritical approach to the interpretation of country house poems was already mentioned in 2.3.

Supporting these theses in De Jong's terms, the functions of water as blood or vice versa are ornamental and psychologising. The ornamental function bears similarity to the creation of a *locus horribilis* by setting the mood for horrible deeds. Using water-vocabulary for the description of other liquids to associate quantity and magnitude or to reinforce already established concepts like the nurturing qualities of water as well as its tranquillity and clearness are the main functions of this literary process. Of course, the use of blood and its colour is also highly symbolic, since it symbolises death, pain and hurt. Doing so, it can mirror or psychologise the included character's and their moods.

**Conclusion**

These water motifs do not appear in vain but interact with the other themes and motifs of water in the corpus and carry enormous cultural meaning and therefore influence the interpretation of the poems: especially the blood-water symbolism and its use in the cited poems shows an establishment of cultural associations and imagery. Whereas the swimming-examples already underline a changed attitude towards recreational swimming and border-crossing, the most important topic in this chapter is sea-faring: as mentioned in the analysis, the conscious use of sea-faring as identity-providing features of the fully formed cultural sphere of the English nation. The role of literature as distributor of such contemporary attitude and the positive inclusion of a topic rather negatively connotated in the previous bucolic and pastoral corpora underlines the evolvement of English Pastoral and its progressive disengagement from its ancient predecessors in a self-assured literary future as an independent genre.

# 5. Conclusion

## 5.1. Analysis Summary

**Introduction and Theoretical Overview**

Since Chapter 4 provided a close reading of the most important excerpts including water occurrences in all three corpora and a context-providing analysis, chapter 5 will focus on the final consolidation of theory and interpretation to investigate the thesis that water occurrences influence the composition of bucolic and pastoral poetry and that these water motifs help to prove the emergence of an awareness for cultural and national identity.

The underlying theories used for the close reading of the water occurrences in the corpus were De Jong's theories within the scope of the spatial turn, some aspects of ecocriticism and theories concerning collective memory and national identity building. Whereas the ecocritical and spatial theories were used as tools to separate the important information of the text fragments and examples in chapter 4, this chapter will focus on the role of bucolic and pastoral literature in the mindset of their periods of composition; the results from the application of the spatial theories and their interpretation will then be analysed following the cultural and psychological theories introduced in chapters 2.4. and 2.5.

**Specification of Spatial Theory**

The importance of spaces and places in pastoral and bucolic poetry cannot be emphasised highly enough. In connection with the spatial turn, numerous theories about the value and impact of setting and spaces on characters and plot emerged, some of which were included in this dissertation and introduced in chapter 2. One branch of the spatial turn, ecocriticism, was also used for the close reading of bucolic and pastoral texts. As a matter of course, spatial theory concentrated on water's natural occurrences in the backgrounds or scenery of the poems' plots, settings, fabula- and story spaces. Even though this reading variation proves very efficient for a modern and holistic approach to bucolic and pastoral poetry, these theories build the beckground for the establishment of cultural identity, as the

focus for development from spatial to identity theory is primarily on De Jong's function of spaces.

The analysis using De Jong's subcategories showed how many functions spatial structuring and describing present and how important they are for interpretative purposes. For the establishment of water's influence on the identity-providing aspects of spaces in bucolic and pastoral poetry, three of her functions can be made out as the most important, namely the ornamental, characterising and psychologising function.

## Combination of Theories and Water Occurrences

The *ornamental* function of water, a mood-setting and atmosphere-providing function, is the most frequent function of waters in all three corpora. It is especially crucial since it does not only support water's importance in the poem's composition but also its natural inclusion in visual or acoustic landscape-contexts. This function's importance is therefore both explicit (e.g. nature is included in the poem and since water is featured in nature, water is automatically included in the poem) and implicit (water is so important in the everyday-, spiritual or cultural life of people, that its mentioning might easily be taken for granted, or overlooked in close reading.). In terms of the development of cultural and national identity, this ornamental inclusion of water is a vital carrier for the perception of landscapes and locations, both in the contexts of fabula- and story spaces. Directly mentioning and addressing water bodies, such as the rivers Acheron or the Thames connect imagined places with "real" geographic areas. Their inclusion displays awareness of the cultural spheres of specific waters. The ornamental function is frequently used in the locus amoenus to display subjective conceptions of aesthetics and beauty as perceived by characters and recipients.

The pure concept that spaces - and therefore also their components such as waters - *can* be ornamental shows the holistic inclusion of waters and nature in pastoral poetry and reveals their geographic involvement, be it in form of story spaces or frames, or of the poem's characters, poets and recipients. In this respect, the ornamental function already makes way for interpretations concerning collective and cultural memory as well as identity. In the Hylas- or

Dioscuri-examples, the atmosphere-providing abilities of the ornamental function is instrumentalised to create both a locus amoenus and horribilis by juxtaposing beautiful nature with horrible assaults. The *loca amoena* created next to springs or rivers which invite resting shepherds to poetic production and the descriptions of beautiful landscapes as 'home' (several examples of those can be found in the English and Virgilian corpus) are crucial, since the ornamental function of those waters transgresses the aesthetic into a characterising and even symbolic function. All examples of the ornamental function highlight the strong connection and relationship of characters with their surroundings or homes and carry emotional load. This load can then be interpreted as nostalgia or imminent love of their native cultural sphere - notions which are shared at least partially by its contemporary recipients. Mythology plays a very important role for these emotional connections, since it complements collective understanding, expectations and relations between spiritual and geographic carriers of cultural identity: the crossing of the Acheron, sea gods and goddesses, eponymous waters, muses, nymphs and fairies are example for such intertwining.

The second function of spaces and waters is the *characterising* function, in which waters help to reveal personal information about character personalities and individual fates included in the poem. The characterising function might play the most important role in the establishment of water as a transmitter of cultural and national identity and is also crucial within the story spaces: it reveals contemporary attitudes towards self-conceptions and local and national attachment. Since bucolic and pastoral plots usually happen in places within a close perimeter of the shepherd's living and working situations, the development of this attachment happens gradually throughout the evolvement of the pastoral genre, just as the evolution from individual memory to cultural identity. Klooster explains the highly characterising function of spaces and landscapes in bucolic poetry as follows:

> "On the few occasions landscapes are strongly idealized […] they have a specific function. Either these descriptions occur in character-text and serve to characterize the speaker, or […] the pastoral setting thematically collides with grander heroic/epic elements of the story."

She goes on to explain that

"[…] spatial references by characters […] serve to characterize them, or provide clues of their psychological state. Since these poems mostly lack narratorial comment, narratees are invited to participate actively and see if they may extrapolate an 'objective' evaluation of what is being described, or interpret its structural significance."

Examples from the discussed corpora are the "rustic person", who defines himself by his shelter and its position, the fishermen, mowers, inhabitants of country houses, the shepherd-poets, water deities, etc. Their self-definition through habitat, landscape and profession is crucially connected to the waters surrounding them. In many respects, the ornamental function plays into this evolvement, since the positive aesthetics of important places described adds nostalgia and local pride.

Since waters' geographic and temporal structuring abilities connect individuals with waters and waters with fabula- and story-spaces, subjective attitudes of characters, poets and potential recipients must be assumed. Even though inferences from poetry to reality must always be drawn with care, the multitude of said examples prove a changing contemporary mindset. The relationship between individuals and locations, their nostalgia and emotional load towards geographic places and areas present a substantial part of human self-categorisation. The water motif proved to be the carrier for most of these sentiments.

An exceptional situation is the concept of sea-faring as it presents the hardest break between ancient and early modern pastoral: whereas the subject of sea-faring is widely excluded from the ancient corpora and is only mentioned in a predominantly negative context which lists perils and fears of travelling the wide sea, the English corpus does not only present positive and negative attitudes towards sea-faring, but also puts it in the context of a common national sense of entrepreneurship that should dominate the idea of Britishness for centuries to come. Finding these sea-faring ideals and impending colonial thought included in herdsmen-poetry, a usually truly landlocked genre might appear adventurous; nonetheless, the intertwining of an activity related to the establishment of a holistic contemporary world picture is convincing. Therein, sea-faring, just

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like the description of other professions, carries enormous interpretative weight in terms of internal and external perception. These perceptions and associations of the sea-faring trade occur most frequently in the English corpus and mount to new importance in the Renaissance, as the nation's self-perception as sea-farers, explorers, colonialists and international tradesmen is mentioned repetitively. Water's characterising function has thereby surpassed the individual and has moved on to the collective with a stereotypical characterisation of Britishness, which seems to have been proudly accepted: numerous examples from the English corpus (e.g. the sea-faring examples in *Britannia's Pastorals, Lycidas, CCCHA, Bermudas,* and *Cooper's Hill* listed in 4.2.5.) bear witness to this development.

The third function is the *psychologising* function of waters. Its interpretation connects with the characterising function discussed previously; nonetheless, the information it provides reveals emotional states and connecting pathos between story spaces and characters. Its influence on the development of a cultural memory is present if these experiences are shared by more than one individual. The psychologising functions of waters are frequent in the corpora; especially the Virgilian politic-laden *Eclogues* are revelatory of shared hurt and pain, often expressed by water's inclusion in nostalgic fabula-spaces. Chapter 4.2.1. found evidence for these psychologising functions which connect emotional rawness to therapeutic nature-gazing, often presented and reflected by waters such as rivers or the sea. From an interpretive point of view, these occurrences join the characterising function of nature as an identity provider for characters and intra- and extradiegetic recipients alike.

The ornamental function sometimes progresses to the symbolic, when established motifs are repetitive enough to be recognised as a cultural symbol. The *locus amoenus* is such a symbol, as are the inclusion of water-references in proverbs or forever truths. These incidents are significant, since they prove the fixation of water's different motifs into a cultural memory and understanding: their understanding by various people from the same cultural group requires their thorough comprehension from collectives of wider and wider spheres of influence; hence, the symbolic functions of water must be

equated with the completed inclusion of water motifs in a cultural group's collective memory and identity.


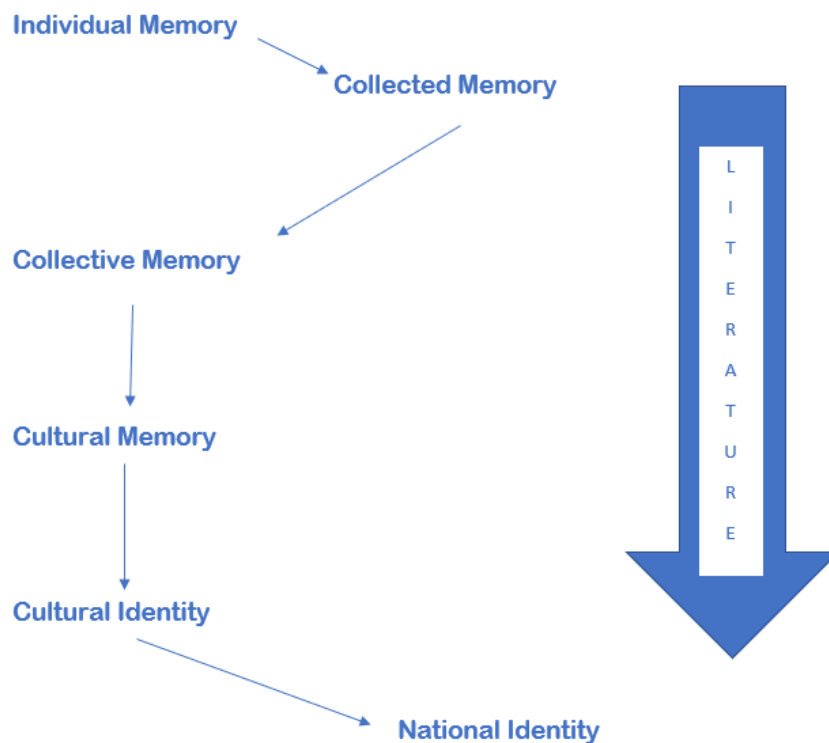**Specification of the Role of Literature for cultural and national Identity**

The previous chapters introduced the interpretation of water occurrences in bucolic and pastoral poetry as carriers and triggers of cultural identity via the literary fixation of first individual, then collective memories and their development into collective and, finally, cultural identity. The advancement of this thesis from cultural memory to a cultural identity and, finally, national identity now raises two main questions:

1. How does water shape identity in bucolic and pastoral poetry? And
2. How does bucolic and pastoral poetry shape identity in the Hellenistic period, the Late Republic and the Renaissance?

These questions are difficult to answer, since question one asks about the situation within the poetry, whereas question two transfers the question from the fabula- and story- spaces of bucolic poetry to the emotional and psychologic mindset of the contemporary extradiegetic recipients of the poems. The first question was already widely answered during the close reading in chapters 4.1. and 4.2. The second question, however, requires further clarification and a concentration on the issue of the identity of a collective in terms of cultural, or for the English context, national proportions.

All these developments are connected by literature as written medium of cultural transmission. Assmann points out the importance of literature in the establishment and reinforcement of collective memory: since collective memory results from individual memories and builds the foundation for cultural memory and first cultural and then national identity, the signification of the written word for the building of shared identity cannot be valued highly enough. For Renaissance England, the evolution of a new 'national' genre takes the relevance of literary forms and contents to an even more pivotal

order of dimension. The following chart illustrates the development from individual experiences and memories to a cultural identity with the support of literature as medial carrier:



Clearly, all developmental steps are accompanied by literature, literary witnesses or literary evidence even though not all literary forms which help shape cultural identity in the Hellenistic period and national identity in the English Renaissance are poetic. For this dissertation, however, the focus lies on the impact of bucolic and pastoral poetry. Together with the information gathered in the chapters of *Literary History* and *National Identity*, they ensure a productive dialogue of the cultural context of the period.

Importantly it must be said that an interrelationship between a single genre and the creation of a cultural or national identity is reciprocal; of course, pastoral poetry does not operate in a literary vacuum but this dissertation focusses on its role and prioritises its influence. The emergence of a consciousness for national matters and national self-identification in the English Renaissance is mirrored in English Pastoral and the thematisation of a growing national consciousness and national identity in English Pastoral supported the further evolvement of this conception in public spheres as literary

marketing and publicity. This disclaimer does not diminish the influence of pastoral literature but rather emphasises the extraordinary role and unique position of literature within its contemporary society. For the Hellenistic period, the situation is different entirely: as explained in the chapter of *National Identity*, the existence of a shared Hellenic national identity has long been debated; this dissertation takes the stand that by ways of language, education, art and other cultural markers, the Hellenic cultural sphere was extended into the apoikiai of the post-Alexandrian Mediterranean cultural sphere and that Greek literature works as one of these transmitters and memorials of a shared cultural identity. The development of "Hellenistic" genres such as the bucolic which are based on individual, realistic experiences and memories (landscapes, song, shepherds, rurality) as well as collective and cultural memories such as literary heritage, religious festivals, proverbs and mythology united Greeks all over the diaspora through language and education and is therefore a crucial marker of shared cultural identity.

Individual and collected memories important enough to be written down and shared provide the base for the emergence of new literary types and the circulation of shared experiences. This way, they help to establish collective memories and save them to reach wider and wider circles of influence. As mentioned in chapter 2.4., text forms work as memorials[808], conserving collective memories and helping transform them into cultural memories by making them accessible for a wider sphere of included individuals. It is in this intermediate state between cultural memory and cultural identity that Pastoral positions itself; since Renaissance pastoral was initially primarily based on Virgil's *Eclogues* and the European humanist pastoral poetry mentioned in the introductory chapters, the initial steps already lie behind Renaissance poetry, whereas Theocritean bucolics developed from the very initial stages presented in the charts. From this point onwards, however, Renaissance Pastoral follows the illustration above: with the help and the development of English Pastoral, shared cultural memories from this hereditary pool of the genre are supplied with mythology, geography and contemporary politics unique to the island and cultural sphere of Britain. This gradual emancipation from ancient

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[808] Assmann in Assmann&Hölscher 1988: 101.

predecessors was mentioned several times in the close reading of various water motifs: whereas early Pastoral as *The Shepherd's Calendar* still strongly resembles ancient eclogues with traditional names and poetic build, the poetry of John Milton and the Mower- or Country-House poems already move in a more modern direction by openly discussing contemporary notions of British zeitgeist.

Since the pastoral genre itself was not new to the English Renaissance, British poets could stand on "the shoulder of giants", of ancient authors, and some medieval pastoral traditions such as folk songs or translated pastoral works of Italian humanists. Nonetheless, it was in the early modern period that British Pastoral gained its grafting and completion[809]. Kunze sees Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* as one of the literary trendsetters for the genre's popularity in England: „Ausgelöst durch den großen Erfolg von Spensers *Shepheardes Calendar* wird die Bukolik zu einer der beherrschenden Modeformen der elisabethanischen Poesie."[810] Cooper agrees with the idea of Pastoral as a literary trend: "The persistent curiosity that the early Elizabethan poets had felt for pastoral suddenly turned into a fashion – almost a craze – in the later years of the reign."[811] It appears to follow the explanation that if ancient poets had been so successful with their bucolic and pastoral poetry, surely this success must be reproducible. The close reading and interpretation of the three text bodies of pastoral and bucolic poetry nonetheless proved that this relatable reason could not have been the only one: the numerous similarities between English and classic Pastoral in terms of its use of waters cannot be repeated here, but it must be pointed out that the waters create a sense of community among its recipients within their cultural spheres unique to the bucolic and pastoral genre and felt over the evolvement of time periods and country borders.

In the final developmental step presented by the chart, the inclusion of uniquely British cultural markers lets pastoral poetry flourish as an independent genre with strong indicators of shared

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[809] "The pastoral traditions of the Middle Ages reached their finest point in the literature of the Elizabethans […]." (Cooper 1977: 145).

[810] Kunze 1978: 41.

[811] Cooper 1977: 144. This coincides with the proper establishment of the concept of Arcadia into English pastoral poetry; a feature which is now essentially characteristic for the genre: "It is only towards the end of Henry VIII's reign that the first signs of any influence from the new Arcadian style of pastoral appear." (Cooper 1977: 123).

emotion towards an increased national identity: "late" pastoral, such as *Britannia's Pastoral* by Browne show the completion of this evolution:

> "Browne consciously set out to produce a pastoral epic not of Arcadia, but of his 'native home'. Pastoral in Britannia's Pastorals has 'gone public' and in the progress has become expansive: various genres, tragi-comedy, Spenserian allegory, epic, elegy, satire, georgic, lyric and romance, are incorporated in the effort to give shape to the native land."[812]

Pastoral poetry did not only survive from Hellenistic bucolics to the early modern period and beyond, but gained new forms, genres and interpretations during this evolvement. Iser finds: „Die Bukolik erweist sich als ein gattungstranszendentes System."[813] Which could be a possible reason for its advance - another explanation he offers is its traditional applicability to almost all aspects of life and elementary needs:

> „Angesichts der von ihr gestifteten und zumindest seit Vergil über anderthalb Jahrtausende hinweg reichenden Traditionen spricht vieles dafür, dass sie elementaren Bedürfnissen zu entsprechen vermochte."[814]

He then mentions the extraordinary mutual symbiosis between bucolic and pastoral poetry and reality:

> „Die Ekloge […] lässt erkennen, dass Hirtendichtung sowohl einen Spiegel der Welt als auch das Einzeichnen der Welt in die Dichtung verkörpert."[815]

Bruno Snell agrees with the versatility of bucolic and pastoral schemes and their applicability to various aspects of life and society:

> „Das Motiv des verklärten Hirtenlebens und der Schäferpoesie ist der eindrucksvollen Beispiele dafür, wie von den Griechen geprägte Gedanken-Schemata immer wieder späteren Zeiten dazu helfen, die eigene Situation zu klären. Immer neu interpretiert und abgewandelt weist dieser Hirt den Weg zurück – und vorwärts – von der kompliziert gewordenen Zivilisation zur einfachen Natur. Darin liegt seine eigentümliche Unsterblichkeit."[816]

The prevalence of the pastoral genre is undisputed; since its topics, themes and schemes are so versatile, the poetry never loses its

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[812] O'Callaghan in Hattaway 2000: 314.
[813] Iser 1991: 59.
[814] Iser 1991: 61.
[815] Iser 1991: 67 f.
[816] Snell 1965: 189

contemporary relevance, making it adaptable for numerous topoi, motifs, and respective contemporary mindsets. This dissertation aimed for an observation in how far it displays common human behaviour, associations and attitudes of characters and their surroundings, in how far they are influenced by the areas they live or work in, in what ways these landscapes and natures influence the individual's self-perception and how literature helps to conserve these perceptions to offer it to broader and broader areas of influence.

Literary theories covering the interpretative purpose of spaces and their influence on identity-building are the underlying tools for the close reading of representative text excerpts including water occurrences in all three corpora; it is with their help that the gradual emancipation of the genre through specific cultural involvement, identifying features on a personal and national level, linkage to geographic and natural environments could be analysed: Unique relationships between individuals and their surroundings build the base of the relationship/development pictured in the chart above: this individual relationship leads to the collection of individual memories; if similar memories are collected and shared among wider and wider groups of individuals, the water body becomes a kind of official or unofficial monument, allowing the transgression from cultural memory to cultural identity[817].

The characterising function of spaces or, in the context of this dissertation, waters, does not only give testimony for the self-perception and -presentation of characters (and in some cases recipients) but also for the perception and -presentation of nature as identity-provider. The ornamental and characterising functions of water showed that spaces, or even single component of spaces, can be used for the expression of individual tastes, experiences and opinions. The same goes for the characterising functions of water

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[817] For the Greeks and their relationship with the sea, Vryonis finds even more specific words as he sees the continuity of the land-sea relationship innate to Greeks as a crucial marker of Greek culture:
"As the Greeks were the first of the Europeans to develop a complex and dynamic maritime life, and inasmuch as the intimate relation of the nation to the sea maintained an unbroken continuity, the effects of this relation are to be seen deeply embedded in the political, religious, economic, literary, and artistic institutions and manifestation of the Greek speaking people for the beginning of their recorded history." (Vryonis 1993: 4).

because the surroundings of characters, their potential habitat (as for sea gods, water deities and nymphs) or workplace (as for mowers, fishermen, shepherds, poets) can reveal much about individual psyche, character or emotional state: in the Hellenistic period, the perception of the herdsman broke off the attribution of Greeks to specific poleis or *apoikiai*, since herdsmen wander and do not get involved in larger political debates: this could support self-identification away from individual *poleis* towards a greater cultural sphere of belonging. In Virgil's *Eclogues*, the herdsmen create their self-imagery around an idea of persistence and decay, since the scheme of the pastoralis could be used to criticise contemporary land-seizing politics and to give hope for the possible coming of a golden age. Virgil's Pastoral is both nostalgic and wishful for a different future. The Renaissance used waters not only to self-present herdsmen and their attitudes, but also to gradually emancipate the pastoral genre from its ancient predecessors by replacing Greek and Latin names, places, myths and gods with English ones. Pastoral poetry is one of the first genres in general which was written in the English language (which means originally written in English and not translated into English or modified for an English audience). Scholars like Hadfield agree with the connection of Renaissance poetry and the establishment of a national self-confidence and cultural awareness: numerous examples of British places and rivers in the English corpus have already been pointed out in the chapters 4.1. and 4.2. It is no surprise then that Milton also included Englishness in his poems[818].

The 16th and 17th centuries in England were periods of cultural change and rapid expansion, resulting in a previously unknown self-confidence in England as a nation of international and cultural relevance. England slowly detached from cultural and linguistic ties to other countries and confidently strove for significance as a colonial and intellectual power. English pastoral poetry, like no other genre, mirrors this evolvement of its nation: heartfelt respect for the established poetry of the Greek and Roman classic as well as Italian humanism built the substructure for a gradual progression into

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[818] Instead of asking for specifically Greek or Latin areas, Milton asks about a landscape that is traditionally British: Mona and Deva, which are the home and meeting points of bards and druids. (Cf. Lyne 2016: 63).

an independent and confident national genre, which underwent continuous outings in a typically English way of writing, rather than the mere copying of an established classic genre[819]. All these advances play important parts in the gradual assessment and emergence of an English national identity and can be seen in the poems' contents (English countryside, English mythology, the prominence of sea-faring and pioneering topics as well as the appreciation of the divide between courtly and rural lifestyles) as well as in its style and language. Emotional connections between English poems about a typically British countryside and classical writing probably fuelled these development, which do not end with the Renaissance:

> "[…] a substantial part of national identity remained open to reworking, such as the myths of origin an ancestry, myths of national heroes, and myths of regeneration and government, which looks towards the future. These are where the figuring of nationhood takes place."[820]

It is hence no surprise that this "old" new way of poetry, in which the English poets excelled, emerges in times of nation-building and national identity creation (chapter 1.3.4. offers the underlying cultural theories) and creates a strong base for the further evolution of English Pastoral.

## 5.2.  Research Outlook

This dissertation aimed for a representative portrayal of English Renaissance pastoral poetry and the connection of this developing genre with its roots in ancient Greek Bucolic and Classic Latin Pastoral for an intercultural analysis of its identity-providing features. Representative, of course, still means selective: even though many authors were included to provide a holistic approach to the Renaissance pastoral, some poets and research theses were left

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[819] "The sixteenth century is a period that sees a huge expansion of access to knowledge and experience. […] Expansion in travel and trade routes reveals hitherto unthought-of cultures and races, which in turn forces western societies to reassess their won developments and practices, and their notions of nationhood." (Piesse in Hattaway 2000: 636.).
[820] Royan in Hattaway 2000: 700.

unmentioned. Potential future research on the topic of this dissertation could be directed to both disciplines of English scholarship, literary studies and linguistics. Literary studies could extend the idea of natural elements as aide for identity-provision in other Renaissance texts, such as Renaissance drama or Renaissance history writing.

Since the Renaissance is a crucial period for the establishment of a united English language including standardised orthography and grammar, a linguistic approach to Renaissance pastoral's influence on the building of a national identity offers enormous potential: the emancipation from ancient authors, their vocabulary, metre and dialects towards a standardised English could be starting points, as could be the gradual development away from ancient names for people, places, rivers and seas. For some vocabulary used in Pastoral such observations have already been touched upon in secondary literature such as commentaries on *The Faerie Queene* and *Paradise Lost* (e.g. by Andrew Zurcher[821] and Angelica Duran[822]). This research could be extended to other pastoral authors to improve the accessability of pastoral literature to a modern audience.

English pastoral poetry might have originated in the Renaissance, but its heyday was reached around 150 years later when environmental and social inflictions of the industrial revolution triggered escapist dreams and moved the emotions of mutual national nostalgia into public perception. The ecocritical approaches mentioned in the introductory chapters of this dissertation have already been exercised on the context of 18th century pastoral as 18th century poetry in general has received much scholarly attention, as for example by Retamero&Schjellerup[823], Joel Mokyr[824], Jimmie Killingsworth[825] or Jeremy Warburg[826]. Nonetheless, the combination of environmental theories and the perceptions of nationhood could provide insight into the zeitgeist of nationalism during the times of industrial revolution and supplement these existing research endeavours - a base which should then be extended to other European countries and their pastoral

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[821] Zurcher 2011.
[822] Duran 2007.
[823] Retamero&Schjellerup 2016.
[824] Mokyr 2009.
[825] Killingsworth 2004.
[826] Warburg 1958.

poetry respectively. Future research on the pastoral genre in a different temporal surrounding could thus benefit from the research approaches and results of this dissertation.

The theories of ecocriticism itself are subject of ongoing development – various subgenres such as ecopoetry[827], ecology, ecofeminism etc. have already emergend and could be extended to the pastoral genre from early modern to contemporary poetry; examples for though-provoking impulses targeting the topics are Adelman&Packham's *Political Economy, Literature & the Formation of Knowledge[828]*, or the research of Susan Morrison[829] and George Handly[830], but in this field of study still lies enormous potential. Moving away from the English part dimension of the thesis, successful ecocritical analyses of classical literature would offer numerous possibilities for further academic research.

Of course, modern pastoral poetry and ecocriticism has been closely linked and therefore been analysed in abundance. Nonetheless, potential research questions concerning pastoral and identity are numerous: since the poetry of the 20th and 21st century strives for a more globalised view on natural resources without losing sight of the small-scale geographies and their emotional load such as the feeling of home and homelands, analyses of identity-markers in natural elements could enrich the research. Among the publications on contemporary identity issues are Maja Mikula's *Remembering Home in a Time of Mobility[831]*, Leonidas Donskis' *Troubled Identity and the Modern World[832]*, as well as the works of Christian Calliess[833] and Westle&Segatti[834]. Even though some publications on the formation of English national identity were used in this dissertation, the question of how, historically, an English (national) identity was formed and related from the middle ages onwards could be further elaborated on.

American Pastoral has always been strictly distinguished from the English and has been treated as an independent genre – publications on the topic of American pastoral are frequent, such as Ann Marie

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[827] Bryson 2002.
[828] Adelman&Packham 2018.
[829] Morrison 2015
[830] Handly 2011.
[831] Mikula 2017.
[832] Donskis 2009.
[833] Calliess 2013.
[834] Westle&Segatti 2016.

Mikkelsen's *Pastoral, Pragmatism, and Twentieth-Century American Poetry*.[835] In relation to the issue of establishing identity, research has focussed on poetry identities on a micro-level, as in *Amazing Grace: An Anthology of Poems about Slavery, 1660 – 1810* by James Basker[836] or aggressively modern publications, such as *Urban Pastoral: Natural Currents in the New York School* by Timothy Gray[837]. However, since America had to establish and invent itself as an independent nation, research on American Pastoral and its influence on the emergence of a national identity would be a productive endeavour to find potential similarities between Renaissance Britain and 18th century America in terms of the evolution of national consciousness, cultural pride and communal awareness. Publications on general American identity building such as the publications of Andrew Taylor[838], Stephanie Kermes[839], Rob Kroes[840] and John Canup[841] without any references to American Pastoral are numerous – scholarly combination of the two topics is sparse and could profit from further academic attention, especially since keynotes of pastoral poetry never lose their actuality and therefore ensure ongoing literary interest.

The versatility of the pastoral genre promises scholarly value for future researchers and allows academic engagement with its literature from the third century BC until the present day. The elemental incorporation of nature writing in the contemporary environmental debate of the early 21st century and its influence on the literary landscape and discourse testifies to the topicality of both bucolic and pastoral poetry.

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[835] Mikkelsen 2011.
[836] Basker 2002.
[837] Gray 2010.
[838] Taylor 2010.
[839] Kermes 2008.
[840] Kroes 1980.
[841] Canup 1990.

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