



**Dictynna**

Revue de poétique latine

**14 | 2017**

**Varia**

---

## 'Pastoral and its futures: reading like (a) Mantuan'

Stephen Hinds

---



### Electronic version

URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/dictynna/1443>

DOI: 10.4000/dictynna.1443

ISSN: 1765-3142

### Electronic reference

Stephen Hinds, « 'Pastoral and its futures: reading like (a) Mantuan' », *Dictynna* [Online], 14 | 2017, Online since 21 November 2017, connection on 10 September 2020. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/dictynna/1443> ; DOI : <https://doi.org/10.4000/dictynna.1443>

---

This text was automatically generated on 10 September 2020.



Les contenus de la revue *Dictynna* sont mis à disposition selon les termes de la Licence Creative Commons Attribution - Pas d'Utilisation Commerciale - Pas de Modification 4.0 International.

---

# 'Pastoral and its futures: reading like (a) Mantuan'

Stephen Hinds

---

## BAPTISTA MANTUANUS (1447-1516): THE *ADULESCENTIA*

- 1 This paper offers some glimpses of a particular moment in early modern pastoral tradition, with two purposes: first, to map the self-awareness of one post-Virgilian poet's interventions in pastoral tradition, an episode of literary historical reflexivity which I offer, as such, to Alain Deremetz, author of *Le miroir des muses*;<sup>1</sup> but also, as a second methodological emphasis, to dramatize the spacious reach of Virgilian pastoral when it is viewed in the future tense, through the history of its early modern reception, and to suggest that that spaciousness is inseparable from the idea of 'Virgil' for an interpreter of Augustan poetry today. Seen in an Augustan moment, Virgilian pastoral is the narrowly delimited *deductum carmen* within which the poet manoeuvres before his 'Virgilian career' takes him out, via the rural *didaxis* of the *Georgics*, into the cosmic vastness of epic; but seen through the early modern Latin eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus (= Battista Spagnoli Mantovano, 1447-1516), Virgilian pastoral functions not just as a point of access to the master-poet's oeuvre at large, but as a totalizing space capable of embracing everything poetic, everything Augustan, and indeed everything in the world of classical paganism and beyond. In some ways, in the early modern period, pastoral becomes not just a space but *the* space of the Greco-Roman imagination. And, for this Carmelite friar from Mantua, specifically, Virgilian pastoral becomes a space for negotiation between and among *his* worlds, poetic, political and religious.
- 2 'Old Mantuan, old Mantuan! who understandeth thee not, loves thee not': so Shakespeare's pedant-schoolmaster Holofernes (*Love's Labour's Lost*, act 4 scene 2). Mantuan published his collection of eclogues, under the title *Adulescentia*, on September 1, 1498; Shakespeare's (or Holofernes') repeated adjective is a pedagogic

prompt to remember that 'youthful' title (of which more below). Mantuan's collection is a difficult one to characterize in holistic terms, and this paper makes no claims so to characterize it. Rather my use of the *Adulescentia* will be opportunistic and synecdochic. In what follows my aim is less to explore the bucolic book of Mantuan in itself, and more to use certain junctures and vignettes in Mantuan to provoke broad if discontinuous observations about the dynamics of pastoral as a genre, both diachronically and synchronically.

## PASTORAL AND ITS PASTS

- 3 The title of my paper is paradoxical, in that pastoral (ancient as well as early modern) always shows a strong pull not toward the future but toward the past, both intertextually and intratextually: to read pastoral 'today', *aujourd'hui*, whether in a poem or a painting, whether in a masque or a fantasy of garden art, is always to be pulled into its pastness. And in no respect more so than in the association of pastoral with the *locus amoenus*; an association which becomes even more insistent in early modern pastoral than in ancient, as the template of the 'lovely landscape' causes specific rural topographies to be flattened into conventionality – as, famously, in the assimilation of once-rocky and mountainous Arcadia to the shady pools, grottoes and grassy margins expected of the genre.<sup>2</sup> We often speak of the *locus amoenus* as a 'timeless' space; but, really, it is a space oriented toward the past, and in particular toward the idealized past of the Golden Age.
- 4 We can see this backward-facing aspect of Greco-Roman rural idealism overtly negotiated in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, whose recurrent *loca amoena* are intratextually grounded both in the originary landscapes of the creation narratives of *Met.* 1, and in Jupiter's early re-greening of Arcadia itself in *Met.* 2 after the grand conflagration of Phaethon.<sup>3</sup> Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is indeed very much to the point here, since its landscapes, heavily influenced by the rural descriptions of Theocritean and Virgilian bucolic, in turn feed back into later pastoral tradition – so that (as we shall see more than once below) Mantuan's eclogues can show a *Metamorphoses* now more fully integrated than in antiquity into the discourse of pastoral.
- 5 That impulse toward pastoral pastness is multiply thematized in the *Adulescentia*. This is a collection by a poet whose very coincidence of birthplace with Virgil, embodied in his regular appellation (Baptista, called *Mantuanus*),<sup>4</sup> causes his work, from the author's name on the title page onward, to orient itself toward a Virgilian past; his title, *Adulescentia*, further thematizes the turn toward the past by presenting the poems as juvenilia (composed in his student days in Padua) which have been 'rediscovered' and (re)published by the poet in later life ('old Mantuan', to cite Shakespeare again).<sup>5</sup> The opening exchange of the *Adulescentia*'s first poem perhaps thematizes all these turns toward pastness by placing its first shepherd-singer, Faustus, in a shady woodland spot beneath a tree under which he recalls sitting four years previously, and from which we are likely to draw a memory of the opening *mise en scène* of Virgil's *First Eclogue*, *Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi* etc.:<sup>6</sup>

hic locus, haec eadem sub qua requiescimus arbor  
scit quibus ingemui curis, quibus ignibus arsi  
ante duos vel (ni memini male) quattuor annos;  
sed tibi, quando vacat, quando est iucunda relatu,  
historiam prima repetens ab origine pandam. (*Adul.* 1.6-10)<sup>7</sup>

This place, this very tree beneath which we are resting, knows with what cares I sighed, with what fires I burned two or (unless memory fails me) four years ago. But since there is leisure and the tale is pleasing to tell, going back to the first beginning, I will lay open the history for you.

## THE SELF-PURIFYING GENRE

- 6 In Mantuan's ninth eclogue the shepherds Faustus and Candidus, having migrated south from their lush northern Italian homeland to the bleak fields of Rome,

(C.) at postquam segnes agros et inertia saxa  
vidimus et siccis arentem fontibus undam,  
paenituit longaeque viae patriaeque relictæ (*Adul.* 9.9-11)

(C.) But after I saw the listless fields, lifeless stones, and dried-up springs here, I regretted my long journey and the leaving behind of my homeland

- 7 look back nostalgically on the idealized landscapes of their past:

F. o nostrae regionis opes, o florida prata,  
o campi virides, o pascua laeta feraxque  
et numquam sine fruge solum, currentia passim  
flumina per villas, rivi per rura, per hortos.  
hinc pecus, hinc agri pingues; sub sidere Cancrī,  
cum tritura sonat passim, cum Iulius ardet,  
arva virent, textae lento de vimine saepes  
poma ferunt, redolent ipsis in vepribus herbae.

C. o nemorum dulces umbrae mollesque susurri,  
quos tecum memini gelidis carpisse sub umbris  
turturis ad gemitus, ad hirundinis ac philomenae  
carmina, cum primis resonant arbusta cicadis.  
aura strepens foliis nemorum veniebat ab Euro  
et bacata super tendebat bracchia cornus.  
ipse solo recubans pecudes gestire videbam  
atque alacres teneris luctari cornibus agnos.  
post somnos per gramen humi nunc ore supino  
aut flatu implebam calamos aut voce canebar,  
pectore nunc prono rutilantia fraga legebam.

F. vivere tum felix poteris dicique beatus. (*Adul.* 9.59-78)

F. Ah, the wealth of that land of ours! its flowery meadows and green fields! its pastures rich and fertile and its soil forever fruitful! its rivers everywhere running through farms and its brooks flowing through fields and gardens! On this side flocks, on that side fertile fields. Under the sign of Cancer when the sound of threshing everywhere fills the air and July burns with heat, the fields are green, hedges woven of pliant branches support their burden of fruit, and even among the brambles the wild herbs diffuse their fragrance.

C. Ah, the sweet shade and soft murmuring of the groves! I remember gathering the delights of these with you in the cool shade to the sighs of the turtledove and the songs of the swallow and nightingale, when the copses were resounding with the first cicadas. A breeze, rustling among the leaves in the groves, came from the East, and above us a cornel tree stretched out its branches laden with berries. Lying on the earth I myself used to watch the sheep exult and the lambs contend eagerly against one another with their tender, new horns. After sleeping on the sward, sometimes, reclining on my back on the ground, I played my pipes or sang and sometimes, bent forward, I used to gather the gleaming red strawberries.

F. At that time you were able to live as a fortunate man and could be called blessed.

- 8 The flashback to shared times together in a happier time and place is a classic pastoral attitude, of a piece with the general impulse towards pastness. And Mantuan's intra-generic reminiscences of Virgil seem especially intense here, so that Faustulus' and Candidus' nostalgia for their own pasts is figured in poetological terms as nostalgia for a 'happier' time for the genre. This construction of the past of the genre as happier than the present is an effect tending towards what we might call the 'pastoralization' of pastoral, the cementing of the pastoral ideal as something *always* more secure in the past than in the present. Now this does entail a tendentious reading of Virgil's *First Eclogue*, in particular, since some of the idealized details in the lines above (specifically in 67-70, italicized) derive from Meliboeus' account, in *that* poem, of the world *he is in process of losing*.<sup>8</sup> But for most readers the main takeaway from Faustulus' and Candidus' exchange will not be those specific entailments but rather the idyllic glow of Virgilian *amoenitas* in lines 59-78 as a whole. The disruption of the pastoral world dramatized in *Adulescentia* 9 comes across *not* (in the first instance) as a reflection of disruptions already inherent in the genre, including (programmatically) in Virgil's *First Eclogue*, but as a new disruption of a genre viewed as previously tranquil – in its idealized past.
- 9 And the fact is that, structurally, as a genre of withdrawal from quotidian reality, pastoral is pre-programmed for this kind of 'self-purifying' mechanism. Consider, in microcosm, the final lines of Candidus' speech above:
- post somnos *per gramen humi* nunc ore supino  
aut flatu implebam calamos aut voce canebar,  
pectore nunc prono *rutilantia fraga* legebam. (*Adul.* 9.75-7)  
After sleeping on the sward, sometimes, reclining on my back on the ground, I  
played my pipes or sang and sometimes, bent forward, I used to gather the  
gleaming red strawberries.
- 10 These 'strawberry fields forever' recall a vignette in Virgil's *Third Eclogue* – minus a lurking danger:
- qui legitis flores et humi nascentia fraga,  
frigidus, o pueri, fugite hinc, *latet anguis in herba*. (*Virg. Ecl.* 3.92-3)  
You boys who gather flowers and strawberries that grow low to the ground, begone  
from here; a chill snake lurks in the grass.
- 11 That is to say, Mantuan has 'purified' the vignette, in intertextual recollection, by removing Virgil's snake in the grass;<sup>9</sup> as in the dialogue of Faustulus and Candidus at large, the idyllic detail must be made whole before the new poet can (re)enact its rupture.

## RUSTICITY AND HYPERRUSTICITY

- 12 Pastoral is founded, in both its Greek and its Roman versions, on a contrast between rusticity of lifestyle and urbane polish of poetic style, Virgilian *molle atque facetum*.<sup>10</sup> Hardly less foundational is a tendency in the genre for the lifestyle to *move in the direction of* the poetic style, for rural realism to clean itself up: the *Hameau de la Reine* at Versailles; Longus's Daphnis grooming the goats and polishing their horns for the arrival of the city folk in Book 4 of *Daphnis and Chloe*. It can come as a shock, then, when the herdsmen of pastoral occasionally insist on 'keeping it real'.

- 13 The following passage from *Adulescentia* 4 offers a particularly pungent moment of generic self-reflexivity (italicized below), in which the rustic dimension of Virgilian pastoral is at once acknowledged and then pressed by Mantuan to a point of parody:

*Iannus: dic Umbri, dic, si quid habes. meditare parumper  
et verba et numeros; Umbri est memorabile carmen.  
Alphus: est (ut ais) sed non gratis, memorabile carmen.  
quas referes grates? et quid mercedis habebo?  
I. accipe: promissis absolvo et spicula reddo.  
A. dum vado ad ventrem post haec carecta levandum,  
Ianne, meum tu coge pecus, ne vitibus obsit.  
I. o aries, aries, qui tortis cornibus atrum  
daemona praesentas, semper vineta subintrat.  
non sapias donec fossa tibi lumina fronte  
erueret. non sunt porrecta in iugera centum  
pascua sat, nisi pampineos populeris et agros.  
A. Ianne, recordatus redeo ... (Adul. 4.82-94)  
Iannus: If you have any song of Umber's, pray sing it. For a little while rehearse both  
its words and measures. A song of Umber's is worthy of being remembered.  
Alphus: It is (as you say) a song memorable, but not free. What thanks will you give  
me? What reward will I have?  
I. Take these things: I free you from your promises and give back your arrows.  
A. While I go to relieve my bowels behind that sedge there, keep together my flock,  
Iannus, lest they harm the vines.  
I. Ah, ram, ram – you who with your twisted horns bring to mind a dark devil – you  
are forever stealing into our vineyards! Until I have plucked your eyes out, you  
won't know any better! A hundred acres of pasture aren't enough unless you have  
ravaged the vineyards and fields.  
A. I'm back, Iannus, and have recalled Umber's song ...*

- 14 Let me explain. In the passage here excerpted, a typical pastoral transaction is taking place: as part of a song-exchange Alphus has agreed to relay a *carmen* by the master-shepherd Umber in return for a gift from his fellow-herdsman Iannus. We are ready for Alphus to begin the song; but instead he interposes (lines 87-8, in a slightly heightened paraphrase), 'Just a minute, Iannus: mind my flock while I go behind that tall grass over there for a quick shit'. The *language* of the interposition is from an address by Menalcas to Damoetas in Virgil's *Third Eclogue*, *carecta* and all (italics below),

*Menalcas: quid domini faciant, audent cum talia fures?  
non ego te vidi Damonis, pessime, caprum  
excipere insidiis, multum latrante Lycisca?  
et cum clamarem 'quo nunc se proripit ille?  
Tityre, coge pecus', tu post carecta latebas (Virg. Ecl. 3.16-20)  
Menalcas: What can owners do, when thieves are so daring? Didn't I see you, lowlife,  
trapping Damon's goat, while his mongrel Lycisca barked madly? And when I  
shouted: 'Where is that fellow off to? Tityrus, keep together the flock!' you were  
skulking behind the sedge*

- 15 ... but the bowel movement, emphatically, is not. What is going on? Mantuan has picked up a 'rustic' moment in Virgil's *Eclogues* and taken its rusticity to a new and unpoetic level. Virgil's thieving herdsman was up to no good behind *his* tall grass, but he did not, like Mantuan's, go so far as to allow the alimentary pressures of everyday field work to interrupt the pastoral idyll.<sup>11</sup>
- 16 It is significant that Mantuan's intervention is directed at a moment near the start of Virgil's *Third Eclogue*, in particular, a poem whose opening words were flagged for an

alleged 'rusticity' as early as the parodic *Antibucolica* of Numitorius (which Mantuan will have known from the Suetonian-Donatan *Life of Virgil*):<sup>12</sup>

M. dic mihi, Damoeta, cuium pecus? an Meliboei?

D. non, verum Aegonis; nuper mihi tradidit Aegon. (Virg. *Ecl.* 3.1-2)

M. Tell me, Damoetas, who owns the flock? is it Meliboeus's?

D. No, but Aegon's. Aegon turned it over to me just now.

dic mihi, Damoeta: 'cuium pecus' anne Latinum?

non, verum Aegonis nostri, sic rure loquuntur. (Numit. *Antibuc.* fr.2)

Tell me, Damoetas, *cuium pecus*, is it correct Latin? – No, it's our Aegon's, that's how they speak in the country.

- 17 Indeed, that Virgilian *incipit* (which I now quote at greater length) will itself be picked up in one of the later poems of the *Adulescentia*:

M. dic mihi, Damoeta, cuium pecus? an Meliboei?

D. non, verum Aegonis; *nuper mihi tradidit Aegon*.

M. infelix o semper, oves, pecus! ipse Neaeram

dum fovet ac, ne me sibi praeferat illa, veretur,

hic alienus ovis custos bis mulget in hora,

et sucus pecori et lac subducitur agnis. (Virg. *Ecl.* 3.1-6)

M. Tell me, Damoetas, who owns the flock? is it Meliboeus's?

D. No, but Aegon's. Aegon just now handed it over to me.

M. Poor sheep, unlucky all the time! While your master fondles Neaera, and is afraid that she prefers me to him, this hired keeper milks his ewes twice an hour, and the flock are robbed of their strength and the lambs of their milk.

(*Candidus*:) ... de vertice Baldi

saepe melampodion legi; medicina capellis

nulla magis praesens. *quondam Valsasinus Aegon*

tradidit hoc, dum vere sues castraret et agnos;

tradidit et dixit, 'solus medicamen habeto'. (*Adul.* 8.16-20)

(*Candidus*:) From Baldo's peak I have often gathered black hellebore – no medicine is better for my goats. Aegon from Val Sasina once handed over this herb to me when he was castrating pigs and lambs in the springtime. He handed it over to me and said, 'Keep this medicine as yours alone'.

- 18 Both passages concern cooperative animal husbandry, in both cases involving interaction (flagged by verbal repetition) with an identically named Aegon (*quondam ... Aegon / tradidit; nuper mihi tradidit Aegon*).<sup>13</sup> Virgil's Aegon engages in an erotic dalliance, to the detriment of his flocks; Mantuan's Aegon (here seen recommending a herbal purgative, 17 *melampodion*) engages (19) in the castration of pigs and young sheep. Although the Aegon of *Adulescentia* 8 is a better farmer than his Virgilian namesake, his effectiveness comes at a certain cost to pastoral decorum. Virgil's *Third Eclogue* may be at the 'rustic' end of his bucolic range, and notoriously so, but again Mantuan's moment of imitation has added an unwonted edge: as Lee Piepho remarks, 'Arcadia's gentle shepherds never castrate sheep and swine'.<sup>14</sup>
- 19 Two episodes, then, of generic 'staining';<sup>15</sup> and in each case the Virgilian model-passage, on a reread, perhaps becomes *more like* Mantuan's imitation. In revisiting the Virgilian version of the *carecta* vignette, the reader fresh from the *Adulescentia* may now wonder if Virgil's thieving herdsman was himself having a quiet bowel movement as he hid behind the tall grasses in *Ecl.* 3.20; in the case of the first Aegon's flocks, Menalcas' regretful *infelix o semper, oves, pecus* (*Ecl.* 3.3) may now read as a wry comment on the lambs' loss of their testicles *chez* Mantuan rather than on the consequences, *chez* Virgil, of their deprivation of milk.

- 20 The other thing to add here, parenthetically, is that the 'shit' in *Adulescentia* 4, despite its offence against the decorum of pastoral representation, is itself highly stylized: this is one of the most overdetermined bowel movements in literature. The song of Umber, which Alphus manages to recall while he is doing his business behind the *carecta* (4.94), is a 130-line-long satirical tirade against women (frequently translated in the years which followed), whose hijacking of the rest of the poem constitutes an interruption and disruption of the pastoral project; and the penultimate item in Umber's long catalogue of misogyny is a characterization of women as Harpies, ... who (he alleges) cover the entire world with the filthy stream from their bowels (4.236-9, esp. 236-7 *quae ventre soluto / proluvie foeda ...*). An editorializing ring-composition, in effect, which retrospectively defines the poem's long tail as a self-conscious cross-generic experiment in the 'alimentary' modes of satire and invective.
- 21 Finally on hyperrusticity, after the pastoral 'ungrammaticalities' of bathroom breaks and animal castration I end this section with an exchange between two of Mantuan's shepherds, Candidus and Alphus, again in *Adulescentia* 8, about a perceived impropriety of linguistic usage (the matter at issue is the proper conduct of a service of religious thanksgiving):<sup>16</sup>
- C. quid ni aliquid dandum est? opus est *persolvere crates*.  
 A. *rusticus es*, 'crates' etenim pro 'gratibus' inquis.  
 C. 'crates' et 'grates' parvo discrimine distant. (*Adul.* 8.158-60)  
 C. Why shouldn't we offer something? We ought to give our harrows.  
 A. You're a rustic indeed: you said 'harrows' [*crates*] instead of 'thanks' [*grates*].  
 C. *Crates* and *grates* – the words are very close to one another.
- 22 Behind Alphus' reproof, flagged with the Virgilian bucolic tag *rusticus es ...*, lies a memory of an actual locution, an epic one, in the *Aeneid*: 1.600 *grates persolvere dignas*.<sup>17</sup> And again Mantuan, in making one shepherd call out another shepherd's 'rusticity' of expression, has made us think of Virgil's own paratextual tradition: *sic rure loquuntur*, as Numitorius said of the *Third Eclogue*'s *cuium pecus*.<sup>18</sup>

## 'GO THOU TO ROME'

*Tityrus*: urbem quam dicunt Romam, Meliboeus, putavi  
 stultus ego huic nostrae similem, quo saepe solemus  
 pastores ovium teneros depellere fetus ...

*Meliboeus*: et quae tanta fuit Romam tibi causa videndi? (Virg. *Ecl.* 1.19-21, 26)

*Tityrus*: The city which they call Rome, Meliboeus, I foolishly thought was like this  
 of ours, whither we shepherds are often wont to drive the tender younglings of our  
 flocks ...

*Meliboeus*: And what was your great reason for seeing Rome?

- 23 The opposition between the country and the city is hardwired into pastoral from Virgil's *First Eclogue* on, an opposition which represents a stylization and thematization of the genre's actual origins as rural poetry produced by cosmopolitan poets in the Hellenistic world-city – as touched on at the start of the previous section. But Rome is not just any city, nor indeed just any world-city. The 'future' that Virgil could not know includes the changing face of Rome itself – as historical force and as contested symbol – through many centuries to come. In particular, the associations of ecclesiastical politics and polemic which Rome will bring for many early modern pastoral poets, including Mantuan, are in one sense an irrelevance to and a distraction from the original connotations of Virgilian pastoral. And yet Virgil's Rome too was a *locus* of combined



political and religious power, a *locus* in which there were (in the very years that he was writing his early works) clear winners and losers. When (in a recurrent preoccupation) Rome represents to Mantuan's shepherds the opportunities, and more especially the dangers, afforded by the *Vrbs* to those who venture thither, including a Carmelite reformer like the real-life Baptista Mantuanus himself, the same basic patterns of history underlie this as underlay Virgil's *First Eclogue*, alongside and despite the temporal gulf that separates them.

- 24 And this provides a context within which to read the *Adulescentia*'s own moments of self-conscious negotiation between ancient and modern Rome. To Mantuan's *Candidus* in poem 5, Augustus has perished:

*Silvanus*: *Candide, vidisti Romam sanctique senatus  
pontifices, ubi tot vates, ubi copia rerum  
tantarum? facile est illis ditescere campis.*

*Candidus*: *deciperis me velle putans ditescere ...  
fac habeam tenuem sine sollicitudine victum;  
hoc contentus eam. Romana palatia vidi,  
sed quid Roma, putas, mihi proderit? o Silvane,  
occidit Augustus numquam rediturus ab Orco. (Adul. 5.111-14, 118-21)*

*Silvanus*: *Candidus, have you seen Rome and the prelates of its holy court where there are so many poets, so much abundance? It is easy to grow wealthy in those fields.*

*Candidus*: *You are deceived in thinking I want to grow wealthy ... Give me a slender diet without care, with this I will live content. I have seen Rome's palaces. But in what respect do you suppose Rome will help me? Oh Silvanus, Augustus has perished, never will he return from Orcus.*

- 25 To Mantuan's *Faustulus* in poem 9, ancient Rome itself is dead and gone, its springs emblematically dried up, and its famed urban water-supply in ruins:

*... laudatae gloria Roma  
quanta sit in toto non est qui nesciat orbe;  
fama quidem manet, utilitas antiqua recessit.  
illa prisca quibus maduerunt pascua fontes  
nunc umore carent, venis aqua defuit haustis,  
nulla pluit nubes, Tiberis non irrigat agros,  
tempus aquaeductus veteres contrivit et arcus  
et castella ruunt; procul hinc, procul ite, capellae.  
hic ieiuna fames et languida regnat egestas. (Adul. 9.203-11)*

In the whole world there is no one ignorant of how great is Rome's glory. Her fame indeed remains, her former usefulness has passed away. Those springs by which the ancient pasturelands used to be moistened now lack water, their channels drained dry. Clouds pour down none of their rain, the Tiber does not irrigate the fields, time has worn down the old aqueducts, arches and fortresses are collapsing in ruins. Away, goats, get away hence! Here reign lean famine and dull poverty.

- 26 And yet, directly afterwards, the same poem holds out hope that a benefactor like Augustus (the *Falco* named in poem 9's title, *Falcone de' Sinibaldi*<sup>19</sup>) may be about to bring the hope of deliverance once offered at Rome by a certain *iuvenis* to that first shepherd who made the journey to the *Vrbs*, Virgil's *Tityrus*. The point is underlined by near-quotation, emphasized below (and simultaneously reinforced and qualified by a nod to the *First Eclogue*'s displaced *Meliboeus* in the immediately preceding lines):<sup>20</sup>

*hic tamen (ut fama est et nos quoque vidimus ipsi)  
pastor adest quadam ducens ex alite nomen,  
lanigeri pecoris dives, ditissimus agri ...*

*credimus hunc illi similem cui Tityrus olim  
bis senos fumare dies altaria fecit.* ( *Adul.* 9.212-14, 220-1)

And yet here – for such is the rumour, and I have seen him myself – there is present a shepherd to help us, a shepherd who takes his name from a certain bird, a man rich in woolbearing flocks, most rich in land ... I believe this man to be like that one for whom Tityrus once long ago caused his altars to smoke twice six days.

- 27 Such currents and counter-currents are the very stuff of pastoral. Both within the poems of Mantuan under consideration here, and through all the versions of the gravitational pull that brings pastoral to Rome subsequent to Virgil's *First Eclogue* – imperial and neo-imperial, Catholic, Protestant, Romantic – , it can be argued that these historical associations tend to feel cumulative rather than mutually self-cancelling.<sup>21</sup> And what a student of reception might suggest is that it is in principle impossible for a reader of Augustan poetry today (*la poésie augustéenne aujourd'hui*, in the title of the Lille conference) to disentangle the 'pull' of Rome in Virgil's *First Eclogue* from some or all of those futures, whether post-Tityran or post-Meliboean:

Go thou to Rome, – at once the Paradise,  
The grave, the city, and the wilderness. (Percy Bysshe Shelley, *Adonais* 433-4)

- 28 Mantuan actually gives to one of his poems, *Adulescentia* 6, the subtitle *De disceptatione rusticorum et civium*; and this may be as good a place as any to register a remarkable conceit within that eclogue which bears indirectly upon the theme of the present section:

(Cornix:) ... omnibus urbs est  
fons et origo malis. descendit ab urbe Lycaon,  
Deucalion Pyrrha cum coniuge rusticus. ille  
intulit illuviem terris, hic abstulit; ille  
abstulit humanum terris genus, intulit iste.  
si terra (ut perhibent) flammis abolebitur umquam,  
istud grande nefas ulla descendet ab urbe. (*Adul.* 6.245-51)

(Cornix:) The city is the fount and source of all evil. Lycaon arose from the city. Deucalion and his wife, Pyrrha, were countrybred. Lycaon brought a flood on the earth, Deucalion put an end to it. Lycaon put an end to the human race on the earth, Deucalion restored it. If (as men assert) the earth is ever destroyed by fire, that great horror will arise from the deeds of some city.

- 29 Consider (with my emphases) what Mantuan has done in the lines just quoted. The origin of the dispute between country and city has been pushed back to a time *before* Rome, a time before Alexandria, to the origins of the human species itself. Through an invocation of the proto-pastoralism of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (discussed by me earlier), Deucalion and Pyrrha now become archetypes of the country-dweller, and perhaps the pastoral genre's first 'couple'; but the real paradox comes in the identification of their Ovidian anti-type Lycaon as the primal exemplar not just of original sin, but of the sins of *urbanism* in particular. Lycaon was an early ruler of an early city; indeed, on one ancient tradition (preserved in Pausanias), it was he who founded the world's *very first city*. A geographical paradox underlies Mantuan's mythic aetiology of the rural-urban conflict, then, even if he does not quite spell it out: namely, that the *urbs* which started all the trouble was located (where else?) in the heart of Arcadia.<sup>22</sup>

## (RE)PASTORALIZING AUGUSTAN EROTICS

30 Some of the energy of Virgilian pastoral, especially in the *Tenth Eclogue*, comes from a creative tension between bucolic epos and erotic elegy, a tension the harder to decode because of our uncertainty about whether or how much the pre-Virgilian elegy of Gallus was already 'pastoralized'.<sup>23</sup> As part of the operation of 'big tent pastoral', whereby the genre evolves into a catch-all for anything classical or classicizing that can serve an early modern poetic vision, the *non*-pastoral erotic verse of Augustan Rome (up to and including that of Ovid) is in later practice effortlessly assimilated to a pastoral *mise en scène* – so that any ancient tension between pastoral and adjacent genres ceases to be operative. ... Or does it?

31 Consider this self-depiction in poem 3 of Mantuan's *Adulescentia*, subtitled *De insani amoris exitu infelici*, of a cowherd (Amyntas) afflicted by an excess of erotic passion:

*o me felicem*, si, cum mea fata vocabunt,  
in gremio dulcique sinu niveisque lacertis  
saltem anima caput hoc languens abeunte iaceret;  
illa sua nobis morientia lumina dextra  
clauderet et tristi fleret mea funera voce. (*Adul.* 3.103-7)

Oh happy my lot if, when fate calls me, I could at least lay my languishing head, my soul then departing, on her lap, sweet breasts, and in her snow-white arms! With her right hand she would close my dying eyes, and with a sad voice she would bewail my death.

32 Notably, this does not present itself just as a random piece of excessive erotica, but as a specific evocation of Augustan elegiac *Liebestod* – with its situational allusions to near-necrophiliac embrace, predominantly Tibullan,<sup>24</sup> headed up by the cited *incipit* of a famous (if more upbeat) poem by that even more assiduous Augustan elegist of love and death, Propertius (2.15.1 *o me felicem*, *o nox mihi candida* ... 'oh happy my lot, oh night bright for me ...'). And what shows a sense of generic discrimination is that this markedly elegiac passion is presented in Mantuan's poem as an active obstruction to or distraction from the proper pursuits of pastoral – a reinvention of Virgil's *Tenth Eclogue*, one might say, for a collection in which the religious allegorization of the genre has raised the moral (as well as the literary) stakes on episodes of erotic misadventure. (Not only will Amyntas soon die of his passion, but his dead body, unburied, will be devoured by birds and wild beasts: 3.151-5.)

33 To move from Tibullus and Propertius to Ovid, and from erotic elegy to the erotic myths of the *Metamorphoses*, consider now a passage in the preceding *Adulescentia* 2, subtitled *De amoris insania*, which forms a pair with *Adulescentia* 3. His fellow herdsman Fortunatus is explaining how Amyntas first set eyes upon the girl who robbed him of his senses, while he was searching the countryside for a lost bull:

*ah puer infelix*, aestus te maior in umbra  
corripit. nudam videas ne in fonte Dianam,  
claudere oculos, blandis neu des Sirenibus aurem.  
sors tua Narcisso similis: Narcissus in undis  
dum sedare sitim properat, sitit amplius; at tu  
exteriorem aestum fugiens intinsecus ardes.  
quam melius fuerat (nisi te sic fata tulissent)  
ad reliquum rediisse pecus, servasse iuencas,  
amissi bovis aequo animo dispendia ferre  
quam, dum conaris nil perdere, perdere te ipsum. (*Adul.* 2.81-90)

Ah, unfortunate boy, within the shade a greater heat will lay hold of you! Close your eyes lest you see Diana naked in the fountain, lend not your ear to the seductive Sirens. Your fate is like Narcissus'. Narcissus, while he hastened to ease his thirst within the waters, thirsted still more. You, however, fleeing an outward heat, burn inwardly. How much better had it been (had not fate thus carried you off) to have returned to your abandoned herd, watched over your heifers, and endured with equanimity the cost of your lost bull, than, in trying to lose nothing, to lose your very self!

- 34 An explicit pair of allusions to the myths of Actaeon and Narcissus, canonically juxtaposed in Book 3 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,<sup>25</sup> is preceded by an apostrophe (italicized) which makes *implicit* allusion to the myth of Pasiphae in the *Sixth Eclogue* of Virgil: the *ah puer infelix* addressed by Mantuan, like the *a virgo infelix* famously addressed by Virgil, is on the track of an elusive bull (though not with the same end in view ...).<sup>26</sup> That is, the main line of allusion in this passage is to an erotic complex in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; but the verbal trace of the *Sixth Eclogue*'s apostrophe simultaneously reaffirms for Mantuan an intra-generic point of departure in Virgilian pastoral – even though Pasiphae is herself also assimilable (via *Ars Amatoria* 1) to a wholly Ovidian poetic.
- 35 These mythic allusions, both implicit and explicit, bring into Mantuan's *Adulescentia* an enlarged range of Augustan erotic representation; but that is not to say that their 'pastoralization' is entirely unproblematic. Just as Pasiphae's hair-raising version of animal husbandry sat uneasily in Virgil's *Eclogues*, so here Mantuan's Christian pastoral cannot but be threatened by new evocations of some of Augustan poetry's most extreme case-studies in erotic disorder (voyeurism,<sup>27</sup> self-love, bestiality). Amyntas' doomed passion (*ah puer infelix!*) both is and is not capable of being accommodated by the genre.

## PERFORMING CHRISTIANIZATION

- 36 'La venue même du Christ n'a rien qui étonne quand on a lu Virgile' (Sainte-Beuve). Proto-Christian Virgil has been around ever since the first 'messianic' readings of the *Fourth Eclogue* in late antiquity. To such an extent that, for a reader of Latin poetry today, it takes an almost wilful effort of historicization to *exclude* 'Christian Virgil' from our readings of the poet, from *Eclogues* to *Aeneid*: even in our modern scholarly world Virgil is almost always *un Virgile moralisé*. In particular, the morphing of Virgilian bucolic into Christian pastoral over the centuries, the superimposition of the Judaeo-Christian *pastor* on to the poetic herdsmen of Greco-Roman antiquity (Virgil's especially), is a move so thoroughly naturalized that it can feel like an act of critical reductiveness to read the *Eclogues* *apart from* these medieval and (early) modern futures.
- 37 What interests me in this section (as a specific twist upon that tradition) is the way in which, in his seventh poem (subtitled *De conversione iuvenum ad religionem, cum iam auctor ad religionem aspiraret*), the Carmelite Mantuan has his shepherds *renegotiate* the Christianization of pastoral, dramatizing and 'performing' it as if anew. In the following passage, early in the poem, one of the two interlocutors, Galbula, is relating what he learned from the herdsman-sage UMBER about God's plan for and love of the world's 'first shepherd' (14 *ovium primus pastor*):

sic profecit apud Superos, sic numina flexit,  
 ut fuerit primo mundi nascentis ab ortu  
 tempus ad hoc caelo pecoris gratissima cura.  
Assyrios quosdam (sed nescio nomina; curae  
diminuunt animum) Deus ex pastoribus olim  
 constituit reges qui postea murice et auro  
 conspicui gentes bello domuere superbas.  
 cum Paris Iliaca tria numina vidit in Ida  
(aut Paris aut alius puerum qui obtruncat ad aram)  
 pastor erat. quando caelesti exterritus igne  
 venit ad ostentum pedibus per pascua nudis,  
 pastor erat Moses, Moses a flumine tractus.  
 exul apud Graios Amphrysia pastor Apollo  
 rura peragravit posito deitatis honore.  
 caelestes animi Christo ad praesepia nato  
 in caulis cecinere Deum pastoribus ortum,  
 et nova divini partus miracula docti  
 pastores primi natum videre Tonantem,  
 et sua pastores infans Regnator Olympi  
 ante magos regesque dedit cunabula scire.  
 se quoque pastorem Deus appellavit, ovesque  
 mitibus ingeniis homines et mentibus aequis. (Adul. 7.20-41)

He so advanced himself in the eyes of the gods, he so bent their will, that from the world's beginning to this day the tending of sheep has been most pleasing to Heaven. Certain Assyrians – ah, I don't know their names! care has shattered my thoughts – God once made from shepherds into kings who, splendid afterwards in purple and gold, conquered proud nations in war. When on Trojan Ida Paris viewed the three goddesses – either Paris or that other man who slays a boy at an altar – he was a shepherd. When Moses, terrified by the fire from heaven, came barefooted through the fields to reveal this miracle, Moses, plucked once from the river, was a shepherd. An exile among the Greeks, Apollo traversed Amphrysus' fields as a shepherd, the honour of his godhead put aside. When Christ was born in a stable, heavenly spirits sang to shepherds in their sheepfolds of the birth of God the Son. And when they had learned of the recent miracle of his divine birth, shepherds were the first to see the newborn Thunderer, and, before wise men and kings, the infant Ruler of Olympus allowed shepherds to behold his cradle. God called himself too a shepherd, and he called sheep those men of mild disposition and balanced mind.

- 38 Galbula here narrates a history of the *pastor* which *juxtaposes* classical exemplars (Paris on Ida in 28, Apollo tending the herds of Admetus in 32-3) with the patriarchs of the Old Testament (23-6, as treated below; 29-31 Moses), with the shepherds of the New Testament who first saw Christ (34-9), and finally with Christ himself (40-1). And what is especially piquant in these lines is the difficulty that Mantuan's speaker seems to have in coming up with the biblical names – whether his horizons are represented as limited by rustic artlessness or (in metapoetic terms) by a hangover of pagan Latinity.
- 39 Thus line 23 of poem 7 (with my underlining), *Assyrios quosdam (sed nescio nomina ...)*, where it is left to Mantuan's early commentator Badius helpfully to supply the elusive 'Assyrian' names, viz. Abraham, Lot and Jacob.<sup>28</sup> Thus also line 28 (again underlined) *aut Paris aut alius puerum qui obtruncat ad aram*, where Galbula seems to be reaching for the biblical story of Abraham and Isaac (so again Badius), but again to be unable to retrieve the names. In this latter case, there is an allusive twist: despite Badius' gloss, a clear Virgilian intertext<sup>29</sup> irresistibly but irrelevantly points to a different name that fits the bill:

iamque aderit multo Priami de sanguine Pyrrhus,  
 natum ante ora patris, patrem qui obtruncat ad aras. (Virg. *Aen.* 2.662-3)  
 And soon will come Pyrrhus, steeped in the blood of Priam, he who slays the son  
 before the face of the father, and the father at the altar.

40 *aut Paris aut ... Pyrrhus?* Hardly, despite the shared Trojan context; but the allusion, deictic pointing and all, is a witty metapoetic dramatization of the hazards of cultural interference between classical and Christian Latin, between one Mantuan and another.

41 There is a more general point to be made here, which will come up in the next (and final) section too. Galbula's moments of artless *aporia* (*sed nescio nomina ...*, *aut Paris aut alius ...*) have the effect of *denaturing* Mantuan's routine use, late in the passage above, of classical nomenclature for the infant Christian deity, which might otherwise pass unremarked as standard neo-Latin conventionality:

pastores primi natum videre Tonantem,  
 et sua pastores infans Regnator Olympi  
 ante magos regesque dedit cunabula scire. (*Adul.* 7.37-9)

42 37 *Tonantem*, 38 *Regnator Olympi*: such are the terms that Mantuan here uses of the final shepherd in the series, Christ himself, (un)problematically defined in the classicizing language of Roman paganism ... and of Virgil.<sup>30</sup>

## TRANSLATING VIRGINS, WITH VIRGIL

43 To stick with the same eclogue, a related question of identification and naming, an important one, hangs over *Adulescentia* 7 as a whole. The poem is framed as a conversation between Galbula and Alphus about a mysterious epiphany experienced by their fellow-herdsman Pollux:

(A.) ... ferunt illum, pecudes dum solus in agris  
 pasceret, effigiem quandam vidisse deorum.  
 cetera non memini, sed tu quid, Galbula, sentis? (*Adul.* 7.6-8)

(A.) They say that, while he pastured his sheep alone in the fields he saw some sort of divine apparition. I don't remember the rest – but you, Galbula, what do you think?

44 Running away from home, but pulled this way and that by the tugs of a recent disappointment in love, Pollux encounters a mysterious *virgo* in a forest; and Mantuan, via Galbula, unfolds the story as another post-Virgilian performance of Christianization.

45 Who is this *virgo*? We are not explicitly told until the eighth poem, *Adul.* 8.78-80 (quoted a little below) – where it will emerge that Pollux's vision was of the Queen of Heaven, the Virgin Mary, mother of Christ. For now, still in poem 7, a series of 'staged' clues guides us towards recognition (or misrecognition) of the epiphany:

*fronde sub Herculea fessus maerore sedebat;*  
*ecce puellari virgo stipata corona*  
*ora, manus, oculos habitumque simillima Nymphae,*  
*et tali affata est puerum sermone dolentem:*  
 'Care puer, quo tendis iter? vestigia verte ...' (*Adul.* 7.88-92)

Under Hercules' leafy boughs he sat wearied by mourning. And behold! there stood a maiden thronged by a circle of girls, her face, hands, eyes and mien most like to a Nymph. And thus she addressed the grieving lad: 'Dear boy, where are you directing your course? Turn around ...'

- 46 In line 88 the encounter with the *virgo* is located *fronde sub Herculea*: that is, under the leaves of a poplar,<sup>31</sup> but also, as the earliest commentator points out, an allusion to the story of Hercules at the crossroads, flagging the upcoming scene as one of moral choice.<sup>32</sup> Then in line 90 the *virgo* is described as *ora, manus, oculos habitumque simillima Nymphae*. At this point, in an early modern eclogue which mobilizes an enlarged Virgilian pastoral intertext, we know exactly where we are: not with Mantuan's Pollux but with Virgil's Aeneas:

cui mater media sese tulit obvia silva,  
 virginis os habitumque gerens et virginis arma ... (Virg. *Aen.* 1.314-15)  
 across whose path, in the midst of the forest, came his mother, with a maiden's face  
 and mien, and a maiden's weapons ...

- 47 The allusion sends us to the most sylvan scene in the first book of the *Aeneid*, at the moment when Virgil's Aeneas, like Mantuan's Pollux, has just encountered a mysterious *virgo* in a forest: but is she a maiden huntress, a votary of Diana, or is she a goddess, Diana herself ...?

'o quam te memorem, virgo? namque haud tibi vultus  
 mortalis, nec vox hominum sonat; o dea certe!  
 an Phoebi soror? an Nympharum sanguinis una? ...' (*Aen.* 1.327-9)  
 'But how am I to address you, maiden? for your face is not mortal nor has your  
 voice a human ring: o goddess surely! sister of Phoebus? or one of the race of  
 Nymphs? ...'

- 48 Well, as Aeneas eventually finds out, neither of the above: she is of course his mother Venus *disguised* as a maiden huntress. And now Mantuan, reworking the scene for Pollux, tweaks this question of identification into a transcultural puzzle: when is a Virgilian virgin goddess also a Virgilian mother goddess? Answer: *either* when she is Aeneas's mother Venus in disguise, *or* when she is the Virgin Mary, mother of God.<sup>33</sup>

- 49 In the following, eighth poem (as noted), another conversation between shepherds will revisit the puzzle of the epiphany to make the Christian identification explicit:

(Alphus:) sed quod montanis de religionibus inquis  
 rettulit in mentem quae de Polluce feruntur.  
 quae dea, si nosti, visa est, quae, Candide, Nympha? ...  
 Candidus: non erat illa Dryas neque Libethris nec Oreas;  
 venerat e caelo Superum Regina, Tonantis  
 Mater, anhelanti pacem latura iuventae. (*Adul.* 8.67-9, 78-80)  
 (Alphus:) But what you said about religious devotion in the mountains brings to  
 mind what men are saying about Pollux. What goddess (if you know), what Nymph,  
 Candidus, appeared to him? ...  
 Candidus: She was neither Dryad, Libethrid nor Oread.<sup>34</sup> From Heaven she came,  
 Queen of the Gods above, Mother of the Thunderer, destined to bring peace to the  
 young men who thirst for it.

- 50 The Queen of Heaven, the mother of Christ: this, Candidus affirms, is the vision that Pollux saw. Not that the Virgilian shadow is altogether forgotten: the wording of Alphus' question at 69, *quae dea ... quae, Candide, Nympha?*, reaches behind Pollux to remind us of the 'original' epiphany of Venus, and of Aeneas' attempt to read it: *Aen.* 1.328-9 *o dea certe! ... an Nympharum sanguinis una?*

- 51 In the verses just quoted, note how that allusive reminder in 69 of the contribution of *Aeneid* 1 is followed by a more routine classicization of the Marian epiphany in Candidus' use of the pagan-to-Christian title *Tonantis / Mater* (79-80) to describe the Queen of Heaven (I here resume a point from the end of my previous section). Note also



how Candidus, less routinely, proceeds in the immediately following lines to follow up his initial response with a veritable torrent of syncretic theological exegesis:

huic [i.e. Superum Reginae] Tethys, huic alma Ceres famulantur, et ipse  
 Aeolus aequoreis ventos qui frenat in antris.  
 hanc Deus astrorum flammis super atque volantes  
 Solis equos, supra fulgentem Cassiopeiam  
 extulit et sacram bis seno sidere frontem  
 cinxit et adiecit subter vestigia lunam. (*Adul.* 8.81-6)

She is waited upon by Tethys and life-giving Ceres, by Aeolus himself, who bridles the winds in his sea-caves. God has lifted her above the fires of the stars and the Sun's flying horses and beyond glittering Cassiopeia. He has bound her sacred forehead with twice six stars and has cast the moon under her feet.

- 52 Candidus has had the advantage of a briefing from Pollux, the recipient of the vision. But what is poor Alphus, Candidus' present interlocutor, to make of all this information? Shepherds who talk like humanists and learned churchmen may be par for the course in early modern pastoral (in this they take their cue from the herdsmen of Greco-Roman bucolic, never just herdsmen either). Mantuan, to his credit, is not a poet to exploit that age-old convention and disjunction without editorializing on it:

A. Candide, *mira canis nullis pastoribus umquam  
 cognita*. quid Tethys? quid fulgens Cassiopeia?  
 Aeolus aequoreis ventos quis frenat in antris?  
 qui sunt Solis equi? *magna atque ignota recenses*.

C. sidera sunt partim, partim sunt numina prisca. (*Adul.* 8.87-91)

A. Candidus, you sing of wonders unknown ever to any shepherd. What's Tethys? What's glittering Cassiopeia? Who's Aeolus, who bridles the winds in his sea caves? Who are the horses of the Sun? Great and unknown matters you recount.

C. Some are constellations, some gods of old.

- 53 To Alphus, evidently, Candidus' 'clarification' of the Marian epiphany has brought more questions than answers. As in *Adulescentia* 7, Mantuan *restages* the Christianization of pagan pastoral<sup>35</sup> by testing his shepherds with a mixed bag of classical and biblical learning (and this time it is the classical rather than the biblical names that form the stumbling-block: Tethys, Cassiopeia, Aeolus ...). As the poem goes on, further explanation will be offered, to Mantuan's shepherds and readers alike; but the above moment of interpretative *aporia* is still, for the poetics of pastoral, a telling one. I close my very partial look at the *Adulescentia* with this multi-tasking passage, in which Alphus has expressed his astonishment at an intervention and epiphany *so far beyond the knowledge* of any shepherd, while the poet blurs the question of whether that missing knowledge is of Marian devotion, or of Virgilian divine machinery, or a bit of both.<sup>36</sup> Transculturality, lost and found: to read like a Mantuan, whether in Virgil's time, in Battista Spagnoli's or *aujourd'hui*, is to experience the pastoral tradition as an ongoing and far-reaching conversation, between and across codes, always familiar, always open to defamiliarization.



---

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barchiesi, Alessandro (2006), 'Music for monsters: Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, bucolic evolution, and 'bucolic criticism', in M. Fantuzzi and T. Papanghelis, eds., *Brill's Companion to Greek and Latin Pastoral*, Leiden, 403-25
- Clausen, Wendell (1994), ed., *Virgil: Eclogues*, Oxford
- Coleman, Robert (1977), ed., *Virgil: Eclogues*, Cambridge
- Cucchiarelli, Andrea (2012), ed., *Publio Virgilio Marone. Le Bucoliche*, Rome
- Deramaix, Marc (1984), *Théologie et poétique: le De partu Virginis de Jacques Sannazar dans l'histoire de l'humanisme napolitain*. Thèse de doctorat inédite, Paris
- Fabre-Serris, Jacqueline (2008), *Rome, l'Arcadie et la mer des Argonautes*, Villeneuve-d'Ascq
- Fulkerson, Laurel (2012), 'Pastoral appropriation and assimilation in Ovid's Apollo and Daphne episode', *Trends in Classics* 4, 29-47
- Gowers, Emily (2012), ed., *Horace: Satires Book 1*, Cambridge
- Grant, W. Leonard (1965), *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral*, Chapel Hill
- Hinds, Stephen (1998), *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry*, Cambridge
- Hinds, Stephen (2002), 'Landscape with figures: aesthetics of place in the *Metamorphoses* and its tradition', in P. Hardie, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid*, Cambridge, 122-49
- Hinds, Stephen (2014), 'The self-conscious cento', in M. Formisano and T. Fuhrer, eds., *Décadence: 'Decline and Fall' or 'Other Antiquity'*, Heidelberg, 171-97
- Hubbard, Thomas K. (1998), *The Pipes of Pan: Intertextuality and Literary Filiation in the Pastoral Tradition from Theocritus to Milton*, Ann Arbor
- Mustard, Wilfrid P. (1911), ed., *The Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*, Baltimore
- Piepho, Lee (1989), ed. and tr., *Adulescentia: The Eclogues of Mantuan*, New York and London
- Putnam, Michael C.J. (2009), ed. and tr., *Jacopo Sannazaro: Latin Poetry*, Cambridge, Mass.
- Richlin, Amy (1992), *The Gardens of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor*, rev. ed., Oxford
- Severi, Andrea (2010), studio, edizione e traduzione, *Battista Spagnoli Mantovano: Adulescentia*, Bologna

## NOTES

1. This is a lightly revised and augmented version of a paper delivered at the November 2015 'réseau' meeting in Lille, *Interpréter la poésie augustéenne aujourd'hui: principes et méthodes*. It was a great pleasure to be associated with that event's celebration of the career of Alain Deremetz, which for me renewed a connection first made at the 2000 Entretiens of the Fondation Hardt, and to see all my Lille-based friends and colleagues on their home ground. For support of the larger project which gave rise to this paper I am indebted to the National Endowment for the Humanities; my transatlantic travel to the conference was made possible by a generous grant

from the Thomas and Joyce Morgan Endowment for the Classics at the University of Washington. I thank my fellow-participants for feedback and discussion at the meeting, Syrithe Pugh for a valuable read subsequent to it, and the journal's referees for helpful comments and corrections at the final stage.

2. The move to a fully conventionalized Arcadia (cf. Cucchiarelli 2012.22-5) is often associated with the prosimetric *Arcadia* of Mantuan's contemporary Sannazaro. However, the process is an ongoing one; and it should be noted that Sannazaro does give due notice to the mountainous terrain of the real Arcadia, even as he 'greens' it.

3. See *Met.* 1.107-12 *ver erat aeternum ...* ('spring was everlasting ...'), Ovid's own primal Golden Age landscape and, even before that, the marshalling of the raw materials for such a landscape within the creation narrative at *Met.* 1.38-44; see then *Met.* 2.405-8 (Jupiter's 'restoration' of the streams, grasses and foliage of Arcadia): cf. Hinds 2002.122-30, esp. 124 and 127-9. On appropriations of pastoral in the *Metamorphoses* more broadly see Barchiesi 2006; cf. Fulkerson 2012, esp. 37.

4. Mantuan's name (*aliter* Battista Spagnoli Mantovano): see Mustard 1911.11 and 18 ('as a member of a monastic order – Frater Baptista Mantuanus – our author never calls himself by his family name. He was the son of Pietro Spagnolo, a Spanish nobleman from Granada ...'); cf. Piepho 1989.xv, as also for uncertainty about Mantuan's birthdate (1447 or 1448).

5. Mantuan fleshes out this publication history in a prefatory epistle attached to the printed edition of 1498, addressed to Paride Ceresara. He describes the original *Adulescentia* as a *carmen bucolicum* divided into eight *eclogae*, which he believed to have been long ago destroyed and whose rediscovery has embarrassed him; he is now, however, publishing it, duly corrected and improved by the addition of two subsequently written eclogues (9 and 10). For the fuller picture which can now be set alongside this disingenuous autobiographical sketch see Piepho 1989.xx-xxv.

6. 'You, Tityrus, reclining beneath the canopy of a spreading beech ...' (Virg. *Ecl.* 1.1). This post-Virgilian element in Faustus' backward look is compounded in *Adul.* 1.9-10 (see quotation), which contain a near-repetition of *Aen.* 1.372-3 (Aeneas to his disguised mother Venus) *o dea, si prima repetens ab origine pergam / et vacet annalis nostrum audire laborum ...* 'o goddess, if, going back to the first beginning, I were to proceed to tell, and you have the leisure to hear the annals of our toils ...', noted in the commentary of Mustard 1911 ad loc.: for a moment not just the *Eclogues* but the 'recollections' of the *Aeneid* are glimpsed in the rear-view mirror.

7. I quote the *Adulescentia* from the text of Mustard 1911, 'based upon that of the first printed edition, of Mantua, 1498 ... The spelling is modified to suit the convenience of the modern reader' (7). English translations are taken or lightly adapted from Piepho 1989, who himself reprints Mustard's text.

8. Mantuan *Adul.* 9.67-9 with Virg. *Ecl.* 1.51-8 (Meliboeus to Tityrus): 52 *frigus captabis opacum*, 55 *levi ... susurro*, 58 *nec gemere aerea cessabit turtur ab ulmo* 'you shall catch the cooling shade ... gentle murmuring ... and the turtledove shall not be slow to sigh from the elm top'. In *Adul.* 9.70, the background voice is no longer that of Virgil's Meliboeus but of his (suffering) Corydon at *Ecl.* 2.13 *resonant arbusta cicadis* (a half-line echoed *verbatim*). These, along with other Virgilian reminiscences in the passage at large, are noted by Mustard 1911 ad locc.

9. Mantuan's intervention tends to emblemize the lurking snake of Virg. *Ecl.* 3.93, in the process of removing it: as often in Christian pastoral, we are reminded of the Garden of Eden. 'Biblical' rereadings of Virgilian serpents are as old as Proba's fourth-century *Cento*: Hinds 2014.179-82.

10. Horace's early characterization of the *Eclogues* at *Sat.* 1.10.44-5: see now Gowers 2012 ad loc.; also Coleman 1977.26.

11. '... a new and unpoetic level': but see the recent commentary of Severi 2010 on *Adul.* 4.87-8: 'l'episodio comico allude probabilmente al *rusticus cacans*, un celebre carme del Panormita (*Hermaphroditus*, I 40)'.

12. On the not uncomplicated matter of *cuicum* as 'rustic' diction see Coleman 1977.25-6, with his comm. n. on Virg. *Ecl.* 3.1; also Clausen 1994 ad loc.
13. Appropriately (in terms of pastoral 'pasts'), the interaction with Aegon which in Virgil was 'recent' (*nuper*) has been pushed by Mantuan into a more remote past (*quondam*).
14. So Piepho 1989.xxxii (as ever, a genial guide to the *Adulescentia*), whose brief notice of the 'earthiness' of Mantuan's shepherds constitutes a point of departure for both of the present section's case studies: 'Arcadia's gentle shepherds never castrate sheep and swine (VIII, 19), nor are any of them so explicit about the demands of nature (IV, 87-8)'.
15. For the term see Richlin 1992.26-30; cf. Hinds 1998.134-5.
16. That is, the discussion of linguistic usage is also a discussion of liturgical usage. Mantuan's subtitle for *Adulescentia* 8 is *De rusticorum religione*.
17. Mustard 1911 ad loc., also adducing *Aen.* 2.537 *persolvant grates dignas*. Alphus' line-beginning 'quotes', (in)appositely, Virg. *Ecl.* 2.56 *rusticus es, Corydon; nec munera curat Alexis* 'you're a rustic, Corydon; Alexis cares nothing for gifts'. Intratextually, Alphus has already shown himself familiar with the idiom of 'thanks': *Adul.* 4.85, in the first passage quoted in this section.
18. *sic rure loquuntur*: but also, as often in pastoral, the voice of the learned scholar-poet is audible behind that of the shepherd: in another context, 8.160 could be a commentator's gloss on an emended manuscript reading.
19. See Piepho 1989.xviii, xxiv. *Adul.* 9 is titled thus: *Falco: De moribus curiae Romanae, post religionis ingressum*.
20. With *Adul.* 9.220-1 below cf. Tityrus' speech at Virg. *Ecl.* 1.40-5, esp. 42-3 *hic illum vidi iuvenem, Meliboeae, quotannis / bis senos cui nostra dies altaria fumant* 'here, Meliboeus, I saw that youth for whom our altars smoke twice six days a year' (a *iuvenis* understood from antiquity on to be Octavian, the future Augustus). And as a foil to these hopes in *Adul.* 9.212-21, line 210 *procul hinc, procul ite, capellae*, emphasized in the previous quotation, sounds an emblematic note of pastoral despair associated in *First Eclogue* with Tityrus' less fortunate companion Meliboeus (Virg. *Ecl.* 1.74 *ite meae, felix quondam pecus, ite capellae* 'away, my goats! away, once happy flock!'): cf. Hubbard 1998.267.
21. Protestant: *Adul.* 9, with its attacks on the Curia at Rome, became 'a favorite during the Reformation' (Piepho 1989.125, adducing both Spenser's 'September' in *The Shepheardes Calender* and Milton's *Lycidas*). Romantic: the lines from Shelley's *Adonais* quoted at the end of my paragraph, which are focussed in the first instance upon the grave of Keats in the Protestant Cemetery, adjacent to the Pyramid of Cestius, embrace within their vision all the worlds of pastoral, and of Rome, good and bad alike.
22. Lycaon was of course a primeval king of Arcadia (Ov. *Met.* 1.218 *Arcadis ... sedes et inhospita tecta tyranni* 'the seat and inhospitable abode of the Arcadian king'). A suggestive note by Severi 2010 on *Adul.* 6.246, citing Pausanias 8.2.1-6 and 8.38.1-7, illuminates the prehistory of urbanism that evidently underlies Mantuan's reference: 'Licaone, figlio di uno dei re primordiali, regnò in Arcadia, dove gli abitanti della regione dicevano che proprio lui avesse fondato la prima città della terra, Licosura, sul monte Liceo'. It has to be said that the *gravitas* of Cornix's conclusion here in *Adul.* 6.245-51 is somewhat undercut by the immediately following words of his internal interlocutor, Fulica, at 252-5: in paraphrase, 'stop talking and eat your porridge'.
23. On the tantalizing questions about Gallan elegy raised by the *Tenth Eclogue* see Fabre-Serris 2008.62-76, Hubbard 1998.127-39, and (with citation of earlier landmark discussions) Cucchiarelli 2012 and Clausen 1994 on *Ecl.* 10, intro. nn.
24. See esp. Tib. 1.1.59-62, cited by Mustard 1911 ad loc.; also e.g., with Piepho 1989 ad loc., Prop. 1.17.19-24 and Ov. *Am.* 3.9.51-8 (on Tibullus' death).
25. The evocation of these as specifically Ovidian myths about the dangers of eye-contact is guaranteed (across the intervening Sirens) by the close verbal allusion in line 85 to the *Met.*'s

Narcissus: *Met.* 3.415 *dumque sitim sedare cupit, sitis altera crevit* 'while he sought to ease his thirst, another thirst sprang up'.

26. Virg. *Ecl.* 6.47 *a, virgo infelix, quae te dementia cepit!*, 52 *a, virgo infelix, tu nunc in montibus erras* 'ah, unfortunate girl, what a madness has gripped you! ... ah, unfortunate girl, now you roam the hills'; cited by Mustard 1911 ad loc.

27. Inadvertent voyeurism, in the case of Ovid's Actaeon, but the moralizing potential is there none the less (and Mantuan will have known Apuleius' more prurient Actaeon too ...).

28. Piepho 1989 ad loc. (also, below, on line 28). Jodocus Badius (Josse Bade) published his commentary in Paris in 1502, less than four years after the printed publication of the *Adulescentia* at Mantua in 1498: Piepho 1989.xxv. For the shepherds of the Bible as 'Assyrians' cf. *Adul.* 9.222-30 at 227 (of St. Peter), in a resumption of the present passage.

29. Missed by Mustard 1911, but noted by Severi 2010 ad loc.

30. Jupiter is regularly for the Romans the Thunderer, *Tonans*; his title *regnator Olympi* (vel sim.) is a distinctively Virgilian one (four times in the *Aeneid*). *Tonans* was appropriated for Christian use as early as late antiquity: Mustard 1911 ad loc.

31. Cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 7.61 *populus Alcidae gratissima* 'the poplar is most pleasing to Alceus' descendant Hercules'.

32. Badius; cf. Piepho 1989 on *Adul.* 7.88. The allusion to the Choice of Hercules is appropriate, since the *virgo* will direct Pollux to abandon his present wayward path and to seek instead the idyllic summit of *Carmelus* (7.124-6) – i.e. a vocation, standing for Mantuan's own, as a Carmelite monk.

33. The Virgilianizing language at *Adul.* 7.88-92 (noted in the modern comms. ad loc., but the unpacking is mine) includes another Virgilian subplot of (mis)identification too. 89 *ecce puellari virgo stipata corona*, of Pollux's mysterious maiden, comes close to Virgil's description of Dido in the scene immediately following the epiphany of Venus: *Aen.* 1.497 *incessit magna iuvenum stipante caterva* 'she advanced with a great company of youths thronging round her'. Dido is neither a goddess nor a virgin, but she is at this point compared by Virgil to *Diana*, who is both: 498-500 *qualis .../ exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae / hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades* 'even as ... Diana leads the dance, with a thousand mountain nymphs massing behind her on either side'. Note too, with the last-quoted Virgilian word (*Oreades*), a detail in Mantuan's recapitulation of the Marian epiphany at *Adul.* 8.78 (quoted in the text below): *non erat illa Dryas neque Libethris nec Oreas*. In the *Shepherd's Calendar* Edmund Spenser (always an astute reader of Mantuan) will remix the *Aeneid* 1 epiphany to bring a different virgin queen on to the pastoral stage: Elizabeth, named 'Elisa' by his shepherds: Venus, Diana and Dido all in one. (I plan to return to this nexus elsewhere.)

34. Nymphs of wood, fount and mountain, respectively; the *Nymphae ... Libethrides*, found in Latin poetry only at Virg. *Ecl.* 7.21 (Clausen 1994 ad loc.), and in ancient commentary related to or identified with the Muses, are a notably recondite choice.

35. On Neo-Latin religious and devotional pastoral before and after Mantuan see Grant 1965.258-89. On 'Mary-eclogues' see Grant 1965.275-6 and 280-9; and cf. the contemporary Virgilianism of Sannazaro's epic *De partu Virginis*, already being drafted in the 1490s: Putnam 2009 (rich nn., and Appendix II); Deramaix 1984 (a reference I owe to the journal's anonymous referee).

36. Behind *Adul.* 8.85-6 (so Badius) lies *Revelation* 12.1 *mulier amicta sole, et luna sub pedibus eius, et in capite eius corona stellarum duodecim* 'a woman clothed with the Sun, and the Moon under her feet, and upon her head a Crown of twelve stars', which is, in the words of Piepho 1989 ad loc., 'a description often applied to the Virgin Mary'. *Adul.* 8.82 returns us to the first book of the *Aeneid*, at 1.52-4, and 84 echoes [Virg.] *Catalepton* 9.28.

---

## ABSTRACTS

Perhaps no poetic genre is as central to the 'Classical Tradition' as is pastoral; at times, indeed, despite its ostensibly narrow and stylized terms of reference, pastoral seems to operate as *the* privileged space of European classicism, a genre into which everything Greek and Roman can be subsumed, and more besides. This paper takes as its case study the *Adulescentia* of Baptista Mantuanus (1447-1516): its readings of Mantuan's early modern pastoral collection offer synecdochic glimpses of the reception-history of Virgil's *Eclogues*, and map the generic self-awareness of the *Adulescentia* itself.

## INDEX

**Keywords:** Adulescentia, allusion, Arcadia, Baptista Mantuanus, bucolic, Christianization, eclogue, elegy, epiphany, genre, intertext, Mantuan, Ovid, pastoral, reception, Rome, rusticity, Venus, Virgil, Virgin Mary

## AUTHOR

**STEPHEN HINDS**

Univ. of Washington, Seattle  
shinds@uw.edu