

The background of the cover is a Romantic-style landscape painting. It depicts a deep valley with a river flowing through it. On the right, a waterfall cascades over rocks. In the distance, a stone bridge with arches spans the river. The sky is filled with dramatic, swirling clouds. In the lower-left foreground, two figures in classical-style clothing stand near a large rock. In the lower-right foreground, a shepherd in a yellow tunic stands with a staff, looking over a flock of sheep. The overall mood is pastoral and idealized.

# The Shepherd, the *Volk*, and the Middle Class

TRANSFORMATIONS  
OF PASTORAL IN  
GERMAN-LANGUAGE  
WRITING, 1750–1850

ELYSTAN GRIFFITHS

*The Shepherd, the Volk, and the Middle Class*

*Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture*

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Transformations of Pastoral in  
German-Language Writing, 1750–1850

Elystan Griffiths



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*For my mother Eilonwy,  
and in memory of my father, Dewi*

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## A Note on Translations

I HAVE PROVIDED TRANSLATIONS of German quotations for the non-German-speaking reader. All translations are my own. I have not attempted to recreate rhyme or meter but have remained as faithful as possible to my understanding of the source text. For the sake of preserving the coherence of the writing, I have incorporated short translations in brackets in the main text, while longer quotations and groups of short quotations from individual sentences appear in the notes.

# Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used throughout the book:

- DKV Heinrich von Kleist, *Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, ed. by Ilse-Marie Barth and others, 4 vols (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1987–97). The abbreviation is followed by a volume number in Arabic numerals.
- FA Johann Wolfgang Goethe. *Sämtliche Werke, Briefe, Tagebücher und Gespräche*, 40 volumes. Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1985–2013. The edition is organized in two series, which are indicated in abbreviations by the first Arabic numeral, followed by a slash and a second Arabic numeral denoting the volume number.
- MA Johann Wolfgang Goethe. *Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens. Münchner Ausgabe*. Edited by Karl Richter et al., 21 vols. Munich: Hanser, 1985–98. The abbreviation is followed by a volume number in Arabic numerals.
- MWB Eduard Mörike. *Werke und Briefe: Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe*. Edited by Hubert Arbogast and others, 20 vols. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1967–. The abbreviation is followed by a volume number in Arabic numerals.
- NSW Johann Nestroy. *Sämtliche Werke: Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, 42 vols. Edited by Jürgen Hein et al. Vienna: Verlag Jugend und Volk, 1977–2012. The abbreviation is followed by a volume number in Arabic numerals.
- RMM Maler Müller. *Idyllen*, edited by Peter-Erich Neuser. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1977.
- SGI Salomon Gessner. *Idyllen*, edited by E. Theodor Voss. 3rd ed. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1988.
- SWNA Schillers Werke: *Nationalausgabe*, 43 vols, Weimar: Böhlau, 1943–. The abbreviation is followed by a volume number in Arabic numerals.

- VAW      Johann Heinrich Voß. *Ausgewählte Werke*. Edited by Adrian Hummel. Göttingen: Wallstein, 1996.
- VI        Johann Heinrich Voß. *Idyllen*. Königsberg: Nicolovius, 1801.
- WMM     *Mahler Müllers Idyllen*, edited by Otto Heuer, 3 vols. Leipzig: Wolff, 1914.

## Introduction: Pastoral as a Way of Not Looking at the Country

THE HISTORY OF German-language pastoral is a story of neglect. This lukewarm reception of pastoral is bound up with the development of *Germanistik* as an academic field, which in turn was shaped by the course of German nationalism. Nineteenth-century nationalists saw little use for pastoral in their project of using culture as a carrier for ideas of the nation.<sup>1</sup> The critic Georg Gottfried Gervinus is a case in point. He portrayed German-language pastoral as the embodiment of an age characterized by a lack of historical self-determination (“selbstbewegter Geschichte”) and an excessive hatred of war, which translates into an incapacity to represent anything other than states of repose (“ruhende Zustände”).<sup>2</sup> Such a passive and pacifist form of writing was felt to have no place in the canon of national literature that would retrospectively project the emergence of a nation-state within the Germany of the nineteenth century, which remained fragmented into a patchwork of princely states held together only by the conservative framework of the German Confederation.

Far from being insignificant, however, German-language pastoral holds a particular interest, given that it illuminates broader processes of modernization that were reshaping German-speaking Europe in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century: economic developments, changes in class structures, and challenges to traditional hierarchies, authorities, and forms of governance. In this book, I argue that pastoral acted as a vehicle for identity formation for the emergent German-speaking middle classes in the eighteenth century. Arguably, its suitability for this task is precisely the reason why it was repudiated by nineteenth-century nationalists, since writers of pastoral tended to represent the lives of small communities at the expense of the larger movements of history. These small communities could be used to celebrate middle-class values and cultures, often leaving the more intractable questions of the place of the middle classes within state and society out of view. This helps to explain why so many of the leading German-language authors of the eighteenth and nineteenth century wrote pastorals or included pastoral motifs in their major writings, since pastoral became a hugely significant vehicle for expressions of middle-class identities, which makes it an important key to understanding the culture of this period.

The first part of this introduction will explore how understandings of pastoral were remade in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Enlightenment saw a weakening of the authority of the classical legacy in favor of judgments based upon reason. Even so, Theocritus and Virgil were commonly cited as models—though not always exemplary models—for later writers, and so we begin with a short introduction to both writers. The second section goes on to examine how pastoral reemerged in the early modern period as an allegorical form for both courtly spectacle and the self-representation of poets and intellectuals. A third section will then outline how German theorists from Gottsched to Jean Paul redefined the qualities and purposes of pastoral according to their own ethical and aesthetic agendas. These debates were often surprisingly acrimonious, and did not reach any consensus. In a fourth section, we examine some modern critical traditions around pastoral and argue that some common critical positions have done more to conceal than to reveal aspects of the tradition. The final section considers the development of middle-class culture and values in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, which helps to account for some of the contradictions and ambiguities that we encounter in German-language pastoral. A coda to the chapter draws together all these arguments in a reading of a pastoral episode from Sophie von La Roche's bestselling novel *Die Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim* (*The History of Lady Sophia Sternheim*, 1771).

## Theocritus and Virgil

An analysis of Theocritus and Virgil will illustrate the difficulty of identifying the “essence” of pastoral from analyzing its putative models. Neither is the unambiguous source of the pastoral tradition, for their work is so allusive and layered with irony that eighteenth-century observers could use them to argue for a range of positions. The lack of an ancient theoretical treatise on pastoral comparable to Aristotle's writing on tragedy was one reason for the fierce critical debates that followed. The proper topoi and tone of pastoral had to be extrapolated from ancient models, or constructed theoretically. The use of terminology varied widely. Johann Christoph Gottsched referred to “Idyllen, Eclogen oder Schäfer-Gedichten” as synonyms in 1730, demonstrating that not only did the nomenclature of the genre point to a double source in Theocritus's *Idylls* and Virgil's *Eclogues*, but that the genre might also be defined by its focus on the shepherd.<sup>3</sup>

The term “idyll” was originally used as a synonym for various forms of pastoral modelled on works by Theocritus of Syracuse, a poet from Sicily, during the third century BCE. The association between the word “idyll” and pastoral poetry developed after Theocritus. The Greek “eidulia” is a plural form and a diminutive of “eidōs” (type or genre), and

so the title “idylls” suggests “both diversity of generic type and slenderness in length or style.”<sup>4</sup> An earlier tradition understood “idyll” to mean a small picture, but this view is now discredited.<sup>5</sup> Scholars continue to debate which of Theocritus’s works belong to the bucolic tradition, and whether this tradition should only include the idylls featuring herdsmen (Idylls I, III–VII and X–XI).<sup>6</sup>

The eighteenth-century preference for Theocritus due to his simplicity is based on a misunderstanding of the relationship between the poet and his subject. This misunderstanding may derive from the belief that Theocritus “invented” pastoral, or that the *Idylls* were essentially realist works. In fact, the *Idylls* deserve to be treated as complex, experimental works, rather than the outcome of a fully worked-out design for bucolic writing that applied principles of such writing systematically.<sup>7</sup> Theocritus’s work is not a realistic representation of contemporary herdsmen’s lives. As John Barrell and John Bull memorably put it, even in its infancy, “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.”<sup>8</sup> Theocritus was writing for a sophisticated urban audience and reworked literary traditions, including Homer, in complex and experimental ways.<sup>9</sup> The *Idylls* engage in a sophisticated play with textual palimpsests. Klaus Garber speaks of the deliberately incongruous effects produced by Theocritus’s representation of rustics in sophisticated hexameters, recalling the epic, as well as the mythological resonances and other allusions in the works.<sup>10</sup> The *Idylls* are in at least two senses self-reflexive works, in that they are both *about* herdsmen-poets and they reflect on their position relative to other literary genres and traditions.

Theocritus’s first Idyll, “Thyrsis’ Lament for Daphnis” establishes many of the features of later pastoral. Amongst these is the delightful non-urban landscape with shady trees, a spring, and an incline as well as the pleasant sounds of the natural world and the skillful music-making of the shepherd Thyrsis and his goatherd companion. The *locus amoenus*, or pleasant place of the idyll, often includes a view for contemplation, over countryside, cliffs or the sea, while caves often provide shelter and a home for the idyll’s inhabitants. Its enduring power for eighteenth-century artists can be seen in Salomon Gessner’s painting *Die Hirten-grotte* (1768) that provides the cover image for this book, which shows shepherd figures contemplating a magnificent view beside a grotto that shelters them. The *locus amoenus* is summed up by Phrasidamus’s farm in Theocritus’s Idyll VII, which offers physical comfort, the shade and pleasant sound of elm and poplar, the bubbling of sacred water, and the sounds of tree frogs and cicadas. Moreover, bucolic nature is in sympathy with human beings. In Idyll I, the natural world mourns the dying shepherd Daphnis, while in Idyll IV, Aegon’s herd is said to miss him while he is at the Olympic games.



The first Idyll introduces song as a central mode of expression for herdsmen, while in Idyll VII, the leisure enjoyed by the goatherd is linked to his production of song. In some idylls, herdsmen compete musically, sometimes in the presence of a judge, and often for an agreed stake. This is the case with Idyll V, where the goatherd Comatas and the shepherd Lacon exchange insults and then compete in the presence of the woodsman Morson, while in Idyll VII Simichidas provokes the goatherd Lycidas into engaging in a contest, which Lycidas himself judges.

Love is a key preoccupation of the bucolic idylls, and it is largely unrequited or painful. Idyll I portrays the death of Daphnis, the “original bucolic singer,” due to his resistance to Aphrodite and to love. This founding idyll is far from harmonious, but conveys the blindly destructive power of the erotic.<sup>11</sup> Idyll III portrays the courting of the unresponsive Amaryllis by an unhappy goatherd, who threatens her with his death if she remains unresponsive. Idyll VI portrays two singers, Damoetas and Daphnis in love with each other; but their song concerns the unhappy love of Polyphemus for Galatea, and his adoption of a new strategy to provoke Galatea’s jealousy. This theme reappears in Idyll XI, which portrays Polyphemus’s pursuit of Galatea and his decision to give her up. In Idyll VI, song is a means of coping with unhappy love. Similarly, in Idyll I, the death of Daphnis suggests the passing of a happier age, which is partly mitigated by the herdsmen’s exchange of song.<sup>12</sup>

While some non-bucolic idylls address monarchs, there was certainly sufficient basis in Theocritus for identifying the idyll as a refuge from high politics. Art was an important topic. Idyll I features an extended description or ekphrasis of a cup heavily embellished with images of rustic life, while the power and importance of poetry is the subject of Idyll XVI. Moreover, Idyll I establishes contrasts between the idyll and the military world, “mark[ing] out the space of Theocritus’s poetry against the scenes of war and peace on Achilles’ divinely-made shield in *Iliad* 18.”<sup>13</sup> The contrast reemerges in Idyll XIII, which depicts Heracles abandoning his mission with the Argo to search for his missing beloved, the boy Hylas. Such intertextual allusion undercuts the sense of naturalistic representation in Theocritus, as does his use of Doric, a form of artificial language intended to be recognized as such by Theocritus’s audience.<sup>14</sup> As we will see, German writers from Voss to Mörike indirectly cite Theocritus’s cup when they celebrate the artist’s work. While the German critical tradition did not recognize Theocritus’s self-reflexivity and discouraged modern poets from emulating it, for *writers* of pastoral, reflection on art and its relationship to simple rural cultures was often a crucial concern.

Eighteenth-century readers of Theocritus often praised his protagonists’ simplicity and robust virtue, whilst referring unspecifically to the need to refine him as a model. The works are often frank in their discussion of sex, particularly Idylls IV and V. Same-sex desire features

prominently in Idylls V, VII, XII, XIII, XXIX and XXX, where it is not pathologized. Female desire is portrayed in the non-bucolic Idyll II, which features a protagonist on the brink of madness using witchcraft to recapture her lover. Encounters between Theocritus's protagonists are far from uniformly friendly. In Idyll V, the protagonists taunt one another, while in Idyll VII there is a contrast between the refined speaker Simichidas, who may be a town-dweller, and the smelly, tanned rustic Lycidas. Some traditions regard Simichidas in Idyll VII as a representative of Theocritus himself, the sophisticated urbanite in the countryside. This initiates the tradition of masquerade within bucolic writing, which develops considerably in Virgil's *Eclogues*.<sup>15</sup>

On occasion, narrative frames are found in Theocritus, as in Idylls XI and XIII. These increase critical distance and encourage reflection rather than absorption in an apparently realistic representation. Theocritus plays with distance and proximity to his protagonists: "an idealized rusticity runs along underneath the construction of the countryside as other, partly supporting it, partly undermining it."<sup>16</sup> Various techniques generate this ironic distance. In the non-bucolic Idyll XII, an older man's desire for his younger beloved is set against the suggestion that his lover may have been unfaithful. In Idyll III, a bathetic effect results when the speaker serenades his beloved by following urban courting rituals in the countryside.<sup>17</sup> Idyll II includes references to epic heroines, producing a complex mix of bathos and ennoblement. While Theocritus approaches his rustic figures as a sophisticated writer and a town-dweller, he does not merely ironize them; there is, equally, affection and sympathy for their struggles. J. D. Reed argues that Idyll VI represents the Cyclops without irony, not as the "other," but as the focus of the narrative, unlike in in Homer's *Odyssey*.<sup>18</sup> As we will see, this distance is a feature of the work of several pastoral writers of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, albeit not in all.

Literary sophistication was not, however, what most eighteenth-century observers found in Theocritus. He rather represented the vigor, simplicity and authenticity of Greek culture, against the literary refinement of Virgil. Writing in 1772, the translator Karl August Kütner wrote of Theocritus's "alte liebenswürdige Simplicität, seine reizenden Gemälde der Natur, der Unschuld, und der reinsten Empfindungen."<sup>19</sup> The scholar Christian Wilhelm Ahlwardt's 1792 treatise on Theocritus quoted approvingly Mary Wortley Montagu's view: "I no longer look upon Theocritus as a romantic writer; he has only given a plain image of the way of life amongst the peasants of his country, which before oppression had reduced them to want, were I suppose all employed as the better sort of them are now." Ahlwardt went on to berate previous scholars for lacking understanding of rustic lives and for failing to explicate Theocritus's work clearly.<sup>20</sup>

The association between Theocritus and simplicity may have arisen in contrast to the more evident literariness of Virgil's *Eclogues*. "Without the *Eclogues*," Charles Martindale argues, "pastoral might never have become one of the major, exemplary genres of European poetry."<sup>21</sup> Writing some two hundred years after Theocritus, Virgil transformed the *Idylls* in critical ways. By focusing exclusively on rural settings and shepherd figures, Virgil's *Eclogues* established the conventions of pastoral.<sup>22</sup> The *Eclogues* repeatedly reference the *Idylls*, echoing characters' names and situations, as well as motifs and themes (love, song, landscape, art), but their tone is very different: earnest, refined, and studiously intellectual. The powerful sexuality of Theocritus's protagonists is moderated in Virgil.<sup>23</sup> The *Eclogues* treat their herdsman subjects seriously and emphasize the expression of feeling through the medium of art. For example, the second Eclogue introduces a more emotional note than its Theocritean counterpart, Idyll XI, where the treatment of Polyphemus is predominantly ironic. In Eclogue II, by contrast, Theocritus's Polyphemus becomes the lovesick Corydon, who is treated with dignity as he pines for his master's slave Alexis. As Martindale observes, Corydon "is said to produce artless verse (*incondita*); but his song is decked out with obtruded artistry."<sup>24</sup> Where singing contests take place, as in Eclogues III and VII, Virgil's rustics are far more polite than the bawdy, bad-tempered herdsmen of Theocritus's Idyll IV, even displaying a "sudden and surprising education."<sup>25</sup>

Virgil introduces a more ambiguous threshold between fiction and reality. The *Eclogues* are mostly set in Arcadia, which Bruno Snell has termed an imagined landscape ("geistige Landschaft").<sup>26</sup> Yet it is not entirely fictional either. In Eclogue VII, the Arcadian herdsmen Corydon and Thyrsis tend their animals by the river Mincius, in northern Italy, in a landscape that recalls Virgil's own homeland. Virgil's Arcadia is associated strongly with rest and leisure; the narrator, Meliboeus, is persuaded to rest and listen to Corydon and Thyrsis singing, an activity associated with play (*ludus*). As an imagined place, Arcadia was to prove a powerful spur for Renaissance artists, beginning with Sannazaro's poem *Arcadia* (1504). For Sannazaro, Arcadia is a lost realm, whereas Virgil leaves open the possibility of a future Golden Age in Eclogue IV. Virgil thus offers his readers in Arcadia a place of retreat from which a better reality can be imagined.<sup>27</sup>

Reality and fiction interpenetrate one another far more strongly in Virgil than in Theocritus. The *Eclogues* were probably composed between 42 and 39 BCE. Civil war was giving way to a more stable order under the future Emperor Augustus, who had been known previously as Octavian. This return to stability meant great changes for the rural population, as land was confiscated for war veterans.<sup>28</sup> Virgil's Arcadia is not an ideal landscape, but a precarious retreat from the political world, representing Virgil's hopes for the future.<sup>29</sup> This political dimension represents a

break with Theocritus's bucolic idylls.<sup>30</sup> And yet, at the same time, the *Eclogues* are "a work of art that thematizes art itself."<sup>31</sup> Virgil extends the possibilities for using pastoral scenes allegorically, allowing for reflection on politics and poetry, personal and social concerns. Virgil's pastoral is "both a refined artistic enclosure and an oblique mode of addressing and redressing a variety of worldly concerns."<sup>32</sup> This double-facing aspect of the *Eclogues* colors eighteenth-century pastoral, leading some critics to argue for the rigorous exclusion of the real countryside from pastoral, while others urge greater realism.

Political commentary, as Snell observes, is expressed not as a program of political ideas, but as a powerful sentiment of "Sehnsucht nach Frieden und Heimat."<sup>33</sup> In the first Eclogue, it takes the form of a dialogue between the fortunate shepherd Tityrus and the unhappy goatherd Meliboeus, who has been expelled from his land. The poem reprises several familiar elements of the *locus amoenus*:

Ah, fortunate old man, here among hallowed springs  
And familiar streams you'll enjoy the longed-for shade, the cool  
shade.  
Here, as of old, where your neighbour's land marches with yours,  
The sally hedge, with bees of Hybla sipping its blossom,  
Shall often hum you gently to sleep . . .  
And all the time your favourites, the husky-voiced wood pigeons  
Shall coo away, and turtle doves make moan in the elm tops.<sup>34</sup>

This stable world is shot through with a shocking new awareness of transitoriness, symbolized in Meliboeus's fate, which heightens the allure of the idyll. Tityrus contrasts this idyllic space with Rome itself. He has been freed from slavery by a "young prince," and is permitted to remain on his land.<sup>35</sup> Meliboeus, on the other hand, bids a sad farewell to his life of leisure and singing, lamenting the consequences of "civil dissension," which may refer to the land redistribution under Octavian.<sup>36</sup> Tityrus's *locus amoenus* is surrounded by stony ground and dispossessed land; it is a precarious state of exception. Meliboeus's bitter fate is suspended only temporarily, as Tityrus invites his unfortunate neighbor to rest with him that night. Some interpretative traditions, following Virgil's commentator Servius, even identify Tityrus with Virgil himself, and Tityrus's benefactor, the young prince, with Octavian-Augustus. Thus Virgil establishes a tradition, which reached its height in the Renaissance, of using pastoral allegorically.<sup>37</sup>

The allegorical dimension is heightened in Eclogue IV, which weaves together the political and the mythic, history and fiction in a vision of a future Golden Age. Virgil acknowledges his "Sicilian Muse" Theocritus, but then sets out a "somewhat grander theme," which suggests his

ambition is to outdo Theocritus.<sup>38</sup> The poem heralds the coming of a long-prophesied Golden Age in the time of Virgil's patron, the Roman consul Asinius Pollio, which is represented as the birth of an infant. Some scholars interpret it as a reference to the Pact of Brundisium of 40 BCE, brokered by Pollio, which reconciled Antony and Octavian, while others suggest that it refers to Octavian's birth in 63 BCE.<sup>39</sup> In Virgil's evocation of the Golden Age to come, nature will offer up her plenty, thorny trees will produce grapes and oaks honey, but some vestiges of human error such as wars will persist at first. Finally, during the child's adulthood, nature will be transformed, rendering agricultural labor superfluous. The eclogue closes with the hope that the poet will live long enough to sing of the child's maturity.<sup>40</sup>

The disposessions also feature in Eclogue IX, where they are linked to a less optimistic assessment of the power of art. The goatherd Moeris reveals to Lycidas the loss of his land. Lycidas believes that some areas of land have been saved from dispossession by the poetry of a certain Menalcas, which turns out to be erroneous. Poems have little chance of succeeding, Moeris remarks, "where the claims of soldiers are involved."<sup>41</sup> The eclogue rehearses some of the functions of song: it gives comfort, expresses thanks, is used in wooing and gives hope, a sentiment expressed in Moeris's song, in which Daphnis is encouraged to graft his pear trees now for the benefit of his grandchildren. The poem also speaks about ageing, as Moeris recounts his difficulty in recalling the songs of his youth. The depredations wrought by the passage of time are pitted against the continuity of the generations, and the damage caused by political choices is set against the relief provided by song. The elegiac tone of this work is thus lightened by the prospect of redemption, which is hinted at in the closing lines. We will find Virgil's concern with mitigating both ageing and socio-political change picked up in German-language pastoral writers from Gessner to Mörike.

Like Theocritus's *Idylls*, the *Eclogues* reflect on art itself. Eclogue III recalls the first Idyll somewhat in its descriptions of cups artfully turned by Alcimedon. In Eclogue VI, the herdsman Tityrus relates how Apollo himself advised him to write "pastoral lightweight verse," and declines to write heroic epic in praise of the politician and officer Alfenus Varus.<sup>42</sup> The poem depicts the capture of Silenus by two boys, Chromis and Mnasyllus, and the Naiad Aegle. Silenus plays along contentedly with the stunt, and sings on a series of mythical themes, which includes the story of Hylas from Theocritus's Idyll XIII. It has been suggested that this poem outlines a different purpose for epic singing, a lighter form of "modern epic" to contrast with traditional laudatory epic.<sup>43</sup> The poem closes with the whole of nature listening rapt to Silenus's song, which bears witness to the awesome power of poetry.

Virgil not only represents the power of poetry in general, but also his own art and that of his friends. In this sense, too, the threshold between art and reality is at stake in Virgil. The relative refinement of the Arcadian world serves the goal of self-reflection: “Virgil shapes his rustic world into a form that allows him and his friends and patrons to make their own appearance there without embarrassment alongside the shepherds.”<sup>44</sup> As we have seen, Eclogues I and IX may be read as reflections on Virgil’s own precarious position amid the land expropriations. In Eclogue V, Virgil positions himself within a poetic lineage. The eclogue reworks Theocritus’s first Idyll, but the story of Daphnis, the first pastoral singer, now becomes an element within an amicable song contest between the older Menalcas and the younger Mopsus. Mopsus retells the tale of Daphnis’s death and the mourning of all of nature, but then Menalcas sings of the apotheosis of Daphnis, as he is raised to the ranks of the gods. There is a strong sense of poetic lineage here. Menalcas acknowledges the younger Mopsus as a worthy successor to himself, addressing him in line 45 as “diuine poeta” (l. 45), just as Menalcas himself was loved by Daphnis. Snell argues that this claim of divine status for the poet should be taken literally and represents an unprecedentedly bold claim for the importance of art.<sup>45</sup> Menalcas’s final speech refers to two songs that he wrote, whose titles refer unambiguously to the opening lines of Eclogues II and III. In other words, Virgil seems here to write himself into his own fiction and into the lineage of Arcadian poets descending from the mythic Daphnis.

Despite such achievements, Virgil seems to leave pastoral behind. In Eclogue VIII, the poet suggests that he is writing pastoral at his patron Pollio’s behest, but yearns to write grander verse concerning Pollio’s military and literary achievements in the world. Virgil’s move from pastoral in the *Eclogues* to didactic poetry in the *Georgics* and on to epic poetry in the *Aeneid* was subsequently regarded as a kind of “career progression,” leading later poets to regard pastoral as a first step to be transcended in more mature years.<sup>46</sup>

To sum up, Virgil gave pastoral recognizable conventions, such as the Arcadian setting, or the evocation of a future Golden Age. The bawdiness, irony, and vigor of Theocritus gave way to the more dignified treatment of his protagonists. Virgil increased the possibilities for allegory in pastoral, allowing political powerbrokers and artists to masquerade among the shepherds. In this sense, he allowed pastoral to serve the interests of the powerful and gave it the capacity to reflect on political matters, which made Virgil an object of suspicion for eighteenth-century middle-class writers and critics. Many also felt that the allegorical manner that Virgil brought to the eclogue was a barrier to their desire for direct engagement with nature. Yet, as Geoffrey Atherton notes, Virgil does not disappear altogether as an influence in the eighteenth century; rather, critics

and writers no longer engage explicitly, but rather implicitly and without acknowledgment.<sup>47</sup>

## Renaissance and Early Modern Pastoral

Before we move on to examine eighteenth-century German theories of pastoral, it is worth pausing briefly to examine the ways in which the classical legacy was picked up in the Renaissance and beyond. In the medieval period, Virgil's fourth Eclogue was recast in sacred terms, as the birth of Christ ushers in a Golden Age.<sup>48</sup> In the seventeenth century, the Jesuit poet Friedrich Spee published several Christian eclogues in his *Trvtz-Nachtigall* (1634/1649). Spee picks up on the image of Christ as the Good Shepherd, and represents Christ as Daphnis dying out of love for a lost sheep. Spee's other eclogues were less allegorical, but rather represented shepherds competitively engaged in expressing the wonder of Creation.<sup>49</sup>

Beyond the devotional tradition, Klaus Garber identifies two important strands of pastoral creativity, deriving from the European courts on the one hand and from the humanist tradition on the other.<sup>50</sup> Given that the split between the rising middle-class intelligentsia and the court forms a key context for eighteenth-century German-language pastoral, this context is worth examining in greater detail, for it helps to illuminate the longer-range struggle for preeminence between courtly and bourgeois pastoral. Both courtly and humanist pastoral operated chiefly through allegory, whereas in the eighteenth century the poet's supposed attentiveness to the real state of the peasantry and to nature itself becomes a weapon in the struggle for bourgeois emancipation.

European courtly culture developed new forms of pastoral, not all of which had classical antecedents. As Klaus Garber argues, the German courts did not produce their own original masterpieces, but rather only works derivative of other European literatures.<sup>51</sup> Courtly pastorals tended to use pastoral allegorically to reflect the court itself, its values as well as the poet's position within it. A case in point is Torquato Tasso's *Aminta*, which we will discuss in greater detail on account of its influence on later German-language writers, including Johann Christoph Rost, Salomon Gessner and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. Tasso joined the Italian court at Ferrara under Alfonso II in 1572. He wrote *Aminta* in 1573 and published it in 1581, with revised versions appearing until 1590.<sup>52</sup> The Italian Renaissance had seen a resurgence of interest in classical forms, and a renewal of the pastoral tradition in Boccaccio and later in Sannazaro. The dialogic form of the eclogue evolved into the pastoral drama arranged into five acts, but the form only achieved canonical status and influence following the appearance of *Aminta* and later Battista Guarini's competing *Il pastor fido* (The Faithful Shepherd, 1590).<sup>53</sup>



Tasso's thematic focus in the play is the mysterious nature of love and its effects on human beings. While its simple plot ends happily, death and violence are ever-present in the form of the attempted rape of Daphne and the attempted suicides of both main characters. In fact, the reality of human frailty becomes the background against which the chorus urge humanity towards love:

Let's love, for day will die, yet is reborn;  
for us, though, all its light  
sinks down, and sleep leads to eternal night. (55)

This association between love and death is built into the plot. The shepherd Aminta is deeply in love with the nymph Silvia, a follower of the goddess Diana and a keen hunter. Aminta's friend Tirsi and Silvia's fellow nymph Dafne counsel him to confront Silvia at the spring where she bathes before hunting. However, this classical pastoral location almost becomes a site of horror, as a lustful satyr almost succeeds in capturing and raping Silvia. Aminta and Tirsi intervene and chase away the satyr, but Silvia, embarrassed at her nakedness, scolds Aminta. Aminta's desperation at this rejection is compounded when he is told that Silvia has been killed by wolves, leading him to attempt suicide. In fact, the report of Silvia's death turns out to be erroneous. Silvia is distraught about Aminta's apparent suicide and resolves to find Aminta's body, bury it, and then to end her life. Eventually the shepherd Elpino reveals that Aminta's fall was broken by bushes, and Aminta and Silvia lie in unison, awaiting only the blessing of Silvia's father, Montano.

However, this coupling is only one of many perspectives on the erotic. Following the coupling of Aminta and Silvia, the chorus remark on their preference for winning love "with brief entreaties and with service brief" (175). Moreover, the poet Tirsi—conventionally identified as representing Tasso himself in the play—tells Dafne in act 2, scene 2, that he has given up on the pain of love, but has not renounced "all Venus' joys" (75). Indeed, a great deal of the play is not so much devoted to portraying the fulfilment of love, but rather with unhappy love. Aminta himself equates living without love to losing his very self (31). He expresses the sense that he has been forced by Silvia's beauty to love her; love can cost the lover self-possession. The shepherd-poet Elpino suffers from his inability to win the nymph Licori, and continues to be spurned throughout the play. Moreover, the figure of the Satyr moves from courting Silvia to rape, such is his desire. Indeed, these tales of unhappy love acquire a deeper, archetypal dimension through literary reference. Dafne, for example, tells Silvia a tale she has overheard at third hand of a special cave in hell reserved for the punishment of girls who do not love; the reference here is to Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (1532).<sup>54</sup>

The play contrasts free love as a positive value with conventional female modesty, which is portrayed as inauthentic. Dafne serves as the advocate for free love, urging Silvia to embrace the pleasures of Venus and motherhood while she remains young. She accuses Silvia of unnatural behavior in refusing love, for all of nature loves, including wild beasts. She contends that love is a civilizing force and will soften her heart. Thus there is an ethical imperative to love. Just as Aminta's lovelessness renders him unable to function as a human being, Silvia's refusal of love makes her less than human. In the end, it is the report of Aminta's presumed death that stirs first pity, and then love within Silvia.

Authenticity is linked, in turn, to the chorus's great speech on the Golden Age at the end of act 1. Here the chorus, evoking Virgil's Eclogue IV, portray an ideal former time when the earth yielded plenty without demanding work, and humans enjoyed "nature's law of gold | and joy, *do what pleases you*" (53). This liberty meant freedom to display the body, and lovers frolicked in lakes and streams. They accuse Honor of having spoiled this age of love, encouraging female modesty and introducing "that erring idol of propriety" (53). Yet, as Klaus Garber points out, Tasso's pastoral space can be seen as holding up a mirror to the court, with its attachment to honor and to highly ritualized, codified forms of behavior.<sup>55</sup> In this sense, it implies that courtly manners are antithetical to human values, while its hero Aminta aligns his feelings and conduct in his rare willingness, like his shepherd-forefather Daphnis, to die for love.

The play also operates at an allegorical level. Most clearly, the play deals with the court of Ferrara and its reputation. Scholars have seen in Tirsi a representative of Tasso himself, while other courtly figures have been identified behind several characters.<sup>56</sup> Batto has been seen as a representation of Battista Guarini, author of *Il pastor fido*, which was to become a kind of counter-model to *Aminta* through its emphasis on chaste yearning. Thus Tasso engages in a rarefied game with his original audience, a game further intensified given that the rustics surrounding Aminta were originally played by courtiers, and that the play was probably first performed on the Belvedere island just outside Ferrara. The play's politics are rather conformist, perhaps even conservative, for it portrays its authority figures as benign. Moreover, the play suggests a thoroughly affirmative attitude towards the high politics of Ferrara. Tirsi relates how the poet Mopso discouraged him from joining the court, warning him of its empty show, of wicked courtiers and sly citizens. Tasso thus conjures up the "subversive potential" of pastoral, in Entzminger's words, only to withdraw it by having Mopso discredited by Tirsi for using his art only for money (45).<sup>57</sup> Tirsi himself relates at length his wonder at the "sylvan glades" (45) of the court, and reserves his highest praise for the "man, magnanimous and strong" (49) who guards this sanctuary, presumably Alfonso II. Tirsi himself remarks on his dependence on patronage, telling

Dafne that “one who here is thought a god” encouraged him to write poetry. He earlier told Aminta of how he used to write “rustic shepherds’ songs and lays,” but now sings “of wars and men” (49), thus thematizing Tasso’s own move from pastoral to epic in *La Gerusalemme liberata*, and retracing the path from pastoral to epic that Virgil’s career seemed to have marked out. Moreover, Tasso inscribes in the play his own literary heritage, just as Virgil had done: Dafne’s narrative from Ariosto’s *Orlando furioso* contains the telling hint that the dying poet left his shepherd’s pipe to Tirsi (25), thus suggesting Tasso as Ariosto’s literary heir.

Pastoral could, however, equally function as a vehicle for non-aristocratic values. A first stage in this development is marked in Martin Opitz’s *Schaefferey von der Nymphen Hercinie* (The Pastoral of the Nymph Hercinie, 1630). Opitz’s pastoral has been credited as the first original pastoral narrative in German, and mixes elements of the eclogue and pastoral novel in its integration of poetry and prose.<sup>58</sup> Shepherd figures wandering through a Silesian mountain range, the *Riesengebirge*, encounter the nymph Hercinie, who leads them through underground grottos (a motif derived from Sannazaro).<sup>59</sup> A substantial section of the work offers a panegyric to Hans Ulrich von Schaffgotsch, although it has been argued that Opitz’s praise of the count aims to establish a model and yardstick with which a cultivated bourgeois readership could judge the German nobility.<sup>60</sup>

The growing expression of middle-class concerns in German pastoral can be traced through the *Pegnesisches Schäfergedicht* (Pegnitz Pastoral, 1644) by the Nuremberg humanists Georg Philipp Harsdörffer and Johann Klaj. Harsdörffer belonged to one of the imperial city’s leading families, whereas Klaj came to the city from Meißen as he fled from the Thirty Years’ War. The *Schäfergedicht* dramatizes their first meeting allegorically as the encounter of the itinerant shepherd-poet Klajus with the resident Strefon, whose pastoral names reference Sir Philip Sidney’s *Arcadia* from the late sixteenth century. A more important referent is, however, Virgil’s first Eclogue, as the dialogue between the two shepherds recalls the encounter of Meliboeus and Tityrus. Klajus was displaced from Meißen by the war, and encounters Strefon playing a song as he reclines amidst the cool shade. Yet in this allegorical encounter, the disparity in social status disappears, as Klajus’s deference to Strefon is rebuffed as unbecoming their lowly dwellings (“unsere niedrigen Hütten”), while Strefon acclaims Klajus’s clever pastorals (“Geistreiche Hirtendichte”).<sup>61</sup> Strefon’s song establishes this *locus amoenus* as a space that contrasts with the court, describing his contentment with his low status while “Die welche zu Hof auf Hoffnungen bauen | Befesten den Grund auf weichen den Sand.”<sup>62</sup> Much of the work presents a *tour de force* of poetic invention, as Klajus and Strefon compete in a series of poetic exchanges on subjects such as love, nature and the seasons. The poem was a founding

document for the literary society of the *Hirten- und Blumenorden an der Pegnitz*.<sup>63</sup> As Strefon remarks, this inventiveness enriches the “Felder Teutscher Sprach,” thus suggesting the shepherd-poets’ desire to contribute to Opitz’s goal of establishing German as a literary language.<sup>64</sup> To this extent, the *Pegnesisches Schäfergedicht* anticipates the eighteenth-century use of pastoral as a means of establishing the claims of the middle-class intelligentsia to recognition. This natural setting corresponds to a belief in human equality based upon natural law, the corollary of which is a belief that hierarchy should reflect only differences in achievement.<sup>65</sup> Yet this conclusion remains strictly outside the scope of the poem, and in contrast to Gessner the poem does not present the poet’s artistic achievements as superior to those of the court or of the aristocracy. Even so, the *Pegnesisches Schäfergedicht* illustrates why pastoral was an attractive form for these poets, as it allowed them to hint at ambitions that could not be openly discussed.<sup>66</sup>

Georg Philipp Harsdörffer’s preface to his translation of Jorge de Montemayor’s pastoral novel *Diana* (1646) argues that the metaphor and allegory are necessary in pastoral in order to counteract the sexuality and potential impropriety associated with shepherds’ dalliances.<sup>67</sup> The *Pegnesisches Schäfergedicht* might at first sight seem to contradict this position and point the way towards the greater realism found in eighteenth-century pastoral. For, unlike the pastorals of the Renaissance, it is set in a real place, Nuremberg, albeit a poeticized version, and it relates the depredations of the Thirty Years’ War through Klajus’s story. The effects of war also feature in the lament of the shepherdess Pamela, whose herd has been stolen by marauding soldiers. Yet Pamela’s mind is described as deranged (“verrückt,” 15), and the two shepherds soon move on. Indeed, after the first quarter of the poem, the emphasis is placed squarely on poetic questions such as the importance of rhyme in poetry, and Klajus no longer voices concerns about his subsistence. Moreover, while the reality of war is present in the poem, there is no earthiness to these figures; they are strikingly well-read and well-spoken shepherds. In this sense, the poem is no more realistic than Virgil’s *Eclogues*: war frames the poetic *locus amoenus*, but the body and the erotic are absent. The preface to the poem insists upon the validity of the allegorical treatment of pastoral to express ideas on art (“liebreiche Kunstgedanken”), citing precedents from Theocritus to contemporaries such as Opitz, Paul Fleming, and Philipp von Zesen.<sup>68</sup> In this sense, the poem is not concerned with the social state of the peasantry or of shepherds, given its chief object is the serene world of art. Indeed, Klaj and Harsdörffer’s fellow Pegnitz poet Sigmund von Birken goes a step further in his poetics, the *Rede-bind-und Dicht-Kunst* (1679) by asserting not only pastoral’s claim to be the oldest poetic form, but also by associating the poet’s role with the claim to leadership by way of the poet-shepherd King David.<sup>69</sup>

However, this theological understanding of pastoral was not shared by most eighteenth-century poets and theorists. The eighteenth century sees a turn towards a more worldly focus for pastoral and a turn away from the allegorical, even if some figures, such as Johann Elias Schlegel, nonetheless imagine a christianized eclogue.

## German Pastoral Theories in the Age of Enlightenment

Eighteenth-century theories of pastoral turn away from Theocritus and Virgil as models for imitation, although they remain a point of reference. In line with its general skepticism towards unexamined assumptions, the Enlightenment rethought the function of pastoral. The so-called Quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns saw a dispute between those who held that imitation of classical models was the way towards greatness, and those who believed in the superiority of modern artists.

The theoretical tradition is important, since it had a demonstrable influence on some key writers of pastoral, most notably Salomon Gessner, who achieved Europe-wide fame with his *Idyllen* (Idylls, 1756). More often, however, the theoretical debate formed the broad context to which writers responded. Eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century theorists debated whether the purpose of pastoral was to idealize its subjects and improve its readers, or whether it should aim for authentic representation of human passions. Related to this was the question of whether contemporary shepherds were worthy of representation, whether their lives should be represented selectively, or whether pastoral should, rather, represent shepherds in a past Golden Age. Some theorists saw pastoral as a moralizing cultural form, while others believed it should represent whole human beings without hiding their passions before the distortions wrought by processes of civilization. Other theorists, notably Schiller, entrusted pastoral with envisioning a future society in which the distortions wrought by civilization would be overcome without unwinding cultural progress. Theorists also argued for a shift in the focus of pastoral from herdsmen to small communities, which still provided a refuge for the humane values that had been driven out from urban civilization. This shift in location also prepared the way for pastorals focusing on middle-class lives, where the pastor often took the place of the herdsman.

The eighteenth century saw allegorical pastoral give way to growing realism, although it was generally conceded, initially at least, that pastoral should represent a possible world, rather than the real world. Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle (1657–1757) prepared the way for this development with his *Digression sur les Anciens et les Modernes* (Digression on the Ancients and the Moderns), which argued that the ancients did not

provide a model for imitation. In his *Discours sur la nature de l'églogue* (Discourse on the Nature of the Eclogue, 1688), Fontenelle therefore offers a rational account of pastoral fiction and the pleasure it provides, rather than advocating imitation of Theocritus and Virgil. Fontenelle conceives of his *Discurs über die Natur der Schäfergedichte*, as his tract was entitled in Johann Christoph Gottsched's translation, as a set of rules for writing pastoral poetry, although he admits from the outset that he has not adhered to the rules in his own eclogues, which predated his *Discurs*. Fontenelle criticizes Theocritus's swains for lacking realism, as they display more "Schönheit und Zärtlichkeit der Einbildungskraft . . . als wahre Schäfer haben können"; yet he also complains of their coarseness ("Grobheit"), despite their pleasant manners.<sup>70</sup> Fontenelle praises Virgil for making his herdsmen in the corresponding third Eclogue more polite and pleasant, but he still complains of Virgil's inclusion of peasants' concerns ("ganz und gar bäurische Dinge"), such as observations about their flocks.<sup>71</sup>

Fontenelle shows little sympathy for Virgilian allegory, describing it as a break in style that detracts from the appealing simplicity of pastoral.<sup>72</sup> Pastoral is important as the oldest form of poetry originating from the oldest mode of life, yet he imagines that the poetry of these earliest times must have been very rough.<sup>73</sup> This leads to a broader reflection on the pleasures of pastoral verse: "Von Schafen und Ziegen reden zu hören, und von der Sorgfalt, die man für diese Thiere tragen muß, das hat an und für sich selbst nichts gefälliges. Dasjenige, was uns gefällt, ist die Vorstellung von dem ruhigen Leben derer, die Schafe und Ziegen weiden."<sup>74</sup> Fontenelle's rational view of pastoral assigns authority, not to classical models, but to the needs of its audience, particularly the court. The rural setting is largely extrinsic. It is merely the fact that pure, simple love and leisure are more likely to be found in the countryside than in the cities that leads Fontenelle to recommend rural settings. Fontenelle counsels that rustic matters and the baseness of country life must be hidden, as they interfere with the reader's pleasure.<sup>75</sup> He therefore calls for a middle way between the crudity of Theocritus's herdsmen and the implausibly sophisticated swains of Tasso's *Aminta*, which means emphasizing the pleasant aspects of pastoral life while concealing the hardships. Fontenelle commends a selective representation of real shepherd life from the contemporary world. Fontenelle makes passing reference to the subjugation of country people by urban populations, but the potential for social critique remains undeveloped.<sup>76</sup> Fontenelle's pastoral is more a retreat from civilized life into a dream of rural existence, with the aim of pandering to the taste of the ruling class, rather than to return "insights relevant to the urban audience," let alone to criticize their mindset.<sup>77</sup>

Johann Christoph Gottsched's influential *Versuch einer Critischen Dichtkunst* (Attempt at a Critical Poetics, 1730) became a key point of

reference for later pastoral theorists and writers. It aimed to improve the standards of German writing in the eighteenth century by encouraging a critical dialogue between contemporary literature and the acknowledged standards represented by classical antiquity and French neo-Classicism. Like Fontenelle, Gottsched attempts to formulate his poetics through rational deduction, beginning with the premise that nature's beauty derives from its conformity with rules. Poets seeking to create beauty must imitate nature—which in turn means following rules.<sup>78</sup> While his understanding of pastoral is dependent on Fontenelle's, it differs in two respects. First, Gottsched places less emphasis on readers' pleasure, and more on their edification, which entails a stronger emphasis on virtue than leisure. Gottsched's goal was to promote a literature that educated the reader towards rational thought and moral conduct. Beiser argues that Gottsched's insistence on the moral aspect of poetry is in part a response to the need to defend poetry against its religious critics.<sup>79</sup> Second, faced with the problem of the moral unsuitability of the modern shepherd as a literary subject, rather than accept Fontenelle's demand for partial, aestheticizing representation, Gottsched instead calls for the mimetic portrayal of a past Golden Age of innocence and virtue. This demand in turn strengthens the potential for pastoral to comment implicitly on the shortcomings of present reality by creating a better alternative world.

Gottsched argues that herdsmen's poems are the oldest kind of poetry, and praises Theocritus for combining nature and art.<sup>80</sup> Yet Gottsched does not consider Theocritus or Virgil exemplary, but rather judges pastoral writing by its effects. Above all, pastoral should portray a lost Golden Age of simplicity, virtue, and happiness:

Will man nun wissen worinn das rechte Wesen eines guten Schäfer-Gedichtes besteht: So kan ich kürztlich sagen; in der Nachahmung des unschuldigen ruhigen und ungekünstelten Schäferlebens, welches vorzeiten in der Welt geführet worden. Poetisch würde ich sagen, es sey eine Abschilderung des güldenen Welt-Alters; auf Christliche Art zu reden, eine Vorstellung des Standes der Unschuld, oder doch wenigstens der Patriarchalischen Zeiten, vor und nach der Sündfluth. Aus dieser Beschreibung kan ein jeder leicht wahrnehmen, was für ein herrliches Feld zu schönen Beschreibungen eines tugendhafften und glücklichen Lebens sich hier einem Poeten zeigt.<sup>81</sup>

Gottsched's theory of pastoral is based on a mimetic impulse, in that it demands the portrayal of real pastoral life in former times. Innocence and artlessness, virtue and happiness are key features, which show how the reader's edification becomes a main focus for Gottsched. He goes on to give social reasons for recommending a turn towards the Golden Age:



Denn die Wahrheit zu sagen, der heutige Schäferstand ist derjenige nicht, den man in Schäfer-Gedichten abschildern muß. Er hat viel zu wenig Annehmlichkeiten, als daß er uns recht gefallen könnte. Unsre Landleute sind mehrentheils armselige, gedrückte und geplagte Leute. Sie sind selten die Besitzer ihrer Heerden, und wenn sie es gleich sind, werden ihnen doch so viel Steuern und Abgaben auferlegt, daß sie bey aller ihrer sauren Arbeit kaum ihr Brodt haben. Zudem herrschen unter ihnen schon so viele Laster, daß man sie nicht mehr als Muster der Tugend aufführen kann. Es müssen gantz andre Schäfer seyn, die ein Poet abschildern, und deren Lebensart er in seinen Gedichten nachahmen soll.<sup>82</sup>

Gottsched's portrayal of the lost Golden Age was to influence Salomon Gessner's bestselling *Idyllen* (1756), so it is worth examining in detail. His concept of a Golden Age is not purely rationalistic, as Schneider argues, but rather it *does* carry over elements of the Golden Age depicted by Virgil in the fourth Eclogue, in particular the notion of nature bringing forth its bounty willingly and the absence of heavy labor and war:<sup>83</sup>

Man stelle sich die Welt in ihrer ersten Unschuld vor. Ein freyes Volk, welches von keinen Königen und Fürsten weiß, wohnt in einem fetten Lande, welches an allem einen Überfluß [*sic*] hat, und nicht nur Gras, Kräuter und Bäume, sondern auch die schönsten Früchte von sich selbst hervorbringt. Von schwerer Arbeit weiß man daselbst eben so wenig, als von Drangsalen und Kriegen. Ein jeder Hausvater ist sein eigener König und Herr; seine Kinder und Knechte sind seine Unterthanen.<sup>84</sup>

Gottsched's Golden Age is not manifestly fictional, as Virgil's was, but this vision of natural abundance and peace is certainly an idealization, as is the assumption that this patriarchal order represents an ideal order despite the subjugation of children and servants. Gottsched's Golden Age represents a counterimage (from a middle-class, male perspective) to modern hierarchical society, one which could be seen as a celebration of bourgeois private virtues. These virtues are implicitly given a political edge by being contrasted with the hierarchical world of courtly absolutism.<sup>85</sup> Gottsched admits that political systems may be introduced into pastoral, given how they have become necessary in order to counter human evil. Such political systems should be located in neighboring lands and should only be spoken of with some distaste.<sup>86</sup> His ideal shepherd prefers a (bourgeois) simplicity to the opulence of the court: "Eine hölzerne Hütte, oder wohl gar ein Strohdach ist ihm sein Pallast, ein grüner Lust-Wald sein Garten, eine kühle Höle sein Keller, eine Lauberhütte sein Sommer-Haus, Flachs und Wolle und ein Stroh-Hut sind seine Kleidung; Milch und Käse sind seine Nahrung; die Feld- und Garten-Früchte seine Leckerbissen;