THE MYTHOLOGICAL DRAMAS OF LYLY AND HEYWOOD: A STUDY IN ADAPTATION

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By

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CHAPTER I

AN INTRODUCTION

The English Renaissance not only inherited its interest in classical mythology from the past, but also fell heir to many essentially medieval attitudes towards the classics and their use. The various translations and redactions of mythology which were current did much to form the Renaissance conception of the classics, for the translations of men such as Lydgate, Caxton, and Golding actually conserved the medieval traditions. Such translators, often working from French translations rather than from Latin and Greek originals, showed a marked propensity to adulterate the classics with views of their own, for they constantly allegorized and moralized the myths in accordance with Christian thought. Within the medieval tradition, the "ancients" were greatly admired, but there was little evidence of any appreciation of their spirit, which was, after all, pagan. No clear distinction was made between the Greek writers and those of Rome. Instead, all were referred to indiscriminately as "ancients." Nor was there the attitude that the classics were sacrosanct. They were looked upon as providing a reservoir of interesting anecdote and character which could be used as <u>exempla</u> for didactic, moralistic works, or as a

basis for allegorical interpretations in line with Christian ideals.

When the Renaissance tardily arrived in England, a purely secular interest in the classics became pronounced. Such dramatists as followed the trend of fashion and made large drafts upon the classics in the interest of entertainment, for the most part adopted the medieval attitude that the classics were "fair game." Their interest, like that of their predecessors, was primarily in the exciting incidents and the colorful characters contained in the myths, rather than in the formal aspects or ideals of classicism.

Perhaps the drama of no other age has been at once so completely dependent upon derivative material, and yet so completely autonomous in the use of such material. There was little originality of theme or plot, but the Tudor dramatists showed a remarkable ability to transform and revitalize borrowed material, making it their own. They looked to the past, but saw it strictly in relation to their own age.

The unfettered flexibility of their treatment of the classics perhaps may be called irresponsible. However, this very flexibility facilitates the comparison of various dramatic works which are dependent upon the classics for their source. In so far as the writers felt free to manipulate at will a common store of subject matter, any significant

differences in their adaptation of this material are brought into bold relief. One may thus attend to the special problems confronting the writers, and estimate the significance of these problems in terms of the particular adaptation of the classical material which is involved. In this way, the study of the various uses of classical subject matter is a valuable key to the study of the broader aspects of the dramatic works of the age: the essential problems facing the dramatist would have persisted whether or not there was a convenient key to their character, and indeed they did persist beyond the range of our limited consideration.

John Lyly and Thomas Heywood were among the many Elizabethan dramatists who went to the rich storehouse of classical mythology to obtain raw material. Yet, if we look at the mythological dramas of these two men, we find that scarcely any point of similarity can be noted. This paper will endeavor to point out and examine these differences in the light of the special situations for which their dramas were created. Although John Lyly and Thomas Heywood were by birth and education similar, the circumstances of life led Lyly into the charmed circle of Elizabeth's court, while Heywood sought his fortune in the arena of the public theater.

R. W. Bond suggests that Lyly was probably born in Kent of yeoman stock in 1553 or 1554. This theory is

strengthened by several statements in Lyly's Euphues which are thought to be autobiographical.[1] From the Registrum Universitatis Oxoniensis, we learn that Lyly entered Magdalen College in 1571 as a commoner. He was granted a B.A. degree in 1573, and received his M.A. in 1575.[2] According to Cooper's Athenae Cantabrigienses, Lyly was also granted an M.A. from Cambridge in 1579.[3]

While at Oxford, Lyly's wit and charm, together with his admiration for courtly practices, evidently endeared him to persons of influence. In 1574, he referred to himself as the alumnus of Lord Burleigh, High Treasurer of England, and member of the Queen's Privy Council. In a letter written to Burleigh, Lyly suggests strongly that he owes his university career to the generosity of this powerful man:

> In the gracious bounty shown, most noble Peer, to me your foster-son, and in your gratuitous and unlooked-for interest, effort, and extraordinary pains on my behalf, I recognize with all becoming humility your good and kindly disposition toward men devoted to learning. And

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[1]R. Warwick Bond, The Complete Works of John Lyly (Oxford, 1902), I, pp. 4-5.

[2]Ibid., p. 6.

[3]Ibid., p. 16.

> since this inconceivable indulgence of yours has far surpassed, not merely my deserts, but my hopes, and has granted at large what my modesty would never have asked, I rest in deepest debt to your honour, in a degree indeed which must always be beyond my poor opportunities of repayment.[4]

Lyly's ambitions were furthered not only by noble and highly-placed friends, but by the astounding success of his first literary work, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, which appeared in 1578. The second part, Euphues and His England, appeared in 1579. Both parts went through four editions during the years immediately following their appearance, and through seventeen editions before Lyly's death in 1606.[5] Although Euphues is often referred to as the first English novel, it is more like a series of essays on various moral and courtly topics, bound together by a rather thin love story. It is remarkable principally for its style, which carried tendencies already evident in North's Dial of Princes and Pettie's Palace of Pleasure to an extreme. This style, which came to be described as "euphuistic" is essentially antithetical in structure, and abounding with pseudo-scientific and mythological references.

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[4]Ibid., p. 13. (Translated from the Latin by R. W. Bond from the Lansdowne MS. xix, No. 16, in the British Museum.)

[5]Ibid., p. 43.

The second part of Euphues was dedicated to Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and son-in-law to Lord Burleigh. This is the first indication of Lyly's connection with the Earl of Oxford, who appointed him as his private secretary and admitted him to his confidence and friendship for many years. The Earl not only held the hereditary office of Lord Great Chamberlain, but was a court favorite as well. He had a lively interest in the drama, and was the patron of a company of boy actors. Perhaps it was this association with the Earl which gave Lyly his impetus toward the drama. With such powerful friends at court, Lyly's presentation to Elizabeth was assured. Bond suggests that this presentation probably took place on the occasion of the performance of Lyly's first play, Campaspe, before Elizabeth, on January 1, 1581-1582.[6]

From this date on, Lyly's entire dramatic output was designed for the entertainment of Elizabeth and her court. His first official post was probably that of assistant to Thomas Giles, Master of St. Paul's Boys. Apparently Elizabeth relied upon the choir boys for dramatic entertainment, and by appointing Lyly to such a post, she reaped the fruit of his dramatic talents in the form of plays and entertainments written by him, and performed under his direction by the boys.

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[6]Ibid., p. 31.

In spite of his influential friends, and in spite of the obvious pleasure Elizabeth took in his entertainments, Lyly was destined to be frustrated in his life-long ambition to be appointed as Master of the Revels. Evidently Elizabeth encouraged him in this ambition, but perversely refused to reward his faithful service. Two undated petitions to the Queen tell the unhappy story. The first petition implies that Elizabeth gave Lyly reason to expect such an appointment:

> I was entertayned your Maties servant by your owne gratious ffavor stranghthened with Condicions, that I should ayme all my Courses att the Revells; (I dare not saye, with a promise, butt a hopefull Item, of the Reversion) ffor the which theis Tenn yeares, I have Attended, with an unwearyed patience.[7]

The second petition reminds Elizabeth that he has been "Thirteen yeares your Highnes Servant; butt yett nothinge."[8]

Other difficulties also beset Lyly. The boy companies fell into several periods of disgrace, due to their participation in the religious controversy which was raging. In 1590, Paul's Boys were suppressed for a period of about eight years.[9] This proved to be very serious for Lyly's career, for only one play, The Woman in the Moon, came from his pen after this date. Before the lengthy suppression of Paul's

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[7] Ibid., p. 33. (Reprinted from the Harleian MS. 1323, fols. 249-50, in the British Museum.)

[8] Ibid., p. 33.

[9] E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage (Oxford, 1923), II. p. 19.

Boys, Lyly had no rival as a court dramatist. After 1590, although plays continued to be written primarily for the court, an ever increasing number of popular successes were adapted or revived for presentation at court.[10] The court dramatist, as exemplified by Lyly, became a thing of the past, for more and more frequently writers for the public stage were commissioned to write plays expressly for the entertainment of the court.

The birth of Thomas Heywood is generally thought to have occurred between the years 1572 and 1575, and it is inferred from contemporary references that he was a native of Lincolnshire, and came from a good, but not noble family.[11] Heywood's connection with a university is not so clear, even though his literary career makes such a connection most probable. In An Apology for Actors, Heywood makes reference to "my residence in Cambridge,"[12] and William Cartwright in his Dedication to the Actors' Vindication, 1658, refers to Heywood as a fellow of Peterhouse.

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[10]Felix E. Schelling, Elizabethan Playwrights (New York, 1925), p. 60.

[11]Arthur M. Clark, Thomas Heywood (Oxford, 1931), p. 1.

[12]An Apology for Actors, edited by J. P. Collier (London, 1841), reprinted for Shakespeare Society, Vol. 15, No. 3, p. 28.

After gaining his education, Heywood evidently went to London, where he plunged into the teeming, precarious, life of the public theater. His name first appears in Henslowe's Diary in 1596, when Henslowe loaned the Admiral's Men thirty shillings "for hawode's booke."[13] On March 25, 1598, Heywood agreed to serve two years as an actor in the Admiral's Company.[14] In the same year, Henslowe recorded a transaction in which a "Booke called ware with out blowes and love with owt sewte of Thomas hawodes" was purchased for five pounds, which is slightly under the usual purchase price. Clark remarks concerning this transaction: "Apparently the dirtier work of Henslowe's dramatic factory was still falling to the juvenile Heywood, from whom a play might be had on lower terms than his elders would accept."[15] But in this same year, 1598, Heywood was included in Mere's Palladis Tamia as among the best for comedy.

From 1602 to 1619 Heywood was a permanent member of the Earl of Worcester's Men. This company, in which Heywood was a sharer, became Queen Anne's Men in 1603, and performed at many of the London theaters of the day—The Rose, The Curtain,

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[13]Henslowe's Diary, edited by W. W. Greg (London, 1904), I, p.45.

[14]Ibid., p. 204.

[15]Clark, op. cit., p. 12.

The Boar's Head, The Red Bull, and The Cockpit.[16] Heywood's experience was not necessarily confined to the London theaters, for as a member of the Queen's Company, he no doubt toured the provinces with them, visiting Norwich, Leicester, Dover, Coventry, and Marlborough, among many other places.[17] So, as actor, sharer, and playwright, there were few aspects of the public stage with which Heywood was not acquainted. There is much evidence of his constant activity in the London theaters--collaborating, revising, writing, and acting. In his Preface to The English Traveler, Heywood claims to have "had either an entire hand, or at least a maine finger" in two hundred and twenty plays.[18] Even though he never received particularly high prices for his plays, the rapidity of his production alone spared him from the poverty and uncertainty endured by men like Chettle, Dekker, and Day.

After many tremendously active and successful years as a dramatist, Heywood entered upon still another career--that of London city pageant poet. His popularity with the bourgeois can have no better proof than the fact that he was chosen year after year to write the pageants which were staged yearly by the members of the Mayor's guild. In 1632,

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[16]Chambers, op.cit., II. pp. 220-40.

[17]Ibid., pp. 233-34.

[18]The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood, Pearson edition (London, 1874), IV, p. 3.

1632, and 1637, he was retained by the Haberdasher's Guild, in 1633 by the Clothworkers, by the Ironmongers in 1635, and by the Drapers in 1639.[19]

Perhaps it should be emphasized here that although Lyly addressed his work to a sophisticated, courtly society, and Heywood deliberately aimed his drama at the bourgeois public theater audience, neither was totally unaware of the special problems faced by the other. Lyly's connection with public entertainment came about by virtue of the fact that the boy companies attached to the court were allowed to eke out their income by public presentations of court plays. In this manner, several of Lyly's plays came to be presented at the Blackfriars theater before a public audience. In the Prologue which was delivered at the Blackfriars presentation of Midas, Lyly takes cognizance of the demands of a more heterogenous audience:

> At our exercises, Souldiers call for Tragedies, their object is bloud: Courtiers for Commedies, their subject is love; Countriemen for Pastoralles, Shepheards are their Saintes.[20]

Heywood, on the other hand, appeared at court as a member of the Earl of Worcester's Company in 1602 and 1603. Later, as a member of the Queen's Company, he undoubtedly

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[19]Clark, op.cit., pp. 112-16.

[20]Bond, op.cit., III, p. 115.

appeared frequently at court.[21] In the year 1634, while Heywood was in the midst of his career as a pageant poet, Queen Henrietta Maria commissioned him to write a court play. In compliance with her wish, Heywood produced the masque-like Love's Mistress. In this, his single court play, Heywood shows an understanding of the special problems involved in appealing to a courtly audience, and adapts himself to those conditions in a manner distinctly Lylian.

The purpose of this essay does not lend itself to an exhaustive treatment of each of the factors severally involved. Some of the topics considered might well constitute separate detailed studies in their own right, but an aggregate of such studies would not necessarily address the broader relationships which are the special concern of this paper. As a study in adaptation, involving the work and special problems of two writers, the present treatment has been governed by the purpose of comparison, and this purpose has determined the emphasis upon individual factors. The adequacy of the essay rests with the achievement of a sound perspective on the relationships between two significant dramatic efforts, rather than with a complete exposition of the contents of either.

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[21] Chambers, op. cit., II. pp. 232-33.

CHAPTER II

JOHN LYLY

> Your Majesties judgement and favour, are
> our Sunne and shadowe . . .

John Lyly is unique among Elizabethan dramatists, in that all of his dramas were written for performance before Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, and her court. For this reason, Lyly was somewhat circumscribed in his choice and treatment of subject matter. Concerning Lyly's use of classical mythology for source material, Bond remarks:

> It is small blame to Lyly that, living amid a society dominated by an almost tyrannical classical taste, and writing his plays for the amusement of a learned Queen and Court, he follows the trend of fashion and personal inclination, and makes large drafts upon the classics for the materials of his plays.[1]

Six out of Lyly's eight plays are indebted to classical mythology in varying degrees. Of the remaining two plays, one, Campaspe, is based upon classical history, and the other, Mother Bombie, is a realistic comedy on the Terentian model.

Ovid, the most courtly of the ancients, is Lyly's favorite source. His witty, ironic tone, and his cynical

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[1]R. Warwick Bond, The Complete Works of John Lyly (Oxford, 1902), II, p. 244.

assumption that love is an art, made his works remarkably well suited to Lyly's purpose, which was both to flatter Elizabeth and to entertain her court. Writing for an educated audience already familiar with the classics, Lyly tried to present the various myths and legends in a new light, using them in various combinations, embroidering them with his own imaginative creations, and giving them a piquant excitement by veiled allegories of court life.

Most dependent of all upon classical mythology are Midas and Loves Metamorphosis. Lyly's Midas follows closely the legend as told in Book XI of Ovid's Metamorphoses. However, Lyly adds a courtly element by the addition of several characters. Among these are three counselors to Midas, the daughter of Midas and her ladies, and several court pages. Lyly also adds a barber and a huntsman for comedy relief.

The main plot of Loves Metamorphosis concerns the story of Erisichthon, who incurred the enmity of Ceres by an act of violence against one of her nymphs. This tale is told by Ovid in Book VIII of the Metamorphoses. A secondary plot which concerns the loves of three nymphs and three foresters is suggested by Ovid, but given original treatment by Lyly.

Sapho and Phao cleverly combines elements found in Sapho's epistle from Ovid's Heroides, with Aelian's tale

of Venus' gift of beauty to the ferryman, Phao, which is to be found in the Varia Historia. Lyly combines these two myths by making Sapho and Venus rivals for the love of Phao. Courtly elements are added by making Sapho a queen, rather than a poetess, and by surrounding her with a courtly society. Comic relief is added by the witty remarks of the pages, and by an episode featuring Venus, Vulcan, and Cupid. In this particular play, additions and original treatment quite outweigh the borrowed mythological framework.

Gallathea also combines mythological suggestions with original elements. In Book IX of Ovid's Metamorphoses, is found the mere suggestion of a passion between two girls, one of whom is turned into a boy by Venus in order that their love might be fulfilled. Lyly treats this theme in combination with the familiar mythological tale of a virgin sacrificed to a sea monster. The two stories are interwoven by having the two girls disguised as boys in order to avoid being sacrificed to the sea monster. Mythological characters appear in Lyly's secondary plot, which tells of an attack by Cupid upon Diana's nymphs, and of her vengeance upon him.

Endimion, the best known of Lyly's plays, owes little to classical mythology beyond the mere suggestion of a kiss given by Diana to a sleeping shepherd, which is found in one of Lucian's dialogs. Other brief allusions to the same

tale are to be found in both Ovid and Hyginus. Around this mere suggestion, Lyly weaves an allegorical fantasy of court life.

The Woman in the Moon, Lyly's sole play written in blank verse, owes only the character Pandora and the names and characteristics of the planets to mythology.

The dramatic works of John Lyly actually stand on the very threshold of self-conscious dramatic art in England. For some two hundred years, the history of English drama had been the history of religious and moral education by stage representation. Although the secular drama, as exemplified by the Moralities, had as its aim entertainment as well as moral edification, its aims were so indecisive as to produce only a chaotic drama--half story, half sermon--in which spectacle and farce, allegory and reality, were incongruously mingled. Clear-cut realistic comedy was introduced in the single scenes of John Heywood around the year 1530. About ten years later, Udall produced Ralph Roister Doister, the first true comedy. From this day on, the Moralities divided the stage with early attempts at tragedy, comedy, and history. More frequently than not, attempts were made to fuse the two methods of writing, resulting in mixed pieces which lacked any distinctive form. Gross incongruities of plan show the lack of awareness of either the rights or limitations of a dramatist. Tales from

folklore and the Bible, transcribed episodes from the ancients, and excerpts from history or contemporary life, were thrown together haphazardly, with little or no attempt at an artistic manipulation of the elements involved.

In contrast to the complete absence of regulating principles evident in the popular drama, stood the abortive attempt to revive classical drama, which by its very nature was largely confined to the Universities and Inns of Court. The English people in general were too far removed by both nature and education from classical ideals to appreciate a mere revival. The pleasure-loving court was little more interested in a purely academic exercise than was the public audience, but at the same time, was too critical to accept the shapeless products of the public stage.

Lyly's drama stands mid-way between the classical revivals and the freedom of the professional stage. His unique position is indicated by Bond:

> While his dramatic contemporaries were driven by their necessities to cater for the popular stage, where form was always in danger of being swamped by license, Lyly writing rather for the wits and scholars, for a learned queen and her blue-stockinged ladies, admits in a considerable degree the regulating check and control of classical taste.[2]

Although Lyly knew and took cognizance of classical standards, he somewhat apologetically followed the popular

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[2]Ibid., p. 248.

stage tradition in his mingling of mythological, pastoral, and romantic elements. In the Prologue to Midas he says:

> Time hath confounded our mindes, our mindes the matter; but all commeth to this passe, that what heretofore hath beene served in severall dishes for a feast, is now minced in a charger for a Gallimaufrey. If wee present a mingle-mangle, our fault is to be excused, because the whole worlde is become an Hodge-podge.[3]

The enormous difference between the plays of Lyly and the mixed dramatic works which had been produced earlier, was that Lyly succeeded in combining heterogenous elements into a harmonious whole. Unlike earlier dramatists, who tended to merely drag in various types of dramatic entertainment, Lyly consciously and artistically manipulated the various elements. No gross incongruities of plan are evident in his work. Lyly's intention seems always clear, and it is evident that an artistic intelligence presided at its working out. Lyly shows a knowledge of the distinctions between the various types of drama, and the manner is which he mingles them is dictated by a recognition of the rights and limitations of the imagination.

Although the governing influence of classical drama is evident in his work, Lyly's attitude toward the unities shows much freedom. He follows them when he so desires, but ignores them when it suits his purpose, or when they really do not matter. This rather cavalier attitude toward the

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[3]Midas, Prologue.16-20. (Citations from Lyly in the text are to The Complete Works, edited by R. W. Bond.)

unities is justified by Lyly's creation of a fairy-tale, enchanted land, where time and place become vague and inconsistent, and where the conditions of reality no longer prevail. Lyly makes this clear in his Prologue to Endimion:

> Most high and happy Princesse, we must tell you a tale of the Man in the Moone, which if it seeme ridiculous for the method, or superfluous for the matter, or for the meanes incredible, for three faultes wee can make but one excuse, It is a tale of the Man in the Moone.[4]

In this dream-like world, a time confusion, for instance, matters little. So, although we are told in Act III that Endimion's sleep has lasted twenty years, and then in Act V are told that it lasted forty years, this really does not affect the credibility of the story in any vital way. Lyly also has been sometimes taken to task for the fact that while Endimion shows the aging effects of his long sleep, the rest of the characters do not. Cynthia remains young and beautiful, Tellus is still endowed with all the passion of youth, and the small pages continue to be impudent and witty. The whole world remains frozen, as it were, in the same state it was in when Endimion first fell asleep. How much better thus, than to have the characters all heavy with age, as consistency would demand! The enchanted sleep, the kiss of Cynthia, and Endimion's restoration would all be made ridiculous if such standards were insisted upon. For what is normal in the world of reality would, by a subtle

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[4] Endimion, Prologue.1-5.

alchemy, become incongruous in the world of the Man in the Moon. Here such inconsistencies are not only acceptable, but are artistically necessary. In this manner, Lyly allows imagination its rightful exercise, but does not strain it too far. His attitude toward the unities is kept in a nice balance between the strictures of the classical stage and the complete freedom of the popular stage.

Although Lyly in practise rejects the formal standards of classical drama, he was not satisfied, as many of his contemporaries were, simply to throw over all formal structure in favor of a loose, wandering, chronicle style. Taking a hint from the rhetorical balance evident in so many classical writers, and which Lyly himself had exploited so avidly in Euphues, he created a dramatic structure which was not dependent upon the classical unities, but which was undergirded by the much more flexible principle of antithesis. In Euphues, Lyly had attempted a purely verbal balance or antithesis, which he accomplished by the use of many varied rhetorical devices. Words were balanced with words, phrases with phrases, and sentences with sentences. Ideas were contrasted with other ideas, and human issues were constantly referred to natural or mythological parallels, much in the same manner as an artist balances masses and colors, or as a musician plays one theme against another. Lyly applied this basic principle of antithesis to his

dramatic structure, where it proved to be a cohesive force which served to knit the heterogenous elements of his drama into an artistic unit. This was in no sense a "classical" unity, but it pointed the way toward a freer, "romantic" unity, and proved Lyly to be capable, as no English dramatist before him had been, of mingling native and classical forms.

Although Lyly's plays have little external action, he knows how to build a genuine dramatic plot. After setting up an initial antithesis or conflict, such as the conflict between Sapho and Venus, the struggle between sensual and spiritual love endured by Endimion, or the conflict of greed and reason in Midas, he proceeds to a final solution or resolution, which is worked out--not just dragged in.

When Lyly uses a fully developed sub-plot, he utilizes the principle of antithesis as a method of combining it with the principal plot. In Sapho and Phao, and in Midas, the plot is single, with minor comedy issues added which do not affect the working out of the main plot. In Gallathea, the two maidens, Gallathea and Phillida, are disguised as boys to avoid the virgin tribute, while in the sub-plot, Cupid is disguised as a girl in order to spread confusion among Diana's nymphs. In Endimion, the extravagant love of Endimion for the unattainable Cynthia is humorously commented on by Sir Tophas' ridiculous love for Dipsas, an aged crone.

A farcical element is introduced by Lyly as comic relief for every act. Antithesis is again seen here, for these comic elements are kept in the nature of anti-masques. Lyly always maintains a clear distinction between scenes of farce and scenes of romance or pastoral. Comedy scenes are not introduced at random or mixed in with the main action, for Lyly deliberately suspends the main action and introduces the farce. The characters which take part in the farce usually have some slight connection with the main theme. For instance, in Midas the farcical elements are introduced by servants, pages, a barber, and a huntsman, who are all attached to the court of Midas, and in Endimion, the farce is introduced by pages who are attached to the court of Cynthia.

The principle of antithesis is further illustrated by Lyly's policy of character grouping. In all of his plays there appears a central character who dominates the action by reason of rank or position. Such are the figures of Diana, Cynthia, Midas, Cupid, and Ceres. Around these central figures move balanced or contrasting groups of characters. In Loves Metamorphosis we have Cupid versus Ceres, and a group of three foresters balanced by a group of three nymphs. In Gallathea, we see two parents opposed by two daughters, and a group of shepherds balanced by a group of nymphs. In Endimion, we find Tellus and Dipsas

working against the union of Cynthia and Endimion, while Eumenides and Geron work for it.

Further use of antithesis is seen in Lyly's handling of individual scenes. For instance, in Act One of Sapho and Phao, the two principals enter from opposite sides of the stage. Phao inquires who that gentlewoman is, and is informed that it is Sapho; Sapho in turn, asks who that fair young man is, and is told that it is Phao. This very simple and balanced scene structure is seen again in Act Two of Gallathea, where one scene presents Gallathea alone on the stage, confessing her love for Phillida, and the next scene introduces Phillida, confessing her love for Gallathea. In Endimion, a scene in which Endimion tells his friend Eumenides of his love for Cynthia is immediately followed by one in which Tellus confides her love for Endimion to her friend, Floscula. But Lyly can also design a complicated scene with balance and control. An excellent example of this ability can be found in the final scene of Loves Metamorphosis. Here Lyly is faced with the problem of bringing the play to a close while dealing with a large number of characters, all vital to the plot. Lyly handles this problem masterfully, moving the three sets of lovers with a ballet-like grace about the central figures of Ceres and Cupid. No character is slighted, and all are kept in balance.

Using a technique of structural as well as verbal antithesis, Lyly created a type of drama which was full of contrasts and conflicts, yet orderly and coherent withal. Such a drama was suited to meet the critical demands of an educated and courtly audience in a way which the current popular drama was not.

Previous to Lyly, the principal vehicle of English drama was rhymed verse, with the use of prose relegated to farcical scenes. With the majority of writers, the constant inclusion of rhyme led to a stiffness and crudity of expression, and too often the verse became mere doggerel. Lyly's use of prose as a dramatic vehicle was, in effect, a rebellion against the earlier crudities of language and versification. Lyly's keen sense of form, his urbanity and taste, were made evident in the experimental Euphues, which, by dint of its popularity alone, probably did more than any other one work to awaken the English public to the artistic possibilities of prose. Although in the Restoration period, prose became established as the proper medium for English comedy, Lyly was the first English dramatist to use it consistently, and the influence of his polished, witty dialogue proved to be a lasting one.

The euphuistic style itself, in the hands of Lyly, proved to be well suited to a dramatic use. The very essence

of drama is conflict, which finds natural expression through Lyly's constant use of antithesis. In place of the pseudo-regularity of poor meter, Lyly's prose supplied a careful balance and antithesis which comprehended the entire dramatic situation, rather than the verbal element alone. Furthermore, at a purely verbal level, the decorative qualities of Lyly's prose more than compensated for the lack of verse. Lyly's imaginative and artistic use of varied rhetorical devices actually imbued his prose with a poetical aura but rarely attained by his contemporaries in their use of verse.

The language of Lyly's drama was influenced by the courtly society in which he moved, and in turn, had a profound effect upon the language of the court itself. Lyly supplied a model for courtly discourse, since the manners and conventions of courtly social life are idealized in Lyly's artfully constructed prose. Edward Blount, in the Preface to his 1632 edition of Lyly's Six Court Comedies, written at a time when the English Court under Queen Henrietta Maria was greatly influenced by the French court, commented on the effect of Lyly's prose upon the court of Queen Elizabeth:

> Our nation are in his debt for a new English which he taught them. Euphues and his England began first that language. All our ladies were then his scholars, and that beauty in court which could not parley Euphuism was as little regarded as she which now there speaks not French.[5]

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[5]Quoted in Albert C. Baugh, A Literary History of England (New York, 1948), p. 420.

Perhaps the most obvious instance of Lyly's connection with the court of Elizabeth is to be found in his unique use of allegory, for Lyly used classical mythology in a way which touched upon contemporary events and turned them to a deft flattery of Elizabeth.

Discarding the use of allegorical figures so common in the dramatic works preceeding him, Lyly substituted mythological figures for abstract qualities. Venus represented Wantonness; Cupid--Love; Diana and Cynthia--Chastity. Using this device, Lyly created a platonic spiritual allegory which, by nature of its theme, complimented the renowned chastity of the virgin queen. Thus, Sapho and Phao allegorizes a conflict between Wantonness and Chastity in the persons of Sapho and Venus. The allegory in Endimion pictures Endimion's struggle between Earthly and Divine Love as represented by Tellus and Cynthia. Gallathea and Loves Metamorphosis both allegorize a conflict between Love and Chastity. Bond further suggests that the denouements of these four plays not only flatter Elizabeth by reason of the continual triumph of Chastity over Love, but that the allegory might be of an even more personal and topical nature. He says:

> All four may perhaps be regarded as reflective of Elizabeth's changing attitude toward love and marriage, or at least of what a courtier might deem to be such.[6]

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[6] Bond, op.cit., I, p. 45.

In Sapho and Phao, we have the defeat of Venus, or Wantonness, by Sapho, or Chastity, and an assertion of independence from the power of love. In Gallathea, Diana or Chastity conquers Love in the person of Cupid. Some of Diana's speeches show an active hostility to love, which might refer to Elizabeth's unwillingness to contenance marriage among her court ladies:

> And thou shalt see Cupid that I will shewe my selfe to be Diana, that is, Conquerer of thy loose and untamed appetites. . . . I will breake thy bowe, and burne thine arrowes, binde thy handes, clyp thy wings, and fetter thy feete. . . . These Ladies heere whom thou hast infected with foolish love, shall both tread on thee and triumph over thee. . . . I will teach thee what it is to displease Diana, distresse her Nimphes, or disturbe her game.[7]

Loves Metamorphosis shows evidence of a new reverence for the power of Cupid, but still the over-all attitude is one of reservation. Ceres, who in this case represents Bounty as well as Chastity, says:

> I will charm my Nymphes, as they shall neither be so stately as not to stoope to love, nor so light as presently to yeeld.[8]

In Endimion, Tellus, the representative of earthly, sensual love, is rejected by Endimion in favor of a divine love, represented by Cynthia. A tenderness for love and

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[7] Gallathea, III.iv.67-85.

[8] Loves Metamorphosis, V.iv.164-65.

lovers is expressed here, as Cynthia graciously accepts the love of Endimion, even though she holds herself regally aloof.

Not satisfied with a platonic allegory alone, Lyly daringly introduced a personal or political allegory into many of his court plays. Although he disclaims any such attempt in the Prologue to Endimion, this particular play actually contains the most complete allegory of contemporary court life to be found in all his dramatic work:

> It was forbidden in olde time to dispute of Chymera, because it was a fiction: we hope in our times none will apply pastimes, because they are fancies; for there liveth none under the Sunne, that knows what to make of the Man in the Moone. Wee present neither Comedie, nor Tragedie, nor storie, nor anie thing, but that whosoever heareth may say this, Why heere is a tale of the Man in the Moone.[9]

This sixteenth century version of "Any similarity to actual persons or events is purely coincidental" probably misled but few in an audience composed of courtiers and court ladies.

This personal or political allegory appears in varying degrees in various plays. In Gallathea, it consists only of the flattering identification of Elizabeth with Diana, the goddess of chastity. In Sapho and Phao, Trachinus, a courtier,

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[9]Endimion, Prologue.6-11.

describes Sapho in a manner obviously meant to apply to Elizabeth as well:

> Sapho, faire by nature, by birth royall, learned by education, by government politike, rich by peace: insomuch as it is hard to judge, whether she be more beautifull or wise, vertuous or fortunate.[10]

Sapho and Phao carries the personal and topical allegory even further, for the basic plot is amplified and changed by recent court history. Sapho, a poetess in the original myth, becomes an earthly queen, surrounded by her court. The discovery that the events pictured in the play correspond with Elizabeth's courtship by the Duc d'Alencon is attributed to F. G. Fleay.[11] Volume XI of Froude's History of England details Elizabeth's vacillation concerning the marriage arrangements which were conducted during the years 1578 to 1582. The Duke finally abandoned his suit in 1582 and left England. This is paralleled in the play by Phao's departure from the court of Sapho, his love for her having proved hopeless. The play was probably presented at court during 1583, for it came to print in 1584.[12]

In Endimion, the court allegory is not only complete, but daring. Merely suggested in classical mythology, the

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[10]Sapho and Phao, I.ii.6-9.

[11]Bond, op.cit., II, p. 257.

[12]Ibid., p. 367.

plot is completely dictated by contemporary events. Cynthia, the goddess of the moon, becomes a queen surrounded by her court. The Greek shepherd, Endimion, becomes her favorite courtier. Although there is much controversy over the identification of minor characters in the play, almost all now agree that Cynthia is to be identified as Elizabeth, Tellus as Mary of Scots, and Endimion as Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester. The play allegorizes the conflicts of Elizabeth and Mary, who were rivals for love as well as for a kingdom. This interpretation of the court allegory in Endimion was first suggested by N. J. Halpin, and his original suggestions were amplified and modified by Bond.[13]

In Midas, Lyly's only court play which does not deal with the theme of love, we have a political allegory designed to compliment Elizabeth in a broader sense on the defeat of the Spanish Armada by the English in 1588. This allegory is superficial only, and does not affect the basic plot in any way. The greed displayed by Midas may be identified with the greed of Philip. Midas is involved in a campaign against the Island of Lesbos, which parallels

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[13]R. W. Bond, "On the Allegory in Endimion," op.cit., III, pp. 81-103.

Philip's designs against the British Isles. Midas refers to his defeat in words that recall the defeat of the Armada:

> For stretching my hands to Lesbos, I find that all the Gods have spurnde at my practises, and those Ilandes scornd them. My pride the gods disdaine; my pollicie men: my mines have bin emptied by souldiers, my souldiers spoyled by warres, my wars without successe, because usurping, my usurping without end, because my ambition above measure.[14]

His use of a personal, topical allegory along with a spiritual, platonic allegory, completely identifies Lyly with a courtly audience. Differing greatly from the obvious moral allegories common to an earlier drama, where Vice is clearly defeated by Virtue, Lyly's allegory presupposes an acquaintance with the platonic doctrines of courtly love, as well as a knowledge of contemporary court events and intrigues. This type of knowledge could not be presupposed with a public theater audience. In addition, such a double allegory is intricate and difficult to follow. Although the plays can stand without their allegorical interpretations, they are obviously intended for the initiate, the knowing, the sophisticated.

Lyly also very clearly shows a courtly influence in his delineation of character. Writing for an exclusive, class-conscious society, Lyly tended to treat his characters

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[14] *Midas*, V.iii.52-58.

as representatives of a class or occupation, rather than as individuals. Bond remarks on this aspect of Lyly's dramatic environment:

> The society in which he moved was courtly, and the tendency of all society conventionally supposed 'the best' is the suppression of individuality. A general propriety of outline without distinctive marks inevitably produces, in successive works, the sense of repetition.[15]

Although the world inhabited by his characters is not a realistic one, Lyly observes a certain decorum in his use of the various social classes. Deities act like deities. They are held in awe by mortals, to whom they deal out punishment and reward. Courtly and pastoral characters move in their own circles, and servants and tradesmen occupy still another sphere. This same type of division may be observed in Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream, in which the world of courtly society, the world of the fairies, and the world of the rude mechanicals touch, but do not mingle.

The gods usually condescend to mortals, and except in the case of Venus' conflict with Sapho, do not deign to contend with them. Pan and Apollo, for instance, contend with each other for mastery in music, but Apollo makes it clear that they are both far above men when he requests Midas to judge between them:

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[15]Bond, op.cit., II, p. 285.

> I am Apollo, this Pan, both Gods. We contend for sovereigntie in Musicke. Seeing it happens in earth, we must be judged of those on earth; in which there are none more worthie than Kings and Nymphes.[16]

And Venus puts Phao in his place when he attempts to discuss the affairs of the deities:

> It is not for a ferry man to talk of the Gods loves: but to tell how thy father could dig, and thy mother spin.[17]

In spite of a generally stereotyped presentation, several of the gods emerge quite clearly as individuals. Among the better drawn are Venus and Vulcan as they appear in Sapho and Phao. Venus, bored with the company of Vulcan, justifies herself for looking elsewhere for entertainment:

> It is no lesse unseemely then unwholsom for Venus, who is most honoured in Princes courtes, to sojourne with Vulcan in a smithes forge, where bellowes blow in steede of sighes, dark smokes rise for sweet perfumes, and for the panting of loving hearts, is only heard the beating of steeled hammers. . . . What doth Vulcan all day but endevour to be as crabbed in maner as he is crooked in body? driving nailes, when he should give kisses, and hammering hard armours, when he should sing sweete Amors. It came by lot, not love, that I was linoked with him.[18]

However, when Venus wants something from Vulcan, she entreats him prettily:

> Make me six arrowe heads: it is given thee of the Gods by permission to frame them to any

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[16]Midas, IV.i.73-77.

[17]Sapho and Phao, I.i.70-71.

[18]Sapho and Phao, I.i.19-28.

> purpose, I shall request them by praier. Why lowrest thou Vulcan? wilt thou have a kisse? holde uppe thy head. Venus hath young thoughtes, and fresh affections.[19]

Vulcan is well characterized as shrewd and knowing, but unable to resist the blandishments of Venus:

> Vulcan is a God with you, when you are disposed to flatter. . . . You were woont to say that the beating of hammers made your head ake, and the smoake of the forge your eies water, and every coale was a blocke in your way. You weepe rose water, when you aske, and spitte vinegar, when you have obteined. What would you now, with new arrowes? belike Mars hath a tougher skin one his heart, or Cupid a weaker arme, or Venus a better courage. Well Venus, there is never a smile in your face but hath made a wrinkle in my forehead. . . . Come Cyclops, my wife must have her will: let us doe that in earth, which the Gods cannot undoe in heaven.[20]

Lyly's tendency to idealize court manners, conversation and etiquette, gives an air of sameness to his courtly characters. For instance, of all the courtly ladies in his plays, only Tellus emerges as an individual. Her outspoken, genuine passion for Endimion sets her apart from the rest, who tend to treat love as an amusing pastime. Lyly's courtiers likewise suffer from a monotony of characterization. Like the ladies, they are constantly absorbed in affairs of the heart, and pursue their amours with a strict observance of the conventions of courtly love.

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[19] Sapho and Phao, IV.iv.10-14.

[20] Sapho and Phao, IV.iv.17-31.

The pastoral characters are presented in much the same manner as the courtly characters. Nymphs are prone to indulge in the same witty exchanges about men and love as are engaged in by the court ladies, and only superficial distinctions are attempted among the nymphs. In Gallathea, the two disguised girls are almost identical in speech and manner. Gallathea is pictured as a little more aggressive, for she bemoans her boyish disguise because of the loss of pride involved, while Phillida worries only about the embarrassment it causes her. The character of Haebe in the same play is drawn with more warmth and individuality than usual. Haebe, having been selected as the fairest virgin, is prepared as a sacrifice to an angry sea monster. In a long speech, she wrings all of the pathos out of her position, bemoans her fate, and bids good-bye to all the joys of earth. Then,upon being refused by the Augar, she is at first joyful at her release, then mournful because she is not the fairest!

> Fortunate Haebe, howe shalt thou expresse thy joyes? Nay unhappy girle that art not the fairest. Had it not been better for thee to have died with fame, then to live with dis-honour, to have preferred the safetie of thy Countrey and rarenesse of thy beautie, before sweetnes of life, and vanity of the world? But alas! desteny would not have it so, desteny coulde not, for it asketh the beautifullest. I would Haebe thou hadst been beautifullest.[21]

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[21] Gallathea, V.ii.62-68.

A welcome variety is introduced into the plays by the introduction of genre characters into the farcical interludes. These servants and tradesmen are distinguished primarily by class characteristics, but they drawn sharply and often with true humor. Calypho, a smith, is pictured as strong of muscle, but weak of mind. When involved in an argument with the witty pages, he carries by vehemence what he cannot by logic. Motto, a barber, is undone because he is too loquacious. Fortune tellers recite their absurd generalities with great solemnity. An alchemist and an astrologer are presented as scholarly enthusiasts, learned in their crafts, but entirely incapable of dealing with reality.

It may be said of Lyly that he lacked either the ability or the inclination to draw character with any depth or tenderness. His is always the light hand, the sharp but superficial eye. His charming, artificial creatures inhabit an artificial world, created for the entertainment of an essentially artificial court society.

The courtly nature of Lyly's drama is brought out again by the nature of his comedy. His ideal of humor is made explicit in the Prologue to Sapho and Phao, which was presented before a public audience at the Blackfriars. He condescends somewhat to this public audience, and warns his auditors that they will be unable "to reap your wonted mirthes."

> Our intent was at this time to move inward delight, not outward lightnesse, and to breede (if it might bee) soft smiling, not loude laughing: knowing it to the wise to be as great pleasure to heare counsell mixed with witte, as to the foolish to have sporte mingled with rudenesse.[22]

Lyly strives always to be gay and witty. He loves the subtle and intricate, rather than the obvious and gross. For this reason, Lyly's humor lies principally in the verbal wit which he incorporates into his drama. Although he frequently presents amusing situations and essentially comic characters, his exploitation of them is almost entirely verbal. This type of comedy is naturally limited in its appeal. It presupposes an audience equipped by background and education to follow the flashing witticisms, the subtle word play, and the quick, clever exchanges which abound in Lyly's comedies. It also presupposes an audience able to look upon tradesmen and servants with an air of amused detachment.

Decorum is observed in the type of humor introduced by the various groups or classes of characters appearing in the comedies. The courtly and pastoral personages indulge in witty exchanges, usually on the subject of love. Their humor is always bright and spirited, never coarse or vulgar.

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[22] Sapho and Phao, Prologue.7-11.

The pages are allowed to indulge in a sort of verbal horse-play which corresponds in a way to the actual physical roughhouse so common on the public stage of the day. They engage in frequent battles of wit, often involving parodies on Latin grammar and formal logic. The genre characters tend to represent the more amusing aspects of their classes or trades. These figures are funny, not by virtue of comic antics, but by a clever exploitation of their peculiar trade lingos.

As love was the constant theme of the court as well as of Lyly's drama, it comes in for a share of humorous treatment. Mileta, a lady in the court of Sapho, comments on the empty manners of the typical courtier:

> It is good sporte to see them want matter: for then fall they to good manners, having nothing in their mouthes but 'sweet mistresse,' wearing our hands out with courtly kissings, when their wits faile in courtly discourses. Now rufling their haires, now setting their ruffes, then gazing with their eies, then sighing with a privie wring by the hand, thinking us like to be wowed by signes and ceremonies.[23]

Sophronia, the daughter of Midas, and her court ladies seek to while away a long afternoon, but seem unable to avoid the subject of love. This witty exchange between Sophronia and Suavia results:

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[23] Sapho and Phao, I.iv.34-40.

Sop. Ladies, here must we attent the happy return of my father, but in the mean season what pastime shal we use to passe the time? I wil agree to any, so it be not to talke of love.

Sua. Then sleepe is the best exercise.

Sop. Why suavia, are you so light, that you must chat of love; or so heavie, that you must needes sleepe? Penelope in the absence of her Lord beguyled the daies with spinning.

Sua. Indeed she spun a faire threed, if it were to make a string to the bow wherein she drew her woers.

Sop. Why Suavia, it was a bow which she knew to be above their strength, and therein she shewde her wit.

Sua. Qui latus arguerit corneus arcus erat: it was made of horne madam, and therein she shewde her meaning.

Sop. Why, doest thou not think she was chast?

Sua. Yes, of all her woers.

Sop. To talke with thee is to lose time, not well to spend it . . .[24]

Many sprightly bits of repartee occur between the various sets of lovers. One such is found in Loves Metamorphosis, when Silvestris and Niobe indulge in some romantic sparring:

Sil. A woman hath but one heart.

Nio. But a thousand thoughts.

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[24]Midas, III.iii.1-17.

Sil. My Lute, though it have many strings, maketh a sweete consent; and a Ladies heart, though it harbour many fancies, should embrace but one love.

Nio. The strings of my heart are tuned in a contrarie keye to your Lute, and make as sweete harmonie in discords, as yours in concord.

Sil. Why, what strings are in Ladies hearts? Not the base.

Nio. There is no base string in a woman's heart.

Sil. The meane?

Nio. There was never meane in womans heart.

Sil. The treble?

Nio. Yea, the treble double and treble; and so are all my heartstrings. Farewell![25]

The many comedy scenes which involve parodies on Latin grammar and formal logic remind us that Lyly's plays were acted by the boy companies attached to the court. For instance, in Endimion, Sir Tophas boasts of his prowess in battle to his boy Epiton and the pages, Dares and Samias. Leaving off his talk of war, he starts to boast of his learning:

Dar. What, are you also learned, sir?

Top. Learned? I am all Mars and Ars.

Sam. Nay, you are all Masse and Asse.

Top. Mock you mee? You shall both suffer . . . Am I all a masse or lumpe, is there no proportion

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[25] Loves Metamorphosis, III.i.115-127.

in me? Am I all Asse? is there no wit in mee? Epi, prepare them to the slaughter.

Sam. I pray sir heare us speake! we call you Masse, which your learning doth well understande is all Man, for Mas maris is a man. Then as (as you knowe) is a weight, and we for your vertues account you a weight.

Top. The Latine hath saved your lyves, the which a world of silver could not have ransomde. I understand you, and pardon you.[26]

One of the best scenes satirizing formal logic occurs in Sapho and Phao. Molus and Criticus, two court pages, seek to have sport with the stupid smith, Calypho, by attempting to prove to him that he is a devil. They begin to press him hard, and the following conversation takes place:

Mol. But what doest thou answere?

Cal. I deny that.

Mol. What?

Cal. Whatsoever it is, that shall prove me a divell. But hearest thou scholler, I am a plaine fellow, and can fashion nothing but with the hammer. What wilt thou say, if I prove thee a smith?

Mol. Then will I say thou art a scholler.

Cal. I will prove it, or els--

Cri. Or els what?

Cal. Or els I will not proove it. Thou art a Smith: therefore thou art a smith. The conclusion, you say, must not bee denyed: and therefore it is true, thou art a smith.

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[26]Endimion, I.iii.90-105.

Mol. I, but I denie your Antecedent.

Cal. I, but you shal not. Have I not toucht him, Cryticus?

Cri. You have both done learnedly: for as sure as he is a smith, thou art a divell.

Cal. And then he a devill, because a smith: for that it was his reason to make me a devil, being a smith.

Mol. There is no reasoning with these Mechanical doltes, whose wits are in their hands, not in their heads.[27]

Lyly's humor often exploits the jargon peculiar to various trades. In Gallathea, a Mariner tries to instruct the boys Dicke and Robin, in his art:

Mar. Then, as you like this, I will instruct you in all our secretes: for there is not a clowte nor carde, nor boord, nor post, that hath not a speciall name, or singular nature.

Dic. Well begin with your points, for I lack onlie points in this world.

Mar. North. North and by East. North North East. North-east and by North. North-east. North-east and by East. East North-East. East and by North. East.

Dic. Ile say it. North, north-east, North-east, Nore nore and by Nore-east--I shall never doe it!

Mar. Thys is but one quarter.

Rob. I shall never learne a quarter of it.[28]

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[27]Sapho and Phao, II.iii.72-93.

[28]Gallathea, I.iii.48-59.

Peter, an alchemist's boy, describes the science of alchemy thus:

> What a life doe I leade with my Maister, nothing but a blowing of bellows, beating of spirits, and scraping of Croslets! it is a very secrete Science, for none almost can understand the language of it. Sublimation, Almigation, Calcination, Rubification, Encorporation, Circination, Sementation, Albification, and Fermentation. With as many terms unpossible to be uttered as the Arte to be compassed.[29]

Motto, the barber, also has his trade lingo, which he attempts to explain to his apprentice:

> Besides, I instructed thee in the phrases of our eloquent occupation, as 'how sir will you be trimmed? wil you have your beard like a spade, or a bodkin? a penthouse on your upper lip, or an allie on your chin? a lowe curle on your head like a Bull, or dangling lock like a spaniel? your mustachoes sharp at the endes, like shomakers aules, or hanging down to your mouth like Goates flakes? your love-locks wreathed with a silken twist, or shaggie to fal on your shoulders?'[30]

The Huntsman in Midas is a true pedant in his craft. The pages, Licio and Petulus, make sport of his insistence upon having the correct hunting terminology used:

> Lic. Is not hunting a tedious occupation?
>
> Pet. I and troublesome, for if you call a dog a dog, you are undone.

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[29] Gallathea, II.iii.9-15.

[30] Midas, III.ii.37-44.

> Hun. You be both fooles! and besides, base-minded: hunting is for kings, not peasants. Such as you are unworthie to be hounds, much lesse huntsmen, that know not when a hound is fleet, faire flewde, and well hangd . . .[31]

Lyly never treats a theme with real seriousness. His opportunities for pathos are but rarely exploited. Sapho, for instance, puns even when enduring the pangs of an impossible love:

> If hee yeelde, then shal I shame to embrace one so meane; if not, die, because I cannot embrace one so meane. Thus doe I finde no meane.[32]

Even Haebe, bound for the sacrifice, cannot resist playing with words as she remarks, " . . . how happy had I been, if I had not beene!"[33]

R. W. Bond sums up Lyly's humor in the following words:

> His characters gambol or saunter gracefully through an ideal world, where everybody quotes Latin and has wit and high spirits; a world where suffering, if not absent, is but faintly realized or expressed, a world therefore somewhat lacking in that true humor whose best nurse is the kindly sternness of real life.[34]

However, Lyly's greatest contribution to the stream of English drama lies in his development of this ideal-comic style. Although Lyly's comedy was limited in its appeal to

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[31] Midas, IV.iii.1-7.

[32] Sapho and Phao, IV.i.15-17.

[33] Gallathea, V.ii.43-44.

[34] Bond, op.cit., II, p. 262.

the court audience of his day, the same comedy techniques introduced by him, when used by a far greater dramatist, resulted in the timeless romantic comedies of Shakespeare.

The many masque-like elements which Lyly incorporated into his drama give further evidence of his close connection with a courtly type of entertainment. His lavish use of song and dance is perhaps the most notable instance of the influence of the masque upon his work. Thirty-two songs are indicated in the texts of Lyly's eight plays, twenty-one of which appear in Blount's 1632 edition of the Six Court Comedies. These songs include complaints, enchantments, love songs, a hymn to Apollo, and the contest songs of Pan and Apollo. Lyly also introduced a fairy ballet into both Endimion and Gallathea, while Loves Metamorphosis includes a dance of nymphs.

The influence of the Italian practise of mingling pastoral and mythological themes was evident in both the court masques of the day and in the plays of Lyly. Many idyllic pastoral scenes and strikingly lovely settings are produced by Lyly. In Endimion, we have the magic fountain in the wilderness; we have the shrines of Apollo and of Cupid in Midas and Loves Metamorphosis. There is a masque-like quality about the emergence of the nymph Fidelia from a tree in Gallathea, and in the transformation of Bagoa from an aspen to her own shape in Endimion.

An element of anti-masque has already been pointed out with regard to Lyly's particular use of farcical characters and interludes. To these interludes must be added the various songs and dances which also share in the nature of the anti-masque, which was brought to its fullest development in the masques of Ben Jonson. There are several comic trios performed by pages and servants, some rowdy drinking songs, and a song by the Cyclops in Sapho and Phao, which was probably accompanied by the forging of arrows. A further element of pantomime is present in Midas, where a comic song about a toothache was no doubt accompanied by a pantomime extraction of the tooth.

It seems evident from the foregoing analysis that Lyly adapted his themes from classical mythology with his particular audience constantly in mind. Because of this, his work is almost wholly identified with the courtly audience for which he wrote. His comedy was intended to be a toy for the members of Elizabeth's court--written for them, and about them. However, when new and more fascinating toys appeared, the vogue for Lyly's drama receded. With the inhibition of Paul's Boys in 1590, Lyly, who had been so closely associated with them, faded out of the picture. By the time of the lifting of suppression some eight years later, other, more gifted dramatists had appeared on the scene, and the mighty flood of Elizabethan drama swept past

Lyly with his self-conscious, mannered little court entertainments. Even the euphuistic style, which had initially brought him fame, appeared ridiculous beside the magnificent poetry of such men as Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Jonson. The court became more and more inclined to look to the public stage for its dramatic entertainment, and the court masque continued along its own line of development, becoming more and more spectacular and lavish. Felix Schelling sums up the fate of Lyly's drama in the following words:

> Lyly's ideal of a drama, at once artistic and fitted to the tastes, the prejudices, and the limitations of the court, failed less because of any inadequacy on his part than because it could not abide the vigorous rivalry of the popular stage which, in the essential democracy of the age, addressed itself to a constituency that included every class in the nation.[35]

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[35]Schelling, op.cit., p. 233.

CHAPTER III

THOMAS HEYWOOD

. . . to unlocke the Casket long time shut,
Of which none but the learned keepe the key.

Heywood alone of all the Elizabethan dramatists, used classical material specifically to educate and to entertain the bourgeois. Although the Globe, and later the Blackfriars, attracted the more fashionable audiences and the first-ranking dramatists, such as Shakespeare and Jonson, the Red Bull and the Cockpit too had their crowds. It was to these crowds that Thomas Heywood directed his efforts to instruct and to delight.

Heywood's most ambitious attempt to propagate ancient culture among the masses was incorporated in his cycle of plays known as the Ages. In this cycle of five plays, Heywood attempts to present "an intire History, from Jupiter and Saturne, to the utter subversion of Troy."[1] Such an ambitious attempt calls to mind the medieval cycle plays, which attempted to present the story of man's destiny from the fall of Lucifer to the judgment of the world. Through

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[1] The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood, Pearson edition (London, 1874), III, p. 351. (Hereafter referred to as Works)

these play-cycles, crude as they often were, a knowledge of the biblical story was brought to countless people who would otherwise have remained ignorant. If the stage were used so successfully in medieval times to bring the story of the creation and judgment of the world to the unlettered, why should not the culture of the ancient world be made available through the same medium? Heywood was keenly aware of the educational possibilities of the stage. In the Apology for Actors he says: "Playes have made the ignorant more apprehensive, taught the unlearned the knowledge of many famous histories; instructed such as cannot reade in the discovery of all our English Chronicles."[2] This cycle, then, based upon classical legend, would attempt to bring to the masses some of the knowledge and culture of the ancient world which had formerly been the possession of the educated and courtly classes. Heywood states this purpose very clearly in his Prologue to The Silver Age:

> Homer old and blinde,
> Of eld, by the best judgements tearm'd divine,
> That in his former labours found you kinde,
> Is come the ruder censures to refine:
> And to unlocke the Casket long time shut,
> Of which none but the learned keepe the key,[3]

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[2] An Apology for Actors, edited by J. P. Collier (London, 1841), reprinted for Shakespeare Society, Vol. 15, No. 3, p. 52.

[3] Works, III, p. 85.

Heywood, of course, was not unique among dramatists in his desire to raise the level of taste and education in the theater of his day. Lyly, in trying to present plays more acceptable to the cultured court of Elizabeth than the loose, wandering chronicle plays current in his day, tried to infuse some of the classical sense of form into both the language and structure of his drama. Jonson continually ridiculed the low standards of popular drama and attempted to imbue his own work with an aura of historical authenticity and scholarship, sometimes at the expense of entertainment values. Beaumont, in a rather more entertaining manner, attempted to sharpen the critical sense of his audience with The Knight of the Burning Pestle, which hit directly at those dramatists who catered to the vulgar taste. Heywood, however, from his close contact with the popular theater in the role of actor as well as playwright, knew his audience well, and accepted it as it was—wholeheartedly and without reservation. He neither sneered, as did Jonson, nor ridiculed, as did Beaumont. Perhaps Jonson, with his concept of the drama as "literature" could afford to be booed off the boards in the hopes of later recognition as a literary artist. But Heywood wrote for the present, not the future. He saw clearly that if you want to educate the audience, they first have to hear you out. Further, he made sure that the audience would hear him out by frankly catering

to their tastes. In the Epilogue to The Brazen Age he says:

> All we have done we aime at your content,
> Striving to illustrate things not knowne to all
> In which the learnd can onely censure right:
> The rest we crave, whom we unlettered call,
> Rather to attend then judge; for more than sight
> We seeke to please.[4]

Heywood sugar-coated the pill of education, and not only held his audience, but scored a huge popular success with his "classical" drama. As A. M. Clark puts it: " . . . of all the dramatists Heywood was the most compliant with the public and yielded with an easy acquiescence and whole-hearted surrender."[5]

This "whole-hearted surrender" won for Heywood's Ages an immense popularity with the public theater audience in London. In his address "To the Reader" which appeared in the printed edition of The Iron Age, Part I, Heywood points to this popularity with just pride:

> Lastly, I desire thee to take notice, that these were the Playes often (and not with the least applause,) Publickely Acted by two Companies uppon one Stage at once, and have at sundry times thronged three severall Theaters, with numerous and mighty Auditories.[6]

Heywood's double purpose of education and entertainment, then, is clear. It is also evident that these plays

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[4]Works, III, pp. 255-56.

[5]Arthur M. Clark, Thomas Heywood (Oxford, 1931), p. 209.

[6]Works, III, p. 264.

were aimed specifically at the masses. Whether he succeeded in educating his audience is questionable, but that he was successful in pleasing and entertaining his audience is beyond doubt. Judging by his long, successful career on the public stage, and his many years as the chosen London pageant poet, we may certainly say that Heywood may claim the honor of being the favorite dramatist of the bourgeois.

Heywood's problem in presenting classical material to a heterogeneous, bourgeois audience, was that of making the unfamiliar familiar. This he chose to do by humanizing and vulgarizing the classical figures and incidents. The classics are not simply narrated for the benefit of the uneducated. They are transformed and brought to life, not in their historical setting, as Jonson tried to do, but in contemporary London. The legendary figures of Helen of Troy, Hercules, and Achilles walk the London streets. Jupiter, Juno, and Venus visit Cheapside. But, although the humanizing and modernizing runs into riotous incongruity, a new life and spirit is breathed into the classics, and they glow anew with some of the color, movement, and richness of Elizabethan England. So, even though they are vulgarized, they are at the same time, revitalized.

An audience that embraces people from many walks of life, of varying degrees of education, culture, and wealth, makes many demands upon a dramatist. In the Ages, Heywood

presents a medley with something for every taste. The episodes run the gamut of every popular type of drama from pure farce to revenge tragedy. The scenes range from the spectacular to the romantic--from the romantic to the comic--from the comic to the pathetic--and back again to the spectacular. Violence, laughter, excitement, romance, and tears, all have their hour upon the stage. And all of this is presented with a color and variety, a sweep and movement, before which all thoughts of dramatic structure, style, and stagecraft must have been swept from the minds of both dramatist and audience. As Tatlock puts it, the Ages seem to be the "work of a young man full of uncritical enthusiasm for ancient myth and modern drama, too eager to pour the one into the mould of the other to care how he did it."[7]

The Ages consist of five plays, comprising twenty-five acts, and over one hundred separate scenes. The episodes are without any essential unity, and are bound together in a roughly chronological fashion. The Golden Age was printed by Nicholas Okes in 1611, The Silver Age and The Brazen Age appeared in print in 1613, and the two parts of The Iron Age did not come into print until 1632, although all were doubtless written years before they came to be published. The printed versions of the plays bear lengthy descriptive titles which

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[7]John S. P. Tatlock, "The Siege of Troy in Elizabethan Literature, Especially in Shakespeare and Heywood," PMLA, XXX (1915), p. 706.

outdo even those satirized by Beaumont! The first three plays, which form a trilogy, bear the following titles: The Golden Age: or The Lives of Jupiter and Saturn, with the deifying of the Heathen Gods; The Silver Age. Including the Love of Jupiter to Alcmena: The birth of Hercules, and the Rape of Proserpine, concluding with the Arraignment of the Moon; The Brazen Age. The First Act containing the Death of the Centaur Nessus. The Second the Tragedy of Meleager: The Third the Tragedy of Jason and Medea. The Fourth Vulcan's Net, the Fifth the Labours and Death of Hercules. The last two plays have more inherent unity, as they deal with the Troy legend, but they also attempt to cover a tremendous amount of material.

A. M. Clark remarks concerning the Ages, that these "popular parallels to the graceful court-dramas of Lyly and Peele are the best specimens of Heywood's versatility . . ."[8] Certainly it may be seen that these innumerable episodes, ranging from the broadest farce to tragedy, would call upon every facet of the dramatist's art.

The popular character of Heywood's Ages is illustrated in both his choice of sources, and in his handling of these sources. Although Heywood invokes the aid of Homer, "old and blinde," he actually follows medieval, rather than

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[8]Clark, op.cit., p. 222.

classical tradition. The great bulk of his material comes from the popular medieval redactions of classical accounts which were a part of the heritage of the English Renaissance. Heywood makes no attempt to put the classical stories in their proper historical setting, but modernizes and humanizes them in a fashion which was popular in the middle ages.

In the medieval versions of classical legend, Homer was virtually set aside, and the memoirs of the spurious Dares and Dictys were substituted as authorities.[9] The writings of Dares and Dictys purport to be eye-witness accounts of the Trojan war, and tend to substitute a crude and lively realism for the stately account of Homer. They are prone to account for all of their information in a purely realistic fashion, and to eliminate all of the supernatural agencies appearing in the Iliad. Instead, they present many small, realistic details--Helen of Troy's beauty spot, Polyxena's large hands, Aeneas' "sparkling black eyes," and such information as that Helen was twenty-six years old and Paris thirty-three at the time of the abduction. These accounts also are notable for their strong partisan bias--the Greek represented by Dictys, and the Trojan by Dares. In England, Dares naturally was the most preferred,

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[9]Nathaniel E. Griffin, "Un-Homeric Elements in the Story of Troy," JEGP, VII (1907-1908), p. 37.

for the tradition that the Britons were descendants of the house of Priam was strong during the middle ages. Douglas Bush remarks concerning the writings of Dares and Dictys: "These books had an enduring popularity far beyond that of our modern outlines of the universe: they were exactly what the public wanted."[10] The continuation of medieval tradition and taste, especially among the little-educated, led to the continuing popularity of this tradition, even after Chapman's Iliad appeared in 1598. Heywood refers to both the popularity of the Troy legend, and to the popular tradition of English descent from the Trojans in his dedication of The Iron Age, Part I, to Mr. Thomas Hammon, Esq.

> The History whereon it is grounded, having beene the selected Argument of many exquisite Poets: For what Pen of note, in one page or other hath not remembered Troy, and bewayl'd the sacke and subversion of so illustrious a Citty: Which, although it were scituate in Asia, yet out of her ashes hath risen two the rarest Phoenixes in Europe, namely London and Rome.[11]

Following then, as always, the prevailing taste of the ordinary people, rather than that of the more educated class, Heywood used as his major source Caxton's Recuyell of the Histories of Troy. This is an English adaptation of Raoul le Fevre's Le Recuiel des Histories de Troye, which, in turn, reverts to the Historia Trojana of Guido delle

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[10]Douglas Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry (Minneapolis, 1932), p. 7.

[11]Works, III, pp. 261-62.

Colonne, and all claim as their ultimate source the Latin accounts of Dares and Dictys.[12]

Heywood, in the medieval tradition, follows his source material closely. R. G. Martin says:

> In fact, Heywood's following of Caxton is frequently so close and so prolonged as to be positively slavish; Golden Age is nothing in the world but a dramatized novel, adhering to its source with a fidelity without parallel, so far as I recall, in Elizabethan drama. Silver Age uses Ovid to a considerable extent; Brazen Age is least dependent on Caxton and has most frequent recourse to Ovid. Iron Age is almost as close to Caxton as is Golden Age.[13]

But in spite of this "slavish" following of Caxton, Heywood makes the material his own. While the tone of Caxton is sober, moralistic, and surrounded with the aura of medieval courtesy, Heywood's plays are spirited, almost devoid of moralizing, and steeped in the atmosphere of contemporary London.

Although his principal source is Caxton, Heywood draws from many other sources, both classical and English, which were popular at the time. Next to Caxton, his heaviest borrowings are from Ovid. The Venus and Adonis episode in The Brazen Age comes from the Metamorphoses. Here we have a hybrid, for in Ovid there is no suggestion of the amorous goddess wooing a cold Adonis. This is a feature of

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[12]Robert G. Martin, "Notes on Thomas Heywood's AGES," MLN, XXXIII (1918), pp. 23-29.

[13]Ibid., p. 23.

Shakespeare's popular Venus and Adonis, which was probably appropriated by Heywood. The Medea and Jason episode which is told in The Brazen Age, is taken largely from the Metamorphoses, with details added from Tristia and Fasti.[14] The episode of Mars and Venus is from Ovid's Ars Amatoria, which follows closely the original version given in the eighth book of the Odyssey. From Lucian comes the story of Gallus, the servant of Mars, who is changed into a cock. From Plautus comes the episode of Jupiter, Alcmena, and Amphitryon, with its broad domestic comedy.[15]

Heywood's desire to educate his audience leads him to crowd as many stories into each play as he possibly can. This naturally leads to a looseness of structure, and an utter disregard for any sort of over-all unity of dramatic construction—although often individual scenes are remarkably effective. The popular chronicle form lent itself to such a presentation, and in using this form, Heywood cast the unfamiliar classical material into the mould of the familiar chronicle play. Thus the audience, freed from the responsibility of following a sustained plot structure, or of accepting an unfamiliar "classical" form, was asked only to follow and enjoy the myths, which were presented in a throughly

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[14] Ibid., p. 28.

[15] A. H. Gilbert, "Thomas Heywood's Debt to Plautus," JEGP, XII (1913), pp. 594-96.

familiar fashion. Heywood tells the classical myths in the same manner in which he would tell an incident from English history or folk-lore, with no special reverence for their lofty status in artistic history.

Although many chronicle plays were centered around a central character or group of characters, the Ages, with the exception of the two parts of The Iron Age which center around the Troy legend, contain a lengthy procession of characters, of which only Jupiter and Hercules are accorded any continuing interest. The Golden Age has thirty-one characters, plus nymphs and satyrs. The Silver Age has thirty-five characters, plus six centaurs, servingment, swaines, Theban ladies, representations of the seven planets, and the Furies. The Brazen Age uses thirty-eight characters, plus maidens and water nymphs. There is more carry-over of the principal characters in the two parts of The Iron Age. Part I has thirty-one characters, plus many soldiers and attendants. Part II carries over many of those appearing in Part I, and adds twenty additional characters.

In order to cover such a multiplicity of incident and character, and yet to hold the interest of his audience without any centralizing incident or character, Heywood has to keep the action moving rapidly, and must depend upon the variety and effectiveness of individual scenes to hold his audience. Naturally, much condensation must take place.

Heywood accomplishes this condensation by using two devices common to the chronicle play--narration and dumb-show. The character of Homer is used to narrate many myths and incidents which are not shown dramatically, and also to present the many dumb-shows which help to bridge the gaps between the various episodes. The Golden Age and The Silver Age each contain five dumb-shows, while The Brazen Age contains four. Various characters also narrate myths or parts of myths while involved in the actual presentation of an episode. An examination of the individual plays reveals many instances of the use of these two "chronicle" devices--narration and dumb-show.

The Golden Age has a roughly chronological arrangement. The play opens after the death of Uranus, who is referred to as the King of Crete. The argument over the kingdom between his two sons, Titan and Saturn, is developed, and the story of the birth of Jupiter is shown. Between Acts I and II, a gap of seventeen years is covered by Homer, who presents a dumb show, and reintroduces Jupiter, now seventeen years old:

> Thinke kinde spectators seventeene sommers past,
> Till these be growne to yeares, and Jupiter
> Found in a cave by the great Epyre King,
> (Where by his daughters he before was hid.)
> Of him and of his fortunes we proceed.[16]

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[16] Works, III, p. 20.

Thus, in the space of one act, almost twenty years are covered. In Act II the myth of Jupiter and the nymph Calisto is told. Act III concerns the war between Titan and his allies, and Saturn and Jupiter. Dumb-show and narration again bridge the acts, and the myth of Jupiter and Danae is presented in Act IV. The myths of Io and Europa are mentioned briefly by Jupiter:

> Beauteous Io,
> And faire Europa, have by our transhapes,
> And guiles of love already bene deflour'd,[17]

A messenger is used to narrate the birth of Perseus to Danae, the story of how she is set adrift with the child by her father, Acrisius, and her rescue at Naples. In this way, using narration and dumb-show, the story moves from before the birth of Jupiter, through several of his amorous episodes, up to the birth of Perseus; yet several of the most appealing episodes are developed in an attractive and interesting manner, in spite of the great condensation which is necessary.

In order to end the play satisfyingly, if not logically, Homer tells of the deification of the pagan gods, and then presents the same in a spectacular dumb-show. In this way, despite the multiplicity of incident and character, a sort of climax is arrived at which rounds out the play, and makes

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[17] Works, III, p. 55.

it a rather effective, if not unified, presentation.

The most blatant disregard of dramatic structure, the most outrageous leaps in time and space, the most incongruous of episodes occur in the two plays known as The Silver Age and The Brazen Age. Characters and episodes change with bewildering rapidity, with only the character of Hercules appearing with any sort of regularity to give some semblance of continuity to the plays. The Silver Age continues the story of King Acrisius, with the accent now on the exploits of Perseus. The interest soon shifts to the story of Hercules, and the play concludes with the story of Proserpine. But in spite of the disjointed and episodic nature of the entire play, Heywood manages to close it with a highly satisfactory scene of pomp and pageantry. As the title of the play advertised, The Silver Age closes with the "Arraingement of the Moon," by means of which the argument between Ceres and Pluto over Proserpine is settled. The Planets, Ceres, Jupiter, Pluto, Hercules, Proserpine, Cerberus, the Judges, Fates, and Furies, all take part in this scene of solemn ceremony.

In The Golden Age and The Silver Age, Heywood made some attempt to join the various myths together, either by a chronological arrangement, or by a common character. He also attempted to bridge the gaps between the episodes with some degree of logic, and to round out the whole with a final

scene of pomp and pageantry which served as a climax for the entire production. However, in The Brazen Age, Heywood seems to abandon all hope of making any kind of a unified drama out of the incredible hodge-podge of material he attempts to present. The Brazen Age is little more than a variety show. Song, dance, dumb-show, warfare, tragedy, comedy, slapstick, and spectacle are all thrown helter-skelter into one huge cauldron. An indication of the play's lack of structure is given in the presentation speech of Homer:

> Still with our history we shall proceed,
> And Hercules victorious acts relate:
> His marriage first, next many a noble deed
> Perform'd by him: last how he yeelds to Fate.
> And these, I hope, may (with some mixtures) passe,
> So you sit pleased in this our Age of Brasse.[18]

Homer narrates several labors of Hercules and shows the killing of King Busyris, tyrant of Egypt in a dumb-show. The wedding of Hercules and Dejaniera is presented, and also the death of Nessus. At this point, Homer shifts the interest to the story of Meleager, which includes a side excursion dealing with the story of Venus and Adonis. After this digression, the story returns to the myth of Atalanta and Meleager, and carries through the tale of Althea and the burning brand. Homer then presents the story

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[18] Works, III, p. 172.

of Jason and Medea, with the rescue of Hesione worked in on the way to find the Golden Fleece. Then, to further complicate the matter, Homer changes the scene completely, and brings in a myth which is totally unrelated to anything which has gone before or which comes after. This is perhaps the most outrageous introduction of material purely for its entertainment value which can be cited in the entire cycle. With no other excuse except that of the desire for variety, Homer introduces the episode of Venus and Mars:

> Loath are we (curteous auditors) to cloy
> Your appetites with viands of one taste,[19]

After the completion of this totally unrelated but highly entertaining episode, Heywood is forced to have Homer wrench the play back to the adventures of Hercules. Homer says, apologetically:

> Our last Act comes, which lest it tedious grow,
> What is too long in word, accept in show.[20]

He then narrates and presents dumb-shows of several of the adventures of Hercules. The episode with Omphale is shown, and the play ends with the death of Hercules. After the many digressions, the variety of mood--ranging from the pathos of the death of Meleager to the farce of the Venus

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[19] Works, III, pp. 225-26.

[20] Works, III, p. 239.

and Mars episode—Heywood attempts to rise to the height of tragedy in his presentation of the death of Hercules. This, of course, proves utterly impossible, and Heywood, obviously aware of the fact that far too much has been attempted and too little accomplished, has Homer end rather weakly with the following words:

> He that expects five short Acts can containe
> Each circumstance of these things we present,
> Me thinkes should shew more barrennesse then braine:[21]

The two plays which make up The Iron Age center around the Troy story. By virtue of this fact alone, they have more unity than do the plays which form the trilogy. Although The Iron Age is also in an episodic, chronicle style, Heywood completely drops the use of dumb-show, and the use of Homer as a narrator. The necessary narration is accomplished in the course of the play itself, rather than interpolated between the scenes or acts. In spite of these improvements in the dramatic structure, however, Heywood still tries to include as much as possible. The love story of Paris and Oenone is condensed into a few lines. The Troilus and Cressida story, which forms the focal point of Shakespeare's play of Troy, is outlined in only twenty lines. During the feast of the Greeks and Trojans, the affair of Achilles and Polyxena is set up, and the story of Troilus and Cressida is completed with a few lines.

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[21] Works, III, p. 255.

The fall of Troy is accomplished in the third act of Part II of The Iron Age. The remaining two acts deal with the tragedy of Agamemnon, which is presented as a revenge-tragedy, complete with intrigue, blood-shed, Machiavellian villains, and a ghost. The epilogue is spoken by Ulysses, who is the only member of the cast left alive:

> Or if you thinke he (the author) hath done your
> patience wrong
> (In teadious Sceanes) by keeping you so long,
> Much matter in few words, hee bad me say
> Are hard to expresse, that lengthned out his Play.[22]

We have in the Ages, a disjointed, but glorious spectacle for the populace. Many legends have been put into a form which the ordinary man could easily grasp and appreciate. Academic, formal criticism cannot hope to evaluate the probable effectiveness of Heywood's vivid, colorful scenes, his robust, human characterization, the flash and excitement of his panoramic action. It was for these things the sensation-loving audience applauded him, and Heywood—like his great contemporary, Shakespeare—wrote for the theater, not for the study. Perhaps there is little of high art to be found here, but of that art which fulfills the dramatist's aim—that of popularizing the classics—there is an abundance.

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[22] Works, III, p. 431.

Heywood's purpose of education is remarkably well served by his use of language. He approaches his subject matter with simplicity and directness. Otelia Cromwell points to this aspect of his art:

> Writing of and for everyday men, he employs a language composed of words of common usage. Yet he is not commonplace or flat; rather has he employed an unsophisticated diction, at once adequate and transparently clear.[23]

Using then, a relatively simple vocabulary, Heywood produces blank verse which is clear, free, and facile. It is neither good enough nor bad enough to call attention to itself. Because of this, it serves remarkably well to focus the attention upon character and action, and proves genuinely effective in the Ages, which abound in external incident and demand little of introspection or subtle suggestion.

Heywood's many passages of narration move rapidly and clearly. A good example is found in the speech of a messenger who relates the fate of Danae. In a few lines, he reviews her story, and tells of its conclusion:

> Of K. Acrisius, and his Fort of brasse,
> Danaes inclosure, and her Beldam guard,
> Who but hath heard? yet through these brasen walles
> Love hath broke in, and made the maide a mother
> Of a faire sonne, which when Acrisius heard,
> Her female guard into the fier he doomes,
> His daughter, and the infant prince her sonne,
> He puts into a mastles boat to sea,
> To prove the rigor of the stormy waves.
> . . . . . .

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[23]Otelia Cromwell, Thomas Heywood, A Study in the Elizabethan Drama of Everyday Life, Yale Studies in English, LXXVIII (New Haven, 1928), p. 146.

> As farre as Naples
> The friendly winds her mastlesse boat transports,
> There succourd by a curteous Fisher-man
> Shee's first releev'd, and after that presented
> To King Pelonnus, who at this time reignes:
> Who ravisht with her beauty, crownes her Queene,
> And deckes her with th' Imperiall robes of state.[24]

Concerning Heywood's dialog, Cromwell says:

> The predominant note of Heywood's dialogue is his extreme simplicity of utterance and unfailing directness. Free from involved constructions his language offers no subtle problems of interpretation.[25]

A good example of this aspect of Heywood's verse may be found at the beginning of The Golden Age. Note how the exposition is accomplished in a few, simple lines of dialogue between two Lords:

> 1.L. The old Uranus, sonne of the Aire and Day
> Is dead, and left behinde him two brave sonnes,
> Titan and Saturne.
>
> 2.L. Titan is the eldest,
> And should succeed by the true right of birth.
>
> 1.L. But Saturn hath the hearts of al the people,
> The Kingdomes high applause, his mothers love,
> The least of these are steppes unto a crowne.
>
> 2.L. But how wil Titan beare him in these troubles,
> Being by nature proud and insolent,
> To see the yonger seated in his throne,
> And he to whom the true right appertaines,
> By birth, and law of Nations quite cast off?
>
> 1.L. That either power or steele must arbitrate:[26]

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[24] Works, III, p.77.

[25] Cromwell, op.cit., p. 142.

[26] Works, III, p. 6.

When speaking of Heywood's blank verse, one recalls Lamb's famous description of Heywood as a "prose Shakespeare." In the work of Heywood, we do find many admirable qualities which call for a comparison with Shakespeare—his vitality and robustness, his versatility, his productivity, and his warm, human sympathy. But, as Lamb pointed out, we miss a true poetic quality in his work. The range of Heywood's imagery is narrow, and his verse is lacking in the original and subtle comparisons with which Shakespeare abounds. However, in respect to the Ages, this artistic flaw proves to be of little consequence. For, if the images are conventional and obvious, they are at the same time well-known to the public, and easily grasped by even the most ignorant. A passage which will serve to illustrate these qualities of Heywood's imagery, is found in the words which Jupiter speaks when gazing upon Danae for the first time:

> This face
> Hath rob'd the morning of her blush, the lilly
> Of her blanch't whitnes, and like theft committed
> Upon my soule: shee is all admiration.
> But in her eyes I ne're saw perfect lustre.
> There is no treasure upon earth but yonder.[27]

Heywood's educational aim was well served by the qualities of his work which have been under discussion. He presented unfamiliar classical material in a setting and

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[27] Works, III, p. 63.

in a fashion which was familiar to his audience. His portrayal of incident and character was graphic and vivid, and his language clear and direct. In spite of these facts, however, perhaps the sheer bulk of the material presented would hinder it from being as educational as Heywood might have desired. Such multiplicity of incident could scarcely avoid being somewhat difficult to absorb in the space of an afternoon.

If Heywood's educational aims were only partially fulfilled, the other half of his double purpose—that of entertainment—was amply realized. It is to an examination of those elements in his plays designed principally for their entertainment value that we now turn our attention.

In spite of the admiration lavished upon the "ancients" in the Renaissance, the spirit of true classicism, with its balance and repose, was completely foreign to the Elizabethan temperament. By both education and environment, the average Londoner was far removed from classical ideals. Also, the basic dislike of paganism evident in the middle ages when combined with a lively interest in the pagan legends themselves, led to some strange hybrids. The classical stories were often re-written so as to point a moral, or to provide an example for some Christian principle. Euhemerism, for instance, might be turned against pagan religion on the basis that gods who were once men were not worthy of worship.

The tendency to humanize the gods and to rationalize supernatural elements made the accounts of Dares and Dictys extremely well-suited to medieval purposes. The medieval love of romance and chivalry also colored the myths, so that by the close of the middle ages the classics were well adulterated. These essentially medieval attitudes toward the "ancients" continued to be strong in Renaissance England, particularly among the little educated. As was pointed out before, the paraphrases of Caxton and Lydgate were popular and widely read. Henry B. Lathrop, in regard to Caxton's Recuyell, points out that it does not represent the larger and finer culture undoubtedly possible in medieval times. It rather represents the conventional taste and narrow outlook of ordinary people who accepted ordinary books.[28]

Heywood is thoroughly euhemeristic in his presentation of the pagan gods. In the first lines of Homer's prologue to The Golden Age, Heywood makes clear his attitude:

> The Gods of Greece, whose deities I rais'd
> Out of the earth, gave them divinity,
> The attributes of Sacrifice and Prayer
> Have given old Homer leave to view the world
> And make his owne presentment. I am he
> That by my pen gave heaven to Jupiter,
> Made Neptunes Trident calme, the curled waves,
> Gave Aeolus Lordship ore the warring winds;
> Created blacke hair'd Pluto King of Ghosts,
> And regent ore the Kingdomes fixt below.

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[28]Henry B. Lathrop, Translations from the Classics Into English From Caxton to Chapman, 1477-1620, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, XXXV (1933). p. 16.

> By me Mars warres, and fluent Mercury
> Speaks from my tongue. I plac'd divine Apollo
> Within the Sunnes bright Chariot. I made Venus
> Goddesse of Love, and to her winged sonne
> Gave severall arrowes, tipt with Gold and lead.
> What hath not Homer done, to make his name
> Live to eternity?[29]

When the pagan gods are "deified" at the close of The Golden Age, Homer makes it clear that this was done by the art of poetry, rather than by any supernatural means.

> The ground of ancient Poems you shall see:
> And how these (first borne mortall) Gods were made,
> By vertue of divinest Poesie.[30]

Saturn is referred to simply as the "King of Crete" throughout, and the goddess Diana and her troup of nymphs is explained thus:

> She is the daughter of an ancient King,
> That swaid the Atticke scepter, who being tempted
> By many suiters, first began this vow:
> And leaving Court betooke her to the forrests.
> Her beauteous traine are virgins of best ranke,
> Daughters of Kings, and Princes, all devoted
> To abandon men, and chuse virginity.[31]

In Heywood's version of the myth of Danae, the legendary "golden shower" by means of which Jupiter visited her, becomes a shower of gold in the mercenary sense, for Jupiter, disguised as a peddler, bribes his way into the tower, and into the affections of Danae.

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[29] Works, III, p. 5.

[30] Works, III, p. 78.

[31] Works, III, p. 27.

Another interesting example of the rationalization of a supernatural occurrence, comes at the conclusion of the above episode, when Jupiter desires to retire from Danae's tower without being seen. He addresses his attendant:

> Some cloud to cover mee, throw or'e my shoulders
> Some shadow for this state, the Crones are up,
> And waite t'unprison us, nay quickly fellow.

In answer to this high-flown demand, his attendant suggests:

> Here My Lord, cast your old cloake about you.[32]

The Judgment of Paris is told of as if it were a dream, rather than an actual event:

> Heare Gracious sir, my dreame in Ida Mount,
> Beneath the shadow of a Cedar sleeping.
> Celestiall Juno, Venus, and the Goddesse
> Borne from the braine of mighty Jupiter.
> These three present me with a golden Ball,
> On which was writ, Detur pulcherrimae,
> Give't to the fairest:[33]

Further, throughout the entire Troy saga, no gods or goddesses interfere with the progress of the war. The only supernatural element included is that of Achille's heel.

Heywood's characterization of the legendary gods and heroes was also influenced by Dares and Dictys, via Caxton. The tendency to add realistic details, to more fully motivate the characters, and to humanize them in general was well suited to Heywood's purpose. A similar treatment of character

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[32] Works, III, p. 71.

[33] Works, III, p. 268.

may be found in the cycle plays of the medieval guilds. In these plays, which dealt with biblical events and characters, this same type of humanizing and popularizing is evident. Noah stepped from his lofty position in biblical history, and in intensely realistic and human scenes with his wife, became a person of flesh and blood. The projected sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham became alive and full of pathos in its dramatic presentation. Cain and Abel became more than the participants in the first murder. The character of Pilate in particular was greatly intensified from the biblical account, until he emerged as the most vital figure in the Passion story.

This tendency to mingle classical and biblical material with native elements was an important influence in the Renaissance. Douglas Bush, in speaking more particularly of the influence of native tradition upon mythological poetry points out another type of native influence, which is also applicable to the drama:

> Another powerful influence of a similar kind came from the living pictures of pageants and masques, which made the Elizabethan eye familiar with mythological figures placed in strange settings and combinations. Pageantry had a long native tradition behind it, and when, under the impulse of Renaissance classicism, mythological characters were introduced, they naturally took color from the older and stronger popular conventions.[34]

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[34] Bush, op.cit., p.78.

Heywood, then, in attempting to picture the heroes and gods of antiquity for his audience, follows a popular tradition, in which ancient and venerated personages are brought down to earth and made warm and human. Heywood's treatment of character added more than a little to the popular appeal of his drama, for the motives and emotions that ruled his mythological characters were the same as those that moved the members of his audience.

In line with the popular tradition which traced the pedigree of the British nation through Brutus, the grandson of Aeneas, Heywood debases the heroes of the Greeks and elevates those of the Trojans. The portrait of Achilles, in Homer the greatest of the Greek heroes, is most unflattering. He is treated as a selfish, wilful, dishonorable, and even traitorous individual. He is willing, for instance, basely to betray his countrymen in a secret agreement with Priam because of his love for Polyxena:

> Tell Priam that Achilles Arme's benumb'd,
> And cannot lift a weapon against Troy.
> Say to Queene Hecuba wee are her sonne,
> And not Achilles, nor one Mirmidon
> Shall give her least affront, as for the Lady
> Bid her presume, we henceforth are her Knight,
> And but for her Achilles scornes to fight.[35]

In contrast to the Iliad, Achilles is presented as unmoved by the death of Patroclus. He is moved to fight only when he learns that the Trojans have fired his tent.

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[35] Works, III, p. 310.

Achilles falls far short of heroic stature in his dealings with Hector. Surrounded by his Mermidons, Achilles gives the command for them all to rush at once upon the lone Trojan hero. This cowardly and dishonorable behavior is pointed up by Hector's noble words:

> Dishonourable Greeke, Hector nere dealt
> On base advantage, or ever lift his sword
> Over a quaking foe, but as a spoyle
> Unworthy us, still left him to his feare:
> Nor on the man, whom singly I struke downe,
> Have I redoubled blowes, my valour still
> Opposde against a standing enemy.[36]

Ulysses, the wise and noble counselor of the Iliad, appears as merely calculating and shrewd, being characterized as the "crafty Fox Ulysses."[37]

The Trojan heroes, on the other hand, are presented most sympathetically. Hector, for instance, is treated throughout as an ideal hero. Priam is unswervingly noble, and even Paris is treated as a brave and honorable hero. In the final sack of Troy, the Greeks appear as bloody murderers, while the people of Troy are pictured with extreme sympathy and pathos.

Heywood portrays the gods and goddesses in a most human, and often coarse fashion. F. M. Velte says:

> . . . Venus, Mars, Neptune, Hercules, Jason, and all the gods and demi-gods of Greek myth are

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[36] Works, III, p. 321.

[37] Works, III, p. 334.

> treated with a sort of bourgeois familiarity
> that makes them themselves almost of the
> bourgeoisie.[38]

Saturn, the first mythological figure to be fully developed by Heywood, emerges, not as a god, but as a man--guilt-ridden, afraid, selfish, and vacillating; yet withal, an understandable human being, torn between parental love and selfish ambition. Jupiter is first introduced by Heywood as an admirable young man. He is characterized as proud, brave, and intensely loyal to his king and benefactor. However, with his first encounter with the opposite sex in the person of Callisto, his character begins to become debased. Finally he emerges as a comedy character, rather than as the terrible and august king of the gods. Juno appears far from goddess-like in her principal scenes. She has more of the character of a spiteful fish-wife as she enjoys her revenge upon Alcmena:

> Ha, Ha! Now Jove with thy omnipotence,
> Make (if thou canst) way for thy bastards birth,
> . . . . . .
> Nor powers of heaven shall streight me, till the deaths
> Of yon adulteresse and her mechall brats.[39]

Her hatred of Hercules is expressed in coarse and vicious terms:

> If neither tyrants, monsters, savages,
> Giants nor hell-hounds, can the bastard quell;

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[38]F. Mowbray Velte, The Bourgeois Elements in the Dramas of Thomas Heywood (Princeton, 1922), p. 51.

[39]Works, III, p. 123.

> Let him be pasht, stab'd, strangled, poisoned,
> Or murdered sleeping.[40]

and she is vulgar in her gloating over Semele:

> Hang, burne her witch, be all such strumpets fir'd
> With no less heat than wanton Semele.
> . . . . . .
> Ch 'twould please me Iris
> To see this wanton with her bastard, blowne
> And hang'd upon the high hornes of the moone.[41]

Vulcan appears as an ordinary tradesman-smith, always behind in his orders, and chiding the cyclops to hurry, as if they were lazy London apprentices. His wife, Venus, is characterized as a completely sensuous and brazen bona-roba.

The legendary earthly beauties who appear in the various myths are also characterized in a vivid, human fashion. Callisto is portrayed as shrewd and argumentative, as she turns a deaf ear to the blandishments of Jupiter:

> Jup. Are you a Queene enthron'd above the Elements,
> Made of divine composure, or of earth,
> Which I can scarce beleeve?
>
> Cal. I am my selfe.[42]

And again, Jupiter asks: "Faire, can you love?" and Callisto replies: "To be alone I can."[43]

Danae appears spirited and intelligent, as she chides her father for his treatment of her:

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[40] Works, III, p. 126.

[41] Works, III, p. 153.

[42] Works, III, p. 24.

[43] Works, III, p. 25.

you give me golden fetters,
As if their value could my bondage lessen.
. . . . . .
Can you accuse my faith, or modesty?
Hath any loose demeanour in my carriage
Bred this distrust? hath my eye plaid the rioter?[44]

and she shows mental agility as she attempts to reason with her father concerning the oracle which he fears:

To turne you into stone; that's to prepare
Your monument, and marble sepulcher.
The meaning is, that I a sonne shall have,
That when you dye shall bear you to your grave.
Are you not mortall? would you ever live?[45]

Semele's pride and vanity make her an easy mark for Juno's treachery:

Oh Jupiter! thy love makes me immortall,
. . . . . .
And I shall now be ranck't in equipage
With Danae, Io, Leda, and the rest,
. . . . . .
There is no earth in me, I am all divine:
Ther's in me nothing mortall, save this shape,
Whose beauty hath cal'd Jove himselfe from heaven,
The rest all pure, corruptlesse and refin'd,
That hath daz'd men, and made th' immortall blinde.[46]

The ruling traits of Helen of Troy as characterized by Heywood, are vanity and passion. She knows the power of her beauty over men, and does not hesitate to use it for her advantage. She chides Menelaus as he prepares to leave on an embassy to Sparta:

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[44]Works, III, p. 58.

[45]Works, III, p. 59.

[46]Works, III, pp. 147-48.

hath your Hellen such small grace,
That you preferre a Kingdome 'fore her face?
You value me too cheape, and doe not know
The worth and value of the face you owe.
. . . . . .
You surfeit in your pleasures, swimme in sport,
But sir, from henceforth I shall keepe you short.[47]

When Diomed reminds her that it is honor that calls him away, she shows a wilful selfishness in her reply: "What's that to Hellen, if shee'le have him stay?"[48]

Helen's vanity and competitive spirit are awakened by the news of the arrival of Paris with an embassy from Troy. Thoroughly feminine, she uses the occasion as an excuse to get all dressed up:

Let them not say they found us poore and bare.
Or that our Grecian Ladies are lesse faire
Then theirs:
. . . . . .
Oh had I known their Landing one day sooner,
That Hellen might have trim'd up her attire
Against this meeting, then my radiant beauty
I doubt not, might in Troy be tearm'd as faire,
As through all Greece I am reputed rare.[49]

When Paris attempts to make love to her, she makes only a token objection, pointing out her high position and responsibility. She finally capitulates with an admission of her weakness:

I am not angry; who can angry be
With him that loves her?[50]

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[47] Works, III, pp. 274-75.

[48] Works, III, p. 275.

[49] Works, III, p. 276.

[50] Works, III, p. 279.

Later, when she is forced to confront both Menelaus and Paris together, she shows pangs of conscience:

> Oh that I were (but Hellen) any thing;
> Or might have any object in my eye
> Save Menelaus: when on him I gaze,
> My errour chides mee, I my shame emblaze.[51]

Yet, in spite of conscience and a knowledge of duty, passion rules her final choice between the two.

> Men. This way wife,
> Thou shall save many a Greeke and Trojans life.
>
> Hel. 'Tis true, I know it.
>
> Par. This way turne thine head,
> This is the path that leades unto our bed.
> . . . . . .
>
> Hel. That way I should, because I know 'tis meeter.
> . . . . . .
> But I'le this way for Paris kisses sweeter.[52]

In general, Heywood's mythological figures, whether gods, goddesses, ancient heroes, or legendary beauties, emerge as warm, interesting, human beings, with familiar emotions and motives--not as distant, cold symbols of an alien culture.

All types of audiences love humor and comedy, but various audiences differ greatly in what they consider to be funny. Lyly, writing for a sophisticated court audience, concentrated on verbal wit rather than comic situations.

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[51] Works, III, p. 307.

[52] Works, III, pp. 308-09.

His delicate word play, clever innuendo and flashing witticism delighted an audience sufficiently educated to appreciate such subtleties. However, if this same type of humor were put on the boards at the Red Bull, the bourgeois audience would no doubt have vented its severe disapproval. Heywood's comedy is scaled to his audience. It is broad, obvious, and often coarse. No rules of decorum are observed, and the gods indulge in the same type of low comedy as do the servants. The verbal comedy which is included is of the most gross and obvious type. The punning is so pointed that even the most uneducated person would have no trouble in following it. A good example of the thoroughly plebian nature of Heywood's verbal comedy is found in Act I of The Golden Age, where a Clowne and a Nurse discuss the pregnancy of their queen. This scene, introduced solely for its comedy value, is complete with a smattering of proverbial wisdom, some obvious punning, and the sly jokes about child-bearing which so delight the vulgar.

> Clo. There is no dallying, you must come with all speede, For Madam Sibilla is growne a great woman.
>
> Nur. That is without question, for she is now a Queene.
>
> Clo. Nay, she is greater then many Queenes are: for though you may thinke she is with ancient folkes: yet I can assure you she is with childe, . . . I never heard she was committed to prison: yet t'is look't every houre when she shall be delivered, and therefore Nurse I was sent to you in all haste.

Nur. Is she so neere her time?

Clo. Yes: and yet tis thought shee will notwithstanding hold out, because she is groning.

Nur. Your reason?

Clo. Because you know the proverbe: A grunting horse, and a groning wife never deceive their Maister: say, will you make haste, Nurse?

Nur. What's the best news abroad?

Clo. The best newes abrode is, that the Queene is likely to keepe at home: and is it not strange, that halfe an houres being abroad should make a woman have a moneths minde to keepe in. . . .[53]

This same type of homely humor is introduced again when the Clown, in a distinctly Falstaffian manner, seeks to avoid taking part in a battle:

> I have no mind to this buffeting: Ile walke after faire and softly, in hope that all the buffeting may be done before I come. Whether had I better go home by land, or by sea? If I go by land, and miscarry, then I go the way of all flesh. If I go by sea and mis-carry, then I go the way of all fish: I am not yet resolv'd.[54]

In the episode of Venus and Mars, Gallus, the servant of Mars, indulges in some pseudo-learned punning on his own name:

> I am not that Gallows that is made of three trees, or one that is never without hangers on: nor that Gallus that is latine for a French-man; but your owne Gallus gallinacius, servant and true squire to God Mars.[55]

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[53] Works, III, p. 10.

[54] Works, III, p. 46.

[55] Works, III, p. 227.

Jupiter appears in a scene of pure burlesque when, dressed as a nymph in order to deceive Callisto, he clumsily tries to imitate a woman:

> There I strid too wide. That step was too large for one that professeth the straight order: what a pittifull coyle shall I have to counterfeit this woman, to lispe (forsooth) to simper and set my face like a sweet Gentlewomans made out of ginger-bread? . . . And for my stature, I am not yet of that Giant size, but I may passe for a bona Roba, a Rounceval, a Virago, or a good manly Lasse . . . Could I manadge this businesse with Art, I should come to a hundred pretty sights in a yeare. . . . I hope Diana doth not use to search her maids before she entertains them. But howsoever,/ Be my losse certaine, and my profit none, Tis for Calisto's love, and I will on.[56]

Bourgeois domestic comedy is introduced in the story of Amphitryon, which closely follows the version of Plautus, with its uproarious scenes of confusion of identity. Buffetings, insults, and confusion reign in a completely slap-stick presentation of this episode.

A realistic, rough-house free-for-all occurs during the Centaurs' banquet celebrating the marriage of Hypodamia to Perithous. Many toasts are drunk, an argument breaks out over kissing the bride, and a confused, drunken fray with flying stools, cups, and bowls ensues, punctuated with cries of "Rescue for Hypodamia," "Downe with the Lapithes," and "Downe with Hercules."[57] This type of rowdy display

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[56] Works, III, pp. 29-30.

[57] Works, III, p. 142.

no doubt was greeted by the audience with uproarious laughter.

Although a great variety of comic episodes are presented by Heywood, he depends upon the mythological love affairs to supply the bulk of his comic material. The loves of the gods are presented in a gross and vulgar manner, more suitable to a London ale-house than to Olympus. In every instance, the romantic love elements of the myths are debased or ignored, while the coarse and risque aspects are played up.

The myth of Callisto and Jupiter is quickly put on a low level by the introduction of the burlesque scene where Jupiter attempts to disguise himself as a nymph. How much more suitable to a country haystack than to Diana's grove is the following interchange:

> Jup. Me thinkes you should be fat, pray let me feele.
>
> Cal. Ch God you tickle me.
>
> Jup. Lend me your hand,
> And freely taste me, note how I will stand,
> I am not ticklish.
>
> Cal. Lord how well you wooe.[58]

The entire presentation of the lovely myth of Danae is vulgarized by the ubiquitous Beldams. With realistic vulgarity, they discuss Danae's imprisonment:

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[58] Works, III, p. 34.

1.B. Heer's a coyle to keep fire and tow a sunder. I wonder the King should shut his daughter up so close: for any thing I see, she hath no minde to a man.

2.B. Content your selfe, you speak according to your age and appetite. We that are full fed may praise fast. We that in our heate of youth have drunke our bellyfuls, may deride those that in the heate of their blouds are athirst. I measure her by what I was, not by what I am. Appetite to love never failes an old woman, till cracking of nuts leaves her. When Danae hath no more teeth in her head then you and I, Il'e trust a man in her company, and scarce then: for if we examine our selves, wee have even at these yeares, qualmes, and rhumes, and devises comes over our stomakes, when we but look on a proper man.[59]

While Jupiter, disguised as a common peddler, courts Danae, his servant bribes the Beldams with various wares from his pack:

> As for example, heer's a silver bodkin, this is to remove dandriffe, and digge about the roots of your silver-hair'd furre. This is a tooth-picker, but you having no teeth, heere is for you a corrall to rub your gums. . . .[60]

This gross scene of bribery passes for the golden shower of ancient legend!

Danae, who appeared spirited and intelligent in her scenes with Acrisius, is now presented as simpering and coy:

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[59] Works, III, p. 57.

[60] Works, III, p. 64.

Dan. I must hence:
For if I stay, I yeeld: Il'e hence, no more.

Jup. Expect me for I come.

Dan. Yon is my doore,
Dare not to enter there.[61]

And again, when Jupiter enters her chamber she says:

If you will needs, for modesties chast law,
Before you come to bed, the curtaines draw,
But do not come, you shall not by this light,
If you but offer't, I shall cry out right.
Ch God, how hoarse am I, and cannot? fie
Danae thus naked and a man so nye.[62]

In keeping with this characterization of Danae, Jupiter is pictured as cynical and opportunistic:

Gold and reward, thou art mighty, and hast power
O're aged, yong, the foolish, and the wise,
The chaste, and wanton, fowle, and beautifull:
Thou art a God on earth, and canst all things.[63]

The myth of Mars and Venus is made extremely comic by Heywood's presentation of Vulcan, who is intent upon proving that he is a cuckold, and having done so, is not quite sure who has triumphed.

The episode picturing Hercules' bondage to Omphale is played as comedy. Here the humor is derived from the ridiculous appearance of the burly Hercules, dressed in skirts, cowering abjectly before his mistress.

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[61] Works, III, p. 66.

[62] Works, III, p. 69.

[63] Works, III, p. 67.

It is evident that scenes such as these could never have appeared in the work of Lyly. Heywood's humor is obviously and consciously designed to please his audience with little or no regard to its artistic suitability.

However, the bourgeois spectator evidently did not come to the theater merely to laugh. He also wished to be moved to tears. Accordingly, Heywood included plenty of tears along with his laughter.

In The Golden Age a long, pathetic scene is introduced in which Sibila, Vesta, and a Nurse attempt to carry out Saturn's order to kill the infant Jupiter, and are unable to bring themselves to commit the act:

> Ves. Then give him me, I am his Grandmother,
> And I will kill him gently:
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Sib. For heavens sake when you kil him, hurt him not.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Nur. Oh Madame, hee's so full of Angell grace
> I cannot strike, he smiles so in my face.[64]

In the story of Meleager and the burning brand, Althea, torn between loyalty to her brothers and love for her son, finally casts the brand with which Meleager's life is bound up into the flames. In this scene, perhaps the most moving in the entire cycle, Meleager speaks the lines which so impressed Lamb with their pathos:

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[64] Works, III, p. 18.

oh father Oeneus
And you Althea, whom I would call mother
But that my genius prompts me th'art unkind,
And yet farewell, Atlanta beauteous maide,
I cannot speake my thoughts for torture, death,
Anguish and paines, all that Promethean fire
Was stolne from heaven, the Thiefe left in my bosome.
The Sunne hath cast his element on me,
And in my entralls hath he fixt his Spheare,
His pointed beames he hath darted through my heart,
And I am still on flame.[65]

Heywood attempts to rise to the height of tragedy in his presentation of the death of Hercules. In a long scene of torture and madness, Hercules slays the Queen Omphale, tears up trees, and casts down huge rocks. Although Heywood falls far short of true tragedy here, he certainly succeeds in being terrifying and spectacular.

Heywood cleverly appeals to the sympathies of his audience in his presentation of the sack of Troy. The event is brought home in a realistic and human manner when an ordinary Trojan citizen and his wife are roused from sleep by the commotion, and are caught up into the scene of blood and ruin.

Wife. Oh Heaven! what tumult's this
That hurries through the fatall streetes of Troy?
I feare some treason.

. . . . . .

Tro. Sure 'tis the noise of war, whence should it grow?
The Greekes are sayl'd hence, Troy needes feare
no foe.

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[65] Works, III, p. 201.

Wife. The horrid stirre comes on this way towards us.

Tro. Oh whither shall we turne?

Wife. Oh save mee husband.

Tro. Succour me deere wife.[66]

A remarkably good example of Heywood's ability to use his material in a way which would appeal to a bourgeois audience can be found in the opening act of The Golden Age. In this one act, Heywood attempts to cover a period of almost twenty years. But, in spite of the purely narrative demands of such a task, Heywood's three longest scenes are ones of strong, human appeal. One of these is devoted to the vivid characterization of Saturn, another to the purely comic scene involving a Clown and a Nurse, and the third presents the pathos of the attempted murder of the infant Jupiter.

But vivid, human characters, laughter, and tears were not enough. The bourgeois audience, then as now, must have a moral. Without wasting too much time in the process, Heywood points out a few obvious morals. Danae's downfall was brought about through the evil power of gold. Semele's pride and ambition led to her destruction. Helen and Cressida are both punished for their sins of passion, and this bit of homely advice is offered by Vulcan, after he has succeeded in trapping Mars and Venus:

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[66] Works, III, p. 381.

be warn'd by me oh men,
Although you know your wives false, wher and when,
Take them not in the manner, though you may:
They that with feare before, now blushlesse stray,
Their guilt 'tis better to suspect then know.[67]

There were those in the audience who longed for excitement and bloodshed, and for these, Heywood provided a profusion of battle scenes. In The Golden Age fourteen battles are conducted on stage; The Silver Age also contains fourteen, and The Brazen Age, eight. The Troy story, of course, is more than liberally supplied with scenes of conflict. Certainly these plays seem to justify Davenant's remarks in the Prologue to The Unfortunate Lovers, written in 1643:

Good easy judging souls, with what delight
They would expect a jig, or target fight,
A furious tale of Troy, which they ne'er thought
Was weakly written, so 'twere strongly fought.[68]

Although the citizen audience loved the homely and the familiar, it also had a thirst for the strange and wonderful. Knowing this, Heywood does not confine himself to a thoroughly realistic presentation of classical mythology. Many spectacular scenes of wonder are prepared for the delight of the crowd. The scenery and staging involved is

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[67] Works, III, p. 238.

[68] The Dramatic Works of Sir William D'Avenant, edited by James Maidment, et al. (Edinburgh, 1873), III, pp. 12-13.

often elaborate and awe-inspiring. For instance, the stage directions for Hercules' descent into Hades read as follows:

> Hercules sinkes himselfe: Flashes of fire; the Divels appeare at every corner of the stage with severall fire-workes. The Judges of hell, and the three sisters run over the stage, Hercules after them: fire-workes all over the house.[69]

Another example of this aspect of Heywood's work is to be found in his presentation of the Golden Fleece:

> Two fiery Buls are discovered, the Fleece hanging over them, and the Dragon sleeping beneath them: Medea with strange fiery-workes, hangs above in the Aire in the strange habite of a Conjuresse.[70]

Most remarkably of all, Heywood succeeds in welding together this whole improbable collection of episodes with impressive scenes of pageantry, which provided structural props for his wobbling dramatic structure, and at the same time, satisfied the typical Englishman's desire for pomp and circumstance. As was pointed out earlier, no logical ending is possible for the disjointed episodes presented in The Golden Age. But Heywood cleverly provides a spectacular and satisfying closing scene by the introduction of a dumb show which presents the deification of the pagan gods.

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[69] Works, III, p. 159.

[70] Works, III, p. 217.

> Sound a dumbe shew. Enter the three fatall sisters, with a rocke, a threed, and a paire of sheeres; bringing in a Gloabe, in which they put three lots. Jupiter drawes heaven: at which Iris descends and presents him with his Eagle, Crowne and Scepter, and his thunder-bolt. Jupiter first ascends upon the Eagle, and after him Ganimed.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Sound. Neptune drawes the Sea, is mounted upon a sea-horse, a Roabe and Trident, with a crowne are given him by the Fates.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Sound, Thunder and Tempest. Enter at 4 severall corners the 4 winds: Neptune riseth disturb'd: the Fates bring the 4 winds in a chaine, and present them to Aeolus, as their King.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Sound. Pluto drawes hell: the Fates put upon him a burning Roabe, and present him with a Mace, and burning crowne.[71]

Time and time again throughout the entire cycle, Heywood manages to pull together the wandering strands of narrative with such impressive scenes of pageantry.

Almost every type of drama known to the theater-going audience of the day was contained in this magnificent cycle. There was farce in the scenes with the Clown and the Beldams, history in the legend of Troy, domestic comedy in the story of Amphitryon, romance in the tale of Paris and Helen,

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[71] Works, III, pp. 78-79.

pastoral in the myth of Venus and Adonis, tragedy in the death of Meleager, and even revenge-tragedy, in the story of Agamemnon and Orestes.

From the foregoing analysis it seems evident that Heywood's dramatic technique was influenced greatly by the citizen audience for which he wrote. This audience was, after all, much like the audience at which the present Hollywood technicolor spectacle is aimed, and the same elements are to be found in both Heywood and Hollywood.

Heywood well knew that a learned and cultured audience would find much to criticize and scoff at in his plays. He asks for tolerance in his introduction to The Silver Age:

> We therefore begge, that since so many eyes,
> And severall judging wits must taste our stile,
> The learn'd will grace, the ruder not despise:[72]

Although the audience for which he wrote rewarded him with fame and popularity, Heywood, like Lyly, lived to see the day when his type of drama began to fall into disfavor. He shows his awareness of this fact in his address "To the Reader," which appeared in the 1632 edition of The Iron Age.

> These Ages have beene long since Writ, and
> suited with the Time then: I know not how

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[72] Works, III, p. 85.

> they may bee received in this Age, where nothing but Satirica Dictaeria, and Comica Scommata are now in request: . . .[73]

The younger, cleverer dramatists like Beaumont, Fletcher, Shirley, and Ford were coming into the ascendant with a type of drama which, like Lyly's, appealed more to a class than to the people as a whole. Laughter lost much of its merriment and became tinged with bitterness. The attitude toward sex ceased to be one of healthy vulgarity, and became abnormal and suggestive. A delicate sentimentality began to replace genuine emotion. The wheel had almost come full turn when its progress was cut off by the closing of the theaters in 1642.

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[73] Works, III, p. 351.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

The foregoing study has shown that, although John Lyly and Thomas Heywood both wrote dramas based upon classical mythology, the character of their drama was widely divergent. The chief reason for this divergence appears to lie in the efforts of each to adapt his material to a particular audience. Lyly wrote for the most exclusive audience of his day--a court society which was relatively learned and sophisticated. Heywood, on the other hand, wrote for those who frequented the Red Bull, or perhaps the Cockpit, which were popular, though never high-class theaters. The fact that both attempted to adapt similar subject matter to dissimilar audiences is reflected throughout every aspect of their dramatic techniques. At this point, it would be well to summarize briefly the contrasting techniques which have been evident in this study.

Lyly had no need to educate the courtly audience in mythology, so he was free to exploit his material in an original and imaginative fashion. However, Lyly's subtle refinements would have been lost upon Heywood's relatively unlearned audience. The task which Heywood set for himself

was not to use classical material in an original and creative manner, or even to embroider it with imaginative fantasy. Moved by both the opportunity and the desire to educate, Heywood presented the myths as completely as possible, and in a manner which was clear and entertaining to his audience. Lyly tended to develop a single theme, elaborating it minutely, and giving the whole an artistic unity by the use of a technique of both verbal and structural antithesis. Heywood, because of his desire to educate, tried to cover as much ground as possible, using a chronicle technique which lacked any artistic unity, but which provided for continual action and excitement.

Lyly's dramatic prose is urbane and polished. His language is an idealization of that of the court, highly stylized, intricate, abounding in subtle and vivacious wit. Heywood's dramatic verse, however, is simple and direct, tending to focus attention upon character and action, rather than upon itself. Scaled to the level of his audience, his language is uninvolved and lucid—it leads to no special problems of interpretation, and requires no special knowledge to appreciate.

Lyly's use of allegory presupposes a knowing audience, one familiar with the conventions of courtly love, with neo-platonic ideals, with the personal scandals and political intrigues of the court. Heywood's drama, on the other

hand, exists on one level only--that of the actual stage presentation. He tells the myths for their narrative value alone, without any suggestion of allegorical significance.

Lyly carefully observes class distinctions in his portrayal of character. His gods and goddesses are treated with respect; the courtly and pastoral characters are ideally painted and move in their own sphere. Genre characters, servants and tradesmen, appear only in the farcical interludes and do not mix with the courtly characters. Lyly's presentation of character is one which is in keeping with courtly attitudes. There is an idealization of the courtly type, with its proclivity to look upon people as representatives of classes rather than as individuals. Lyly's conformity to this ideal leads to the creation of many charming, but artificial creatures. Heywood, however, makes no such distinctions between gods, heroes, or ordinary mortals. All are treated in an intimate and realistic fashion, being governed by the same emotions and motivations that existed in the hearts of his audience.

Lyly's comedy also depended for its appreciation upon an educated audience, for it is principally verbal, highly intellectual and subtle. Decorum is observed in the type of comedy associated with the various classes of characters. The gods, the pastoral and courtly figures

indulge in scenes of witty repartee, while genre characters appear in the farcical interludes. These farcical elements are always kept strictly in the nature of anti-masques, and are not mingled with the principal action. Heywood's comedy, however, is of the most broad and obvious sort. His is the surface jest, devoid of subtlety. Scenes of rude slapstick and roughhouse abound. No rules of decorum are observed, for the gods take part in the same type of low-comedy scenes as do the servants.

Much of the comedy in both Lyly and Heywood centers in their treatment of love. Elizabeth's vanity, pride, and vacillating attitude toward her suitors made love the constant subject of the court, and it was also the constant theme of Lyly's drama. Lyly treats the subject of love in a light vein, characterized by the comment of Sapho that "Love is a toye made for Ladies."[1] His love scenes are usually witty sparrings between a set of ideally painted lovers. Heywood, on the other hand, makes his love scenes the occasion for broad and vulgar comedy. Elements of romantic love in the myths are constantly debased or ignored, while the coarse and risque aspects are emphasized.

Lyly, writing for a sophisticated audience which evidently preferred to be amused rather than touched,

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[1] Sapho and Phao, V.ii.95.

never treats a theme or character with real depth or emotion. He rarely exploits a situation for its pathos and constantly ignores opportunities to display genuine passion. But Heywood, writing for a bourgeois audience, provides tears as well as laughter. He often manipulates a situation for its pathos, developing the action on the level of a strong emotional appeal.

The characteristic effect of Lyly's drama is one of ballet-like grace and stylization. He strives always for a masque-like loveliness, imparting to his plays the appeal of a delicately wrought miniature. Heywood's plays give quite an opposite effect. His is a huge canvas, painted with broad sweeps. He strives for spectacle rather than beauty, for excitement and emotion rather than wit, for the intensely realistic rather than the romantic and ethereal. The contrast between the two is brought out in Mowbray Velte's remarks about the overall effect of Heywood's mythological dramas:

> Lyly's plays written for court performance retain something of the loveliness and fanciful qualities of their classical sources, but here the abstract and fanciful has become material and familiar.[2]

Both Lyly and Heywood, however, achieved notable success in their chosen fields of dramatic endeavor, and

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[2]Velte, op.cit., p. 138.

their success is a tribute to their skill in adapting material to special situations. In explaining their differences, however, it seems clear that we must take into account the essentially different character of the audiences for which they wrote. This is not to say that an audience dictates the terms of drama. However, in so far as a dramatist writes with a particular audience in mind, the audience gains significance as a factor influencing the character of the product, and may be appraised in terms of available evidence.

The present study has endeavored to take advantage of one unusually good basis for comparison, arising from the fact that the mythological plays of Lyly and Heywood were prepared expressly for such contrasting audiences. There has been no intention to discount the other factors which influenced the work of the two men. For instance, their divergent personalities and talents may serve to account for many of the characteristics of their work. Notwithstanding, the constant aim to appeal to a special audience is evident on every page. An important index to just how important a factor this audience-consciousness was may be found in an interesting postscript which was written to the matter in 1634. In this year, Queen Henrietta Maria requested Thomas Heywood to write a play especially for the entertainment of the court. Turning

from his successful series of city pageants—that most bourgeois of all entertainment—Heywood produced Loves Mistress, or The Queen's Masque. A close examination of this play reveals its debt to Blount's 1632 edition of Lyly's Six Court Comedies. In Loves Mistress, Heywood deliberately rejected the techniques he had employed so successfully on the public stage, and employed instead the techniques peculiar to Lyly, the successful court dramatist. And, excellent craftsman that he was, scored as huge a success at court as he had earlier with the public. Loves Mistress was performed before royalty no less than three times in two weeks. In this play, Heywood, like Lyly, chose to elaborate on a single theme. He based the play upon Apuleius' lovely myth of Cupid and Psyche, and departing from his usual custom, gave his theme an allegorical significance. Here Heywood allegorized the conflict between true and debased art, much as Lyly earlier allegorized the conflict between love and chastity. The farcical elements were kept strictly in the nature of an anti-masque, and were not mingled with the main action. The setting was idyllic, the poetry finer and more carefully wrought. Decorum was observed in the treatment of character, and a technique of structural antithesis pervaded throughout. It seems evident in this play that Heywood went to a fellow craftsman to find techniques compatible with a court audience.

This interesting sidelight on the careers of Lyly and Heywood points unmistakably to the powerful influence of the audience situation upon the dramatist's work, regardless of his special talents or inclinations.

Both Lyly and Heywood exemplify an attitude toward the drama which, with few exceptions, was shared by the other Elizabethan dramatists. They regarded art as a tool to prepare something for immediate consumption by a particular audience. In this respect, art was a living, flexible medium, as opposed to an ivory-tower self-indulgence. It is characteristic of the drama that more than any other art, it depends upon the immediate response of an audience for its very life. Yet this very dependence often means its death, for a drama aimed at one specific audience in one age often has nothing to say to another audience and another age. Lyly and Heywood both succumbed before this paradox. Although both worked within their situations with skill, and both were successful within them, yet both lived to see their work fall into disfavor, for neither transcended their limitations.

Lyly was intensely aware of artistic ideals and realized how far afield one might be led in catering to the tastes of a vulgar audience. Yet, restricting himself to the limitations and prejudices of a courtly society, no matter how cultured it might have been, proved to be

as fatal as catering to the fickle demands of the uneducated. As Schelling puts it:

> Elizabethan drama could never have been what it became had it remained in the leading strings of the classicists or existed merely to entertain a pleasure-loving court. The literature of a class is often choice and beautiful but it seldom carries beyond its own age.[3]

But if Lyly was too narrow in his appeal, Heywood was too broad. If we can accuse Lyly of pandering to Elizabeth, we can also accuse Heywood of being too compliant with the tastes of the bourgeois.

In every age there are good, competent craftsmen to be found, who, like Lyly and Heywood, contribute in varying degrees to the cultural life of their age. But fortunate indeed is the age which produces one man who incorporates in his work the best from that age, and who adds from his own genius that understanding and perception which makes his work lasting, and gives a vicarious immortality to his generation.

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[3]Schelling, op.cit., p. 274.

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