THE ITALIAN TRADITION IN JOHN LYLY'S COURT DRAMAS: WITH EMPHASIS ON HIS CHARACTERIZATIONS AND HIS IDEAS OF LOVE

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by

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AN ABSTRACT

Submitted to the School for Advanced Graduate Studies of Michigan State University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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WILLI ANDREAS USCHALD ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates some aspects of Lyly's debt to Italy in order to contribute something toward the more complete understanding of Lyly's dramatic art.

A survey of the cultural relations between England and Italy in the Renaissance reveals very clearly that England is deeply indebted to Italy's imaginative, intellectual and artistic accomplishments. The English debt is, in fact, immense. Englishmen looked to Italy for lessons not only in literature, art and philosophy, but also in politics and good-breeding. It was the rule, rather than the exception, that a scholar or a courtier should be able to read and speak Italian and be well-versed in the various fields of Italy's cultural attainments.

Lyly grew up and lived in an aristocratic, literary environment which exposed him to things Italian. He not only was well acquainted with the various forms of Italian literature, but also worked within the framework of Italian literary traditions and conventions.

His dramatic technique is, on the whole, unlike that of his English predecessors, but very similar to that of the mythological-pastoral-tragicomic tradition in Italy. His characterization proceeds within the established rules of ethos and decorum. Most of his "occupational-realistic" personages are largely modelled on Italian stock-types and,

whenever necessary, modified and adapted to the exposition of theories and ideas of the trattati d'amore.

The trattati d'amore are Lyly's primary source. They provided him with the incentive to write court dramas. His plays are primarily expositions of ideas and theories expounded in these treatises. They are best explained as Neo-Platonic-Petrarchistic allegories of love. While the Neo-Platonic-Petrarchistic group of trattatisti provided him with his conception of love, the realistic-didactic group, with its newfangled "art of love-making," furnished him with a pattern for the conduct of his characters. His court society is modelled on the Italian society depicted by the trattatisti. His women converse freely with men on equal terms. They discuss freely, like their Italian counterparts, the various problems of love, no matter how erudite or how shocking.

After investigating the background of Lyly's plays, we find that Lyly, the dramatist, is much more original than is generally assumed. Love becomes dramatic in his plays, and his Neo-Platonic-Petrarchistic love-apprehension challenges a religious preoccupation which had prevailed in English drama for centuries. His originality does not show itself in inventing subject-matter, but in the skillful combination and adaptation of Italian material and its fusion into a new English dramatic type. In so doing, he

shows himself a truly creative artist. He has the gift of discerning the dramatic possibilities in a story or in an ideology and the gift of combining and handling disparate material so that an artistic whole emerges which is peculiarly his own.

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INTRODUCTION

To study sources of inspiration enables us to fix a writer's originality in much sharper focus than to examine him in isolation. By investigating some aspects of Lyly's debt to Italy, this study hopes to contribute primarily something toward the more complete understanding of Lyly's dramatic art.

The problem of determining and interpreting Italy's contribution to John Lyly's work has occupied critics before. Some have concluded that Lyly was unacquainted with Italian literature[1] and that his plays were the result of a completely independent English development.[2] Others have assumed that Lyly's debt to Italy is so obvious that it is unnecessary to prove it. And again, others have tried, more or less successfully, to trace certain Italian elements in Lyly's works.[3] Their conclusions in regard to

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[1] A. Feuillerat, John Lyly (Cambridge, 1910), p. 60, note 3; M. T. Herrick, Tragicomedy: Its Origin and Development in Italy, France, and England (Urbana, 1955), p. 155.

[2] R. W. Bond, The Complete Works of John Lyly (Oxford, 1902), II, 474.

[3] L. L. Schücking, Studien über die stofflichen Beziehungen der englischen Komödie zur italienischen bis Lilly (Halle, 1901), chapter VI, "Italienisches bei Lilly," pp. 83-103. Violet M. Jeffery, John Lyly and the Italian Renaissance (Paris, 1928), chapters V and VI, pp. 73-115.

Lyly's plays, however, have all been unconvincing and unsatisfactory. They have been too much concerned with "direct sources" and "verbal parallels" in the Italian drama, neglecting or completely overlooking, for instance, the vast amount of literature of the trattatisti (the authors of Renaissance treatises on love and gentle behavior) as a possible source of inspiration or point of departure for Lyly's plays.

The first two chapters of this study will attempt to show that Lyly was exposed to things Italian and that he must have been well acquainted with Italian literature in general. The subsequent chapters will then concern themselves with some specific aspects of Lyly's debt to the Italian drama, primarily to the tradition of the tragedia mista, or tragedia di fin lieto, and the pastoral-tragicomedies and, to a lesser degree, the commedia erudita and commedia dell'arte. A final chapter will analyze Lyly's relationship with the trattati d'amore, especially as regards his ideas on love.

This study does not pretend to be exhaustive. There are many aspects of Lyly's Italian debt that could not be dealt with here. I hope to make them the object of a subsequent, more comprehensive investigation.

CHAPTER I

TUDOR ENGLAND AND ITALIAN CULTURE

I

It is common knowledge that to the imagination of the educated Elizabethan, Italy--the vast storehouse of the monuments of ancient greatness and literary treasure--was "The Golden Land." It is there that the impulse originated for a general revival of learning which spread throughout Europe. It was there that Renaissance poetry, painting and architecture first flourished in Europe and that erudite scholars discoursed on art, philosophy, statecraft and civil life and set standards of culture and patterns of conduct for the entire civilized world.

The Trecento had produced the three great Florentines--Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio--and the Cinquecento attained the undisputed intellectual leadership of the Renaissance period with Poliziano and Machiavelli at Florence, Ariosto and Tasso at Ferrara, Castiglione at Urbino, Pontano and Sannazaro at Naples, Bembo at Venice and Caro and Aretino at Rome, to mention just a few of the most important literary figures.

Englishmen had already looked towards the country of the Trecentisti in the days of Chaucer, but it was not un-

til Italy had become the focal point of a second Renaissance a century later that Italian masterpieces and Italian style really became the chief patterns to Englishmen and that Italian ideas and subjects were freely borrowed. What we would call plagiarism was then not deemed a vice at all, and commencing with Wyatt and Surrey, we encounter a very impressive number of borrowings acknowledged and unacknowledged.

II

Beginning with the sixteenth century an ever increasing number of Englishmen began to cross the Alps in quest of the new learning. By 1535 or 1540 there was a sufficient number of English students at the University of Padua alone, for instance, to require the supervision of a senior who was no less a student than John Cheke (1514-1557), who was later to become so renowned as the man who "taught Cambridge and King Edward, Greek." Besides these more serious students who were following in the footsteps of the great pioneers Linacre, Grocyn and Latimer, another type of Englishmen became more and more numerous in Italy, viz. the traveller who was curious to see for himself the "Golden Land of Romance," who was attracted chiefly by the beauty of the country and its artistic fame, by its exquisite refinement, geniality and gaiety of life. He wanted to observe personally the ways, the manners and customs of a people who were so much more sophisticated than the English.

William Thomas, who lived in Italy between 1544 and 1548, and Sir Thomas Hoby, who sojourned there between 1547 and 1549, are two typical representatives of this group. They were both penetrating observers, as we can see from Hoby's diary[1] and from Thomas's History of Italy, which he published in 1549 with a view to demonstrating how "the Italian nation which seemeth to flourish in civility most of all others at this date"[2] offered all sorts of opportunities to the traveller interested in politics and culture. On the whole, William Thomas, being primarily interested in political matters, typifies the more serious traveller. He observes that many of his compatriots come to Italy only "under pretence of study."[3]

What seems most to have impressed the translator and interpreter of Castiglione was the great refinement he found in court life. There is already something of the dilettante traveller about Sir Thomas Hoby, the type that was soon to become so numerous among Elizabethan nobles who made Italy the most important stage in their fashionable Grand Tour. John Lyly's patron, Edward de Vere, Earl of

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[1] "A Description of the State of Italy," in The Travaile and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby, British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2148, ff. 186-202. See Lewis Einstein, The Italian Renaissance in England (New York, 1902), p. 118.

[2] Einstein, p. 118.

[3] Ibid., p. 119.

Oxford, who spent the winter of 1575-76 in northern Italy, was an Inglese italianato, one of those Italianate gentlemen who were being attacked by Roger Ascham in his The Scholemaster.[4] Ascham objected to the Italian journeys on moral grounds. In his eyes and in those of many other Protestant writers Italy had become a sort of maga Circe, dissolute and corruptive, to which young Englishmen went in a state of innocence and from whence they returned with open eyes and dubious morals.

Yet the interest in Italy was much more than an "Italian craze." Men like Hoby, Edward de Vere and Sidney[5] contributed toward the development of a cultural attitude, of a frame of mind which was based not only on a blind admiration for the literary and artistic achievement of Italy and the aping of her culture, but on an awareness of what England needed most at that time.

By the time of Henry VIII the education of an English gentleman was hardly complete if it did not include some knowledge of Italian culture, and by the time of Queen Elizabeth the English courtiers had already begun to model their conversation and conduct on the precepts of Baldassare Castiglione, Giovanni della Casa, Stefano Guazzo and

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[4]First printed posthumously in 1570.

[5]Sidney lived in Venice and Padua from 1573 to 1575.

others.[6] The Elizabethan court tried to attain the same level of culture and refinement that had made so many small Italian courts famous. When, asks Gabriel Harvey, were the Italians so highly regarded: "Matchiavell a great man; Castilio of no small reputation; Petrarch and Boccace in every man's mouth; Galateo and Guazzo never so happy; over many acquainted with Unico Aretine?"[7]

III

Much of Italian culture and learning came to England in the sixteenth century by means of translation[8] which was then regarded as a legitimate art. Professor F. O. Matthiessen in his study of Sir Thomas Hoby, Sir Thomas North, John Florio and Philemon Holland,[9] four prominent translators of the Elizabethan period, has well demonstrated

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[6]On the influence of Italian customs see T. F. Crane, Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century and their Influence on the Literature of Europe, in Cornell Studies, Vol. V (New Haven, 1920); Ruth Kelso, The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century, in University of Illinois Studies in Languages and Literature, Vol. XIV (Urbana, 1929); Mario Praz, "Fortuna della Lingua e della Cultura Italiana in Inghilterra," in Machiavelli in Inghilterra (Tumminelli, 1943), pp. 269-308.

[7]"Letter to Spenser," in Complete Works of Edmund Spenser in Verse and Prose, with Life, by A. B. Grosart, Priv. print. (1882-84), I, 69.

[8]On Elizabethan translations see Mary A. Scott, Elizabethan Translations from the Italian (Boston and New York, 1916); Charles Whibley, "The Translators," in the Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. IV, chapter I; F. O. Matthiessen, Translation, an Elizabethan Art (Cambridge, Mass., 1931).

[9]Op. cit.

that their translations are rightly considered a part of creative literature.

The Elizabethans, who were endowed with an exceptional intellectual curiosity, welcomed eagerly translations from foreign languages. Italian literature was fashionable. It was particularly attractive to them because it comprised a great variety of material, not only all kinds of poetry and discourses on philosophy, politics, love and good-breeding, but also the most romantic and sensational stories in all European literature. A corps of translators from the Italian--Painter, Fenton, Fortescue, Sanforde, Pettie, Whetstone, Smythe and Turberville[10]--helped to familiarize Elizabethan readers with subjects from Boccaccio, Masuccio, Ser Giovanni Fiorentino, Straparola, Bandello and others. So great was the popularity of these Italian stories that in 1570 John Drout published his own work, The pitiful History of two loving Italians, Gaulfrido and Bernardo, as a translation from the Italian.[11]

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[10] W. Painter, Palace of Pleasure, 1566.
G. Fenton, Tragical Discourses, 1567 (from Bandello via Belleforest's Histoires tragiques!
T. Fortescue, Forest or Collection of Histories, 1571.
J. Sanforde, Garden of Pleasure, 1573.
George Pettie, Pettie's Palace of Pettie his Pleasure, 1576.
George Whetstone, The Rocke of Regard, 1576.
Robert Smythe, Strange and Tragical Histories, 1577.
George Turberville, Tragicall Tales, 1576.

[11] Einstein, p. 364.

Translations of manuals of courtesy helped popularize the manners and customs of a society far more cultivated and refined than anything that existed in England at that time. In 1561 Sir Thomas Hoby translated Il Cortigiano. In 1576 Robert Peterson rendered into English the famous treatise Galateo on the "behavior that should be adopted or avoided in polite society." A few years later George Pettie issued the first three books of Guazzo's Civile Conversazione, to which Bartholomew Young added a translation of the fourth book in 1586.

IV

Translations alone obviously could never furnish adequate material for a deeper insight and keener understanding of the vast storehouse of Italian learning. Consequently the mastering of the Italian language became more than a fad; it became a necessity for the educated Elizabethan.[12] An Englishman who wished to keep up-to-date with the thoughts of the outside world had to know Italian. Moreover, Italy was the great commercial center of the time, and the increased commerce between her and England also gave a great impetus to the study of Italian. On account of the slight dissemination of the English language

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[12]For a recent survey of the teaching of the Italian language in England, see R. C. Simonini, Jr., "The Scope of Italian Study in Renaissance England," in Italian Scholarship in Renaissance England (Chapel Hill, 1952), pp. 17-41.

in those days, anybody who wanted to do business or wished to travel outside of England had to be familiar with another language besides English. All this gave rise to a considerable demand for foreign language teachers in England. A large number of them were supplied by refugees from Catholic countries. One of Queen Elizabeth's Italian teachers, Baptista Castiglione, for instance, was a religious refugee who came to England in 1557.[13] He was one of the many Italians who fled to England after the establishment of the Inquisition in Italy in 1542 and found employment either at court,[14] in teaching, in the arts or in some other field. There was a time when a very large fraction of the population of London consisted of foreigners, probably as high as one in twenty.[15] Although the Huguenot and Flemish refugees by far outnumbered the Italians, there was nevertheless a substantial Italian colony.[16]

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[13]Cf. Kathleen Lambley, The Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language in England during Tudor and Stuart Times (Manchester, 1920), p. 73, note 4.

[14]Cal. State Pap., Ven., IV, 287. "Il Re medesimo ha molti Italiani ... al suo servitio, di ogni professione."--Ubaldini, Add. Mss. Brit. Mus. 10 169, f. 116 b., quoted in Lewis Einstein, op. cit., p. 97.

[15]Walter Besant, London in the Time of the Tudors (London, 1904), p. 80; pp. 200-203.

[16]From the Returns of Aliens dwelling in the city and suburbs of London from the Reign of Henry VIII to that of James I (Aberdeen, 1900), we learn that there were 138 Italians living in the city of London in 1567, not counting those living on Bankside, who were mostly merchants. See D. W. Singer, Giordano Bruno (New York, 1950), p. 28,

The Italians, moreover, played a much more conspicuous part in English cultural life than did the others. We encounter many prominent Italian names, such as the Florentine Protestant Michael Angelo Florio, teacher of Italian and for some time preacher to the congregation of Italian Protestants in London; his son John Florio,[17] who continued his father's work; Pietro-Martire Vermigli, Regius Professor of Divinity, and Alberico Gentile, Regius Professor of Civil Law, both at Oxford; the Latin secretaries Andrea Ammonio and Peter Vannes; the Ferrabosci, Bassani, and Lupi families of musicians; the actors Martinelli and Dionisio; the painter Frederigo Zuccaro, the talented disciple of Raphael; and in sculpture we encounter Benedetto da Rovezzano and Giovanni da Majano, successors of the well-known Italian artist Pietro Torrigiano, whose masterpiece at Westminster, the tomb of Lady Margaret of Richmond, has been called "the most beautiful and venerable figure that the Abbey contains."[18]

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note. On the history of the Italian colony, see L. Einstein, Part II, chapters V and VI; Mary A. Scott, op. cit., historical portion; Frances A. Yates, John Florio (Cambridge, 1934); G. S. Gargano, Scapigliatura italiana a Londra sotto Elisabetta e Giacomo I (Florence, 1923).

[17] Cf. Frances A. Yates, "Italian teachers in Elizabethan London," Journal of the Warburg Institute, I (1937), 103-116.--For a recent survey, see A. Lytton Sells, "Italians 'anglyfide'," chapter IX, pp. 212-227, of his book The Italian Influence in English Poetry (London, 1955).

[18] Cf. L. Einstein, p. 193.

By the time of Queen Elizabeth there were no English courtiers or men of distinction who were not, at least to some degree, familiar with Italian culture and learning. There were very few who were not capable of speaking Italian. From contemporary accounts we know that those who had no knowledge of Italian were the exceptions. William Harrison writes:

> Trulie it is a rare thing with us now to heare of a courtier which hath but his owne language. And to saie how many gentlewomen and ladies there are, that beside sound knowledge of the Gréeke and Latine toongs, are thereto no lesse skilful in the Spanish, Italian, and French, or in some one of them, it resteth not in me.[18a]

The fact that in 1578 Petruccio Ubaldini was hired by the court "for translating of certain speeches into Italian"[19] is the best proof of a fair competence in Italian on the part of the court audience. We know that the Queen herself was quite an accomplished linguist who had written Italian letters to Queen Katherine Parr as early as 1554[20] and who was apparently capable of carrying on negotiations with foreign ambassadors and envoys in their native tongues.[21]

[18a]Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland (London, 1807), I, 330. This is a reprint of the edition of 1586; the original edition appeared in 1577.

[19]Edmond Malone, editor, The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare (London, 1821), III, 395.

[20]Cf. Foster Watson, "Notes and Materials on Religious Refugees in their Relations to Education in England before the Edict of Nantes," Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London, IX (1911), 305.

[21]John Florio tells us that "no Embassador or stranger hath audience of hir Maiestie, but in his native toong; and none hath answere but in the same." "Address to the Reader" of the Worlde of Wordes (1598).

There are records of a number of other polyglot women of the Elizabethan nobility and even of women outside the nobility who manifest special interest in Italian culture and language.[22]

On the whole, the number of Elizabethans outside the nobility who had a good knowledge of Italian had been greatly increased through the efforts of the language teachers and through University education. For a while Italian definitely challenged the supremacy of French, not only in the province of fashion and intellect, but also in the field of commerce. One cannot quite agree with Miss Lambley who believes that Italian was never "so universally popular as French."[23] The popularity of Italian is also attested to by the great number of Italian publications in English libraries of that time and by the frequent references to them.

So great was the demand that even English printers undertook the production of Italian books. For a while the

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[22]Cf. Carroll Camden, The Elizabethan Woman (Houston-New York-London, 1952), pp. 56-58, 153-156.

[23]Contrasting Italian with French, she states: "Though it was widely known for the sake of its literature, it was never so widely spoken or so universally popular as French. Italian and to a minor degree Spanish were indeed seriously cultivated by the Tudor group of distinguished linguists, and so became a sort of fashion, which, spreading to more frivolous circles, soon degenerated into mere affectation. These dilettanti had been at a great feast of languages and had stolen the scraps, to use Shakespeare's words. . . ." Kathleen Lambley, The Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language in England during Tudor and Stuart Times (Manchester, 1920), p. 64.

reproduction of Italian works became very profitable. One of the most outstanding of these printers and publishers was John Wolfe[24] who had travelled in Italy after completion of his apprenticeship in London. He was frequently in trouble for surreptitious editions and, as we know now, also had a hand in a series of forgeries connected with Machiavelli, Aretino and Ubaldini.[25] It was at his press that Giacopo Castelvetro, a nephew of the classical scholar and "Aristotelian" critic Lodovico Castelvetro, published the pastorals Pastor Fido and Aminta in 1591.

V

By the time of the publication of Pastor Fido and Aminta, the dramatic influence of Italy had attained an unprecedented height. A few years before, the well-known foe of the stage, Stephen Gosson, had already complained that

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[24]See Harry R. Hoppe, "John Wolfe, Printer and Publisher, 1579-1601," The Library, Ser 4, XIV (1933), 241-299.

[25]For a general account of Wolfe's pseudo-Italian publications, see S. Bongi, Annali di Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, II (Rome, 1895), 419-23; Adolph Gerber's three articles in Modern Language Notes, XXII (1907), concerning the surreptitious editions of Machiavelli, Aretino, Ubaldini and his chapter on „Die Wolfeschen Ausgaben mit fingierten italienischen Druckorten" in his Niccolò Machiavelli: die Handschriften, Ausgaben und Übersetzungen seiner Werke im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert (Gotha, 1912-13); Harry Sellers, "Italian books printed in England before 1640," The Library, Ser 4, V (1924), 105-28; Eleonor Rosenberg, "Giacopo Castelvetro: Italian Publisher in Elizabethan London and His Patrons," The Huntington Library Quarterly, VI (1943), 119-148.

not only the Italian novelle but also "bawdy" Italian comedies were "ransacked" to furnish the playhouse.[26]

A number of critics would like to dismiss Italian dramatic art as purely "artificial drama" or merely clumsy adaptations of Plautus, Terence and Seneca without any originality of its own. There was, nevertheless, an extraordinarily vital Italian dramatic tradition created by men of talent and genius. The impact of this tradition on English drama was doubtless much more intense than is generally assumed. Anybody who considers this matter seriously will soon discern the heavy borrowings from the Italian, not only from the novelle, but also from the plays and other sources, particularly from the trattati d'amore. Schelling states:

> If we look at this field of Italian influence on our drama at large it may be confidently affirmed that at least one third of our old plays from Tudor times to the Restoration may be traced to Italian influences in one way or another.[27]

This is a very conservative estimate. Italian literature furnished not only the subject matter and ideas, but also the machinery of Elizabethan drama, "the chorus, the echo,

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[26]Stephen Gosson, Plays Confuted in Five Actions in The English Drama and the Stage under the Tudor and Stuart Princes, 1543-1664, ed. W. C. Hazlett (London, 1869), p. 189. On Stephen Gosson's attack on the stage in general, see William Ringler, Stephen Gosson: A Biographical and Critical Study (Princeton, 1942), chapter IV, pp. 53-82.

[27]Felix Schelling, Foreign Influences in Elizabethan Plays (London, 1923), p. 52.

the play within the play, the dumb show, the ghosts or great men as prologue, apparatus in general, and physical horrors ad terrorem."[28]

The astonishing existence of a continuous, strong interest in things Italian is further manifested by the tendency to give an Italian atmosphere and color to those plays that did not use Italian plots. The creation of this atmosphere by names of characters and allusions to places is well illustrated by the 1601 quarto edition of Jonson's Every Man in His Humor with its Florentine scenery and Italian dramatis personae or by Shakespeare's The Tempest or The Winter's Tale in which the setting and names are alone Italian.

The Italian impact on English drama began earlier than is frequently assumed. As early as 1512-13 the semi-dramatic spectacular display "after the manner of Italy, called a Mask," was introduced into the English Court.[29] These Italian masques, designed and managed by Italian artists,[30] and later on also frequently presented by Italian

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[28]Scott, p. lxxx.

[29]Einstein, p. 76, quotes from Hall's Chronicle a description of a court entertainment in 1512-13: "On the Day of Epiphany, at night, the King with eleven others were disguised after the manner of Italy, called a Mask, a thing not seen before in England."

[30]Henry VIII is known to have employed Vincentio Volpe and Antonio Toto as painters and architects and to have had in his household as many as eleven Italian musicians at once.

actors, were very popular throughout the Tudor period.

Early English comedy is, of course, directly indebted to Latin comedy, but probably even more so indirectly through the medium of Italian drama. It is generally not adequately recognized that Italy is the mediator of Latin drama in Europe. Symonds' statement that "our English scholars went to school with Seneca beneath the ferule of Italian ushers"[31] holds generally true also with the other Latin dramatists. A great number of English comedies that are now believed to be directly derived from Plautus or Terence are probably in reality nothing but translations or imitations of Italian comedies. There certainly were enough Italian comedies available. Luigi Riccoboni in his Histoire du Théâtre Italien[32] counted 563 before 1650.

The first English comedies that are clearly based on Italian models are those produced at the universities and Inns of Court. The earliest play of this type is probably Laelia, a Latin play which was possibly enacted at Queen's College, Cambridge, as early as 1547.[33] It is based on one

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[31] J. A. Symonds, Shakespeare's predecessor in the English Drama (London, 1884), p. 217.

[32] Paris, 1731, I, 101-246.

[33] G. C. Moore Smith in College Plays Performed in the University of Cambridge (Cambridge, 1923), p. 6, informs us that in the archives of the Queen's College there is a record of 1546/7 which refers to the comedy Laelia. It was also shown before the Earl of Essex and other noblemen during a visit to Cambridge at the Bachelors' Commencement which was held on February 28, 1594/5. See F. S. Boas,

of the most popular and most frequently imitated of the Italian intrigue comedies, Gl' Ingannati, composed by an anonymous member of the Academia degli Intronati[34] at Siena, and first acted before that academy in 1531.

Laelia is at the beginning of a long list of Latin plays which includes, among others, the anonymous Hymenaeus, Abraham Fraunce's Victoria, and the famous Pedantius,[35] all of which are of unquestionable Italian origin.

As the century moved on, adaptations and translations of Italian comedies into Latin for academic presentation became quite a fashion. The Neapolitan dramatist Giovanni Battista della Porta appears to have enjoyed an exceptional vogue as a source for material, probably on account of his complicated and ingenious plots. Walter Hawkesworth adapted Porta's La Fantesca and La Cintia into

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University Drama in the Tudor Age (Oxford, 1914), p. 289. Laelia was probably derived from Charles Êtienne's version of Gl'Ingannati which in 1543 appeared under the title of La comédie du sacrifice, and was republished in 1549 and 1556 as Les Abusez.

[34]The academy was founded in 1525. Its members came from the most cultured circles of the city: Alessandro Piccolomini, Antonio Vignali, Claudio Tolomei, Marcello Cervini, the later Pope Marcellus II, and the distinguished philologist Castelvetro who studied at Siena in the late twenties. It also had very distinguished non-Sienese members: Bembo, Giovio and Folengo. Cf. Wilhelm Creizenach, Geschichte des Neueren Dramas (Halle, 1918), II, 280.

[35]Cf. F. S. Boas, University Drama in the Tudor Age, chapters VII and XII.

plays entitled Leander and Labyrinthus. These plays remained popular till well into the third decade of the seventeenth century. Labyrinthus was performed at Cambridge as late as 1636.[36]

The earliest known adaptation in English of the commedia erudita in England was made by George Gascoigne in 1566 when he rendered into English Ariosto's I Suppositi. Akin to Gascoigne's Supposes and of about the same date, is John Jeffere's Bugbear,[37] an adaptation of A. F. Grazzini's La Spiritata. Judging from the titles of other plays preserved in the Revels Account, these two comedies were only two out of a large number of similar adaptations from the Italian.[38]

In the field of tragedy, in which Seneca's influence predominates, we also encounter Italian playwrights as mediators.[39] James Calfhill's Latin Progne, acted at Cam-

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[36]Helen Kaufman, "The Influence of Italian Drama on Pre-Restoration English Comedy," Italica, XXXI (1954), 9.

[37]Cf. L. L. Schücking, Studien über die stofflichen Beziehungen der englischen Komödie zur Italienischen bis Lily (Halle, 1901), chapter III, 36-55.

[38]On these comedies in general, see R. W. Bond, Early Plays from the Italian (Oxford, 1911), "Introduction," in which he shows "the great importance of Italian Renaissance Comedy in handing on the classical form and substance to modern Europe, while introducing considerable modifications," p. iii.

[39]See the study on Senecan influence in England by L. E. Kastner and H. B. Charlton, Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling (Edinburgh and London, 1921), introduction. Reissued by Henry Buckley Charlton,

bridge in 1564, was probably an adaptation of a Latin play by Gregorio Corraro, first published at Venice in 1558, although written about 1429.[40] George Gascoigne's Jocasta (1566) was an English version of Dolce's Giocasta and Alabaster's Latin Roxana, an adaptation of Groto's La Dalida. Robert Wilmot borrowed with slight modifications the Cupid Prologue of Dolce's Didone for a similar purpose in Gismond of Salerne (Tancred and Gismund), 1567-68. The only play of this Senecan group that does not appear to be in direct contact with an Italian tragedy is Gorboduc which, however, is composed in part by a man who is known to have travelled in Italy.

In this connection it might also be of interest to point out that the first "full-fledged" English comedy Ralph Roister Doister, based on Plautus, was also written by a man who was an ardent student of things Italian. Nicholas Udall, as we know, was the translator of various scientific and philosophical works, among them the Discorsi sull' Eucarestia by Pier Martire Vermigli,[41] the great

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The Senecan Tradition in Renaissance Tragedy (Manchester, 1946).

[40] Boas argues for its close relationship to Corraro's play without being apparently aware of the possibility that it could also be derived from an Italian version by the Venetian dramatist Lodovico Domenichi who published his play in 1561, three years before Calfhill's tragedy was enacted at Cambridge.

[41] In England known as Peter Martyr.

Italian Protestant whom we have met before as Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford.

There remains the subject of the pastoral. Despite the fact that most English critics[42] have endeavoured to trace a separate development for England, usually without being adequately familiar with Italian dramatic art, an unbiased student of the problem is most likely to agree with V. M. Jeffery's findings: "It is a recognized fact that the Elizabethan pastoral drama is wholly Italian in its origin."[43] I agree with Rébora when he says that he is

> ... di avviso opposto di quei critici inglesi che fanno derivare il dramma pastorale elisabettiano dall' egloga inglese o che tendono a risalire senz' altro ai modelli classici, senza tener conto delle rielaborazioni, qualchevolta assai profonde, esercitate dalle letterature moderne. Tutta la letteratura pastorale moderna deriverebbe in tal modo dalla comune fonte del carmen bucolicum; poiché Teocrito, Bione, Mosco, Virgilio, Calpurnio, Nemesiano sono certo i progenitori di tale atteggiamento letterario. Ma fu appunto il Rinascimento italiano che rielaborò e rammodernò tali forme che rientrano anche esse nella generale rinascita classica del quattro e cinquecento. Si può dire piuttosto che le tre principali forme di componimento pastorale, l'egloga cioè, il romanzo ed il dramma, ancorchè tutte derivino dal Poliziano, dal Sannazzaro, dal Mantovano e dagli altri pastoralisti della fine del quattrocento, pure in Inghilterra giunsero per vie diverse; e precisamente, l'egloga attraverso il Marot, il romanzo attraverso il Montemayor, e il dramma lo possiamo del

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[42] Cf. A. H. Thorndike, Mod. Language Notes, XIV, no. 4, p. 228; W. W. Greg, Pastoral Poetry & Pastoral Drama (London, 1906); R. Warwick Bond, Works of Lyly (Oxford, 1902), II, 474, "Notes on Italian Influence in Lyly's Plays."

[43] Jeffery, "Italian and English Pastoral Drama of the Renaissance," Modern Language Review, XIX (1924), 56.

> resto considerare già implicito nell'egloga aulica italiana dove l'elemento drammatico, che si rivela nella forma prevalentemente amebea dei carmi bucolici di Serafino Aquilano, di Galeotto del Carretto, del Tebaldeo e di altri, è evidente.[44]

Sidney's The Lady of the May, which was presented before the Queen during her visit to Leicester in May, 1578,[45] may be considered the first English pastoral. Lyly, Peele, Greene and Lodge soon follow suit. To assume, as Bond did, that Sidney's play is purely English because "a large and distinctively English element of native characters and comic rusticity" or "rustic and comic style" or that Lyly, for instance, is not influenced by the Italian pastoral convention because he introduces elements which cannot be found in Tasso or Guarini, is to commit a serious error. The first assertion is easily disproved. The rustic and the comic style is also a feature of the Italian pastorals.[46] The second is a mistake very commonly made by modern critics who have a tendency to look for literary sources only among the most outstanding works of art, those that have withstood the criticism of time. W. W. Greg, for example, is apparently convinced of the independence of Peele's Arraignment of Paris (1581) from Italian influence

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[44]Piero Rébora, L'Italia nel Dramma Inglese (Milano, 1925), pp. 71-72.

[45]Two years before Sidney began his Arcadia, the third pastoral romance of the Renaissance, following Sannazzaro's Arcadia (1504) and Montemayor's Diana enamorada (1542).

[46]Jeffery, John Lyly and the Italian Renaissance, p. 94.

because "no influence of Tasso's masterpiece can be detected in the Arraignment; still less is it possible to trace any acquaintance with Poliziano's work."[47] But by the time of Lyly or Peele, there were available a hundred or more pastorals besides Aminta, Pastor Fido and Orfeo! Jeffery in her article on "Peele's Arraignment of Paris"[48] actually shows a possible source for Peele's play in the Italian tragi-comedy, Il Giuditio di Paride, by Aniello Faulilli, published at Naples in 1566. The same writer also finds the source of Daniel's and Randolph's pastorals in a comparatively unknown work, the Pentimento amoroso by Luigi Groto. In her studies on Lyly, of which we shall have to speak later, Jeffery also demonstrates unmistakable traces of Italian influence.

In this connection it is of importance to point out that the first English court entertainment of a pastoral nature was played by Italians. From the "Revel's Accounts" we learn that in 1574 payment was made for properties "for the Italyan Players that followed the progresse and made pastyme first at Wynsor and afterwards at Reading."[49]

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[47] Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama, 217.

[48] In Modern Language Review, XIX (1924).

[49] A. Feuillerat, p. 225. --Elizabeth was at Windsor on July 11 and 12; on July 15, she removed to Reading and remained there to July 22. See E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage (Oxford, 1923), II, 262.

From the material they used at Reading on July 15--staves, hooks, and lambskins for shepherds, arrows for nymphs, a scythe for Saturn, and "horstayles for the wylde mannes garment"--it is very obvious that they performed a pastoral. This is, to the best of our knowledge, the earliest performance of a pastoral play on English soil. This performance of 1574 appears to contradict very clearly the theory of the independent, parallel development of the English pastoral play and to corroborate Jeffery's statement that the "Elizabethan pastoral drama is wholly Italian in its origin."

VI

At this point there arises also the important question of the influence of Italian actors and companies on the English stage in general. Visits of Italian players and traveling companies certainly helped greatly to familiarize Englishmen with the theatrical art of the peninsula. Most of the Elizabethan playwrights display a considerable acquaintance with the plots, characters and dramatic technique of the Italian popular comedy.[50] We may assume with safety that much of this acquaintance was gained through contact with plays in actual production in England.

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[50] On traces of the Commedia dell'Arte in the plays of Shakespeare, Jonson, Marston, Dekker, Chapman and Middleton, see Henry Salerno, Commedia dell'Arte in England (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois, 1956).

The great and early popularity which the commedia dell'arte tradition enjoyed in Europe is indicated by the fact that the first records of Italian comedians are found outside of Italy. As early as 1530 "Maistre André italien" was instructed by French authorities "de faire et composer des farces et moralitez les plus exquises" for the entry of the French king into Paris on December 12.[51] After the establishment of more permanent companies, beginning in the forties and especially after the performance of the first extant scenario[52] at the Bavarian court in 1568, the visits of Italian companies to various European capitals became more frequent. There are numerous records of the presence of Italian troupes in various European countries. During 1571 alone, there were at least three companies in France, that of Giovanni Tabarino (which may also be connected with the Soldino company), that of Alberto Ganassa and the famous Compagnia de' Gelosi which "deserved singular comendacion," as Lord Buckhurst tells us, "for the good mirth

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[51] Armand Baschet, Les Comédiens italiens à la Cour de France (Paris, 1882), p. 4.

[52] Reported by Massimo Troiano, the court choirmaster, in his Discorsi delli trionfi, Giostre, Apparati... (Munich, 1568). The scenario is in three acts like most scenarios. It is quoted in full by L. Stoppato, La commedia popolare in Italia (Padova, 1887), p. 131 ff. See also La Commedia dell'Arte, Storia, Tecnica, Scenari, a cura di E. Petraccone (Napoli, 1927), p. 297 ff. Winifrid Smith in The Commedia dell'Arte (New York, 1912), p. 103 ff., gives a literal translation into English. See also Kathleen M. Lea, Italian Popular Comedy (Oxford, 1934), I, "Troiano's Performance," p. 5.

and handling."[53] One record of the following year, however, is of greater importance to us, because it can help us in establishing evidence of the presence of Italian actors in England as early as 1547. Payments are made by the French royal treasurer on March 27, 1572, "to Anthoine Marie, Italian comedian,"[54] for himself and nine companions and on April 11 of the same year, "to Soldini of Florence and Anthoine Marie of Venice, comedians of Italy." From a document belonging to the reign of Henry VIII,[55] and therefore earlier than 1547 we learn that a certain Anthony Maria, together with Nicholas Andria and Marcus Antonius, was among the "King's minstrels." Baschet has already suggested that Nicholas Andria and Anthony Maria might be André and Anthoine Marie. As there is some reason to assume that André or Andrea and Marcantonio were members of the company playing at Rome in 1551,[56] this supposition may well be true. Certainly the conjunction of the three names would otherwise be a very strange coincidence. Most likely they were members of a regular company of ten players, the normal strength of an early commedia dell'arte company, because "besides a number of apparently English 'minstrels,'

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[53] Chambers, II, 261.

[54] Baschet, 36-37.

[55] Printed by J. P. Collier in his History of English Dramatic Poetry (London, 1831), I, 83.

[56] Allardyce Nicoll, Masks, Mimes and Miracles (New York, 1931), p. 299.

appear the names of Ihon de Bassani, Antony de Bassani, Jasper de Bassani, John Baptiste de Bassani, Nicholas de Forrewell possibly a corruption of an Italian name , Pellegrine Symon, and Antony Symon."[57]

The next reference to an Italian company crossing the Channel is found on September 1, 1573, when the Town Council of Nottingham rewards "the Italyans for serteyne pastymes that they shewed before Maister Meare and his brethren."[58] In 1574 an Italian company performed before the Queen at Windsor and at Reading, as mentioned before. These are probably the same Italian comedians who were commended to the Lord Mayor on July 22, 1574. Somewhat later in the year they apparently performed publicly in London, because in November the preacher Thomas Norton attacks the "unchaste, shamelesse and unnatural tomblinge of the Italian weomen."[59] In 1576 "Alfruso Ferrabolle and the rest of

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[57] Ibid., p. 300, note 8.

[58] John Tucker Murray, English Dramatic Companies, 1558-1642 (London, 1910), II, 374; E. K. Chambers, Eliz. Stage, II, 262.

[59] Chambers, II, 262. The Italian troupes differed from other companies in that they included a number of regularly trained women, always three and sometimes more. We know of the approximate date of the introduction of women on the Italian stage from F. M. Cecchini's Brevi discorsi (Napoli, 1616), p. 16: "Non sono cinquant' anni che si costumano donne in scena e vi si introdussero." The first English actress did not appear until 1657 in a drama by Davenant. The Italian women contributed greatly to the success of their country's plays. Actresses such as the great Isabella Andreini of the Gelosi or Vittoria Piissimi, sometime member of the Gelosi (1575), the Confidenti (1580)

the Italian players" received payment from the Treasurer of the Chamber for a play at Court on February 27, and in April of the following year an Italian play was performed before the Council at Durham Place.[60] Finally, on January 13, 1578, the Privy Council instructed "the Lord Mayor of London to geve order that one Dronsiano, an Italian, a commediante and his companye, may playe within the Cittie and the liberties of the same betweene this and the firste weeke of Lent."[61] There is no doubt that the capocomico referred to is Drusiano Martinelli, "marito di M[a] Angelica," as he subscribes himself two years later in 1580 in a letter to the Prince Vincenzo of Mantua. He is the brother of Tristino Martinelli, the famous Arlecchino. The company with which Drusiano[62] was associated in 1578 is not known. It is possible that he came with the Gelosi to France--they were in Blois in January--and that he took some of the players with him to England. As the Gelosi were playing at

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and the Gelosi-Uniti (1585-94), or even the notorious wife of Drusiano Martinelli, Angelica Alberigi (Alberghini), were greatly loved and honored.

[60] Chambers, Elizabethan Stage, II, 262.

[61] Acts of the Privy Council, X, 144. Quoted by W. Smith, The Commedia dell'Arte, p. 175.

[62] For his later activities, see A. D'Ancona, Origini del teatro italiano (Torino, 1891), II, passim; for his activities as head of the Duke of Mantua's men (Uniti, 1594-95), cf. ibid., pp. 518 ff., and Luigi Rasi, I Comici italiani (Florence, 1897-1905), III, 104-106.

Florence early in 1578, it is more likely, however, that we have here the Massimiano troupe, with Drusiano as Arlecchino.

The Italian companies not only performed the popular commedia dell'arte, but also the literary commedia erudita, and it is quite possible that they may also have given academic comedies in the city as well as at court. They may even have performed English drama translated into Italian. We know that such plays were produced at court. In January, 1579, "Patruchius Ubaldinas" (= Petruccio Ubaldini), for instance, was charged with the translation into Italian of certain speeches in a Masque of Amazons and Knights.[63]

Many other general references to Italian actors make it quite clear that they were more familiar to Englishmen than the few notices in official records, just discussed, would lead us to believe.[64] One is inclined to agree with

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[63]Chambers, II, 264.--This would be the Double Maske; A Maske of Amasones and A Maske of Knightes which was "shewen before her maiestie the ffrench Imbassador being presante the sonday night after Twelfdaie." See Eva Turner Clark, Hidden Allusions in Shakespeare's Plays (New York, 1931), p. 107. The French envoy arrived at the English court on January 5, 1579, to carry on negotiations for the marriage of the Queen and the Duke of Alençon. The double mask was "an entertainment in imitation of a tournament between six ladies and a like number of gentlemen who surrendered to them." See M. A. S. Hume, The Courtships of Queen Elizabeth (London, 1926), p. 73.

[64]For more direct evidence of the Englishman's intimate acquaintance with the commedia dell'arte, see W. Smith, chapter VI, 170-199; Piero Rebora, L'Italia nel Dramma inglese, 1558-1642 (Milan, 1925), pp. 114-132; Kathleen M. Lea, Italian Popular Comedy (Oxford, 1934), II, 374-388.

Rébora when he suggests that

> uno dei principali fattori d'informazione circa i gusti, la mentalità, i costumi, il carattere degli Italiani, sia stato appunto costituito dagli attori dell'arte che con le loro recite caratteristiche diffondevano la conoscenza di certi tipi, personaggi, atteggiamenti che bene o male e più male che bene, venivano identificati con l'Italia.[65]

It is with some of these Italian "types, personages" and "attitudes," first sketched in the commedia erudita and later on crystallized in the commedia dell'arte that we shall concern ourselves in a subsequent discussion of Lyly's plays. The following chapter will show that Lyly must have been present at some of these performances. It is therefore only natural that he should have been influenced by them in the composition of his comedies.

In this connection it is also of interest to note that during the entire period under discussion, there is no record of the presence of French actors in England. Indeed, there is no evidence of the presence of French players in England between 1495 and 1629.[66] This is one of several facts contradicting such critics as Mezières, Farinelli or Sir Sidney Lee who tend to over-emphasize the importance of France as a literary mediator between Italy and England.[67]

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[65] Rébora, p. 113.

[66] Chambers, II, 261.

[67] Scholarship, however, is indebted to Sir Sidney Lee for demonstrating in his French Renaissance in England

It is true that some of the Italian lyrics came to England through Clément Marot, Ronsard and Du Bellay and that some of the novelle (very few indeed!) arrived in England via Boisteau, Belleforest or some other petty, tedious adapter, and it may also be correct that "both Wyatt and Surrey acquired a substantial measure of the Italian taste and sympathy which were reflected in the manner and matter of their poetry"[68] not in Italy itself but in France. To this may yet be added that Samuel Daniel imitated Petrarca in the sonnets to Delia by ransacking Desportes or that Lodge in Phillis pilfers from Ronsard. But what are these few cases of French mediation against the innumerable and much more significant instances of direct and immediate relations with Italy? Even Sir Sidney Lee, after all, had to admit that "Lodge pillaged with equal freedom sonnets by Ariosto, Petrarch, Sannazaro, and Bembo, as well as by a very little-known Italian sonneteer Lodovico Paschale."[69]

(Oxford, 1910) that some of the Italian material, especially in lyric poetry, came to England through French channels.

[68] Lee, p. 111.--It would appear, however, from a later publication that, the more Sir Sidney Lee occupied himself with the general problem of Italian-English relations, the more he changed his attitude in favor of direct relations between England and Italy. See his lecture on "Shakespeare and the Italian Renaissance" in Proceedings of the British Academy, VII (1915-1916), pp. 121-143.

[69] French Renaissance in England, p. 261, note 1.

CHAPTER II

JOHN LYLY'S LITERARY ENVIRONMENT

I

"Witty, comical, and facetious" John Lyly was the descendant of a family of great scholars.[1] His grandfather was the Lyly of the "Paul's Accidence" or "Eton Grammar," the Hellenist William Lyly, Grocyn's godson and friend of the great humanists Erasmus, Colet and Sir Thomas More.

His uncle, George Lyly, inherited the thirst for knowledge and followed proudly in the footsteps of the great grammarian. As secretary and protegé of Cardinal Reginald Pole, he attained a great reputation as antiquarian, historian, and geographer. After Pole's return from exile[2] and his election as Archbishop of Canterbury on March 25, 1556, George Lyly received the prebend of Kentish Town and was appointed Canon of Canterbury. His ecclesiastical career, begun so brilliantly, however, was very

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[1]Unless otherwise stated, biographical facts concerning Lyly's family are derived from Albert Feuillerat's study: John Lyly: Contribution à l'histoire de la Renaissance en Angleterre (Cambridge, 1910), pp. 3-40.

[2]In 1549 Pole had narrowly missed being elected Pope. Pole's unswerving loyalty to the Church of Rome had earned him an attainder for treason and twenty years' exile. Mary's accession made his return possible.

short. He survived his protector, who died on November 17, 1558, by only a few months.

John Lyly's aunt Dyonisia was a sort of sixteenth-century blue-stocking. After her father's death she married John Rightwise, who in 1522 succeeded his father-in-law as headmaster of Saint Paul's. There is a fairly strong probability that she and not her husband composed the Latin tragedy Dido which was enacted before Cardinal Wolsey by the students of Saint-Paul's. The pedagogic profession must have had a special attraction for her, because on the death of her first husband, she married James Jacob, another master of Saint-Paul's. By him she had a number of children to whom she gave--characteristically enough--the most scholarly sounding names, such as Polydore and Scholastica.

John's father, Peter Lyly, a younger son of the Hellenist and grammarian, was at first prebendary of the Cathedral of Canterbury and later, under the erudite Archbishop Parker, also principal registrar at Canterbury. Parker had succeeded Cardinal Pole, the protector of George Lyly. Although Peter Lyly did not, like his father or brother, attain any distinction as an author, he nevertheless maintained a rather honorable position in the ecclesiastical world. In 1544 his name appears for the first time in official documents. Henry VIII granted him certain lands of the crown. Two years later the king accorded him

by letter patent the first vacant prebend of the Cathedral of Canterbury. These favors show that Peter Lyly must have had some influence at Court. Some time before 1553 Peter Lyly married Jane Burgh of Yorkshire, who brought into the marriage lands and other property. The marriage proved to be a brilliant alliance for the "prebendary" in matters financial and social. About 1557 or 1558 his wife's sister, Catherine, married John Manwood, gentleman of Sandwich, a member of the most influential family of Kent. John Manwood was the brother of the famous Sir Roger, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer under Elizabeth and one of the judges of Mary Stuart. Sir Roger was a close friend of Matthew Parker, a protegé of Hatton and also of Walsingham, to whom he was distantly related by marriage.[3] It is therefore not surprising at all that in 1559 Peter Lyly benefited from the elevation of Matthew Parker to the Archbishopric of Canterbury.

In contrast to his brother George, Peter Lyly appears to have enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity throughout his life. Although he did not attain any distinction as a scholar, he was well aware of the traditions of his family and he committed to his oldest son, John, the duty of perpetuating these traditions. We can only conjecture about the early training of John. The future writer may well

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[3]Sir Thomas Walsingham had married a Manwood. Cf. DNB, XXXVI, 181.

have received his first instruction from his father. Peter Lyly was certainly well prepared to be the tutor of his own son. He in turn had received the best possible education from his father, the great master of Saint-Paul's.

At the age of fifteen or sixteen, just a few months before the death of his father,[4] John was sent to Oxford, where his grandfather and his uncle had gone before him. Anthony à Wood, the seventeenth-century author of Athenae Oxonienses, tells us that he "became a student in Magdalen College in the beginning of 1569, aged 16 or thereabouts,"[5] where he was soon "esteemed . . . a noted wit." The intellectual milieu in which young John had grown up certainly must have had a good deal to do with his early attainments. Endowed with an unusual native intelligence, a keen perception and a considerable poetic gift, young Lyly was reared in an intellectual atmosphere that enabled him to continue the great family tradition and made him one of the most erudite of the Elizabethan dramatists. With the possible exception of Jonson or Chapman, no other writer could marshal such an impressive array of learning. The house of the chief registrar of the archbishop, so frequently visited by the learned dignitaries of the archbishopric, had an intellectual atmosphere that must have been very stimulat-

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[4]He was buried in the cathedral on October 24, 1569.

[5]Ed. Philip Bliss (London, 1813-1820), I, 676.

ing to young John. It probably aroused in him rather early the great desire for distinction and instilled in him his life's ambition: recognition at court, "thinking that place the only means to climb high, and sit sure."[6]

A knowledge of Lyly's background[7] makes his great ambition appear much less unreasonable than it might seem at first sight. He came from a family that occupied a very honorable position in the social ladder. The name "Lyly" was well-known, even revered in erudite circles. The Lylys were "gentlemen" with their own coat-of-arms. John was the grandchild of the great grammarian. On his mother's side he was related to the nobility of Yorkshire and the powerful, influential Manwoods of Kent. Through them he could easily be introduced to the closest councillors of Elizabeth: Walsingham and Hatton. His father must have made many influential acquaintances through Matthew Parker, the Archbishop of Canterbury. The primate had gathered around

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[6] Eupues and His England, ed. Croll-Clemons, p. 248.

[7] The hypothesis that the portrait of the old courtier Fidus in Euphues and His England possesses autobiographical value has thus been confirmed. Fidus' story is in accord with what we know about Lyly: "I was born in the weald of Kent, of honest parents and worshipful, whose tender cares (if fondness of parents may be so termed) provided all things from my very cradle until their graves that might either bring me up in good letters or make me heir to great livings. I (without arrogancy be it spoken) was not inferior in wit to many; which finding in myself I flattered myself, but in the end deceived myself. For being of the age of twenty years, there was no trade or kind of life that either fitted my humour or served my turn but the Court; thinking that place the only means to climb high and sit sure." Ibid., pp. 247-248.

him a notable group of scions of great families: Charles Gray, brother of the Earl of Kent; Egremont Ratcliff, half-brother of the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Sussex who was in turn a close friend of the later patron of John Lyly; Sir Richard of Bingham; Geoffrey Benton; John Stafford, son of Lady Stafford, one of the maids of honor to the Queen; Henry Harrington, brother of Lord Harrington; Edward Cobham, brother of the Lord Warden Cobham;[8] and many others.

But what is even more important is the fact that Matthew Parker was a close friend of William Cecil,[9] the great Secretary of State whose influence with the Queen increased from day to day. The Registrar of Canterbury probably knew him personally, as on January 24, 1565, the archbishop mentions Lyly's name in a letter to his friend, William Cecil.[10] We may assume with safety that Sir William became acquainted with the Lyly family relatively early in his life. He was too young to have known the grammarian personally, but in the reign of Mary he must have met George Lyly, the famous uncle of our young John. As a member of the royal mission that was charged with

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[8]Nichols, Progresses of Elizabeth, I, 203-204.

[9]Sir William Cecil (created Lord Burghley in 1571) was Principal Secretary of State from 1558-1572. From 1572 until his death in 1598 he was Lord Treasurer.

[10]Matthew Parker, Correspondence ... Comprising letters written by and to him from A.D. 1535 to his death A.D. 1575. Ed. by John Bruce and the Rev. Thomas Thomason Perowne (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1853), p. 254.

bringing back Cardinal Reginald Pole, Cecil certainly must have made the acquaintance of the Cardinal's secretary. Sometime later, Cecil also accompanied Pole on several missions.

Considering these facts, it is not surprising at all that in a Latin letter to Cecil, dated May 16, 1574, young Lyly describes himself as the Lord Treasurer's alumnus and ventures to invoke this great statesman's assistance in obtaining a fellowship at Magdalen College.

Anthony à Wood tells us that John Lyly was

> always averse to the crabbed studies of logic and philosophy. For so it was that his genie, being naturally bent to the pleasant paths of poetry (as if Apollo had given him a wreath of his own Bays without snatching or struggling), did in a manner neglect academical studies, but not so much but that he took the Degree in Arts, that of master being compleated in 1575.[11]

The grandson of the great grammarian had come to Oxford with a great desire for learning, a desire which did not lag behind that of his great ancestor. But he soon found out that the Oxford of the times of Linacre, Grocyn, Colet, William Lyly and Thomas More was no longer. Although the university was still the spring-board to the court, it was no longer the uncontested asylum of learning. Despite reforms by Edward and Elizabeth which introduced classical studies into the educational system and banished the scholastic theology, the spirit of scholasticism was not dead.

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[11] Athenae Oxonienses, ed. Bliss, I, 676.

The program was still based on the medieval division of the seven arts. The trivium of grammar, rhetoric and dialectic constituted the material for the Bachelor of Arts examination, the quadrivium of the mathematic arts, the material for the Master of Arts.[12] The fact that these studies were yet pursued with obsolete scholastic methods made matters even worse. Is it therefore surprising that Giordano Bruno on his visit to the university finds the graduates of Oxford ignorant and pedantic and the undergraduates too fond of beer?[13]

Young Lyly, whose genius was "naturally bent to the pleasant paths of poetry (as if Apollo had given him a wreath of his own Bays without snatching or struggling)," must have found this academic situation particularly depressing.

After serious efforts to adapt himself to this antipathetic milieu, he was eventually thrown back on his own. In "To my very good friends the Gentlemen Scholars of Oxford" which he added to the second edition[14] of Euphues, The Anatomy of Wit, Lyly tells us:

> Yet may I of all the rest most condemn Oxford of unkindness--of vice I cannot--who seemed to wean me

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[12] Introduction by A. Clark to the second volume of Register of the University of Oxford.

[13] Charles Edward Mallet, A History of the University of Oxford (London, 1924), II, 143.

[14] The second edition was issued in midsummer, 1579, about six months after the first.

> before she brought me forth, and to give me bones to gnaw before I could get the teat to suck; wherein she played the nice mother, in sending me into the country to nurse, where I tired at a dry breast three years and was at the last enforced to wean myself.[15]

Disappointed with and thwarted by "the crabbed studies of Logic and Philosophy," he had turned to the pleasures of the joyous youth of Oxford. We have reason to assume that for some time his life was anything but exemplary.[16] Remarks made by his contemporaries and personal allusions in his Euphues, especially in the part, "Euphues and his Ephebus," indicate that it was not. Gabriel Harvey, for whatever his testimony may be worth, speaks of "his horning, gaming, fooling and knaving"[17] and denounces Pappe as "the fruit of an addle and lewd wit, long since dedicated to a dissolute and desperate licentiousness."[18]

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[15]Ed. Croll-Clemons, p. 184.

[16]This was not unusual, though. There are numerous documents about the intellectual and moral degeneracy of the University. In a letter to Bullinger, Jewel, for instance, writes: "Although it would give me the greatest pleasure, under other circumstances, to see even a dog from Zurich in England, yet I cannot at this time recommend you to send your young men to us, either for a learned or religious education, unless you would have them sent back to you wicked and barbarous." --The Zurich Letters, comprising the correspondence of several English Bishops and others, with some of the Helvetion Reformers. . .Translated . . . and edited . . . by H. Robinson. Parker Society (Cambridge, 1842-45), p. 33. Yet in the opinion of a Jena Professor, Wittenberg, "the foul sewer of the Devil," or Marburg, with such loose morals as "Bacchus would prescribe to his Maenads and Venus to her Cupids" was much worse.

[17]Pierce's Supererogation," The Works of Gabriel Harvey, ed. Grosart, II, 129.

[18]Ibid., II, 220.

These spiteful remarks by Gabriel Harvey, who nursed a grudge against his former friend, however, have to be taken with a grain of salt. Harvey did not make Lyly's acquaintance till about 1578 and he thus knew little of Lyly's Oxford career except by hearsay long after it was over. Yet Lyly's admission in his Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit--"I have ever thought so superstitiously of wit that I fear I have committed idolatry against wisdom"[19]--and his description of Euphues' youthful attitude would appear to bear out the substantial correctness of Harvey's affirmation.

It is natural that this highly intelligent and gifted young man very soon became "Esteemed in the University a noted wit." We may therefore assume with tolerable safety that--at least for some time--Lyly was the hub of a pleasure-seeking, rebellious circle of friends who were disgusted with the narrow-mindedness of Oxford pedantry and who were most eager to adopt the latest fashion, no matter whether in dress[20] or in thought.

Unfortunately we know very little about Lyly's literary associations at Oxford. But being "esteemed in the University a noted wit," it appears highly probable that he became personally acquainted, if not intimate, with some of

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[19]Ed. Croll-Clemons, p. 27.

[20]Vanity in dress appears to have been characteristic of students. There are numerous protests by authorities against this student-foible. It plays a disproportionate part in the Statutes. C. E. Mallet, A History of the University of Oxford, II, 143.

his contemporaries who were to become famous as writers or explorers. Richard Hakluyt, Richard Hooker, Thomas Bodley, Edmund Campion, Thomas Lodge, Philip Sidney, Thomas Rogers, Stephen Gosson, Richard Carew, Richard Eedes, William Gager, George Peele, Walter Raleigh and possibly John Florio were at the university at least during part of Lyly's residence.

We do not know when Lyly came for the first time into close contact with Italian culture. It may not have been until he came into the orbit of Lord Oxford's influence. We are left to conjectures. It will be remembered, however, that many of his distinguished college contemporaries manifested an exceptionally strong interest in things Italian. There is therefore a fairly strong probability that Lyly already belonged to a literary set at Oxford the members of which were especially interested in Italian cultural attainments.

II

At Oxford Lyly came for the first time into contact with the stylistic tendencies which he then developed to produce euphuism. His publication of Euphues represents the culmination, rather than the origin of this trend. What is new in Lyly's "Euphuism" is neither its structural devices nor its moralising, but its specific combination of both in certain relative proportions. Lyly did not invent the style of this movement. But he perfected it. Neither

did he invent the subject-matter of his novel. But he skillfully adapted it. It is this very gift for assimilating, adapting and recreating the work of others that makes him an artist, as we shall see later. To overemphasize Lyly's originality, as Bond appears to do in his negative review of Professor Schücking's doctoral thesis,[21] is merely to distort matters. Miss V. M. Jeffery's study of euphuism,[22] which is primarily concerned with subject-matter, advances, for instance, considerable evidence of Lyly's debt to some Italian authors.

The history of the origin of Euphuism is so complex, its ramifications are so multitudinous and extremely involved that probably no completely satisfactory answer to the question of its source can be given, certainly none that admits of no argument. Perhaps no literary development can ever be fully explained. At any rate, the theories of the origin of euphuism which have been advanced so far by various critics are certainly not beyond dispute.[23]

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[21] Works of John Lyly, II, 473-85.

[22] In John Lyly and the Italian Renaissance (Paris, 1928), passim.

[23] The search for a particular "source" of euphuism began roughly with the publication of Landmann's Der Euphuismus, sein Wesen, seine Quelle, seine Geschichte (Giessen, 1881), in which he attempted to prove that Lyly's style is an imitation of the Spaniard A. Guevara. Feuillerat then suggested that it was an imitation of the classics and Professor Croll that it was merely one manifestation of the general medieval tradition, continued into the sixteenth century, of writing patterned prose: ". . . Euphuism is

The excessive preoccupation of euphuism with artificial style, its systematic use and abuse of a number of structural devices reminds us of other manneristic phenomena, such as gongorism, marinism, petrarchism and arcadianism. It even recalls earlier works, such as the poetry of certain troubadours or Lucan's Pharsalia (Bellum Civile) in which all resources of rhetoric are enlisted to impress the reader.

At first glance, one may be tempted to agree with Miss Elisha K. Kane,[24] who perceives in Lyly's literary préciosité a symptom of decadence. She arrives at this

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not the product of humanistic imitation of the ancients, . . . it is, on the other hand, a survival of the 'rhetoric of the schools.' The schemata of medieval Latin, revivified by being translated into the popular speech, enjoyed a brief new career of glory, to fall into their final disgrace and desuetude before the conquering advance of naturalism and modern thought at the end of the sixteenth century. The humanists often tried to check their course, or confine their use within the limits of good taste; but they failed of their purpose, first, because the study of rhetoric, which they advocated as the best approach to the classical mind, often proved to be in effect merely a school for the practice of the schemata, and, secondly, because the authors whom they imitated might be used to sanction the same figures." 'Introduction' to Lyly's Euphues, ed. Croll-Clemons, p. lxiv. Croll's theory is now generally accepted. Yet it clearly shows an imperfection in so far as it does not mention any Italian influence or mediation. Euphuism can certainly not be explained without taking into consideration its Italian-oriented milieu, the great desire that existed in Lyly's day for Italian elegance. Miss V. M. Jeffery made a case for the Italians, but her evidence primarily concerns subject-matter, not style.

[24] In Gongorism and the Golden Age (Chapel Hill, 1928).

conclusion after a comparison with the visual arts. In architecture and sculpture, to be sure, excessive ornamentation is usually preceded by an age of classical simplicity. But what may be true in the arts, is not necessarily true in literature. Petrarchism, so closely associated with Lyly's rival, Philip Sidney, certainly is the product of decadence, because of the fact that Petrarch's imitators lacked proper poetical inspiration and ability. Thus they were reduced to the mere imitation of the mannerisms of the great master whom they wanted to equal.

However, this does not appear to be the case with euphuism, nor, by the way, with French <u>préciosité</u>. Both styles are less symptoms of senile weakness than perhaps aberrations of taste. They both appear at a moment when the customs and manners are becoming more polished and refined, at least among the social élite. They manifest themselves just a few years prior to the most brilliant literary periods, which commence even before these stylistic trends are extinct. John Lyly precedes and influences Shakespeare just as Vincent Voiture and the <u>Précieuses</u> of the Hôtel de Rambouillet precede the great French classicists.

In the hands of an Oxford coterie of euphuists, such as Pettie, Lodge, Gosson, Lyly and Watson, the movement became an instrument which was deliberately and consciously employed for the purpose of improving the form of English

prose. It aimed at a greater refinement, polish and elaboration of the English language. For this end, it had to exhibit a certain element of exaggeration in order to arrest the necessary attention. Absurd as such a mannered style may appear today, it certainly was not without its uses in its own time. Novel vowel and consonant patterns gave a new suppleness and elegance, an "Italianate finish" to English prose.

How highly Lyly's stylistic achievements were valued by his contemporaries can be gleaned from the words of William Webbe. Discoursing in 1586 on the "great good grace and sweet vogue which Eloquence hath attained in our Speeche," he informs us that the English language has made such strides

> because it hath had the helpe of such rare and singular wits, as from time to time myght still adde some amendment to the same. Among whom I think there is none that will gainsay, but Master John Lyly hath deservedly moste high commendations, as he hath stept one steppe further therin than any either before or since he first began the wyttie discourse of his Euphues, whose works, surely in respect of his singular eloquence and brave composition of apt words and sentences, let the learned examine and make tryall thereof, through all the parts of Retoricke, in fitte phrases, in pithy sentences, in galant tropes, in flowing speeche, in plaine sense, and surely in my judgment, I think he wyll yeelde him that verdict which Quintillian giveth of both the best orators Demosthenes and Tully, that from the one, nothing may be taken away, to the other nothing may be added.[25]

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[25] A Discourse of English Poetrie, ed. Arber, p. 46.

It may well be that John Rainold's Latin orations represent the immediate inspiration of euphuism.[26] The peculiar combination of stylistic devices in the lectures of this distinguished scholar of Corpus Christie College[27] and tutor of Hooker could very well have exerted a crucial influence on Lyly and the other Oxford euphuists. But after having waded through many a page of moderate Ciceronianism before encountering any real euphuisms in his Latin orations, one is strongly inclined to question "that Rainolds stands as the culprit ultimately responsible for the unfortunate craze of Euphuism which afflicted England for more than a decade."[28]

Could not much rather the strong desire of Lyly's contemporaries for Italian elegance and refinement, for this "Italianate finish," be a crucial factor in the appearance of the Euphuistic phenomenon in England? Would it be so surprising at a time when the English élite

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[26]Scholarship is greatly indebted to Professor William Ringler for drawing attention to these Latin orations. See William Ringler, "The Immediate Origin of Euphuism," PMLA, LIII (1938), 678-86; also his introduction to the edition of John Rainolds' Oratio in Laudem Artis Poeticae (Princeton, 1940).

[27]John Rainolds spent most of his life at Oxford. From the age of thirteen until his death in 1607, he resided variously at Merton, Corpus, Queen's, New College, University, and Oriel. He was first admitted as a scholar of Corpus in 1563. See William Ringler's introduction to John Rainolds' Oratio..., p. 3.

[28]William Ringler's introduction to John Rainolds' Oratio in Laudem Artis Poeticae, p. 4.

were steeped in the cultural wealth of Italy, when Italian literature furnished exemplars for English lyric, subject-matter for English drama and conventions for English Arcadianism?

This is not to discredit Croll's theory that the great body of the medieval Latin schematic prose influenced the sixteenth-century style. The deeper roots of the euphuistic manner certainly lay farther back in the past than the late quattrocento or early cinquecento. To a certain extent, it is part of a general movement which, in varying conditions, has ebbed and flowed since the time of Gorgias. In all probability it was in the Middle Ages that the first rivulets of the euphuistic stream came into clear view. They then continued to flow, to some extent concurrently, in the various countries, yet taking somewhat different forms in each literature and developing more rapidly in some countries than in others. Croll's theory, however, is imperfect in so far as it ignores the Italian tributary--and a possible Spanish one--which was to swell the English river into a torrent.

Euphuistic features are not uncommon in sixteenth-century prose. They occur in Ascham and Fisher.[29] However, the first to use the schemes to such an extent that we may speak of a Euphuistic style was a man who was steeped in Italian culture. It was George Pettie who, as

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[29]See Croll's introduction to Lyly's Euphues, Xlvi.

we may recall, helped to familiarize Elizabethans with Italian culture. His material comes from Italy.

In a study on Pettie's style Douglas Bush points out that certain aspects of Pettie's eupheuism owe something to the latter's study of the verse of his age, "in which some euphuistic qualities were common before they became a marked element of prose."[30] He then produces some evidence that Pettie pilfered from contemporary poets, especially from Gascoigne. But it will be remembered that George Gascoigne was in turn a borrower of Italian cultural wealth. He was not only the adaptor and translator of Dolce's Giocasta and Ariosto's I Suppositi, but also had written a few sonnets and attempted to define the genre in his unpretentious Certain Notes of Instruction[31] before the first large collection of English sonnets, the famous Hekatompathia, or Passionate Centurie of Love by Thomas Watson appeared in 1582. Could not Pettie and Gascoigne and the rest of the "euphuist" coterie as well have obtained those few "recognized characteristics of euphuism, such as alliteration, antithesis, the use of similes drawn from natural history, the habit of piling up proverbs in groups"[32] from a common

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[30]"Pettie's Petty Pilfering from Poets," Philological Quarterly, V (1926), 325-29; p. 325.

[31]Certayne notes of instruction concerning the making of verse or ryme, ed. E. Arber (Westminster, 1901).

[32]Bush, Phil. Quart., V, p. 329.

Italian source? Italian poems with these and other euphuistic features are legion. These characteristics can be discerned in Petrarch's sonnets, although they are kept within moderate bounds. The sonnets of his Italian imitators, however, are already surfeited with them. Who, for instance, could hope to outdo Serafino dell' Aquila (1466-1500) in his Strambotti, published in 1504?

> Amor io mora. Per chi amar tu more?
> Per cruda che no crede--A che? A me
> Va digli e dagli fè del caro core.
> Non val, non vuol amar amor per fè:
> mio pasto ho posto in pianto amar amore;
> po` m'urta morte per amar chi de`:
> do` core mio caro, so lei ti pone in pene;
> in parte pene porta come tene.

Or:

> La fida fede ch'al tuo caro core
> i porto in parte, donna, merti io morte,
> per cruda che no crede amaro amore,
> chi t'ami e tema di sua sarte o sorte;
> tu gridi, si t'agrado a dar dolore,
> e di legare e sciorre e farti forte,
> e dare e dir di me c'ha vinto el vanto;
> secondo scando il verso e conto e canto.[33]

One of the important mediators for the Oxford Euphuists may have been the Italian John Florio, ubiquitous when Elizabethan and Italian relations are concerned. His influence among a relatively large circle of students in all probability played an important part in the rapid final development of euphuism. John Florio was not only a teacher

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[33] Quoted by M. Jeffery, John Lyly and the Italian Renaissance, pp. 125-26..

of Italian. He was an important channel through which Italian influences reached English literature. His Italian lessons were designed to teach not only the language, but also Italian refinement and polish and to improve the English language, which lacked "Italian elegance." To John Florio and his circle Italian was a "noble language" which was "no less pleasing . . . than are beautiful ornaments to damsels, or fine and perfect weapons to soldiers" and "for elegance, copiousness, clarity and beauty" Italian was "so far above all other languages, that without suspicion of exaggeration or prejudice it may truthfully claim to call itself the most worthy, terse, and excellent of all."[34]

The first printed result of Florio's teaching efforts is his First Fruits.[35] Yates calls it "an attempt to train Englishmen who should be Italianate in literary polish yet without a trace of the foreign devilry in morals dreaded by their elders."[36] The first group of dialogues, describing mainly the ordinary activities of life, consist of simple language and are thus of small interest to us in

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[34]From Florio's Italian dedication to Sir Edward Dyer, prefixed to the manuscript collection of Italian proverbs in the British Museum, Additional MSS 15,214. Cited by Frances A. Yates in John Florio (Cambridge, 1934), pp. 47-48. The dedication is dated from Oxford, November 12, 1582.

[35]Entered in the Stationers' Register on August 23, 1578. See Transcript of the Stationers' Register, ed. Arber, II, 335. The Italian dedication is dated "Di Londra à di. 10. Agosto. 1578."

[36]In John Florio, p. 36.

this connection. But his more advanced dialogues with their strong moralising tendency and their conscious style certainly interest us. Many of these dialogues are almost entirely composed of extracts from Guevara or contain numerous quotations from Lodovico Guicciardini's Hore di Ricreatione,[37] translated by James Sandford, or Sanford, and dedicated to the Earl of Leicester in 1573. In his dialogues, Florio gives Italian and English in parallel columns. For his extracts from Guevara he uses the Italian translation by Francesco Portonaris da Trino. Yates now points out an extremely interesting fact. For the Guicciardini quotations and some other extracts from Petrarca and Ariosto, Florio uses the available translation by Sanford. Yet for his excerpts from Guevara, Florio makes his own English version, despite the fact that there are a number of translations of Guevara available. In this English version Florio clearly reveals himself as a careful artist in style. He, for instance, deliberately employs all alliteration in his English version, as can be seen by a comparison with the Italian column. "Abonda di pazzia" becomes "he flowes in foolishness" or "Un vento importuno di una tribulatione la torce" is rendered by "an importune wynde of tribulation dooth wrye it."[38]

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[37] Ibid., pp. 36-37.

[38] Cited by F. Yates, p. 40.

At this point it is worth mentioning that the very passages from Guevara that have been compared with passages of Lyly's are among those which Florio included and translated in his First Fruits.[39]

Another popular feature of the euphuistic style must be mentioned in connection with John Florio. M. P. Tilley has found that many proverbs in Euphues and in Pettie's Petite Pallace correspond with those given by Florio in his various publications.[40] Florio, like most of his compatriots, had the highest praise for proverbs, and M. P. Tilley suggests "in connection with Florio's remarks . . . that the popularity of proverbs in Lyly's day was due, in part at least, to Italian influence."[41]

Wood tells us that John Florio was appointed tutor in the Italian and French tongues to Emmanuel Barnes about 1576.[42] Emmanuel Barnes, interestingly enough, was a stu-

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[39]Compare, for instance, his dialogues 34 and 38 with the discourse on the perversity of women in Euphues, ed. Croll-Clemons, pp. 94-96, and the frailty of beauty, ibid., pp. 35-37.

[40]M. P. Tilley, Elizabethan Proverb Lore in Lyly's "Euphues" and in Pettie's "Petite Pallace" (New York, 1926).

[41]Ibid., p. 34.

[42]"After Protestancy was restored by Q. Elizab. they return'd, and Florio for a time lived in this university. At length Rich Barnes, bishop of Durham, sending his son Emanuel to Magd. coll. to obtain acad. literature in the quality of a commoner, about 1576, Florio was appointed to attend him as a tutor in the Italian and French tongues." Wood, II, 381.

dent at Magdalen College, from which John Lyly had obtained his M.A. on June 1, the preceding year. It might be that the Euphuist coterie attended his Italian lessons as early as 1576 at Oxford and perhaps then continued in London. We know with certainty that at least one of the group, Stephen Gosson--whose School of Abuse shows Lylian style--was Florio's pupil, because his name appears among the contributors of commendatory verses to the First Fruits.[43] It may well be that both Gosson and Lyly[44] were already Florio's

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[43]In this connection, it is of interest to note that possibly another early Euphuist, George Pettie, was among the contributors. He may have been responsible for some Italian verses to Leicester, initialed "I.P.," which were prefixed to the First Fruits. This suggestion was advanced by Frances A. Yates in John Florio, p. 51. But W. Ringler's explanation that T.C., I.P. and R. Wilson "fit perfectly Thomas Clarke, John Perkin, and Robert Wilson, who were shareholders in Leicester's company" sounds much more convincing. Cf. W. Ringler, Stephen Gosson, A Biographical and Critical Study (Princeton, 1942), p. 23.

[44]There is a strong probability that Lyly remained at Oxford through the year 1576. No evidence can be found that he was anywhere else. There is no reason to assume, as Feuillerat did, that "Lyly quitta Oxford vers juin 1575, après avoir obtenu son grade de Master of Arts" and that after having finished his studies "rien ne le retenait plus à l'université, et les griefs qu'il avait contre son Alma Mater devaient l'inciter à quitter le plus tôt possible un milieu antipathique" (p. 40, note 3). On the other hand, there is some evidence, indicating that Lyly most likely remained at the university for some time after having obtained his M.A. From a Bursar's Day-Book (record of charges for food and drink from the buttery and kitchen) of 1584, we learn that John Lyly still owed "pro communis et batellis 23s. 10d." (Bond, Works, I, 15). In all probability he contracted this debt after having obtained his M.A. on June 1, 1575. In the entry of his debt, the word "communaris" is added above the line which, as R. W. Bond points out, "implies that, though not a Fellow, he had been admitted to share in the emoluments of the College, having

students at Oxford. At any rate, if they did not know Florio then, they certainly knew him by the fall of 1578, when they lived in London. Gosson must have been Florio's student sometime before August, 1578, the time of the publication of the First Fruits and Lyly, as we shall see later, must have come into contact with Florio through his friendship with Gabriel Harvey.

John Florio's Italian lessons and his First Fruits will certainly have to be given careful thought and consideration by anybody seriously interested in euphuistic manners and style.

During his residence at the University, Lyly probably also made his first acquaintance with drama. Oxford was a seat of the comic muse. The memory was still fresh of Queen Elizabeth's visit to the University in 1566, on

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the 'commons' of a Fellow" (I, 15). Bond now suggests that Lyly was probably connected with the choir. However, it appears more likely that his privilege was due to the decree by the Convocation of 1572 which seems to have been in effect till June 29, 1576, when in turn a committee was appointed to examine and correct the statutes "de lectionibus publicis et exercitiis." In 1572 the Convocation had decreed: (1) That all masters created in the last comitia are to remain regents till the admission to Congregation of the masters created in the next comitia. (2) But, of these masters, four only (selected by proctors) shall lecture, beginning on Feb. 25 and lecturing, on every 'dies legibilis' till next comitia, in Dialectic, Rhetoric, Astronomy and Philosophy. (3) That the proctors shall pay each of them five shillings, to be collected "ab inceptoribus proxime futuris" (Bond, I, 9, note 2). This together with the fact that "autobriographical" Euphues becomes a sort of a "Reader in the University" strongly suggests that Lyly was at Oxford in 1576.

which occasion a series of plays were produced by Richard Elwardes, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal.[45] Among them, Palamon and Arcite apparently stirred Elizabeth and her train to particularly great enthusiasm as the Queen made very favorable comments on the performance and sent for Edwardes '& gave him great thankes wth pmise of reward.'[46] It is very regrettable that the records of the University stage during the period of Lyly's stay at Oxford are very meagre.[47] The missing account-books of Christ Church and St. John's College could doubtless furnish more material on theatrical entertainments.

We know, however, that Lyly was familiar with Richard Edwardes' comedies. Euphues, for instance, contains frequent allusions to his Damon and Pithias.[48] We also know that at least three of Lyly's fellow-students, William Gager, Richard Eedes and Stephen Gosson, were dramatists. In the preface to Playes Confuted (1582) Gosson himself tells us of comedies which he wrote before 1577,[49] and

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[45]Edwardes had been a student of Christ Church in 1547.

[46]F. S. Boas, University Drama, p. 103.

[47]Ibid., Chapter VIII, "The Oxford Stage 1556-1582," pp. 156-78.

[48]Bond, II, 238.

[49]"I was very willing to write at this time, because I was enformed by some of you which heard it with your eares, that since my publishing the Schole of Abuse, two Plays of my making were brought to the Stage: the one was

Wood reports that Richard Eedes "spent his earlier years in poetical fancies and composing plays."[50] But in all likelihood Lyly did not conceive of the idea of writing comedies till he came into the orbit of his great patron and employer, the Earl of Oxford.

III

By 1578 we find Lyly in the Hospice of Savoy--then a well-known haunt of literary men--composing his first literary work. Gabriel Harvey tells us that he knew him there when Euphues was being written.[51] Lyly was now moving within the orb of Lord Burleigh's Puritanical influence and patronage.

William Absolon, well-known as a pious and erudite man, was then Master of the Savoy. He was a protegé of the

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a cast of Italian devises, called, The Comedie of Captaine Mario: the other a Moral, Praise at parting. These they very impudently affirme to be written by me since I had set out my invective against them. I can not denie, they were both mine, but they were both penned two yeeres at the least before I forsoke them, as by their owne friends I am able to prove" (fol. A7-7v, pp. 165-66; cited by William Ringler, Stephen Gosson, p. 20). As the School of Abuse was entered in July, 1579, the plays mentioned must have been written by 1577.

[50] Ed. Bliss, I, 749.

[51] "Papp-hatchett (for the name of thy good nature is pitifully growen out of request) thy olde acquaintance in the Savoy, when young Euphues hatched the egges, that his elder freendes laide (surely Euphues was someway a pretty fellow: would God Lilly had alwaies bene Euphues, and never Papp-hatchet;) that old acquaintance, now somewhat straungely saluted with a new remembrance, is neither lullabied with thy sweete Papp, nor scarre-crow'd with thy sower hatchet." "Advertisement for Papp-hatchett," Works, ed. Grosart, II, 124.

Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, and he also enjoyed the support of Roger Manwood, a distant relative of Lyly.[52] The Master Chaplain was a pedagogue of the type of the early English humanists for whom the words knowledge, religion and virtue were inseparable. The fact that Gabriel Harvey invokes Absolon's name[53] when writing about Lyly's residence in the Savoy seems to suggest that at least friendly, if not very close, relations existed between Lyly and the Master Chaplain.

But the fact that Lyly was now for the first time under the direct supervision of his protector, Lord Burleigh, was even more important. Lord Burleigh appears to have had a certain right of control over the Savoy[54] and we may assume that Lyly's activities were reported to him in detail. The Lord Treasurer's house in the Strand was only a few yards from the Savoy and Lyly may have taken advantage of this opportunity and paid frequent visits to Cecil House. All his ambitious hopes depended, after all, on the benevolence of this powerful statesman. The moral and re-

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[52]It will be remembered that the sister of Lyly's mother had married John Manwood, brother of Sir Roger, the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

[53]"They were much deceived in him, at Oxford, and in the Savoy, when Master Absolon lived; that tooke him onely for a dapper & deft companion, or a pert-conceited youth, that had gathered-togither a fewe prettie sentences, and could handsomly helpe young Euphues to an old Simile: & never thought him any such mighty doer at the sharpe."--Gabriel Harvey, op. cit., II, 128.

[54]Bond, Works of John Lyly, I, 17.

ligious discussions of his Euphues, The Anatomy of Wit clearly demonstrate that he at least tried to give the impression of finally living up to the solemn promise which he had made in his letter of 1574. As we know, Italian culture for its own sake was viewed with distrust by people with Puritanical leanings. They were in constant dread of the possible perversion of English youth. In order to make it acceptable to them, Lyly--as John Florio had done a few months before in his First Fruits--provided the Italian culture with a moralized English veneer.[55]

Both works--so dissimilar in their scope--definitely appear to emanate from the same intellectual milieu. It is highly improbable that Lyly saw the First Fruits in print before Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit was composed, because his novel was entered into the Stationers' Register just five months after the First Fruits. It is more likely that Lyly was familiar with the manuscript, at least with part of it. By this time he certainly must have been personally acquainted with Florio, even if they had not met at Oxford as suggested above. He either would have come across him in Burleigh's house[56] or would have encountered him through

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[55]Lyly's "very good Lord and Master Sir William West Knight, Lord Delaware" to whom Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit is dedicated, must also have strongly favoured the Protestant cause, as can be discerned from the fact that he sat on the trials of the Duke of Norfolk (1571-72) and the Earl of Arundel (1589).

[56]Florio's father, while in England, had lived in Lord Burleigh's house and we may safely assume that his son made

his friendship with Harvey. Like Harvey, Florio called the Earl of Leicester his patron.

It was through his friendship with Gabriel Harvey, the "Hobbinol" of Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar, that Lyly probably also came for the first time into contact with the 'Areopagos,' the literary club founded by Sidney, together with Sir Edward Dyer, Sir Fulke Greville and Spenser. Spenser had been a fellow-student of Harvey's at Cambridge. Since the time Lyly and Sidney had been fellow-students together at Oxford, Sidney had made an extensive trip to the Continent, from which he had returned home in May, 1575, with a solid command of the Italian language, an extraordinary knowledge of Italian poetry and a great admiration for Italian art and music.[57]

The attitude of the Leicester group toward Italy, and in particular that of Sidney, may very well have been the initial cause for the change of Lyly's outlook as reflected in Euphues and his England, in which the moralizing tone of his first work is entirely abandoned. Sidney's unfavorable reaction to Gosson's attack on the theatre may be

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an early effort to introduce himself at Cecil House to ensure the protection of such a powerful person.

[57]About the Italian influence on Sidney, see A. Lytton Sells' excellent survey "Sidney; or, the Triumph of Petrarch" in his book The Italian Influence in English Poetry (London, 1955), pp. 129-49.

[58]It will be remembered that in 1579, Gosson, mistaking Sidney's sobriety for narrow Puritanism, dedicated The

interpreted as the inception of a new outlook, as the moderate expression of a new English temper which attempted to embrace the entire Italian Renaissance philosophy of life, accepting its refinement and elegance, its wider human experience. Those who completely accepted this philosophy were willing even to abandon English moral standards. Although Sidney was sympathetic towards the Puritan element, he yet refused to condemn play-writing and he even subscribed to the eloquent discussion of love in verse and prose.

The exact date when Lyly came into the orbit of Lord Oxford's direct influence is not known, but judging from the dedication of Euphues and his England, he was already in the earl's household when he published his work in the spring of 1580.[59] At any rate, by July of this year he must already have been on rather close terms with the earl, because he was the one of Oxford's entourage who suggested that Gabriel Harvey, in his execrable hexameter poem Speculum Tuscanismi, had attempted to ridicule the earl. The connection between Lyly and Lord Oxford, Cecil's son-in-law, probably began some time before 1580, maybe in the

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Schoole of Abuse to Sir Philip Sidney, but "was for hys labor scorned." G. Harvey, Works, ed. Grosart, I, 8.

[59]Licensed to Gabriel Cawood on July 24, 1579, and twice issued in 1580. Feuillerat, John Lyly, pp. 568-69.

Savoy where Oxford rented "two tenements."[60]

It is natural that Edward de Vere, aesthete, writer, scholar, devotee of the theatre and generous patron of literary men and musicians, would attract Lyly. He was no ordinary patron, as Thomas Bedingfield or Anthony Munday had learned before Lyly. His magnanimous and helpful attitude towards his literary protegés can be perceived from his prefatory letter and poem to Bedingfield which appeared in Bedingfield's translation of Cardanus' Comforte.[61] Lord Oxford was sincerely interested in literary pursuits, and in contrast to many other "patrons," he was not merely a passive recipient of a dedication, but was willing to give his time and attention to the literary works submitted to him.

As a patron, the Earl of Oxford was well qualified to proffer advice and to make useful suggestions. Through his vast knowledge of not only Greek and Latin literature, but also Dante, Ariosto, Castiglione and Ronsard, he did more for the English language and literature than any of his contemporaries. He not only attracted some of the greatest 'wits' of his time--Lyly, Munday, Watson, Kyd, Greene, Peele, Marston, Dekker, Lodge, Nashe, Marlowe--but

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[60]Bond, Works of John Lyly, I, 17.

[61]Letter and poem cited by B. M. Ward, The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford 1550-1604 (London, 1928), pp. 87-90.

also widened their classics-bound culture and vitalized their endeavours in Renaissance literature, particularly as far as Italian literature is concerned.

Having realized the "ambition of his life" by visiting Italy, the young and dashing Earl of Oxford had returned to England in March, 1576, with a memory full of the wonderful cultural attainments of the home country of the Renaissance. He was now confirmed in his early admiration for the literary and artistic achievements of Italy, an admiration which he had so eloquently manifested in his preface to Clerke's translation of The Courtier, dated January 5th, 1571. The Grand Tour, however, had helped this brilliant nobleman to grow from a mere admirer of Italian attainments into a man with a cultural attitude, a frame of mind, a consciousness of what England needed most at this time. It is very unfortunate and unfair that the Earl of Oxford--probably on account of the general dislike for him caused by a continual misrepresentation of his quarrels with his father-in-law and Sidney[62]--has always

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[62]Particularly the famous quarrel upon the tennis-court has always been reported from Sidney's side. It is one of the strange injustices history has perpetrated and perpetuated. As B. M. Ward, Oxford's biographer, observed, "For every historian who has devoted an hour to reading about Lord Oxford there are hundreds who have devoted years to studying Sidney's life," mostly motivated, I presume, by his heroic act on the battlefield and the halo of martyrdom with which he was deliberately invested by a government guided more by expediency than sincerity. His death occurred at a crucial moment in English history. A splendid funeral of this soldier who gave his life for his country

been regarded as the very embodiment of the saying: "L'Inglese italianato è un diavolo incarnato." Feuillerat's statement about Lord Oxford is more or less typical and sums up the hostile attitude:

> Bref, le comte d'Oxford incarnait tous les défauts et tous les vices que la noblesse anglaise rapportait de ses voyages sur le Continent; c'était le type le plus pur des Anglais italianisés de l'époque, le vrai "miroir du Toscanisme."[63]

It seems that critics are much more interested in Edward de Vere's alleged "Italian vices"[64] and artificialities of Italian life[65] than they are in the fact that he was a poet

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while fighting the Catholics, furnished a unique opportunity to arouse patriotic feelings and to unite the people against the "Catholic" enemy. The by-product of this tremendous public display was an exaggerated "Sidney legend" which has persisted throughout the centuries. This is not to belittle Philip Sidney. He was beyond doubt an admirable young man, courtly and generous, but so was Lord Oxford. Incidentally, as far as the quarrel on the tennis-court is concerned, Ward clearly demonstrates that it was merely a transitory affair that has been unduly exaggerated. The two young courtiers soon became friends again. Incidents such as this are not unusual among young, quick-tempered, proud friends whose tempers flare up very easily, but who are also little inclined to sulk or bear ill-will. They were partners as defendants in a tournament in January, 1581. Lord Oxford was also to the end of his life a devoted friend to Sidney's sister Mary Countess of Pembroke. One of his daughters eventually married her younger son. Ward, pp. 165-73.

[63] John Lyly, p. 81.

[64] "On l'accusait de ne pas reculer devant l'assassinat pour se débarrasser d'un ennemi gênant.... L'on rapportait aussi que l'on avait souvent vu les pages de son escorte se plaindre, les larmes aux yeux, de ce que leur maître exigeait d'eux des complaisances abominables." Ibid., pp. 80-81.

[65] "Il affichait bien haut son mépris pour l'antique simplicité anglaise, qu'il qualifiait de sottise; le luxe

of distinction[66] and one of the greatest and most generous literary patrons of English history. The accusation that he practised "Italian vices" cannot be verified and maintained on closer examination. As to the second charge that he affected artificialities of Italian life--he returned, for instance, from his Italian tour in 1576 "laden with new luxuries in dress and effeminacies of the toilet"[67]--one can only reply that it certainly did not do any harm to the Elizabethans. They could very well stand some improvement in their clothing and their toilet habits.[68]

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et les mignardises étrangères avaient seules ses tendresses." Ibid., pp. 79-80.

[66]In 1586 William Webbe in A Discourse of English Poetry paid, for instance, the following outstanding tribute to the earl's skill and supremacy in poetry: "I may not omit the deserved commendations of many honourable and noble Lords and Gentlemen in Her Majesty's Court, which, in the rare devices of poetry, have been and yet are skilful; among whom the Right Honourable Earl of Oxford may challenge to himself the title of the most excellent among the rest." See J. Haslewood's Ancient Critical Essays (London, 1811), II, 34.

[67]Bond, I, 31.

[68]The Queen, by the way, took great delight in these improvements. "Milliners or Haberdashers had not any gloves embroidered, or trimmed with gold or silk, neither gold nor embroidered girdles and hangers, neither could they make any costly wash or perfume; until about the fourteenth or fifteenth year of the Queen the right honourable Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, came from Italy, and brought with him gloves, sweet bags, a perfumed leather jerkin, and other pleasant things; and that year the Queen had a pair of perfumed gloves trimmed only with four tufts, or roses of coloured silk; the Queen took such pleasure in those gloves that she was pictured with those gloves upon her hands, and for many years it was called the Earl of Oxford's perfume." Stow's Annals, p. 868. Quoted by Ward, The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford, p. 129.

It is hard to understand why posterity should continue to accept contemporary Philistine objections against Lord Oxford's character and activities. It is even harder to understand why critics should continue to believe the vilifications of unmasked traitors, such as the Howards and their group.

Even if we had no other contrary testimony than that of contemporary men of letters, such as Lyly, William Webbe, Munday, Watson, Greene, and Angel Day, the Earl of Oxford would stand vindicated. We may safely assume that their statements--discounting, of course, the conventional flattery--are more trustworthy and reliable than those of convicted traitors. There is a definite air of sincere admiration and respect in their dedicatory epistles. Two of them will suffice. In 1584 Robert Greene, the most talented disciple of Lyly, dedicated his Card of Fancy to the earl. He finished his dedication:

> And your Honour being a worthy favourer and fosterer of learning hath forced many through your excellent virtue to offer the first-fruits of their study at the shrine of your Lordship's courtesy....[69]

Two years later Angel Day, in dedicating his book The English Secretorie[70] to Edward de Vere, writes, after a series of manifestations of respect:

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[69]Ward, p. 198. From the 1603 ed. in the British museum.

[70]Ward, p. 199.

> My honourable Lord, the exceeding bounty wherewith your good Lordship hath ever wonted to entertain the deserts of all men, and very apprearance of nobility herself, well known to have reposed her delights in the worthiness of your stately mind, warrenteth me almost that I need not blush to recommend unto your courteous view the first-fruits of these my foremost labours, and to honour this present discourse with the memory of your everlasting worthiness. And albeit by the learned view and insight of your Lordship, whose infancy from the beginning was ever sacred to the Muses, the whole course hereof may be found nothing such, as the lowest part of the same may appear in any sort answerable to so great and forward excellence....[71]

The Earl of Oxford refused to be judged by the old Philistines' standards. Particularly his Italian-oriented views on literature were sufficiently unorthodox to violate the feelings of the conventional element in England which looked upon Italy as a mere sink of iniquity and vice. The earl, however, had the courage to defy this rigid tradition of English culture, because he was sincerely interested in all cultural attainments and in particular in literary pursuits. To him, who himself was a man with strong artistic feelings and exquisite sensitiveness, literature was almost an obsession. It furnished an outlet for his replete mind and tempestuous spirit. It was the vehicle for knowledge and understanding of people and life. Italy, leading in pictorial art and architecture as well as literature, furnished a unique cultural exemplar. She, indeed, represented all the beauty and culture of the Renaissance.

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[71] Loc. cit. Italics are mine.

It was within this strongly Italian-oriented, artistic and intellectual milieu that Lyly produced most of his literary work. Almost all of his writing was done while he was in the employ of Lord Oxford.

Vere House, with Oxford as its head and Lyly as the earl's private secretary, became the headquarters of the Euphuists, just as the Leicester House was the domicile of the "Romanticists." A group of intelligent, gifted and energetic men rallied under the earl's 'Euphuistic' banner that had been unfurled with the appearance of Lyly's Euphues. They were all working together with enthusiasm in the Euphuist campaign to enrich the English language.

The coterie looked to the master of the Vere House, "Ad praeclarum et nobilissimum virum E.O.,"[72] as their leader in their novel literary endeavors. Anthony Munday, who was one of them, expressed this feeling in his Latin poem addressed to his patron at the end of The Mirror of Mutability (1579):

> My noble master farewell. May your desires which are dear to us all prevail. Earnestly do I pray for your welfare and success in the struggle. To the guardianship of Christ I commit you and yours, till the day when as conquerors we may peacefully resume our delightful literary discussions.[73]

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[72]"E.O." (i.e. Edward Oxford) was the signature the Earl of Oxford used in signing his poems, published in The Paradise of Dainty Devices (1576).

[73]Mi formose vale, valeat tua grata voluntas
Deprecor optata tutus potiaris arena.
Te, cunctosque tuos Christo committo tuendos,
Donec praestentes sermone fruamur amico.
Ward, pp. 185-86. Translation by Ward.

One member of the Euphuist group, Thomas Watson, is of particular interest to us, because he was obviously fascinated by the Italian "Euphuists" and was very familiar with Italian literature in general. He joined the ranks of Euphuists at Vere House in 1582, when he dedicated his collection of 'sonnets,' called Hekatompathia, the Passionate Century of Love,[74] to the Earl of Oxford in these words:

> Alexander the Great passing on a time by the workshop of Apelles, curiously surveyed some of his doings; whose long stay in viewing them brought all the people into so great a liking of the painter's workmanship that immediately after they bought up all his pictures, what price soever he set them at.
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> And the like good hap (Right Honourable) befel unto me lately concerning these my Love Passions, which then chanced Apelles for his portraits. For since the world hath understood (I know not how) that your Honour had willingly vouchsafed the acceptance of this work, and at convenient leisures favourably perused it, being as yet but in written hand, many have oftentimes and earnestly called upon me to put it to the press, that for their money they might but see what your Lordship with some liking had already perused. . . .[75]

Although closely derivative, his work nevertheless displays a certain exquisite sense of style. His poetry is admittedly not of the highest calibre, but, on the other hand, it does not deserve the contempt heaped on it by some critics, such as Professor Courthope. His excellent sense of style is quite manifest, for instance, in his sonnet

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[74]It was entered on the Stationers' Register, March 31, 1582, by Lyly's publisher, Gabriel Cawood. Arber's Transcript, II, 409.

[75]Ward, p. 195.

No. 47, an emulation of Serafino Aquilano's "Col tempo el villanello al giogo mena":[76]

In time the Bull is brought to weare the yoake;
In time all haggred Haukes will stoope the Lures;
In time small wedge will cleave the sturdiest Oake;
In time the Marble weares with weakest shewres.
More fierce is my sweete love, more hard, withall
Then Beast or Birde, the Tree, or Stony wall.
No yoake prevailes, she will not yeeld to might;
No hire will cause her stoope, she beares full gorge
No wedge of woes make printe, she reakes no right;
No shewer of teares can move, she thinks I forge.
Help, therefore Heavenly Boy, come perce the brest
With that same shaft, which robes me of my rest:
So let her feel thy force, that she relent;
So keepe her lowe, that she vouchsafe a pray;
So frame her will to right, that pride be spent
So forge that I may speede, without delay,
Which if thou do, I' le sweare, and singe with joy,
That Love no longer is a blinded Boy.

But we are here less concerned with the evaluation of Watson's poetry than we are with his source. His "lexterous adaptations" give us some insight into the reading habits of the Euphuist coterie. They furnish evidence of the unusually great familiarity of this group with Italian literature. Thanks to the 'scholarly' vanity and honesty of the author, every "Passion" is provided with "adminicular gear," acknowledging diligently almost every debt. His elaborate apparatus criticus thus instructs us that the major portion of his poetry is derived from Italian sources. Among the Italians, we find, for instance, Petrarca, Serafino Aquilano, Agnolo Firenzuola, Girolamo Parabosco, Er-

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[76] No. 103. M. Menghini, Rime di Serafino de' Ciminelli dall' Aquila (Bologna, Romagnoli, 1894).

cole Strozzi,[77] Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Poliziano, Battista Spagnuoli or "il Carmelita" or "il Mantovano,"[78] best known in England as Mantuanus or Mantuan. We may safely assume that Lyly not only read the adaptations, but was also familiar with the Italian originals, as he was a devoted friend of Watson's and had also contributed a prose epistle of commendation "to the author his friend."

It may be mentioned in passing that Watson and his Euphuist friends were obviously more interested in the form of the Italian poetry than in its content. With this in view, it is not surprising that Watson manifests a particular liking for Serafino Aquilano[79] whose poems are surfeited with the greatest artificialities and "contrarieties." Even for his adaptations from the great "canzoniere," he selects the most artificial sonnets,[80] written in a manner that clearly foreshadows that of Serafino de' Ciminelli. Similarly, when he chooses from Firenzuola, he takes "O belle donne prendano pietade" with its most specious and grotesque theme of the transformation "d'huom che pur

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[77]Watson uses the form "Strozza."

[78]He was a Carmelite monk and a native of Mantova (Mantua).

[79]Miss Jeffery quotes some examples of the fascination which this popular Italian had for Watson. See op. cit., pp. 120-22.

[80]Such as "S'amor non è, che dunque è quel ch'io sento" or "Pace non trovo, e non ho da far guerra," Watson's sonnets V and XL.

dianzi ardiva mirar fiso-" into a mole: "O then faire Dames bewaile my present woe--which thus am made a moale . . . ."[81]

IV

At Vere House, the headquarters of the literary party of the Euphuists, Lyly also found suggestions and encouragement for his dramatic inclinations. It is there that he most probably conceived for the first time the idea of writing comedies.

The Earl of Oxford was much interested in things dramatic. His acquaintance with the theatre had begun in his earliest childhood. As a boy he had many times witnessed the performances of his father's company of actors.[82] Although the company was apparently disbanded when, on his father's death, he became a Royal Ward in Cecil's household, he never lost his interest in drama. He is even reputed to have been a playwright himself. Puttenham, writing in 1589, ranks him with Richard Edwardes as "deserving the highest praise for Comedy and Enterlude."[83] Unfortunately, none of Oxford's comedies survive.

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[81] No. 78.

[82] E. K. Chambers, Elizabethan Stage, II, 99. There was a long dramatic tradition in the Vere family. The earls employed players as far back as 1492.

[83] Ward, The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford, pp. 264, 299; Ward believes that the Arte of English Poesie (1589) was written by Oxford's cousin and friend Lord Lumley rather than by Puttenham, as is generally supposed.

Early in 1580[84] Lord Oxford took over the Earl of Warwick's men. This adult troupe can be traced in the provinces till 1590.[85] The company, however, did not appear in Court records after 1584. The reason for this is probably the establishment of the Queen's company in 1583, which stripped Oxford's troupe of its stars. John Dutton joined the Queen's company on its first establishment, and his brother Laurence followed soon afterwards. This relegated the company to provincial status and turned it into a road company.

In the winter following the establishment of the Queen's company, there is the first mention of an Oxford company at Court. The earl's "servauntes" performed on January 1 and March 3, 1584. The payee was Lord Oxford's private secretary and actor manager, our John Lyly.

Although the warrant for payment seems to indicate at first sight that we are here concerned with an adult troupe rather than with a company of Choir Boys, I am, nev-

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[84]The exact date is not known. It must, however, have been after January 1, 1580, on which date the troupe performed at Court under Warwick's patronage, and before April 13, 1580, on which day the Privy Council committed Robert Leveson and Laurence Dutton, servants of the Earl of Oxford, to the Marshalsea for a fray with certain gentlemen of the Inns of Court. The incident had occurred three days before at the theatre (Chambers, II, 100). We know, however, that Laurence Dutton was one of the actors of Warwick's company that were transferred to the Earl of Oxford's service (Chambers, II, 98).

[85]Chambers, II, 101.

ertheless, inclined to believe that we are dealing already with the so-called "Oxford Boys," most likely a combination of the Children of the Chapel Royal and St. Paul's Cathedral. This would also bear out E. K. Chamber's conjecture that the plays acted on January 1 and March 3 were Lyly's Campaspe and Sapho and Phao,[86] respectively. According to the title-pages of the early editions, both plays were performed "by her Maiesties Children and the Children of Paules."

As intimated before, Oxford's company of choir boys probably came into existence by an amalgamation of two or possibly three boy companies. In 1580 Richard Farrant, Master of the Children of Windsor, and William Hunnis, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, had combined their companies with a "professional" aim in mind. Four years before, in 1576, Farrant had already leased a portion of the old Blackfriars Convent[87]--then belonging to Sir William More--for the purpose of operating a theater. The combined troupe formed an adequate company whose productions became quite popular and attracted apparently large and noisy crowds, at any rate, too noisy for Sir William, who lived in an adjoining apartment. More undertook to break the lease. Farrant died in November, 1580. But his

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[86]Chambers, III, 414 and 415.

[87]The same building in which the Office of the Revels had been established since 1550.

partner Hunnis of the Chapel Royal continued till 1583, when he transferred the lease to Henry Evans, who shortly afterwards sold it to Lord Oxford. The Earl of Oxford reorganized the company, doubtless with the help of his theatrically minded secretary, John Lyly, to whom he soon passed on the lease as a gift.[88] Sir William continued to be displeased with the presence of the company of actors. After a certain amount of further litigation, the theatrical enterprise at Blackfriars was abandoned and moved to a building near St. Paul's called the "singing-school" of the Cathedral. Lyly subsequently transferred the lease to the well-known Italian fencing master Roco Bonetti,[89] who established his famous school there.

When in 1583 the Earl of Oxford took over the company, he added to the twelve Children of the Chapel the boys of St. Paul's, retained Hunnis as one of the trainers of the boys and kept Evans as manager of the troupe. Lyly, as the private secretary of the patron of this company, was most probably also closely associated with the management of this new organization. E. K. Chambers remarks that

> Doubtless Hunnis, Lyly, and Evans were all working together under the Earl's patronage, for a company under Oxford's name was taken to Court by Lyly in the winter of 1583-4 and by Evans in the winter of 1584-5, and it seems pretty clear that in 1583-4,

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[88] E. K. Chambers, II, 497.

[89] A. Feuillerat, John Lyly, p. 540.

> it was in fact made up of boys from the Chapel and Paul's.[90]

Lyly's name appears in the Chamber Accounts as payee for the company on two occasions. There is every reason to believe, with E. K. Chambers, that the plays acted were Lyly's Campaspe and Sapho and Phao.[91] Evans' name appears as payee for the performance of Agamemnon and Ulysses. Obviously, Lyly had acted as stage manager and coach for his own plays.

It is not clear what happened to the "Oxford Boys" after the performance in December, 1584. E. K. Chambers suggests that

> Oxford perhaps ceased to maintain boy players and contented himself with another company of his servants, who made an appearance at Court on 1 January 1595, under John Symons, in feats of activity and vaulting.[92]

However, it is not unlikely that the Oxford Boys, made up of Her Majesty's Children and the Paul's Boys continued theatrical productions at Court under the name of the Paul's Boys, who performed through the late 80's with increasing regularity, rivaled only by the important Queen's Company.

At any rate, Lyly continued to be closely connected with the Paul's Boys. All his plays, except The Woman in the Moone, are described on their title-pages as having

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[90] The Elizabethan Stage, II, 497.

[91] Ibid., III, 414 and 415.

[92] Ibid., II, 101.

been performed by her "Maiesties Children and the Children of Paules" or "by the Children of Paules" only. There is a strong probability that Lyly continued as a sort of unofficial stage manager and coach till the dissolution of the company in 1590. This would also partly explain the meaning of Gabriel Harvey's statement that Lyly "hath not played the Vicemaster of Poules,[93] and the Foolemaster of the Theater for naughtes."[94]

This brings us also to another point in connection with Lyly's theatrical activities, viz., the vexed question of how Lyly could have been the Queen's servant and Lord Oxford's private secretary simultaneously. We know that Lyly was in Oxford's service at least till 1589. In a legal contract between Lyly and Hubberd, dated May 10, 1587, Lyly is referred to as "gentleman servaunte to the righte honorable Earle of Oxenford"[95] and in 1589 Gabriel Harvey calls him "the minion secretary."[96] Yet in Lyly's long-

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[93]From "Vicemaster of Paules" it has been inferred that Lyly occupied an usherships at the Paul's choir school. But this is very unlikely because, as E. K. Chambers has already pointed out, 'vice' is a common synonym for 'fool' and "vicemaster," like "foolemaster," probably means nothing but "playwright." See E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, III, 412.

[94]Works of Gabriel Harvey, ed. A. B. Grosart (1884), II, 212.

[95]A. Feuillerat, John Lyly, p. 451.

[96]Bond, I, 28. I do not, however, agree with Bond that Lyly probably resigned his post as private secretary "on his assumption of duties in the Revels Office in or about 1585."

winded petitions to the Queen, probably written between 1597 and 1601, we read: Thirteen yeares, yo^{r}: Higness Servant; Butt; yett nothinge."[97]

I do not believe that we have to assume, as R. W. Bond does,[98] that Lyly actually held a position in the Revels Office. The answer to this vexed question may be that Lyly acted unofficially, rather than officially, as stage manager and coach to two rival companies at Court--the Queen's and the Paul's Boys--which appeared alternately before the Queen through the second half of the 80's.

Lyly's connection with the Queen's company, in some unofficial capacity, may have started very early. When the important adult players of Oxford's company were drafted into the Queen's company, he may well have been lent with them to act as their unofficial stage manager and coach. If so, it would have been in 1584, the year in which his name also appears twice in the Chambers Accounts as payee for Oxford's players.

This is, of course, all conjectural, but so are the conclusions of all the other investigators of this problem.

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[97]Bond, I, 70.

[98]Works of John Lyly, I, 40 ff. See also E. K. Chambers, Elizabethan Stage, III, 412: "Mr. R. W. Bond bases many conjectures about Lyly's career on a theory that he actually held the post of Clerk Comptroller in the Revels Office, but the known history of the post makes this impossible."

CHAPTER III

THE ITALIAN INFLUENCE IN LYLY'S PLAYS: DRAMATIC GENRE AND DRAMATIC DEVICES

I

As has been indicated before, Lyly is highly eclectic, skillful and inventive in the handling of dramatic material. The investigators who have made questionable assumptions concerning the sources of his plays have been misled both by his great gift for skillful combination of various features of literary genres and by their own scanty knowledge of Italian literature. We have seen that some literary historians, such as Bond and Feuillerat, even have gone so far as to assume that Lyly was unacquainted with Italian literature, primarily because they could not find numerous verbal parallels in the masterpieces of Italian drama.

It is true that there is very little "influence" in the narrowest sense of the word, that is, a point to point contact from play to play. But a discussion of literary inter-relations does not consist of merely aligning "verbal parallels" or "direct sources" for each play. There are many other ways in which authors can become deeply indebted to their predecessors.

The previous chapters have attempted to show that Lyly was exposed to things Italian and that he must have been well acquainted with Italian literature. In the following chapters I shall endeavor to demonstrate that Lyly not only was familiar with Italian literature, but also worked within its literary conventions and concepts. I shall strive to show that his plays are to a large extent the product of ideas and material first advanced and insisted upon by certain cinquecentisti. The trattatisti seem to have provided Lyly with the incentive for the writing of "love" dramas and the Italian dramatists appear to have furnished him with most of the necessary dramatic technique.

As far as his dramatic technique is concerned, it is, of course, always possible that certain similarities in method arose independently in each country.[1] There is, however, ample evidence of an operative influence beyond broad coincidences. What the advocates of the theory of an independent English development of dramatic technique fail to see is that Lyly appears to adopt and incorporate from the native tradition only those techniques that are not incompatible with the precepts and practices of a group of

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[1]Some elements of his dramaturgy could also have been derived from the tradition of the Christian Terence. This large body of academic plays written for the most part by schoolmasters for the instruction of students anticipated almost every characteristic, save the pastoral machinery, of the secular tragicomedy. See Herrick, Tragicomedy, pp. 16-62.

Italian dramatists with Giraldi as its originator and Guarini as its foremost exponent.

It is clear, at any rate, that Italian material constituted a very important, if not the major, force in shaping and developing Lyly's writing.

II

A great number of plays were composed during the cinquecento. As the interest in religious plays, the sacre rappresentazioni, was diminishing, a new type of comedy, the commedia erudita, based on the ancient theatre, began to dominate the field. It held undisputed sway over the Italian comic stage for the first three quarters of the cinquecento before it eventually yielded its place to the commedia dell' arte. Tragedy also broke away from the traditions of the sacra rappresentazione and looked, instead, to the classics. Giangiorgio Trissino (1478-1550) followed Greek models and sought to conform to doctrines of Aristotle's Poetics and Giambattista Giraldi (1504-1573)[2] followed in the footsteps of Seneca.

But, while Trissino's Sofonisba (1515) was merely a pedantic attempt to reproduce the methods of Sophocles and Euripides in Italian, Giraldi's Orbecche (1541) did not

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[2]He called himself also Cynthius in some of his Latin verse. The Italian equivalent Cinzio was later often prefixed or appended to his full Italian name. Sometimes he was called Il Cinzio. To the Elizabethans he was known chiefly as Cynthio.

slavishly follow ancient precepts. Its invented plot, based on one of his own fictional novelle, constitutes a conscious departure from the traditional rule that tragic plots should be selected from history. His new type of tragedy, the tragedia mista ("mixed tragedy") or tragedia di fin lieto, initiated after Orbecche, broke even further away from ancient practices. It contributed largely to the development of the third major dramatic form of the cinquecento, the pastoral-mythological-tragicomic drama, the type of drama that Lyly appears to have used as a pattern for his dramatic technique.

Giraldi's influence on this kind of drama is usually not sufficiently realized. While his Orbecche has long been considered an important milestone in the development of the Renaissance tragedy, his "tragicomedies with happy endings" have not been recognized adequately as a significant step in the development of the pastoral-mythological-tragicomic drama. Many of the ideas, first adumbrated in Giraldi's plays and in Giraldi's Discorso intorno al comporre delle commedie e delle tragedie (1543), were later developed and elaborated by disciples of this tradition. It can therefore be said that there is an unbroken line from Giraldi's tragedia di fin lieto to the pastoral-tragicomedies of Tasso, Guarini and Lyly.

Giraldi's "tragedies," though modeled on Seneca in form and structure, broke with many traditional rules.

Giraldi rejected historical subjects, introduced happy endings and a greater variety of characters and disregarded or enlarged the limits of the unities. However, what is most important is that, as a practical dramatist, he put the theatrical audience first:

> E percio crede hora il Poeta nostro
> Che si ferme non sian le leggi poste
> A le Tragedie, che non gli sia dato
> Uscir fuor del prescritto in qualche parte
> Per ubidire à chi comandar puote
> E servire à l'età, a gli spettatori....[3]

To this concept of "servire à l'età, a gli Spettatori" even Aristotle had to yield. To avoid the incurrence of "l'increscimento degli spettatori"[4] is one of his primary objectives.

III

Bond, commenting on the midway-position of Lyly's drama--between the regularity of classical drama and the freedom of the professional stage--states that through Lyly, more than any other writer,

> there passes into the romantic drama of England
> that infusion of regularity and artistic form
> which it gleaned from its contact with the rival
> pseudo-classic school.

Bond does not, however, attribute Lyly's relative regularity to Italian influences:

> While his dramatic contemporaries were driven by
> their necessities to cater for the popular stage,

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[3] Prologue to Altile (ed. 1583), p. 7.

[4] Discorso, p. 8.

> 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.[5]

It is my contention that this "regulating check and control of classical taste" was primarily conveyed and acquired through the medium of the Italian drama, particularly through the practices of Giraldi Cinthio and his cinquecentisti disciples and to a much lesser degree perhaps also through authors of the commedia erudita.

By briefly analyzing Lyly's technique--(1) his manner of mingling tragic and comic elements, (2) his specific use of mythology, (3) his introduction of dumbshow, (4) his use of ballet, singing, dream, and (5) his use of dramatic disguise--and by comparing his technique with the Italian and the native English tradition, we will see that Lyly uses only techniques and devices that are compatible with the precepts and practices of the Italians.

1

Lyly does not endorse a rigid severance of the various genres, such as tragedy and comedy and pastorals, as was then enjoined by Sidney and other classicists. In his preface to Midas Lyly writes:

> At our exercises, Soldiers call for Tragedies, their object being blood: Courtiers for Comedies,

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[5]Bond, Works, II, 248.

> their subject being love: Countrymen for Pastoral, Shepherds are their saints . . . what hitherto hath been served in several dishes for a feast, is now mixed in a charger for a Gallimaufrey. If we present a mingle-mangle, our fault is to be excused, because the whole world is become a hodge-podge.

Lyly's motto, just like Giraldi's, is "Placere cupio." Whenever necessary, he will defy the theorists and claim his right to mingle the various dramatic forms. Just like Cinthio and his Italian disciples, he puts the theatrical audience first. His plays are submitted to the judgment of his audience, a learned Queen and her "Italianate" court. Whereas other University Wits wrote primarily for the public theatres, Lyly composed his comedies for the court. No individual dramatic form alone appeared to be sufficient to satisfy the cosmopolitan taste of his aristocratic patrons. Following therefore the example of the Italian tragicomic-pastoral-mythological tradition, Lyly blended the various elements of the contemporary stage.

In Italy we have had an example of this tradition as early as 1545. Giraldi's "satyric" play, Egle, had already displayed most of Lyly's characteristics. The French critic Berthé summarizes his analysis of Egle thus:

> Emprunter à la tragédie son émotion, non sa morgue héroïque; à la comédie sa simplicité, ses sentiments humains, ses allusions à la vie de chaque jour, quelque chose enfin de sa gaité; y mêler, comme dans l'Eglogue, un peu de mythologie beaucoup de passion amoureuse, certains dehors champêtres, tout cela sur un fond tout moderne; créer ainsi en dehors de formes vieillies une oeuvre entièrement nouvelle: ce'est bien ce qu'enseigne notre cri-

t ique et c'est aussi formule exacte "de la Pas-
t orale."[6]

By the time Lyly wrote his preface to Midas, this old literary discussion--the polemics that had set Italian academies into a flutter in Castelvetro's and Caro's time--had again been resumed with vehemence by Guarini's insistence on mixing the tragic and comic elements in his Pastor Fido. Guarini held, for instance, that "it is not contrary to the nature of the stage that there should be united in a play persons of high rank and those of low stations...."[7] In his Pastor Fido he had employed tragic and comic personages.

The manner in which these personages are characterized by Guarini is of interest to us because Lyly's method is the same. They are kept distinct and self-consistent, in strict accordance with the precepts of decorum. According to Guarini himself, they are presented with "decorum always uniform and continuous." Thus the heroine Amarilli and the hero Mirtillo are descendants of gods and possess the dignity and rank worthy of tragedy. Amarilli's dominant trait, piety, is carefully maintained throughout the play. She never takes a step without first seeking divine

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[6]Louis Berthé de Besaucèle, J.-B. Giraldi (Paris, 1920), p. 194.

[7]Allan H. Gilbert, Literary Criticism: Plato to Dryden (New York, 1940), p. 508. Gilbert has reproduced in translation part of Guarini's Compendio della poesia tragicomica.

guidance. The noble and "faithful" Mirtillo is even faithful when jealous. Wanton Corisca and bestial Satyr provide the comic and plebeian element. Corisca is always vindictive, deceitful, selfish until the last moment when she repents and reforms. The Satyr is always wild, brutish.

As we shall see in the chapter on characterization, Lyly employs comic and tragic characters in exactly the same manner. He mixes the two types in all his allegorical plays. At the same time, he clearly observes the established rules of decorum. His courtiers, ladies and nymphs discourse in a polished, witty language on refined subjects, whereas his servants argue in a much blunter style on subjects which are occasionally even obscene.[8]

The principle of mingling comic and tragic matter had already been sanctioned by the theory and practice of Lyly's English predecessors. Yet with the possible exception of George Whetstone,[9] none had a clear notion of these distinctions. Unlike his predecessors,[10] who tended to drag in merely various types of dramatic matter, Lyly manipulated the various material consciously and artistically.

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[8]Cf. Lucio and Halfpenny's dreams in Mother Bombie, III, 4, with the dreams of Sapho in Sapho and Phao, IV, 3.

[9]It will be remembered, however, that Whetstone's Right Excellent and Famous History of Promos and Cassandra (1578) shows strong Italian influence and is possibly based on Giraldi's tragedia di fin lieto entitled Epitia.

[10]With the possible exception of Richard Edwards.

He manifests a clear knowledge of the distinctions between the various types of drama, and the manner in which he mingles and blends them displays a keen awareness of the precepts and practices of the Italian tragi-comic tradition.[11]

2

Lyly was the first English dramatist to use classical mythology in a way which touched upon contemporary political or personal events.[12] In a few instances real people of the Elizabethan court are represented under some known mythological figure. His entire mythological apparatus is subordinated to the interests of human beings, just as it had been for more than a century in the Italian tra-

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[11] Lyly may have found further support for his practice of mingling various matters in the popular Italian tradition. The well-known comic playwright Gianmaria Cecchi, for instance, writes in his prologue to La Romanesca (1574): "The Farsa is a new third species between tragedy and comedy. It enjoys the liberties of both, and shuns their limitations; for it receives into its ample boundaries great lords and princes, which comedy does not, and, like a hospital or inn, welcomes the vilest and most plebeian of the people, to whom Dame Tragedy has never stooped. It is not restricted to certain motives; for it accepts all subjects--grave and gay, profane and sacred, urbane and crude, sad and pleasant. It does not care for time or place. The scene may be laid in a church, or a public square, or where you will; and if one day is not long enough, two or three may be employed. What, indeed, does it matter to the Farsa? In a word, this modern mistress of the stage is the most amusing, most convenient, the sweetest, prettiest country lass that can be found upon our earth." Quoted by Barrett H. Clark, European Theories of the Drama (New York, 1945), p. 66, note 2.

[12] In lyrical poetry we had already an example in Spenser's Shepheardes Kalender (1579).

dition. He turned it into a deft flattery of his royal arbiter, just as Poliziano in his Stanze per la Giostra del magnifico Giuliano de Piero de'Medici[13] had previously turned his mythological apparatus into an exaltation of Julian of Medici.

From Poliziano through Tasso to Guarini, moreover, the mythological world of the cinquecentisti had been "une réalité présente et contemporaine, sur le même plan que les protagonistes humains. . . . ni d'allégories ni de symboles, mais de personnages vivants. . . ."[14] Even the dryads and satyrs roaming the forests and Diana watching over her nymphs and Cupid shooting his arrows at shepherds and shepherdesses display an intense terrestial life and are not merely sculptural and decorative.

Lyly's mythological characters are also on the level of human beings. They are polished and refined men and women of the court. Cynthia, the goddess of the moon, becomes the revered queen, though somewhat remote in her chastity. Her favorite courtier, Endymion, is no longer the

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[13]The Stanze were composed in 1475-76 in honor of a joust on January 28, 1475, in which Julian de'Medici had been victorious. It tells the story of how the proud and hard-hearted Julian who is merely interested in the pleasures of hunting, encounters the divine Simonetta and is won by her beauty. A few years before, Poliziano's mythological drama, Orfeo, had been presented at Mantua on the occasion of a festival in honor of the duke of Milan.

[14]Mia I. Gerhardt, La Pastorale: Essai d'Analyse Littéraires (Assen, 1950), p. 78.

youth of classical legend, but has become purely and simply a courtier. Like their Italian counterparts, they are animated by an intense, terrestial life.

Lyly's method of application of mythology was new in England. To the best of our knowledge, only very few plays before Lyly had introduced mythological elements at all. Jupiter occurs in John Heywood's The Play of the Wether (1533). A few years later, about 1537, "Mulciber, whom the poets doth call the god of fire, Smith unto Jupiter," is introduced in Thersites. In Cambyses, written between 1560 and 1569, Venus bids Cupid to shoot the king with the gold-headed arrow. In Gismond of Salerne by Robert Wilmot and others, acted in 1567-68, Cupid delivers two soliloquies.[15] Obviously none of these plays could have served Lyly as a model for his application of mythology.

3

Lyly employs the device of a dumb-show only once, in his Endimion (II, 3). He uses it for supplementing the al-

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[15]The play was revised and published in 1591-92 as Tancred and Gismund.--It is of interest to note that Cupid's soliloquies were borrowed with some modifications from the Cupid prologue of Dolce's Didone. Cf. John W. Cunliffe, "Gismond of Salerne," PMLA, XXI (1906), pp. 435-461. It might be mentioned here that Douglas Bush, in Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry (Minneapolis, 1932), p. 79, comments on a dramatic festival presented at Dublin in 1528 in which "the taylors acted the part of Adam and Eve; the shoe-makers represented the story of Crispin and Crispinianus; the vinters acted Bacchus and his story, the Carpenters that of Joseph and Mary; Vulcan and what is related to him, was acted by the Smiths, and the comedy of Ceres, the godiess of corn, by the bakers."

legory. It represents Endimion's dream[16] and forms the complement of the court history Lyly is allegorically relating.

This method of handling the dumb-show, that is, of complementing rather than foreshadowing the meaning of the play, reminds us, for instance, clearly of the intermedi of Giovambatista Cini, written for the Cofanaria of Francesco d'Ambra, about which we are told that they are all

> tratti dalla novella di Psiche e d'Amore, descritta molto piacevolmente da Apuleio nel suo Asin d'oro, e s'è andato pigliando le parti che son parse più principali accomodandole con quella maggior destrezza che s'è saputo alla commedia con intenzione di far parere che quel, che operavano gli Dii nella favola degl' Intermedii, operassino, quasi costretti da superior potenza gli huomini ancora nella commedia.[17]

The only case in which a somewhat similar type of dumb-show had been used in England before Lyly was George Gascoigne's Jocasta (1566), in which the dumb-show works

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[16] Endimion narrates his dream in V, i, 81-138.

[17] Francesco d'Ambra, La Cofanaria (Florence, 1593), p. 5. La Cofanaria was composed between 1550 and 1555, but did not appear on stage with the intermezzi till December 25, 1565, when it was presented on the occasion of the wedding of Francesco de' Medici. Cf. Ireneo Sanesi, La commedia (Milano, 1954), I, 342. --In the Italian drama the provision of sumptuous intermezzi was generally considered an intrinsic part of the dramatist's duty, although the "Greek" Trissino condemned them in tragedies as distractions. At first they were merely elaborate spectacular shows, but later on they usually contained symbolic or allegoric references to the action proper, to the theme of the play.

frequently more by analogy than symbol. But then, Jocasta is nothing but an English version of Dolce's Giocasta.[18]

The other English plays which include dumb-shows are Gorboduc and Misfortunes of Arthur. In these the dumb-show is used rather to foreshadow "the spiritual meaning of what was coming next"[19] than to complement the meaning of the play. The plots are not derived from Italian sources.

4

The use of the dumb-show is closely connected with ballet and singing. There are no fewer than 32 songs in Lyly's eight plays.[20] In Campaspe (V, 1) there is dancing

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[18]There is, of course, the possibility that Gismond of Salerne, acted in 1567-68, employed a similar type of dumb-show. The action of the preserved dumb-shows of the revised edition, Tancred and Gismunda, is however identical with the play proper. As the dumb-shows presented with the original Gismond of Salerne are not included in the Gismond-Mss., we will most likely never be able to find out with certainty.

[19]Gorboduc, ed. L. Toumin Smith (Heilbronn, 1883), p. xiii.--The dumb-show in its specific usage in tragedy was first employed in Gorboduc. Although Sackville and Norton do not follow the methods generally employed by the Italians and Lyly, they, nevertheless, are most probably indebted to the Italians for the general suggestion of it. Joseph Quincy Adams in Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), p. 503, note 1, writes: "Though the play was ultimately modeled on Seneca, the authors drew much of their inspiration from contemporary Italian tragedy . . . blank verse, now first used in the English drama, they took over from the Italians; and the dumb-shows they derived from the Italian intermedii."

[20]Only twenty-one are handed down through Blount's edition. The remaining eleven are indicated in the quartos. Their actual words are omitted with the exception of two in The Woman in the Moone. See Bond II, 264-265.--There has

and tumbling by Perim and Milo, the sons of a citizen of Athens, and Loves Metamorphoses (I, 2) has a dance by the nymphs. In Gallathea (II, 3) and in Endimion (IV, 3) there are ballets of Fairies. The first is completely unconnected with the plot, whereas the second is loosely tied up with it. All these elements can be found in the Italian popular drama and particularly in the commedia dell'arte, which so frequently mixed the comic and the pastoral. The Maid's Metamorphoses displays especially clearly the same method of mixing the comic and the pastoral. Three fairies force Joculo to dance with them, just as the commedia dell'arte clowns are forced into dancing with nymphs and satyrs in Scala's pastoral scenarios.[21]

Here might be added another technical device of Lyly's: the introduction of dreams on which the characters speculate. He employs it three times: in Sapho (IV, 3),

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been some doubt thrown on the authorship of these songs. Cf. M. H. Dodds, "Songs in Lyly's Plays," TLS, June 29, 1941, p. 311.

[21] Flaminio Scala's Il Teatro delle favole rappresentative (1611) contains fifty scenarios. It is the most important published group of scenarios from the repertory of the Gelosi. It serves as important evidence as to what the company played in France and probably also in England. Drusiano Martinelli, who appeared with his traveling company in England in 1577-78, had played with the Gelosi before coming to England. At the time Drusiano was with the Gelosi Flaminio Scala had already been directing the Gelosi. It is therefore safe to assume that Drusiano and his troupe was familiar with at least some of the scenarios written by Scala for the Gelosi and that some of them were performed by Drusiano in England.

Endimion (III, 3 & V, 1) and in Mother Bombie (III, 4). Lyly may have derived this device directly from Plautus, who had used it to foreshadow the action in Mercator and Rudens.[22] But most likely, as in many other instances, the Italians served again as mediators. As examples we might mention Ruffo's speculations in La Calandria (III, 20) and Iuc' Antonio's in La Strega (II, 2). Dreams were also very freely used in the commedia dell'arte.[23]

5

Lyly was virtually the first to employ dramatic disguise in English drama. In Gallathea Phillida and Gallathea appear disguised as boys, Cupid appears as a nymph, and Neptune (in II, 2) is announced as a shepherd.[24] In The Woman in the Moone Stesias dresses in his wife's apparel to inflict chastisement on the amorous shepherds Melos, Learchus and Iphicles. In Mother Bombie Accius and Silena are disguised as Candius and Livia, and vice versa.

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[22]Thus the dream of Demipho in Mercator, 225 ff., describes how he left a she-goat in the charge of an ape, and how a kid led the goat away and then ridiculed him. This, of course, is an allegory of the plot of the play in which Demipho and his son, Charinus, are rivals for the favors of Pasicompsa. The kid is Charinus who wins the girl in the end.

[23]K. M. Lea, Italian Popular Comedy (Oxford, 1934), I, 198.

[24]Scene is not extant in the present version of the play.

The disguise motive was very common in Italian novelle and drama. Particularly the number of girls who appear in Italian plays disguised as boys, the type of disguise used by Lyly in Gallathea, is simply legion.[25] It is important to note that this device of the disguised heroine was unknown in classic drama and could thus not have been inherited from it. It was first transferred from the novel to the stage by Italian dramatists.[26]

In England disguise as a dramatic device had been known before Lyly. There are brief impersonations in Tom Tyler and His Wife (c. 1550)[27] and in the Italianate Promos and Cassandra (1578),[28] and the vices of the moralities

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[25] Among others, Dolci's Ragazzo (1541); Aretino's Talanta (1542); Piccolomini's Alessandro (1551); Calmo's Travaglia (1556); Parabosco's Fantesca (before 1557); Piccolomini's Ortensio (1560); Secco's Interesse (1581); Grazzini's Parentadi (1582) and Cecchi's Pellegrine (1567) and Rivali (before 1587). This type of dramatic disguise also occurs in Guarini's influential pastoral tragicomedy Pastor Fido.

[26] There is, of course, a possibility that Lyly's disguise may have been suggested by Ovid's Metamorphoses, Book IX, in which Iphis is presented to her father as a boy. Her father promises his supposed son in marriage to Ianthe. Iphis actually falls in love with Ianthe. Her and her mother's prayers are answered by Isis, who transforms Iphis into a boy.

[27] Tom Tayler disguises himself in his friend's (Tom Tyler's) coat and beats his friend's wife without the latter discovering Tayler's identity.

[28] Whetstone presents Cassandra "apparelled like a page." She appears, however, only in a monologue scene.

sometimes masquerade as virtues.[29] But obviously Lyly's disguisings are nothing like these.

To sum up: Lyly's plays are, on the whole, in spirit, method and dramatic technique unlike those of his English predecessors, but very similar to those of the tragicomic-pastoral tradition in Italy. The theory of an entirely independent English development appears therefore to be untenable. On the contrary, it may be assumed with some safety that the technique of Lyly's court drama is more or less the direct outgrowth and continuation of the Italian tradition. The subsequent chapters will further substantiate Lyly's indebtedness to Italian literary traditions and conventions.

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[29] In Skelton's Magnificence the hero, for instance, mistakes Fancy for Largess, Crafty Conveyance for Sure Surveyance, Courtly Abusion for Lusty Pleasure, Folly for Conceit, and Cloaked Collusion for Sober Sadness. In Lyndsay's Satire of the Three Estates, Flattery, Falsehood, and Deceit change their names into Devotion, Sapience, and Discretion and don the costumes of friars that symbolize appropriately devotion, wisdom, and discretion. Cf. Victor Oscar Freeburg, Disguise Plots in Elizabethan Drama (New York, 1915), p. 19.

CHAPTER IV

LYLY'S USE AND MODIFICATION OF STOCK-CHARACTERS

I

The early Elizabethan comic writers consciously depended on stock-characters. Richard Edwardes, in his prologue to Damon and Pithias (1571), for instance, advances the opinion that

> In comedies the greatest skill is this: rightly to touch
> All things to the quick, and eke to frame each person so
> That by his common talk you may his nature rightly know.
> A roister ought not preach--that were too strange to hear,-
> But, as from virtue he doth swerve, so ought his words appear.
> The old man is sober; the young man rash; the lover triumphing in joys;
> The matron grave; the harlot wild, and full of wanton toys.[1]

Even serious attempts at individualization by some Elizabethan comic playwrights cannot conceal this conventional nature of Elizabethan dramatic characterization.

Stage types continued throughout Elizabeth's reign to be a point of departure for the practical dramatist, who recognized very well the value of having ready-made types that had been successfully tried before on the stage

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[1] Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas, ed. by Joseph Quincy Adams (New York, 1924), p. 572.

by professional comedians. Despite excellent individualization, Lyly's Sir Topas, Jonson's Bobadil and Shakespeare's Falstaff, for instance, clearly belong to the same type. They merely represent the miles gloriosus, the traditional braggart soldier, at one, two or three removes respectively. Many other types that take a place regularly among the dramatis personae, not only of comedies but of tragedies, tragi-comedies and pastorals, could be added.

Counterparts to many of the comic types of Elizabethan drama can already be found in Plautus and Terence. The Latin playwrights display, indeed, a number of well-defined stock-types with "numerous variations within each type," thus showing "a wide range of human virtue and frailty."[2]

Some of the Elizabethan stock types may well have been derived directly from the Latin dramatists, but doubtless most of them found their way to the English stage through the medium of intervening Italian drama. The noticeable Italianate quality in most types suggests intermediary Italian models.

II

Emphasis on didacticism and decorum encouraged and supported the cinquecentisti in their conventionalized,

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[2]George E. Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy (Princeton, 1952), p. 236.

type characterization. Dramatists and critics alike were in complete agreement that comedy, for instance, was--just as Cicero had defined it--an imitation of life, a mirror of manners, and that, in accordance with Horace, its aim should be: "to delight and to instruct." It was the consensus of opinion that "Vere commedie sono quelle che piacevole e argute dilettano: e gravi e severe giovano sommamente."[3] Stage types ensured both the pleasure and the moral value of comedy. The portrayal of "persone scioche, maledicche e innamorate"[4] not only could arouse laughter and thus render pleasure to the audience, but, at the same time, could guarantee the moral function of comedy by ridiculing the extremes of behavior. By presenting a mirror of everyday life, the character showed the audience what to follow and what to avoid, and by observing decorum, i.e., the Horatian precept of self-consistency,[5] the dramatists

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[3]Girolamo Razzi in his Prologue to La Balia (Firenze, 1560).

[4]Le Commedie di N. Machiavelli (Torino, 1932, ed. by Dom. Guerri, Prologue to Clizia.

[5]The following passage from Horace's Art of Poetry exerted a considerable influence upon conventionalized characterization in Renaissance drama: "Either stick to tradition or see that your inventions be consistent. If when writing a play you introduce yet again the 'far-famed Achilles,' make him impatient, hot-tempered, ruthless, fierce; he must disown all laws: they were not made for him; his appeal will be to the sword. In like manner let Medea be high-hearted and unconquerable, Ino tearful, Ixion a traitor, Io a wanderer, Orestes forlorn. If you bring on to the stage a subject unattempted yet, and are bold enough to create a fresh character, let him remain to the end such

would leave no doubt whatever in the spectator's mind as to their aims and intentions.

Throughout the Renaissance many Italian dramatists considered Terence and Plautus absolute masters of comedy. In the prologue to La Cassaria Ariosto tells us that "la più parte ... solo stima quel che gli antigui han detto perfetto."[6] According to Bentivoglio, the Latin playwrights displayed such ingenuity in their studies, attained such a high degree of perfection that

> ... noi moderni
> Non sappiam dir nè far perfettamente
> Alcuna cosa, se dietro ai famosi
> Vestigi lor non ci sforziam di gire.[7]

In view of this attitude, this great admiration for the classics on the part of Italian writers, it is not surprising to find a marked Latin influence in the Italian drama, not only in structure and plots, but also in characterization. The principal characters of Latin comedy such as the adulescens, senex, servus, etc., continue their frequent appearance on the Renaissance stage. Lorenzino de' Medici, in the prologue to his Aridosia (comp. 1536), tells his audience, for instance, not to be indignant if they see

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as he was when he first appeared--consistent throughout." Allan H. Gilbert, Literary Criticism: Plato to Dryden (New York, 1940), pp. 131-32.

[6] In Ludovico Ariosto: Le Commedie (Bologna, 1940), edited by Michele Catalano, I, 7.

[7] Ercole Bentivoglio, Prologue to I Fantasmi (Venezia, 1545).

again young lovers, old misers, intriguing servants and similar matter; no comic playwright can do without them:

> Però non abbiate a sdegno se, altre volte avendo visto venir in scena un giovan innamorato, un vecchio avaro, un servo che inganni el padrone e simil cose (delle quali non può uscir chi vuol far commedie), di nuovo gli vedrete.[8]

III

The imitation of the Latins, however, is not as slavish as might appear from these statements. "La imitazione non è cosi servile come si vuol far credere da molti, e spesso non ve n'ha di nessunissima guisa," Arturo Graf writes in his studies on the Italian drama.[9]

Despite the profound admiration for their illustrious classic predecessors and the insistence of their petty-minded contemporary critics on observing Aristotelian rules to the letter, Italian dramatists introduced into their plays many modifications and innovations which they considered necessary in the light of the new social environment. While on the one hand, they continue to extol the merits of the ancients, on the other hand, they soon display a strong determination to be original, even at the risk of being censured:

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[8]Commedie Giocose del '500, edited by Anton Giulio Bragaglia, I, 190, in Classici dell'Umorismo (Colombo editore), vol. XXIII (1946).

[9]Arturo Graf, Studi drammatici (Rome, 1878), p. 84. See also G. A. Galzigna, Fino a che punto i commediografi del Rinascimento abbiano imitato Plauto e Terenzio (Capodistria, 1899-1900), pp. 39-40.

> A' dotti abbiam a dir, che e' non aspettino
> Una commedia grave, e copiosissima
> Di sentenze, com' una di Terenzio
> O d'altro antico; ma tal qual producono
> I tempi nostri, che non sendo simili
> A quelli antichi, non è anche un miracolo
> Se non son simil gli uomini, e le favole
> Da lor composte: e'n questo caso facciano
> Come le pecchie; tutto il buono piglino,
> (Se però ve ne fia) e il resto lascino
> Agli altri, che son più, cui basta ridere.[10]

A new social environment clearly demands a new procedure. When in one of Grazzini's plays Prologo advocates the observance of "precetti antichi, come ne insegna Aristotile e Orazio," Argomento simply replies:

> ... Aristotile e Orazio viddero i tempi loro, ma i nostri sono d'un' altra maniera: abbiamo altri costumi, altra religione e altro modo di vivere e però bisogna fare le commedie in altro modo: in Firenze non si vive come si viveva già in Atene in Roma....[11]

Not content with a close imitation and reproduction of Latin matter, the Italian dramatists--supported by the generous patronage of the Italian nobility, who allowed free thoughts and aspirations in dramatic matter--soon passed on to greater independence and a larger admixture of Italian material.

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[10]Prologue to Francesco D'Ambra's I Bernardi, in Il Teatro Classico del Secolo XVI, Volume Unico (Milano, Trieste, 1858), N. 7, p. 41. D'Ambra (1499-1558) was a member of the Florentine Academy. His three comedies--Il Furto, I Bernardi and La Cofanaria--were printed after his death, between 1560 and 1563.

[11]Prologue to La Strega by Anton Francesco Grazzini, in Commedie Giocose del '500, IV, 229.

Most *cinquecentisti* used such personages as the *leno perjurus*, *amator fervidus*, *servolus callidus*, *amica illudens*, *sodalis opitulata*, *miles praeliator*, *parasitus edax*, *parentes tenaces*, *meretrices procaces*,[12] etc., merely as a point of departure for their faithful portrayal of actual sixteenth-century characters. As they proceeded with greater and greater freedom and originality, they soon even introduced new characters. Alongside the old fixed types, we find now representatives of the new social order. The *commedia erudita* displays such types as *il frate*, *la monaca*, *la pinzochera*, *il pedante*, *lo scholaro d'università*, *il negromante*, *la strega*, *la balia* and *la fanciulla libera*. Many of them are portrayed from direct observation; others are derived from the *novelle*. Most of them are eventually bequeathed to the *commedia dell'arte*.

Many of these characters left their imprint on the European Renaissance drama. Cinquecento Italy was regarded as a classic age throughout Renaissance Europe, and any subsequent recreating of classics was bound to include or reflect *cinquecento* modifications or innovations.

IV

Lyly's characterizations follow the principles of *ethos* and *decorum* in their simplicity and self-consistency.

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[12] Anton Giulio Bragaglia, *Commedie Giocose del '500*, "Introduction," p. 8.

He might have learned these principles from the precepts and practice of the ancients, from the cinquecentisti, or from both. His methods of characterization, in any case, parallel those of the Italians.

A character of Lyly's exhibits just those traits which will fit him for his role. Lyly was not striving for such complexity of character as one finds in Shakespeare's persons. His characters never change. Alexander displays a gallant, majestic attitude towards women throughout Campaspe, from the moment he generously forgives Timoclea until the end when he cedes Campaspe to his rival Appelles and sets out to conquer the world. To further change and complicate Alexander's character would have meant the violation of the law of self-consistency which was closely observed by the cinquecentisti.

The same self-consistency is displayed by other characters. Sapho, the virtuous Queen of Syracuse, having been struck by Cupid's arrows, is incapable of transcending her impotent lamentations and complaints until Venus, motivated by jealousy, effects a solution. Phao is eternally undecided, immobilized by the great respect for his mistress. Not even the encouraging advice by Sybilla can overcome his inertia. Endimion does nothing but sigh, and chaste, cold and remote Cinthia in her indifference consents to kiss him only at the dictates of the oracle. She will not reciprocate his love, although she condescends to

accept his homage: "Endimion, this honorable respect of thine, shalbe christned loue in thee, & my reward for it fauor."[13] Midas allows misfortune upon misfortune to pile up on his imbecile head without doing anything but taking notice of his mishaps and silently enduring them. Neptune in Gallathea is continually incensed just as are the waves which he symbolizes. In Sapho and Phao Vulcan is the kind-natured husband, forever desperately trying to satisfy the caprices of his flighty spouse, Venus, the lascivious Goddess, forever tormented by voluptuous desires, and so on.

These few examples suffice to show that complexity and development of character in the modern sense is not found in Lyly's protagonists. A few words were enough to portray the one or two dominant traits for which these historical and mythological figures were known. They had been handed down to the Renaissance writers as stereotypes with definite attitudes, actions and qualities assigned to them.

V

Many of Lyly's "occupational-realistic"[14] personnages are to a large extent modelled on Latin or Italian

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[13] V, iii, 179-80 in Bond, III, 76.

[14] In the Renaissance theory of characterization we find a varied number of categories of characters. Erasmus, Melanchthon and Minturno offered as many as a dozen or more. Characters are classified by nationality, sex, fortune, age, rank, etc.

For our purposes, however, Lyly's characters are best arranged into two major groups, basically following a

stock-types. To be sure, Memphio in Mother Bombie is little more than the avaricious old man of the Latin drama, Candius of the same play the typical young man in love, Lais in Campaspe the courtezan, Sir Tophas[15] in Endimion the miles gloriosus. They are perhaps all directly derived from Plautus and Terence. But it is much more conceivable that they came to the English stage through the intervening medium of Italian drama.

Lyly's precocious, mischievous, swaggering pages[16] have much in common with the Italian paggio (page) and ragazzo (boy).[17] The pedant Panlion in Sapho and Phao,

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suggestion for classification advanced by the Italian playwright and critic Giovan Giorgio Trissino in his Poetica (1563). Trissino had divided characters into two classes, the general and the particular. The generalized characters are philosophical and invite to virtue and deter from vice. The particularized characters are rhetorical and are in agreement with nature. They are portrayed according to age, fortune, disposition, education, etc. Cf. Giovanni Giorgio Trissino, La Poetica (Venice, 1529-63), II, 33 ff.

To the first category we would assign Lyly's historio-mythological-allegorical personages, such as Alexander, Sapho, Phao, Endimion, Cinthia, etc., to the second, the occupational-realistic characters, such as servants, pages, maids-of-honor, alchemists, astrologers, etc. On Renaissance theory of characterization in general, see Marvin T. Herrick, Comic Theory in the Sixteenth Century (Urbana, 1950), pp. 130-75.

[15]L. L. Schücking, pp. 101-03; Violet M. Jeffery, John Lyly and the Italian Renaissance, pp. 98-102.

[16]The Page to Alexander (Campaspe); Criticus, Molus (Sapho and Phao); Dares, Samias, Epiton (Endimion); Licio, Petulus, Minutius (Midas).

[17]On the Italian paggio or ragazzo, see A. Salza, Delle commedie di Lodovico Dolce (Melfi, 1899), p. 56 ff.

though not as well developed as his colleagues of the Italian drama, may yet have been suggested by his many Italian counterparts. The obnoxious old nurse Vicinia in Mother Bombie is the Italian balia and the Sergeant of the same play is most likely a direct descendant of the Italian sbirro.[18] Ariosto's negromante and his many colleagues in drama and novella definitely are the model for Lyly's Alchemist in Gallathea.[19] The soothsayers Sybilla in Sapho and Phao and Mother Bombie in the play to which she gives her name, and the witch Dipsas in Endimion are the Italian fattucchiera or strega or maga, modified by theories and ideas of the trattatisti. As we shall see in the chapter on "Women, Beauty and Love," Lyly's plays are primarily expositions of his Neo-Platonic-Petrarchistic love-theories, and even his "occupational-realistic" characters were frequently employed and modified to fit into his scheme.

To this group we might add Lyly's nymphs,[20] largely inspired by their Italian counterparts, but also employed and modified for the purpose of expounding Neo-Platonic-Petrarchistic love-theories.

An excellent illustration of how a type was modified and adapted to the exposition of theories and ideas of the

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[18] L. L. Schücking, p. 99.

[19] Ibid., p. 88; see also V. M. Jeffery, John Lyly and the Italian Renaissance, p. 97.

[20] Telusa, Eurota, Ramia, Larissa (Gallathea) and Nisa, Celia, Niobe, Tirtena (Love's Metamorphosis).

trattatisti is furnished in the character of the witch. However, before we discuss this stock-type in Lyly, first a few words on magic and witchcraft in general and then a few remarks on the stock-type of magician and witch in Italian literature are necessary.

VI

Occult sciences were, of course, not unknown in Roman times. There were numerous "Locustas" who were always willing to make some extra money by telling fortunes, but much of magic art was still a recognized part of the Roman religion in the hands of priests. It is therefore not surprising that despite the great amount of superstition in ancient Rome, we have only a small element of magic in its comedy. Any attempt by a comic playwright to deal with matters of religion was bound to meet with great difficulties. Therefore, except for the ominous dreams, the haunted house in the Mostellaria, Gripus' suggestion that Palaestra might be able to divine the contents of the cistella by the help of supernatural powers,[21] and, except for an occasional reference to a woman as venefica, magic arts are not represented in Roman comedy.

The range of magic and demonology increased in the Middle Ages, after having been strengthened and reinforced by deities and rituals of pagan Europe, by the very ma-

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[21] Rudens, IV, iv, 95-96.

terial which the Christian Church had hoped to discredit. It received a further impulse in the late fifteenth century by the bull of Innocent VIII (1484) and the operations of Sprenger and Krämer. Occult sciences flourished. Witches and magicians abounded in real life and soon also in literature. But not all men of letters who introduced magic into their works approved of it. Among others, Petrarch and Boccaccio, then Piccolomini and Politian and somewhat later, the dramatists almost as a body, opposed the current ideas on magic and used necromancers and witches primarily as comic relief in their literature. The best-known example is Ariosto's Negromante.

In the pastoral tradition with its Arcadian atmosphere the necromancer frequently becomes the Deus ex machina, shaping, rearranging and unravelling the threads of the complicated plots. The magic element becomes more and more important. There is a rapid and constant growth, from Giraldi's Egle (1545)--in which the satyr, the "uom selvaggio" of the eclogues, becomes a kind and honest "mago" who makes lovers fall asleep in order to hear their secrets--to Matteaccio's Fillidoro (1613) and Girolamo Vida's Filliria (1621) in which we find an overpowering, staggering succession of incantations and transformations.

Side by side with the type of the mago, negromante or stregone who abounded in the novelle[22] and in comedy,

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[22]There are, for instance, true negromanti in Boccaccio, Decamerone VIII, 7, 9; Giovanni Sabadino degli

we find also the Italian strega, the offspring of the Horatian Canidia or Ovidian Dipsas.[23] Like the classical enchantress or conjuress, she was credited with the power of exciting love and hatred between man and woman. She was different from the Northern counterpart with her hysterical dreams and marvelous journeys through the air. "The business of the 'strega,'" says Burckhardt, "was to provide for other people's pleasures," and

> By far the most important field of the activity of the "strega" lay . . . in love-affairs, and included the stirring up of love and hatred, the producing of abortion, the pretended murder of the unfaithful man or woman by magical arts, and even the manufacture of poisons.[24]

She is skilled in herbs and she is credited with the most amazing powers, such as to turn

> ... li correnti fiumi facendoli tornare nelle lor fonti ... facendo ancora muovere le stanti selve e tremare gli eccelsi monti e ne corpi morti tornare dalle paludi stigie le loro ombre, e vivi uscire de sepolcri; e tal volta tirarti, o luna alla tua rotondità ... facendo ancora tal volta la chiara faccia del sole impallidire.[25]

Arienti, Le Porrettane (Bologna, 1483) XXV; Lasca, Cene, I, 5; II, 4; III, 10; Bandello, I, 20, 29, 36; Straparola, Piacevoli Notti, IX, L. For a list of necromancers in comedy, see G. A. Galzigna, Fino a che punto i commediografi ...., part II, pp. 14-17.

[23]Horace, Satires, I.viii, and Epodes, V and XVII. Ovid, Amores, I.viii.

[24]Jacob Burckhardt, The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy, ed. Modern Library, p. 399.

[25]G. Boccaccio, Filocolo, Book IV, ed. Moutier (Florence, 1829), p. 54.

The best example of a strega in comedy is furnished by Lasca (Anton Francesco Grazzini) in his La Strega. Monna Sabattina is a "gran donna nello stregare e nelle malie." There was never "negli incantesimi maggiore donna da Circe in qua."[26] The type was also taken over by the commedia dell'arte. A late example is the malicious enchantress of a scenario of the Corsini manuscript, entitled La Maga, who is depicted as having power of turning love into hate and hate into love. She enchants a fountain, giving it "virtù di cambiare l'amor in odio, et l'odio in amore."[27]

The novelle and the drama are not the only genres in which the element of magic plays an important role. The question "se si può per magica piegar l'animo ad amare" is frequently discussed by the trattatisti who, as will be seen in the next chapter, exerted a decisive influence on Lyly's concept of love. A condemnation of magic, love-philtres, sleeping draughts, etc., was an essential part of the love-discussion in the trattati d'amore. In Castiglione's Cortigiano, Bernardo strongly opposes those who in love "practise enchauntmentes, sorceries, and otherwhile plaine force, sometime meanes to cast them in sleepe and suche

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[26] In Commedie Giocose del '500, IV, 236. La Strega, I, ii.

[27] Reproduced by K. M. Lea in Italian Popular Comedy (Oxford, 1934), II, 617.

like matters."[28] Equicola warns not to seek

> incantamenti; nè imagini, nè alla magica osservatione dei celesti influssi; nè segni con parole determinate, perciò che tutte son delusioni, tutte fraudi, tutte armi a creduli; tutte reti, dove si inviluppano li semplicetti....[29]

In the "Dialogue on the Remedies for Love" of his Dialoghi[30] Lodovico Domenichi tells us that magic will never heal a wound caused by love nor make a woman love against her will.

It will be seen that precisely the same attitude towards magic and witchcraft is displayed by Lyly in, for instance, his treatment of the witch Dipsas in Endimion.

VII

Lyly's witch-characters, Sybilla, Mother Bombie and Dipsas, are more or less descendants of the ancient enchantress of the Horatian or Ovidian type. But the direct source of suggestion is found in Italian literature. There are no prototypes in Latin comedy. Lyly's treatment of them comes clearly into line with the Italian tradition, for he imposes such limitations on witchcraft as the Italian trattatisti do.

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[28] The Book of The Courtier from the Italian of Count Baldassare Castiglione: Done into English by Sir Thomas Hoby, anno 1561. With an Introduction by Walter Raleigh. (London, 1900), p. 202.

[29] Libro della Natura d'Amore, Bk. V (Venice, 1525), f. 157.

[30] Lodovico Domenichi, Dialoghi (Venice, 1562), p. 113.

Mother Bombie is the least developed character of the three. She is of no interest for our purpose, because she is really unessential to the plot and the theme of the play. She merely tells some characters their fortune. As she occurs in Lyly's only realistic, that is, non-allegorical play, her short and insignificant role is not surprising. Lyly did not have to use her in the exposition of his theories and ideas.

It is different with Sybilla and Dipsas. Sybilla, "an aged Soothsayer," is really not a witch in the strict sense. She is noble-minded and kind-hearted, ready to advise Phao in his difficulties. By so doing, she also fulfills a very important function in the exposition of Lyly's system of love. With her practical worldly wisdom, she stands in strong contrast to Sapho's clear-sightedness and spiritual resistance. She warns Phao not to make "too much of fading bewty, which is fair in the cradle, & foul in the graue";[31] and advises him not to lose "the pleasaunt time of ... youth, then the which there is nothing swifter, nothing sweeter."[32] She expounds to him the typical ars amoris precepts of seduction:

> Loue, faire child, is to be gouerned by arte, as thy boat by an oare: for fancie, thogh it cometh by hazard, is ruled by wisdome. If my preceptes may perswade, . . . I woulde wish thee first to

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[31] Sapho and Phao, II, i, 88-89.

[32] Ibid., II, i, 99-100.

> be diligent: for womenne desire nothing more then to haue their seruants officious. Be alwaies in sight. . . . Flatter, I meane lie; little things catch light minds. . . . Imagine with thy selfe all are to bee won. . . . Chuse such words as may melt her minde . . . write and persist in writing . . . in attire braue, but not too curious; when she smileth, laugh outright; if rise, stande vp; if sit, lye downe. . . . Can you sing, shew your cunning; can you daunce, vse your legges; can you play vpo any instrument, practise your fingers. . . . Looke pale, and learne to be leane. . . . Vse no sorcerie to hasten thy successe: wit is a witch. . . . Be not coy, beare sooth, sweare, die to please thy Lady. . . . If thou haue a ryuall, be pacient; arte must winde him out, not malice . . . her change, and thy constancie. Whatever she weareth, sweare it becomes her. In thy loue be secrete....[33]

Despite the Ovidian tradition, one notes the somewhat "Italianate" tone of the passage in general, the reflection of the trattatisti. Note particularly the instruction not to use sorcery in love-affairs, an attitude which, as we have seen, was so prevalent in the trattati d'amore. She can even "manifest the causes," but she "cannot remoue the effectes."[34] Her "sound aduice may mitigate" Phao's miseries, but cannot remove them. She "may deferre, though not take away."[35]

The same attitude towards magic, only more clearly elaborated, is displayed in the treatment of Dipsas in Endimion. Dipsas has amazing powers. Just like, for in-

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[33] Ibid., II, iv, 55 ff.

[34] Sapho and Phao, II, i, 120-21.

[35] Ibid., II, iv, 35 and 49.

stance, Sannazaro's witch in Arcalia, she "can darken the Sunne by skil, and remooue the Moone out of her course."[36] She can furthermore "restore youth to the aged, and make hils without bottoms,"[37] just like her Italian counterparts. "There is nothing that I can not doe, . . . but . . . rule harts,"[38] she says, when she is asked by Tellus in the typical manner of the trattatisti whether it is "possible by hearbes, stones, spels, incantation, enchauntment, exorcismes, fire, mettals, plannets, or any practise, to plant affection where it is not, and to supplant it where it is."[39] She can "breede slacknes in loue, though never roote it out."[40]

Lyly is also in line with those Italian comic playwrights and trattatisti who opposed popular superstition and belief in magic arts when Dipsas' witchcraft is depicted as the most damnable of instruments for obtaining one's desires,[41] when her schemes are ruined and when, despite

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[36] I, iii, 20-21.

[37] I, iii, 21-22.

[38] I, iii, 24.

[39] I, iii, 14-17.

[40] I, iii, 32-34.

[41] In I, iv, 6-7, Floscula, for instance, tells Tellus: ". . . for there cannot bee a thing more monstrous then to force affection by sorcery." Cynthia refers to witchcraft as "that detested wickednes" or "most vnnatural practise" (V, iii, 21-22 and 63-64).

her magic powers, she comes to a sad end from which only Cynthia can save her.

CHAPTER V

WOMEN, BEAUTY AND LOVE.

I. The Tradition of the Trattati d'Amore

1

In Athens and Rome love was primarily conceived of as simple pleasure or intellectual friendship. Human beauty in general or feminine beauty in particular was one of the many forms with which the universe adorned itself. Woman was an instrument of pleasure and as such she was already the object of brilliant glorifications and vulgar vituperation.

With the coming of the Church Fathers, the eternal theme was modified by Christianity. Human beauty in general or feminine beauty in particular was looked upon as a diabolical temptation. Human love unless associated with conception was thought of as sinful or at least as a shameful weakness which one had to hide. Even with the benediction of God, it was not compatible with perfect virtue. Virginity was preferable to marriage. Annoyed by the Jovinianists, who denied the perpetual virginity of Mary and believed that, other things being equal, a virgin was no better in the eyes of God than a wife or a widow, these

Church Fathers produced veritable compendiums of feminine vices in order to prove their point. By dwelling on the faults and wickedness of women, they tried to popularize celibacy. Jerome's Against Jovinian is the best known example. Thus we find already two contradictory attitudes in the Fathers. On the one hand, woman is abused as the originator of carnal pleasure, whereas, on the other, she is exalted and deified as "The Virgin."

With the coming of chivalric customs the woman was glorified as the mother of soldiers, the stimulus to virtue and the bestower of grace, while, on the one hand, the misogynist literature continued to flourish and, on the other hand, goliardic songs of the clerici vagantes could be heard in the medieval cities.

A new direction was given by the founder of the dolce stil nuovo, Guido Guinicelli of Bologna. His views on the 'gentle heart' are propounded in his most beautiful and famous canzone, Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore. He and the other poets of the period, Cino da Pistoia and Guido Cavalcanti, Dante's intimate friend, approached love from the viewpoint of mysticism, allegory and metaphysical interpretation. The beloved tends to become a mere allegorical figure. The poets blended the memory of the woman who had incited passion in their souls with those high thoughts and exalted feelings which were then regarded as concomitant of true love, till the woman disappeared in a

cloud of adoration and a maze of philosophical, metaphysical conceptions.

The greatest exaltation and sublimation of the woman occurred in Italy when Dante carried Guinicelli's concept of the cor gentil to the point of transforming Beatrice into a religious symbol. But this pure Dantesque transcendence was weakened again in Petrarca in whom the physical element was re-asserted. His Laura is no longer a mystical, allegorical figure, but a real woman. The love Petrarca bears to Laura is not of the exalted quality of Guinicelli's, or of the beatific temper of Dante's. Although a certain idealization is apparent, it is an earthly human love which is subject to the vicissitudes of human passion.

In Boccaccio the attitude towards woman reverts to a more classical concept. Woman becomes again primarily an instrument of pleasure. She is the expression of the wily and sensual femininity.

With the beginning of humanism, woman is fast becoming an equal, a sweet companion of man, suffused with bashfulness, but yet vibrant with desire just like Botticelli's Venus. Her degradation from her high position, occasioned by a hostile medieval attitude toward women revived by the classical view of sex, was only temporary.

With the foundation of the Florentine Academy and the study of love as a cosmological force, the way for the redemption of woman was prepared. By the time Cardinal

Bembo writes his Asolani, woman is well on the way to becoming the most "potent of all factors in spiritual exaltation." Man rises to God through the contemplation of the beautiful, and woman is the nearest to divine beauty. Her beauty is "un' arra delle cose celesti, una immagine e un simulacro de' beni del paradiso,"[1] writes Agnolò Firenzuola, one of the important trattatista of the platonic-petrarchistic trend. Woman's significance is best summed up by the same author in his disquisitions Delle bellezze delle donne (1541):

> La bellezza e le donne belle ... meritano d'esser commendate e tenute carissime da ognuno; perciocchè la donna bella è il più bello obbietto che si rimiri, e la bellezza è il maggior dono che facesse Iddio all'umana creatura; conciossiaché per la di lei virtù noi ne indirizziamo l'animo alla contemplazione, e per la contemplazione al desiderio delle cose del cielo: ond' ella è per saggio e per arra stata mandata tra noi, ed è di tanta forza e di tanto valore, ch'ella è stata posta da' savi per la prima e piú eccellente cosa che sia tra i subbietti amabili, anzi l'hanno chiamata la sede stessa, il nido e l'albergo d'amore; d'amore dico, origine e fonte di tutti i comodi umani.[2]

In the first decade of the cinquecento various trends had merged into a new and artificial concept of love from which there appeared a type of metaphysical woman who existed merely in the world of arts. This sort of "falsified Beatrice" existed side by side with the cortigiana of the

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[1] A. Firenzuola, Opere (Milano, 1802), I, 31.

[2] A. Firenzuola, Prose scelte, annotated by S. Ferrari (Firenze, 1915), pp. 115-16.

humanistic tradition of free love. In the world of courtly art we encounter a peculiar double standard by which the madonna and the cortigiana can be extolled and loved by one and the same poet.

2

Petrarch's attitude had already opened the way for fusing the older Provençal tradition with certain neo-platonic concepts, such as the Ladder of Love, which allowed a view of love as at once of the flesh and the spirit. The Platonic element was then to produce the second great modification in the Italian love tradition.

The cult of Plato first spread from Florence. A Latin comment on the Symposium by Marsilio Ficino of the Accademia Platonica was the primary means of arousing general interest in Platonic love concepts.[3] It is the first complete and systematic treatise on love in modern times. Ficino accepts the doctrines of Plato in the main. But he develops his theme under Christian influence. The transcendentalism of Plato's Symposium and Phaedrus was not opposed to Christian concepts and made Christianization of the Platonic concept of love relatively easy.

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[3]Ficino's translation of Plato's complete works was published in Florence in 1483-84. The Latin comment on the Symposium appeared in 1496. The Italian translation of it by Ficino himself came out under the title: Marsilio Ficino Sopra lo Amore over' Convito di Platone (Florence, 1544).

Ficino's exposition of Plato's Symposium struck a religious note at the very outset. He wrote:

> The supreme Love of the Divine Providence, to recall us to the right way (of love) which we had lost, inspired of old in Greece a most chaste woman named Diotima, a priestess; who, finding the philosopher Socrates especially consecrated to love, revealed to him what this ardent desire was, and how we can fall thereby into the greatest evil, and how we can ascend thereby to the Supreme Good . . . . May the Holy Spirit of Divine Love, who inspired Diotima, illumine our minds, and inflame our wills, in such fashion that we may love Him in all His beautiful works, and then love His works in Him, and so come to rejoice infinitely in His infinite Beauty.[4]

To Ficino and the Neoplatonists love is a desire for beauty, and beauty in all its manifestations is a reflection or a ray of the Divine Bounty. It is "il raggio di Dio, infuso in que' quattro cerchi, che intorno a Dio si rivolgono."[5] This represents

> in questi quattro cerchi, tutte le spezie di tutte le cose: e noi chiamiamo quelle spezie, nella Mente Angelica, idee; nell' Anima, ragioni; nella Natura, semi; e nella Materia, forme. Per il che, in quattro cerchi, quattro splendori appariscono: lo splendore delle idee, nel primo; lo splendore delle ragioni, nel secondo; lo splendore de' semi, nel terzo; e lo splendor delle forme, nell' ultimo.[6]

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[4]Prefatory letters to Bernardo del Nero & Antonio Manetti: Marsilio Ficino sopra l'Amore avero Convito di Platone (Florence, 1544). Quoted by Edmund G. Gardner in his introduction to A Platonic Discourse upon Love by Pico della Mirandola (Boston, 1914), pp. xv-xvi.

[5]M. Ficino, Sopra lo Amore ovvero Convito di Platone, ed. by G. Rensi (Lanciano, Carabba, 1914), p. 30.

[6]Ibid., p. 30.

If love is the desire for beauty and if beauty is a reflection or "raggio di Dio," then it is obvious that what lovers seek and desire unknowingly is God:

> ... l'impeto dello Amatore non si spegne per aspetto o tatto di corpo alcuno: perché egli non desidera questo corpo o quello: ma desidera lo splendore della maestà superna, refulgente ne' corpi: e di questo si maraviglia. Per la qual cosa gli Amanti non sanno quello si desiderino, o cerchino: perché ei non conoscono Dio.... Ancora di qui sempre avviene che gli Amanti hanno timore e riverenza all'aspetto della persona amata.... Quel fulgore della divinità, che risplende nel corpo bello, costringe gli amanti a maravigliarsi, temere e venerare detta persona, come una statua di Dio. Per la ragione medesima l'Amatore sprezza per la persona amata ricchezze e onori.... Avviene eziandio spesse volte, che lo Amante desidera transferirsi nella persona amata: e meritamente. Perché in questo atto egli appetisce, e sforzasi di uomo farsi Dio.[7]

The Platonism of Ficino was soon further developed and popularized by other Platonic enthusiasts. From the standpoint of literature, two treatises--the Canzone d'Amore[8] by Girolamo Benivieni (1453-1542) and Pico della

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[7] Ibid., p. 34.

[8] Cf. Stanza II:

> Io dirò, com'Amor dal divin fonte
> Dell'Increato Ben quaggiú s'infonde:
> Quando in pria nato, e donde
> Muove il Ciel, l'alme informa e 'l Mondo regge.
> Come, poi ch'entro agli uman cor s'asconde,
> Con quali, e quanto al ferir destre e pronte
> Armi, a levar la fronte
> Da terra sforzi al Ciel l'umana gregge.
> Com'arda, infiammi, avvampi, e con qual legge
> Quest'al Ciel volge, e quello a terra or pieghi,
> Or ingra questi dua l'inclini e fermi....

(Dell'amore celeste e divino, by G. Benivieni with commentary by Count G. Pico Mirandolano [Lucca, 1731] , p.3.) A translation of the canzone can be found in A Platonick Dis-

Mirandola's commentary on it--are the most interesting production of the immediate followers. The Canzone is described by Benivieni himself as an attempt to summarize in a few verses what Ficino had discussed at length in his commentary on Plato's Symposium. Together with Pico's commentary it furnishes the best elucidation and illustration of the neo-platonic school. Pico furnishes us with the most comprehensive, ordered account of the Platonic concept of the ascent of the soul by various stages to a vision of Heavenly Beauty:

> From Material Beauty we ascend to the first Fountain by six Degrees: the Soul through the sight represents to her self the Beauty of some particular Person, inclines to it, is pleased with it, and while she rests here, is in the first, the most imperfect material degree. 2. She reforms by her imagination the Image she hath received, making it more perfect as more spiritual; and separating it from Matter, brings it a little nearer Ideal Beauty. 3. By the light of the agent Intellect abstracting this Form from all singularity, she considers the universal Nature of Corporeal Beauty by it self: this is the highest degree the Soul can reach whilest she goes no further than Sense. 4. Reflecting upon her own Operation, the knowledge of universal Beauty, and considering that every thing founded in Matter is particular, she concludes this universality proceeds not from the outward Object, but her Intrinseal Power: and reasons thus: If in the dimme Glasse of Material Phantasmes this Beauty is represented by vertue of my Light, it follows that, beholding it in the clear Mirrour of my substance devested of those Clouds, it will appear more perspicuous: thus turning into her self, she findes the Image of Ideal Beauty communicated to her by the Intellect, the Object of Celestiall

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course upon Love by Pico della Mirandola, edited by Edmund G. Gardner (Boston, 1914), pp. 51-59.

> Love. 5. She ascends from this Idea in her self, to the place where Celestial Venus is, in her proper form: Who in fullness of her Beauty not being comprehensible, by any particular Intellect, she, as much as in her lies, endeavours to be united to the first Minde, the chiefest of Creatures, and general Habitation of Ideal Beauty. Obtaining this, she terminates, and fixeth her journey; this is the sixth and last degree.[9]

Ficino's and Pico's relatively abstract neoplatonism is continued by Francesco Cattani da Diacceto (1466-1522)[10] and brought to a conclusion by Leone Ebreo[11] with an exaltation of love as a cosmic force, a cohesive universal force, quasi pantheistic. Without love there would be no existence in this world: "Non solamente mancarebbe la beatitudine se mancasse l'amore, ma né il mondo arebbe essere né cosa alcuna in lui si troverebbe." God produces, governs and unites the world with love.

> ... il mondo spirituale si unisce col mondo corporale mediante l'amore; né mai l'intelligenzie separate, o angeli divini, s'unirebbero con li corpi celesti né l'informerebbero né gli sarebbero anime donanti vita, se non l'amassero; né l'anime

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[9] A Platonick Discourse upon Love by Pico della Mirandola, pp. 73-74.

[10] In his short Panegirico all'amore, appended to I tre libri d'amore (Venice, 1561), p. 147, Diacceto considers beauty as "portinaria alla abitazione secretissima della divina bontà, quasi sia necessario a qualunque cerchi la divinità, prima incontrarsi nella bellezza."

[11] His real name was Leon Abravanel (Abarbanel). He was born in Lisbon between 1460-65 as the son of the famous Rabbinical scholar Isaac Abravanel (see T. F. Crane, Italian Social Customs, p. 120). He died sometime before 1535, the year in which his Dialoghi d'amore were published posthumously.

> intellettive s'uniriano con li corpi umani per farli razionali, se non ve le costringessi l'amore; né s'unirebbe quest'anima del mondo con questo globo de la generazione e corruzione, se non fusse l'amore. Ancora, gl'inferiori s'uniscono con li suoi superiori, il mondo corporale con il spirituale, e il corruttibile con l'eterno, e l'universo tutto col suo creatore mediante l'amore che gli ha e il suo desiderio che ha d'unirsi con lui e di beatificarsi ne la sua divinità.[12]

3

The theme of Platonic love continued to inspire Italian writers throughout the cinquecento. Lodovico Domenichi writes in his Dialogo d'amore: "Amore è desiderio di fruire e generare il bello nel bello e ciò confessa anchor Platone nel Convito."[13] Definitions of precisely the same nature are legion. Authors of treatises dealing with the essence, nature and effects of love all tread to a large extent in the footsteps of Plato or rather Ficino and Pico.

The general conclusion is that love is a ladder by which man reaches God. There are three types of love: "amor celeste o divino," "amor umano," and "amor bestiale o ferino."[14] The lowest rung of the ladder--amor ferino--is mere sensual love of physical beauty; the highest is the

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[12]Leone Ebreo, Dialoghi d'amore, ed. by S. Caramella (Bari, 1929), p. 165.

[13]Lodovico Domenichi, Dialoghi (Venice, 1562), 12 mo.

[14]Cf. Benedetto Varchi, Opere (Trieste, 1859), II, 499.

spiritual and divine love, and contemplation of God. Amor umano lies between the two extremes and combines the physical and spiritual.

Plato's distinction between visual, auditive and intellectual beauty is not forgotten in the cinquecento. Stefano Guazzo in his Civile Conversazione states that there are three types of beauty, those of the soul, the body and the voice. The first is conceived by the mind, the second by the eyes and the third by the ears.

> Amore è desiderio di bellezza e la bellezza è di tre sorti, cioè d'animo, di corpo, di voce. La prima si comprende con la mente, la seconda con gli occhi, la terza con le orecchie.[15]

Beauty is "grazia" which springs from harmony and perfect proportions. It can be found both in the body and the soul. True human love is the desire for the beauty of the soul as well as the beauty of the body.[16] It is through our senses that we perceive spiritual and physical beauty. The senses are the instruments of love. Yet only two of our five senses--hearing and seeing--participate actively in the recognition of true love: "di cinque sensi che abbiamo due solamente possono participare della cognizione della vera bellezza, quali sono l'udire, il vedere."[17]

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[15]Stefano Guazzo, Civile Conversazione (Venice, 1577), p. 274.

[16]Pietro Bembo's Gli Asolani, translated by Rudolf B. Gottfried (Bloomington, 1954), p. 157.

[17]"La Leonora, Ragionamento sopra la vera Bellezza di

Through hearing we establish contact with the soul. Through seeing we reach the body:

> . . . in order to reach that end and object of its longing, love spreads and beats its wings. And on its flight two senses guide it: hearing, which leads it to the mind's attractions, and sight, which turns it to the body's.[18]

Finally soul and body are enjoyed in thought, which was given to us as a third means of enjoyment. The trattatisti thus conclude that we are led to "virtuous love" by our eyes, ears and thoughts. Other pleasures, obtained by "taste and touch and smell are no more able to reveal the body's beauty than the mind's, for these three senses are limited to more material objects than the others are." They are, indeed, "harmful, dirty, and profane."[19] The ways in which Cupid may attain his ends through the two superior senses are multitudinous:

> Una paroletta, un sorriso, un muover d'occhi, con maravigliosa forza ci prendono gli animi; ... un portamento, un andare, un vedere sono l'esca di grandissimi e inestinguibili fuochi.[20]

The theory of the eyes and the ears as servants of love is also well presented in Castiglione's Cortegiano:

Messer Biuseppe Betussi," in Trattati d'Amore, ed. Zonta, p. 336. See also "Il Raverta," Ibid., p. 67.

[18]Bembo's Gli Asolani, p. 157.

[19]Ibid., p. 158.

[20]Nobile Socio, Le Miserie de li amanti (Venice, 1533), quoted by P. Lorenzetti, La bellezza e l'amore nei trattati del Cinquecento (Pisa, 1917), p. 59.

> Let him laye aside therefore the blinde judgmente of the sense, and injoye wyth his eyes the bryghtness, the comelyness, the lovynge sparkles, laughters, gestures and all the other pleasant fournitours of beawty: especially with hearinge the sweetnesse of her voice, the tuneablenesse of her woordes, the melodie of her singinge . . . and so shall he with most deintie foode feede the soule through the meanes of these two senses....21

> I may tell you, it is not a small token that a woman loveth, whan she giveth unto her lover her beawtye, which is so precious a matter: and by the wayes that be a passage to the soule (that is to say, the sight and the hearinge) sendeth the lookes of her eyes, the image of her countenance, and the voice of her woordes, that perce into the lovers hart, and give a witness of her love.22

The doctrine of the eyes and the heart, as old as Plato (Phaedrus, 251), is explained at length in the same book.[23]

4

Many of the cinquecento trattatisti--Bembo, Castiglione, Speroni, Betussi and Sansovino, just to mention a few--added, modified and combined the various Platonic elements with Petrarchism. Whereas Ficino, Pico and Leone Ebreo are primarily concerned with the elaboration of a philosophy, these writers are first artists, men of letters, and then thinkers. Abstract and esoteric Neo-Platonism is given a human and social application. The perfect courtier is endowed with a knowledge of Platonic

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[21] The Courtier, p. 353.

[22] Ibid., p. 354.

[23] Pp. 278-79.

theories. His life as a lover is basically guided by them. But these theories are no longer clouded with abstruse and difficult metaphysics. They are advanced in a lucid and intelligible language. Dialectic Platonism gives way to humanized Platonism.

It is to this group of writers that Lyly owes more for his love-apprehension than to either Ficino, Benivieni or Pico, although he may have derived his Platonic framework of love from the latter.

The Petrarchistic propensity of this group becomes particularly evident in the descriptions of feminine beauty. The most conspicuous portraits of the physical endowments of women can be found in Giangiorgio Trissino's I ritratti (1524), in the discourses Delle bellezze delle donne (1541) by Agnolo Firenzuola and in Federico Luigini's Il libro della bella donna (1554).

It is important to note, however, that these trattatisti do not overlook the significance of internal beauty. Luigini, for instance, places honor and chastity as gifts of the soul, far above physical beauty:

> Primieramente adunque le sarà in cura ed in protezione, vie piú che chosa del mondo, il suo onore e la sua castità, altissimo e singolarissimo pregio di ciascheduna donna, della quale qualunque per mala sua sorte priva resta, né donna è piú, né viva....[24]

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[24] Trattati del Cinquecento sulla Donna, ed. by Giuseppe Zonta (Bari, 1913), p. 283.

In contrast to Ficinian Platonism which considered love primarily from the point of view of sublimation, the Neo-Platonic-Petrarchistic tradition attempted to find an equilibrium between realism and idealism. The lover is not only a philosopher on the quest for Heavenly Beauty, but he is also a man very much aware of and sensitive to the beauty of women.

This new trend had already been ushered in by Lorenzo il Magnifico (1449-1492), the great patron of Ficino, Pico and Benivieni. In Lorenzo de' Medici's writings the realistic element frequently gains the upper hand and a sort of naturalism displaces Ficinian platonism:

> Nessuna cosa è più naturale che l'appetito d'unirsi colla cosa bella, e questo appetito è stato ordinato dalla natura negli uomini per la propagazione umana, cosa molto necessaria alla conservazione dell'umana spezie. Ed a questo la vera ragione che ci debba muovere, non è nobiltà di sangue, né speranza di possessioni, di ricchezza o altra commodità, ma solamente la elezione naturale non sforzata né occupata d'alcun altro rispetto, ma solamente mossa da una certa conformità e proporzione che hanno insieme la cosa amata e lo amante a fine della propagazione dell' umana spezie.[25]

This tendency is also discernible in other writers. Despite the eulogy of spiritual, ideal love in Bembo's Gli Asolani or Castiglione's Cortegiano, the predominant tone remains "worldly." It is a brilliant, aristocratic, literary worldliness that pervades these disquisitions. The

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[25]Lorenzo de' Medici, Opere (Bari, 1913-14), I, 14.

same spirit is further accentuated by other trattatisti, such as Speroni, Betussi, Sansovino. Sperone Speroni (1500-1588) finds even an opportunity to advance an apology for the cortigiana as a bestower of love.

> Né vile né bassa non dicea egli [il Broccardo] la cortigiana ... egli ... onora la cortigiana agguagliandola al Sole, il quale, perché sia cosa celeste, non sdegna mai di farci parte del suo splendore....[26]

Francesco Sansovino (1521-1583), giving suitable advice to men on how to seduce women in his Ragionamento (1545), becomes at times so realistic that he appears to discard the Platonic concept entirely:

> Ma lasciamoli [i platonici] andare, essendo sospette le loro azzioni. Conciosiaché essi non s'aveggano che, se piacesse tanto loro la perfezzione, amarebbero piú tosto un uomo attempato che un giovanetto inesperto, e che, quando il giovane entra nell' età virile, non lo lasciarebbero. Altra che, essi non sanno che, là dove può cader il desiderio inonesto del terreno amore, non può cader l'amor contemplativo compitamente perfetto.[27]

5

While many writers were dealing with love philosophically and idealistically, others were offering practical instruction on conduct. The tendency among these is Ovidian, realistic, cynical. Sansovino's Ragionamento, a book "nel quale brevemente s'insegna ai giovan uomini la bella

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[26] Sperone Speroni, Dialoghi (Venice, 1596), pp. 21-22.

[27] Trattati d'amore del Cinquecento, ed. G. Zonta (Bari, 1912), p. 165.

arte d'amore," already approaches at times the attitude manifested by a group of realistic-didactic trattatisti whose newfangled "art of love-making" most likely exerted considerable influence on the conduct of Lyly's characters. In Piccolomini's La Raffaela or Dialogo della bella creanza de le Donne (1540) and particularly in Bartolomeo Gottifredi's Specchio d'Amore nel quale alle giovani s'insegna innamorarsi (1547), love becomes definitely cynical and immoral. The shrewd old Madonna Raffaela explains to young Margarita that a woman's honor does not consist in her acts but in her reputation: "E questo parimente si ha da dir d'una donna, l'onor de la quale non consiste, come t'ho detto, nel fare o non fare (ché questo importa poco), ma nel credersi o non credersi."[28] In the Specchio d'Amore Coppina even advises young Maddalena "come fare acque, stoffe, bagni o siroppi per non lasciare ingravidare, o, quando gravida si fosse, fare sconciare."[29] For Coppina bad women are those who "per poco prezzo, a chiunque le ricerca, di sé sono larghe," not young women moved by "dolci prieghi d'un amante."[30]

Following the tradition of the "Art of Love," instituted first by Ovid's Ars Amatoria and continued through

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[28] Trattati del Cinquecento sulla donna, ed. by G. Zonta, p. 43.

[29] Trattati d'amore, ed. by Zonta, p. 273.

[30] Ibid., pp. 283, 284.

the Middle Ages by such works as Andreas Cappelanus' De arte honeste amandi, later revived by some quattrocentisti such as L. B. Alberti and Leonardo da Vinci, these trattatisti advanced primarily the precepts for a fixed behavior pattern of the love game. They set forth devices by which one may cause, win and terminate love. The significance of gifts, bribes, clothing, the utility of sighing, flattering, etc., is constantly brought to our attention.

It has been pointed out here that also the other treatises, discussed before, offer their share of precepts. All love treatises concern themselves more or less with a fixed set of questions: What is true love? Is love a good thing or an evil thing? What beauty is most desirable in a woman, the spiritual only or the spiritual and the physical beauty combined? How should one acquire this love? What positions do the different types of love occupy in respect to each other in the ladder of love? These questions afford the writers an opportunity to display the various attitudes toward woman and love then current in Italy. They also give them a chance to advance some of the well-known precepts.

An attack on love or women, usually followed by a defence and a reconciliation of both points of view,[31] also

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[31] Bembo's Gli Asolani exemplifies the pattern. Perottino delivers a tirade against love, deriving its name from amaro (bitter) and declaring it to be the source of all woe. Gismondo attempts to prove that love is the

affords a great opportunity to display the physical characteristics of lovers, particularly their sufferings:

> . . . afflictions, tourmentes, greefes, pining, travaile, so that to be wann, vexed with continuall tears, and sighes, to lyve with a discontented minde, to be alwaies dumbe, or to lament, to covet death, in conclusion to be most unlucky are the properties which (they saye) beelonge to lovers.[32]

Misogynists such as Gasparo Pallavicino in Castiglione's Cortegiano or Domenichi in Betussi's Il Raverta continue the long anti-feminist tradition headed in Italy by Boccaccio. Cruelty, vanity, fickleness, frivolity, ambition are characteristics of women.[33]

These attacks are ordinarily followed by an eulogy of women. In Il Raverta, Domenichi, after having quoted Petrarca, St. Augustine, Virgil and Dante to prove that women are "cosa varia e mutabile,"[34] is followed by Baffa, who exonerates her sex by the recital of a list of loyal

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sweetest and most helpful of human experiences and that it can therefore never be evil. In the third book Lavinello then tries to reconcile both statements. The truth is that love can be both, good and evil, depending on the end in view. Finally the hermit declares good love to be the desire of true beauty, and true beauty is not mortal, but divine and immortal. This rung in the ladder of love should then be the object of our desires.

[32] The Book of the Courtier . . . done into English by Sir Thomas Hoby, anno 1561. Introduction by Walter Raleigh (London, 1900), pp. 344-45.

[33] The Courtier, pp. 285-87.

[34] Trattati d'Amore, ed. Zonta, p. 71.

women: "Non fu costante e fida Argia? non fu Evadne? non Laodamia? non la bella asiana Pantea? Dunque fu instabile Penelope, la quale venti anni attese il suo marit ? ... Che direte pur di Porzia, di Giulia, cosí stabili e salde?"[35]

6

There are many trends in the Italian thought of the subject of love. "Aristotelico dunque e platonico, idealistico e razionalistico, pagheneggiante e cristianeggiante, fu a un tempo il carattere dei nostri trattati nel sec. XVI."[36] Zonta divides the Italian love-treatises into "opere encomiastiche, in opere misogine, in opere didascaliche morali ed in opere didascaliche fisiche"[37] and Tonelli differentiates three major trends: "epicureo-aristotelico-realistica, platoneggiante" or "platonico-petrarcheggiante" and "moralistico-religiosa."[38]

The subject is greatly complicated by the fact that the various ideas are not always presented coherently. Very frequently thoughts from various sources are found in a confusing combination. Mario Equicola in his Libro de

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[35] Ibid., p. 73.

[36] Paolo Lorenzetti, La Bellezza e l'Amore nei Trattati del Cinquecento (Pisa, 1917), pp. 155-56.

[37] Trattati del Cinquecento sulla Donna, p. 374.

[38] Luigi Tonelli, L'Amore nella Poesia e nel Pensiero del Rinascimento (Firenze, 1933), p. 250.

natura de amore[39] furnishes us with an excellent example. After having given a sort of a survey of love from Guittone d'Arezzo down, he gives us a theoretical exposition of love in which he favours at times the Platonists by accepting the three kinds of love and three stages of ascent to immortality; at times he tends towards Lucretius by considering love as love of oneself; at times he supports the Pythagoreans in their division of love into celestial and human; at times he appears to follow Dionysius the Areopagite in his division of love into supermundane and mundane, and finally we find love explained as a "desiderare la bellezza, il disio, la volupta."[40]

The foregoing section has considered only those trattatisti whose ideas have a clear bearing on Lyly's concept of love and on Lyly's characters. They furnished Lyly with a new and striking love-apprehension. They most likely also provided him with the necessary instructions for the behavior of many of his characters, although it must be admitted that certain precepts may have been derived directly from the Latin and medieval ars amatoria tradition.

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[39]Mario Equicola d'Alvito (1470-1523) wrote this in his youth in Latin. In 1509 it was translated into Italian by one of his nephews. Two years later the translation was modified and enlarged by Equicola himself. It was then printed at Venice in 1525, shortly before his death. In 1554 it was reprinted by Lodovico Dolce.

[40]M. Equicola, Libro di natura d'amore (Venice, 1554), p. 139.

The following elements of Lyly's love-apprehension appear in the Neo-Platonic-Petrarchistic trattatisti discussed in this chapter:

(a) Women inspire love. Love is a desire for beauty, and woman is the closest to True Beauty.

(b) Love is an exalted cosmic power or an instinctive force that may at times subrogate or overpower even intelligence.

(c) There are three types of love: Amor divino, amor umano and amor ferino, i.e., Divine, human and vulgar or animal love.

(d) A just and rational love, that is, a human love, the aim of which is matrimony,[41] is praiseworthy, although it is not the highest level. An apology for this kind of love usually comes at the close of the discourse.

(e) Love is a ladder by which man reaches God. The lowest rung of the ladder is corporeal or animal love, the highest is the spiritual or Divine Love, and the contemplation of God.

(f) There is emphasis on the significance of senses through which love produces itself. Through the eyes we reach the body and the heart and through the ears we gain access to the soul.

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[41] Cf. F. Lorenzetti, La Bellezza e l'amore, p. 162: "vedete come tutti gli scrittori si accordino nel dichiare fine dell'amore umano il matrimonio...."

No English courtier or literary man could afford to ignore the Italian Neo-Platonic-Petrarchistic tradition of love and woman-worship. To put these doctrines into an attractive literary form ensured in advance a favorable reception at Court and guaranteed the support of the fashionable aristocratic circles. Lyly's plays are primarily such an exposition, with one slight modification, however: the motif of renunciation of love for chastity's sake. This change, of course, was brought about by the desire to flatter a Virgin Queen.

For the analysis of Lyly's plays we have, however, to bear in mind that, as a dramatist, Lyly is not much interested in proving or disproving coherently all philosophical points advanced by the trattatisti as he is interested in balancing one way of thinking against another. To a dramatist the study and projection of the impulses are of greater interest than the judgment of their results.

II. Lyly's Plays and the trattatisti's attitude toward women, beauty and love

1

Different sorts of allegory may at times jostle each other in Lyly's plays, but there is only one with which he is constantly concerned: the allegory of love. The whole theme of his plays is love, just as it was in Euphues. His conception of love is that of the trattatisti, or more precisely, that of the Neo-Platonic-Petrarchistic group. His

plays are an exposition of their love-concepts with, perhaps, an additional complication of some masked contemporary meanings.

Lyly was a court poet and his plays may reflect some of the court activities, just as the trattatisti reflected much of the courtly environment they were working in. Some of the personal references may well escape us now. We can no longer respond as directly as the first audience. However, I believe that it is futile to try to impose too much of such personal, historical allegory on Lyly's plays. Many explanations have been advanced. They are inconsistent within themselves, and they are frequently also very unconvincing. Lyly's allegorical plays are best explained as allegories of love and may have been conceived by Lyly as such only.[42] We must not be misled too much by the fact that Lyly built his Neo-Platonic love theories around the Virgin Queen in order to flatter her. At the English court anybody who dealt with the problem of love had to take Elizabeth into consideration. She was of necessity the

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[42]The futility of the historical or personal interpretation of Endimion, for instance, has already been indicated by Percy W. Long in "The Purport of Lyly's Endimion," PMLA, XXIV (1909), 164-84. Bernard F. Huppé in his article "Allegory of Love in Lyly's Court Comedies," ELH, 14 (1947), 93-113, suggested that Lyly's Sapho and Phao, Endimion, Love's Metamorphoses, The Woman in the Moon are all concerned with the subject of love, as that subject is set forth in Euphues and Euphues and His England." However, he does not concern himself with the source of Lyly's love-concept.

focal point of all courtly eroticism. The courtiers were accustomed to paying a reverent semi-religious adoration to the Queen. Other suggestions in the plays of historical persons, however, may be more accidental than intentional. It has to be admitted here, though, that some of the plays strongly suggest some element of personal allegory.

2

Lyly's concept of love displays the traditional dilemma. There is always the problem of choosing between the two extremes: the immoral and moral, passion and chastity. In his Euphues Lyly had already discussed this problem in the manner of the trattatisti. In the characteristic way of the Neo-Platonic trattati d'amore Philautus and Euphues debate the traditional topic: whether an ideal lover should desire the spiritual beauty of the lady only, or spiritual and physical beauty combined. Euphues insists that

> The effect of love is faith not lust, delightful conference not detestable concupiscence, which beginneth with folly and endeth with repentance. For mine own part I would wish nothing, if again I should fall into that vein, than to have the company of her in common conference that I best loved, to hear her sober talk, her wise answers, to behold her sharp capacity, and to be persuaded of her constancy. And in these things do we only differ from brute beasts, who have no pleasure but in sensual appetite.[43]

[43] Lyly's Euphues, ed. Croll and Clemons (London, 1916), p. 380. Compare this with the many instances of the same viewpoint in the trattatisti. "Tre sono le specie

Philautus, however, declares himself for a combination of both, the spiritual and the physical, just as the Neo-Platonic-Petrarchistic trattatisti had done:

> No, no Euphues, thou makest love nothing but a continual wooing if thou bar it of the effect, and then is it infinite; or if thou allow it and yet forbid it, a perpetual warfare, and then is it intolerable. From this opinion no man shall withdraw me, that the end of fishing is catching, not angling; of birding, taking, not whistling; of love, wedding, not wooing. Otherwise it is no better than hanging.[44]

Lyly then concludes the discussion by siding with Philautus:

> I must needs conclude with Philautus, though I should cavil with Euphues, that the end of love is the full fruition of the party beloved, at all times and in all places. For it cannot follow in reason that because the sauce is good which should provoke mine appetite, therefore I should forsake the meat for which it was made. Believe me, the qualities of the mind, the beauty of the body, either in man or woman, are but the sauce to whet our stomachs, not the meat to fill them. For they that live by the view of beauty still look very lean, and they that feed only upon virtue at board will go with an hungry belly to bed.[45]

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d'amanti circa le cose mortali; alcuni amano il corpo e al coito come bruti correno; alcuni dell' amata s'apagano, e oltra non cercano; alcuni di udir ben pronunciar parole se dilettano." (V. Mario Equicola, Libro de Natura d'Amore, ed. 1531, f. 71). "Mentre adunque amore è guidato solamente da gli occhi dall'orecchie e dalla mente, egli è veramente honesto, e bisogna che i saggi amanti si contentino di goder solamente questi frutti senza pensar più avanti--nè merita nome d'amore, ma di rabbia, e di libidine, quando è sospinto da altri sensi." Stefano Guazzo, Civile Conversazione (Venice, 1577), p. 174.

[44] Lyly's Euphues, ed. Croll and Clemons, p. 381.

[45] Ibid., pp. 382-383.

It is of interest to note here that at the time when Lyly sided openly with Philautus, who was for "wedding, not wooing," marriage negotiations were in progress between the Virgin Queen and the Duc d'Anjou.

When Lyly, however, addresses the Queen directly, he praises her unimpeachable chastity as a virtue of the triumphant conqueror. She is chaste, not because her virtue has never been assailed, but because it is impregnable. She is

> adorned with singular beauty and chastity, excelling in the one Venus, in the other Vesta. Who knoweth not how rare a thing it is, ladies, to match virginity with beauty, a chaste mind with an amiable face, divine cogitations with a comely countenance? But such is the grace bestowed upon this earthly goddess that, having the beauty that might allure all Princes, she hath the chastity also to refuse all, accounting it no less praise to be called a virgin than to be esteemed a Venus, thinking it as great honour to be found chaste as thought amiable.[46]

It is noteworthy here that "grace" has already the meaning of the technical term "grazia" of the Italian Neo-Platonists, that is, spiritual beauty which participates in the divine idea of the Heavenly Beauty.

From the preceding remarks it would appear that Lyly's concept of love in his Euphues was already that of his plays, i.e., that of the Neo-Platonic Petrarchistic trattatisti. True love becomes Virtuous Love, best consum-

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[46] Lyly's Euphues, ed. Croll and Clemons, p. 438.

mated in marriage. Lyly has to compromise and somewhat modify his concept, however, when he addresses the Virgin Queen directly.

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As I have said before, Lyly's plays can best be explained as Neo-Platonic-Petrarchistic allegories of love. Lyly's approach to drama is striking and new in English literature. Though never exactly sensuous, he enlists under Cupid's banner. Love becomes dramatic and his love-apprehension challenges a religious preoccupation which had held sway over English drama for centuries. His new ideas Lyly owes primarily to Italy.

In our discussion of women and love in Lyly's plays, we shall confine ourselves to the study of the important points of contact with the Italian Neo-Platonic-Petrarchistic treatises as these points have been summarized at the end of our survey of the trattati d'amore. The passages, which are quoted from the various plays, should, of course, be considered in their contexts.

(a) The significance of women as inspirers of love.

Women play a much more important role in Lyly's literary work than they ever had before in English literature. His attitude towards women is that of the Italian Renaissance courtier who looked upon her above all as a creature with a certain capacity for arousing love and a creature of

great wit, endowed with an unusual skill and dexterity for discussing the phenomena of love. Beauty, to inspire love, and wit to discuss love, were the primary, and it appears at times, the sole requisites for the ladies of such trattatisti as Bembo, Castiglione, Speroni and Sansovino. Just like these trattatisti, Lyly is also preoccupied with displaying the beauty and the wit of his women.[47]

As Lyly's plays are primarily an exposition of a concept of love manifested by these trattatisti, it is not surprising at all that women should dominate the main action of the plays. Neither is it surprising that we have such an unusually large number of female characters in the sub-action, particularly if we consider also the courtly environment in which Lyly moved. The Queen and her Court were of necessity the focal point of any exposition of "fashionable" love theories, just as the Italian courts and their rulers had been for the trattatisti. Sapho, Diana, Cynthia and Ceres are always surrounded by a flock of nymphs or maids-of-honor whose discussions of love afford Lyly an excellent opportunity for expounding his theories and also for displaying his knowledge of the ars amatoria tradition.[48] Lyly's ladies are constantly absorbed in af-

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[47]Compare also his women in Euphues. Lucilla, Livia, Iffida, Camilla and Flavia show the same characteristics as the women of the trattatisti.

[48]Cf. Gallathea, IV, ii, or Sapho and Phao, IV, iii.

fairs of the heart. They pursue their amours with a strict observance of the Neo-Platonic conventions of love.

Various classifications have been suggested for Lyly's women. Steinhäuser divided them into

> solche, welche auf dem Standpunkt prüder Keuschheit stehend (Cynthia, Diana, Sapho), auch die Ehe für verwerflich halten, und andere, welche wie Livia und Suavia "know honest love to be inseparable from their sexe."[49]

Bond differentiated between "sober, serious women" and "witty and light-hearted ones."[50] As Lyly's women are primarily employed to expound Neo-Platonic-Petrarchistic love theories, the various degrees of love, such as Varchi's tripartite "amor divino," "amor umano" and "amor ferino" are also reflected by the various attitudes toward love displayed by Lyly's female characters. We have, therefore, on the one hand, his semi-divine characters, Sapho, Diana and Cynthia, who stand for Divine Love, as opposed, on the other hand, by the large group of female characters that sway between "amor ferino" and "amor umano."

(b) Love as a cosmic force.

In Lyly's love-apprehension, just as in that of the trattatisti, love becomes a cosmic force "no more to bee suppressed then comprehended":

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[49]Karl Steinhäuser, John Lyly als Dramatiker: Inaugural-Dissertation (Halle, 1884), p. 44.

[50]Bond, II, 283.

> O diuine loue! and therefore diuine, because loue, whose deitie no conceite canne compase, and therfore no authoritie canne constraine; as miraculous in working as mightie, & no more to bee suppressed then comprehended.[51]

Love's power manifests itself in all its paradox and irrationality:

> O deuine Loue, which art therfore called deuine, because thou ouer-reachest the wisest, conquerest the chastest, and doost all things both vnlikely and impossible, because thou art Loue. Thou makest the bashfull impudent, the wise fond, the chast wanton, and workest contraries to our reach, because thy selfe is beyond reason.[52]

Just as in the Neo-Platonic-Petrarchists, love is a compact of contradictions of pains and joys:

> A heate full of coldnesse, a sweet full of bitternesse, a paine ful of pleasantnesse; which maketh thoughts haue eyes, and harts eares; bred by desire, nursed by delight, weaned by ielousie, kild by dissembling, buried by ingratitude; and this is loue![53]

Love is a force beyond our reason, because "if loue were not a thing beyonde reason," Ramia replies to Diana's reprimand, "we might then giue a reason of our doings." But, she continues, "so deuine is his force, that it worketh effects as contrarie to that wee wishe, as vnreasonable against that wee ought."[54] Love is a force which even

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[51] Sapho and Phao, II, iv, 14-17.

[52] Gallathea, III, i, 102-107.

[53] Ibid., I, ii, 16-19.

[54] Gallathea, III, iv, 54-57.

"immortall Gods cannot redresse."[55] "Dare they blaspheme my godhead," asks Cupid in Love's Metamorphoses, "which Jove doth worship, Neptune reverence, and all the gods tremble at?"[56]

Love's great power is best exemplified by Cupid's victory over Ceres' nymphs in Love's Metamorpheses. "But let us to the Temple of Cupid and offer sacrifice"; says Ceres to her nymphs, "they that thinke it straunge for chastitie to humble it selfe to Cupid, knowe neither the power of loue, nor the nature of virginitie: th'one hauing absolute authoritie to commaund, the other difficultie to resist."[57] No normal human being can resist this great, irrational God. If Cynthia and Diana are above him, and Alexander and Sapho eventually conquer him, then it is only because they are already conceived of as semi-divine.

(c) Amor divino, amor umano and amor ferino.

Lyly's classes of characters also reflect his Neo-Platonic eros-perception. They correspond roughly to the three types of love. His semi-divine characters, such as Alexander, Sapho, Cynthia and Diana, show that they are above the lower types of love by asserting their absolute independence of Cupid, that is, fleshly desire. They per-

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[55] Sapho and Phao, I, i, 42-43.

[56] IV, i, 60-61.

[57] II, i, 38-43.

sonify Rational or Spiritual or Divine Love. They stand for the ideal of the "marriage of true minds." In them reason attains absolute primacy over Cupid. Sapho and Alexander portray a subtle conflict between Divine and Earthly Love and the victory of the former. They stand in contrast to the lower characters who sway frequently between amor umano and amor ferino.

Some of these espouse frankly and consistently the pleasures of the flesh. "Beleeve me Ladies," says Mileta who is guilty of making direct advances to beautiful Phao, "'give' is a pretie thing."[58] Figures like Dipsas stand clearly for sensual pleasures only: ". . . were it in my power to place affection by appointment," she says to Tellus, "I would make such euill appetites, such inordinate lusts, such cursed desires, as all the worlde should be filled both with supersticious heates, and extreame loue."[59] In most characters, however, amor umano eventually gains the upperhand and the prickings of purely sensual desires are eased by thoughts of marriage.[60] It is not to amor umano, but the insubstantiality of amor ferino, the purely sexual attraction, that Diana, conqueror of "loose &

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[58] Sapho and Phao, I, iv, 26-27.

[59] Endimion, I, iv, 24-28.

[60] See, for instance, Corsites and Tellus in Endimion.

untamed appetites"[61] really objects. She berates her ladies because they have become "unchast in desires, immoderate in affection, untemperate in love, in foolish loue, in base loue,"[62] because they cast their "best desires upon a shadowe."[63] "And howe is your loue placed?" she asks, "upon pelting boys, perhaps base of birth, without doubt weake of discretion. I but they are fayre."[64]

(d) Exaltation of Divine Love and apology for Human Love.

What else is the meaning of Alexander's conquest over love for a beautiful commoner, if not an exaltation, a triumph of Divine Love or True Love?[65] Or what else is the significance of Sapho's conquest over love for a beautiful ferryman?

Against Sapho are arrayed all the forces of sensual love! Phao has been made irresistibly beautiful. But True Love is only possible between equals. If Sapho succumbs to Phao, she succumbs to exterior beauty. It will mean the

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[61] Gallathea, III, iv, 68.

[62] Ibid., III, iv, 31-33.

[63] The word "shadow" here is the English rendering of the technical term ombra which Italian Platonists applied to the mundane reflection of the fourth, i.e., the lowest circle of "lo splendore di Dio" or ideal of perfection.

[64] Gallathea, III, iv, 49-50.

[65] "The conquering of Thebes was not so honourable as the subduing of these thoughts," says Hephaestion, Alexander's general. Campaspe, V, iv, 148-49.

triumph of amor ferino. Sapho finds herself in a great dilemma. "If hee yeelde, then shal I shame to embrace one so meane," she tells Venus; "if not, die, because I cannot embrace one so meane."[66] This difference in status is further accentuated by Sybilla's advice to Phao: "Love, faire childe, is to be governed by art...,"[67] an advice which is based on the assumption that all women "will yield in time." When Sapho eventually emerges as mistress over Sensual Desire, over Phao's exterior beauty, a beauty so captivating that not even Venus could resist it, Divine or Spiritual or Rational or True Love triumphs. Sapho stands for "reason not yeelding to appetite."[68] She is above Cupid and thus wins him as her servant. She will now direct his "arrowes with better aime" than Venus who is "not worthy to be the Ladye of loue," because she yields "so often to the impressions of loue" and transgresses "so farre from the staye of . . . honour!"[69]

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

[67] Ibid., II, iv, 55ff.

[68] Sapho and Phao, V, ii, 36.

[69] Ibid., V, ii, 26; 59; 61. Note the special meaning of the word honor. Cf. chapter 9, "The Courtly Traditions of Love and Honor," in Hiram Haydn, The Counter-Renaissance (New Yor, 1950), p. 573: ". . . the ethical code of Honor is fundamentally a courtly one, which raises honor from its subordinate position for the humanists (that of meaning a deservedly virtuous reputation) to the highest seat of all --that reserved by traditional orthodoxy for reason. Honor becomes 'the ruling principle of . . . conduct,' instead of reason; it replaces reason as the guide to virtue; and it

But in his plays, just as in his Euphues, Lyly's love-perception shows a strong leaning towards amor umano, legitimate love. Love is best consummated in marriage. Ceres, initially swaying between jealousy of marriage and exhortations to her nymphs to submit to Cupid, is told by Cupid:

> Why, Ceres, doe you thinke that lust followeth loue? Ceres, louers are chast: for what is loue, divine loue, but the quintescens of chastitie, and affections binding by heauenly motions, that cannot be vndone by earthly meanes, and must not be comptrolled by any man?[70]

And Ceres submits to Cupid. "Wee will honour thee with continuall sacrifice," she tells him, "warme vs with mild affections; lest being too hotte, wee seeme immodest like wantons, or too cold, immoueable like stockes."[71] Marriage is like "the tuning of two Lutes in one key," explains Mileta, "for strikinge the stringes of the one, strawes will stirre upon the stringes of the other, and in two mindes lincked in loue, one cannot be delighted but the other reioyceth."[72] To Lyly, chastity obviously does not mean physical renunciation.

But any apologist of amor umano had to consider the Virgin Queen with her idea of unimpeachable chastity.

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becomes the natural 'spur' that leads man away from vice--usurping natural reason's prerogative."

[70] Love's Metamorphoses, II, i, 123-126.

[71] Ibid., II, i, 127-129.

[72] Sapho and Phao, IV, iii, 75-78.

Therefore, all Neo-Platonic-Petrarchistic love-allegories which were directly addressed to the Queen and performed at court, would exalt and identify 'chastity' with Divine Love or Heavenly Beauty, obviously to flatter Queen Elizabeth. Poets had to be very careful that the views expressed in their writings found the Queen's approval. She had a very forthright way of showing her dislike.[73] Therefore, in all central, dominating figures which invite, or even only slightly suggest, a comparison with the Virgin Queen, unyielding, unimpeachable chastity had to triumph. Lyly had to guard himself against any suggestion that these figures had actually surrendered themselves to physical love--and thus by suggestion, Elizabeth. Is it a mere coincidence that in Love's Metamorphoses, a play that was not performed before Queen Elizabeth,[74] Ceres (Chastity) should submit to Cupid's power and instruct her nymphs not to be "so stately as not to stoope to love, nor so light as presently to yeeld"?[75]

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[73] F. S. Boas in University Drama in the Tudor Age (Oxford, 1914), p. 383, gives an example of her displeasure at a University Play: "the Queen was so angry that she at once entered her chamber using strong language and the men who held the torches, it being night, left them in the dark. . . ." Cf. Prologue to Gallathea.

[74] Cf. A. Feuillerat, John Lyly, p. 194, note 2.

[75] V, iv, 164-165.

(e) Concept of the Ladder of Love.

The concept of the ladder of love is implied in all of Lyly's allegorical plays. In none does it appear, however, as clearly as in Endimion, in which Endimion progresses from a devotion to Earthly Beauty to an adoration of Heavenly Beauty,[76] although he cannot quite attain his aspiration to lift himself to the level of Divine Love. Cynthia's perfection simply "alloweth no companion, nor comparison."[77]

Endimion had been enthralled by Tellus or Sensual Love or amor ferino. But now he dedicates his endeavors to Cynthia or Spiritual or Divine Love:

> Sweet Cynthia, how wouldst thou be pleased, how possessed? wil labours (patient of all extremities) obtaine thy loue? There is no Mountain so steepe that I will not climbe, no monster so cruell that I will not tame, no action so desperate that I will not attempt. Desirest thou the passions of loue, the sad and melancholie moodes of perplexed mindes, the not to be expressed torments of racked thoughts? Beholde my sad teares, my deepe sighes, my hollowe eyes, my broken sleepes, my heauie countenaunce. Wouldst thou haue mee vowde onelie to thy beautie? and consume euerie minute of time in thy seruice? remember my solitarie life, almost these seauen yeeres: whom haue I entertained but mine owne thoughts, and thy vertue? What companie haue I vsed but contemplation?[78]

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[76] Cf. F. W. Long, "The Purport of Lyly's Endimion," PMLA, 24 (1909), p. 178: "By a series of steps he passes from the love of Earthly Beauty to the adoration of Heavenly Beauty."

[77] Endimion, II, i, 26.

[78] Endimion, II, 1, 4-16.

Tellus, or amor ferino, seeks to regain Endimion through all sorts of women's sleights. "I will entangle him in such sweet nette," she tells Floscula, "that he shall neither find the meanes to come out, nor desire it.[79] "Betweene my amorous deuises, and his owne loose desires, there shall such dissolute thoughts take roote in his head," she continues, "that neither hope of preferment, nor feare of punishment, nor counsel of the wisest, nor company of the worthiest, shall alter his humor, nor make him once to thinke of his honor."[80] He shall spend his youth in "vntamed thoughts, and vnbridled affections."[81] She even plots with the witch Dipsas, despite the strong dissuasions of her confidante Floscula. She would "rather vse vnlawfull meanes, then try vntollerable paines."[82] But Dipsas cannot change Endimion's affections. She can only "breede slackness in loue, though neuer roote it out."[83] Tellus' stormy passion, her amor ferino, turns into jealous hatred. When Dipsas asks her, "Would you haue his loue, eyther by absence or sicknes aslaked? Would you that Cynthia should mistrust him, or be iealous of him without colour?"[84] she

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[79] Ibid., I, ii, 41-42.

[80] Ibid., I, ii, 46-50.

[81] Ibid., I, ii, 60.

[82] Ibid., I, ii, 81-82.

[83] Ibid., I, iv, 32-33.

[84] Ibid., I, iv, 39-41.

replies, "It is the onlie thing I craue, that seeing my loue to Endimion vnspotted, cannot be accepted, hys truth to Cynthia (though it be vnspeakeable) may bee suspected."[85]

Endimion is charmed by Dipsas into a slumber of forty years, wasting away his youth as a captive of amor ferino. However, Tellus' triumph is by no means perfect. He has merely lapsed in his service to Divine Love. He has not betrayed it. A Platonic kiss, wherein soul meets soul,[86] bestowed by Cynthia (Divine Love), delivers him from the spell. He will continue his service, his "dutie, loyaltie, and reuerence"[87] to Cynthia.

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[85] Ibid., I, iv, 42-44.

[86] Compare this with the trattatisti's theory on kissing: "For sins a kisse is a knitting together both of body and soule, it is to be feared, least the sensuall lover will be more inclined to the part of the bodye, then of the soule: but the reasonable lover woteth well, that although the mouthe be a percell of the bodye, yet it is an issue for the wordes, that be the enterpreters of the soule, and for the inwarde breth, whiche is also called the soule: and therfore hath a delite to joigne hys mouth with the womans beloved with a kysse: not to stirr him to anye unhonest desire, but because he feeleth that, that bonde is the openynge of an entrey to the soules, whiche drawen with a coveting the one of the other, power them selves by tourn, the one into the others bodye, and be so mingled together, that ech of them hath two soules, and one alone so framed of them both ruleth (in a maner) two bodyes. Wherupon a kiss may be said to be rather a cooplinge together of the soule, then of the bodye. . . ." The Courtier from the Italian of Count Baldassare Castiglione: Done into English by Sir Thomas Hoby, anno 1561; ed. Walter Raleigh (London, 1900), pp. 355-356.

[87] Endimion, V, iii, 169.

There is no definite conclusion to Endimion's love-endeavors, except the encouragement given by Cynthia: "Endimion continue as thou hast begun, and thou shalte finde that Cynthia shyneth not on thee in vaine."[88] Lyly simply had to guard himself against any suggestion that Cynthia, who could be taken to be Elizabeth, had actually surrendered.

(f) The significance of the two senses, sight and hearing. The doctrine of the eyes and the heart.

Lyly's plays are replete with allusions to the senses through which love produces itself. The eyes and the ears are the instruments through which we become first aware of beauty. "How did it take you first Telusa?" asks Eurota, "By the eyes, my wanton eyes which conceiued the picture of his face, and hangd it on the verie strings of my hart,"[89] replies Telusa. And "how did it take you Eurota?" In her turn, Telusa asks the amorous Eurota. "By the eares, whose sweete words suncke so deepe into my head, that the remembrance of his wit hath bereaued mee of my wisedome."[90] Allusions to the significance of the senses, such as these, are legion. In every case they fall into line with the Neo-Platonic theories.

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[88] V, iii, 186-187.

[89] Gallathea, III, i, 55-57.

[90] Ibid., III, i, 58-61.

Even small details are being followed. "O Ladies, doe your eyes begin to loue collours, whose harts were wont to loath them?"[91] Diana asks her nymphs. It will be remembered that the Platonists differentiated between visual, auditive and intellectual beauty and that "collours" and light were the manifestation of the first kind of beauty.

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Only major points of contact on the subject of love could be discussed in the preceding chapter. A more extensive comparison between the trattatisti and Lyly's plays would undoubtedly also reveal Lyly's discipleship in many other points, as has been occasionally indicated in the course of the discussion. Not only did Lyly derive from the trattatisti a new and striking love-apprehension, but also he found them to be a storehouse of models for courtly, argumentative and dramatic dialogues. It may well be that such trattatisti as Castiglione, Bembo, Guazzo, Speroni, Betussi, Sansovino or in particular Leone Ebreo with his highly dramatic style, may claim a much more important place in the development of Elizabethan drama than has generally been assumed.

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[91] Ibid., III, iv, 51-52.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

A survey of the cultural relations between England and Italy in the Renaissance reveals very clearly that England is deeply indebted to Italy's imaginative, intellectual and artistic accomplishments. The English debt is, in fact, immense. Englishmen looked to Italy for lessons not only in literature, art and philosophy, but also in politics and good-breeding. It was the rule, rather than the exception, that a scholar or a courtier should be able to read and speak Italian and be well-versed in the various fields of Italy's cultural attainments.

Lyly grew up and lived in an aristocratic, literary environment which exposed him to things Italian. He was not only well acquainted with the various forms of Italian literature, but also worked within the framework of Italian literary traditions and conventions.

His dramatic technique is, on the whole, unlike that of his English predecessors, but very similar to that of the mythological-pastoral-tragicomic tradition in Italy. His characterization proceeds within the established rules of ethos and decorum. Most of his "occupational-realistic" personages are largely modelled on Italian stock-types and,

whenever necessary, modified and adapted to the exposition of theories and ideas of the trattati d'amore.

The trattati d'amore are Lyly's primary source. They provided him with the incentive to write court dramas. His plays are primarily expositions of ideas and theories expounded in these treatises. They are best explained as Neo-Platonic-Petrarchistic allegories of love. While the Neo-Platonic-Petrarchistic group of trattatisti provided him with his conception of love, the realistic-didactic group, with its newfangled "art of love-making," furnished him with a pattern for the conduct of his characters. His court society is modelled on the Italian society depicted by the trattatisti. His women converse freely with men on equal terms. They discuss freely, like their Italian counterparts, the various problems of love, no matter how erudite or how shocking.

The task of determining, understanding and interpreting the sources of Lyly's court dramas is particularly difficult and complex because of Lyly's eclectic, skillful and inventive handling of dramatic material. Lyly displays an unusual gift for combining the various features of different forms of Italian literature. He accepts whatever is useful and rejects whatever does not fit into his scheme. Without a complete awareness of this highly eclectic method, we cannot properly appreciate the genius of Lyly.

It is primarily the failure to recognize his method that has led the anti-Italian critics to completely erro-

neous assumptions and the pro-Italian critics to unsatisfactory conclusions.

After this investigation of the background of Lyly's plays, what, it will naturally be asked, remains as his own?

Lyly, the dramatist, is much more original than is generally assumed. Love becomes dramatic in his plays, and his Neo-Platonic-Petrarchistic love-apprehension challenges a religious preoccupation which had prevailed in English drama for centuries. His originality does not show itself in inventing subject-matter, as Bond tries to demonstrate, but in the skillful combination and adaptation of Italian material and its fusion into a new English dramatic type. In so doing, he shows himself a truly creative artist. He has the gift of discerning the dramatic possibilities in a story or in an ideology and the gift of combining and handling disparate material so that an artistic whole emerges which is peculiarly his own.

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