



THE DEVELOPMENT OF IDEAS AND TECHNIQUES

IN THE DRAMA OF JOHN LYLY

A Critical Study

by

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SUMMARY

The aim of this study is to subject the plays of John Lyly to close critical analysis in order to define the nature of the changes which take place over the range of his dramatic output. Change may be due to simple experimentation, but it may also be the result of a process of self-criticism, or a desire to explore more completely situations already touched upon; this more profound change we may call development, and it is the mark of a writer worthy of serious attention if he is able to sustain a consistent development.

Lyly's texts, on the whole, are clear and free from corruption, but there are indications that some of the plays have been revised; in particular, Midas is for a number of reasons unsatisfactory, and I have proposed a theory of the genesis of this play which allows it to be assessed in its proper stage of Lyly's career.

A play is an experience of the theatre, not of the printed page; in order to appreciate the use Lyly made of the medium of the drama, I have discussed at length the nature of the stage he wrote for, and have proposed a method of production which, I believe, gives to the plays a tautness of action, and even of symbolism, of which we would otherwise be unaware.

Lyly's dramatic technique became progressively more fluent as he learned to use with greater effect the unusual medium available to him, the boy-actors with their peculiarly limited vocabulary of emotion. He moved steadily towards a unified drama, with its own strict rules of decorum, achieving in Mother Bombie a tour de force of intrigue, and in

Love's Metamorphosis and The Woman in the Moon a more subtle unity of symbolism.

The position of a Court dramatist did not lead itself to controversy; it need not surprise us that Lyly's attitude to comic and political order was conventional, and changed little during his life. Many of the plays are centred upon a compliment to Queen Elizabeth, and it is interesting to observe the way that Lyly made use of basically un-dramatic material. Conflict between different levels of social order - pages, courtiers, nymphs, kings and gods - provides dramatic interest in many of the plays, but the end result is always, except possibly in The Woman in the Moon, the maintenance of order.

Love is the great theme of Lyly's works, and it is in his attitude to love that we may discover the most consistent and impressive development, from conventional courtly love and the artless love of Apelles and Campaspe, to a complex and unusual view of the imperfection of human love in Endimion and Love's Metamorphosis, and finally to a statement of passionate renunciation in The Woman in the Moon.

The classic studies of Lyly have placed him in the wider changes of the Elizabethan period; it is my concern to turn attention inward, and to look for a development within the range of Lyly's drama.

This thesis, as far as I am aware, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text. No part of this work has been accepted for the award of a degree or diploma in any University.

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CHAPTER I

THE TEXTS

The texts of Iyly's plays are unusually clear and free from corruption. In format, they are obviously 'literary' texts, for they are divided formally into acts and scenes, with the names of the characters involved heading each scene, whether they are on stage or not. There are few obvious printer's errors in the texts, suggesting that either Iyly himself supervised the printing in some way, taking some care over the proofs, or alternatively that the printers were sufficiently respectful of the work of the author of Baphuz to ensure that extra care was taken. Most of Iyly's plays had relatively short stage histories, and this may further explain the seemingly virginal nature of the texts. Those plays which had an extended stage history inevitably became corrupt as they were modified to suit changing tastes in production, and as suitable topical references were added. We may be fairly certain, with the possible exception of Loves Metamorphosis,⁽¹⁾ that Iyly's plays were not subject to this process of attrition, not only because the plays did not hold the stage for long, but also because they may well have been under the direction of their author the whole time.⁽²⁾

(1) See p. 6, p. 71 below.

(2) We cannot be sure of Iyly's precise degree of involvement in the Paul's boys. G. K. Hunter, in the most recent work published on Iyly, John Iyly: The Humanist as Courtier, (London, 1962) is justifiably sceptical about Iyly's supposed job as 'Vice-Master' of Paul's, but agrees that Iyly 'had some measure of control over Paul's boys' (p. 75).

We may assume, therefore, that Iyly's texts are to be trusted. For this reason, however, if there are seeming inconsistencies in the texts, they must be taken seriously, for we cannot blame them on stage corruption, foul manuscript or printer's errors. We shall find that, although the plays were free from corruption, several show signs of revision, presumably by Iyly himself.

One further characteristic of the texts of the plays is worth commenting on; they are particularly reticent in the amount of information given by stage-directions, with the exception of The Woman in the Moon, which will be discussed separately below.⁽¹⁾ In the two parts of Tamburlaine - the only plays by Marlowe to be published in his lifetime, and hence to escape the extensive corruption that is so obvious in his other plays - although the texts, like Iyly's, are formally divided and literary in presentation, they are full of picturesque stage-directions, many of which give a fascinating insight into Elizabethan stage techniques and stage spectacle. In the second part of Tamburlaine, where Tamburlaine enters in a chariot drawn by his victims, the stage-direction reads

Tamburlaine drawn in his chariot by Trebison and Soria with bittes in their mouths, reines in his left hand, in his right hand a whip, with which he scourgeth them. (2)

This is not an isolated example, for Marlowe clearly had an eye for spectacular stage-effects, and wanted his reading audience to understand the action fully. Iyly never indulges in spectacle of the kind indicated

(1) See p. 20-2.

(2) C. F. Tucker Brooke, The Works of Christopher Marlowe, (Oxford, 1910), p.120. The direction appears at the head of act IV, scene iii.

above, but even when the action of the play requires some explanation, he leaves it to the imagination of the reader. In Endimion, for example, the restoration of Endimion's youth (V,iii,188), and the metamorphosis of Sycorax from a tree to her original shape (V,iii,284) may be understood from the text, but we have no indication of the manner in which they were staged. With the exception of The woman in the Moone, to be discussed below,⁽¹⁾ the most informative of Iqly's stage-directions are in Sappho and Phao, act III, scene iii. The scene opens with the direction 'SAPHO in her bed...' and after line 36 we are told that 'Shee falleth asleepe. The Curtaines drawne.' E. K. Chambers makes the obvious inference that the curtains referred to are bed curtains,⁽²⁾ but another stage-direction from the second part of Tamburlaine demonstrates that this may not be so,

The Arras is drawn, and Zenocrate lies in her bed of state, Tamburlaine sitting by her: three Physicians about her bed, tempering potions. Theridamas, Techelles, Vaucazane, and the three scenes. (3)

This suggests that the bed was within a larger structure, curtained off by the 'arras', and that there were no less than ten people about the bed, all presumably within the arras. For reasons discussed below⁽⁴⁾ I believe that Sappho was similarly in her bed within a larger structure which was curtained off. Why Iqly included so few stage-directions we can only guess. It may be because he produced the plays himself and

(1) See p.

(2) The Elizabethan Stage (London, 1923), vol.III, p.33.

(3) Tucker Brooke, ed. cit., p.95, at the head of II,i.

(4) See p.

hence did not include information he could pass on verbally to the actors, and visually to the audience; but since it is likely that the manuscript was carefully prepared for printing, it may be that Iyly deliberately included as little information about stage business as he could, in the hope that the plays would be considered purely as literature by his readers. He was aiming at a rather different reading audience from those who, like Marlowe, published plays which had been acted upon the public stage. It would have been at the public which was still buying Euphuia, rather than the play-going public, that Iyly's plays were aimed. Although the first edition of Alexander and Campespe went through three editions in its first year of publication,⁽¹⁾ I think it would be fair to say that Iyly's plays were never popular in the sense that Tamburlaine was; they were fashionable. They would have had something of a snob appeal in an age when a necessary accomplishment in polite society was to 'Parley, Euphuisme'.⁽²⁾ An audience of the socially pretentious would probably have regarded as vulgar the kind of spectacle by which Marlowe held the popular stage.

Three of Iyly's plays, Gallathea, Leves Metamorphosis and Wides show some signs of revision. Gallathea was published in 1592, but it was entered in the Stationers' Register on 1st April 1585, and was probably performed at Court on 1st January 1587/8.⁽³⁾ There are

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- (1) See W. W. Greg, ed. A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration (London, 1939-1959), vol. I (1939).
- (2) The phrase is from the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' of Blount's 1632 edition of the plays. See, for a fuller discussion of the kind of popularity that was Iyly's, Hunter, op. cit., ch. V 'The Victim of Fashion'.
- (3) See p. 28 below.

some indications that the play was revised for the Court performance. R. W. Bond⁽¹⁾ points out that the part of Neptune, as it stands in the play, is rather unsatisfactory, and J. R. Brown and Margaret Collier⁽²⁾ point out the difference between the usual formula of Igly's title-pages, 'Played before...', and the title-page to Calliope, which reads 'As it was playde before...', suggesting that the formula was deliberately varied to indicate that this was a revised version of the play. The force of this argument is somewhat weakened when we consider that Vidas, which has such stronger evidence of revision,⁽³⁾ has no such indication. Brown and Collier also suggest that the remark of the Astronomer 'I can tel thee what wether shall be betweene this and Octogessimus octavus mirabilia annus.^(III, iii, 40-1)' is best interpreted as a reference to the very day of performance, making it suitably high-flown nonsense. This would of course indicate that this sentence was added for the Court performance. One other small point which seems to have been overlooked is the significance of the completely irrelevant appearance of fairies in the sub-plot. Raffe, after a short soliloquy, interrupts himself

But what be these?

Enter Fayries dancing and playing and so. Exeunt.

I will follow them: to hell I shall not goe, for so faire faces neuer can haue such hard fortunes. What blacke boy is this?

Enter the Alchemist boy PETER.

(II,iii,5-9)

It looks as if the interruption originally was caused by the 'blacke

(1) The Complete Works of John Igly (Oxford, 1902) vol.II, pp.426-7.

(2) M.L.R., LI (1956) pp.220-1, 'A Note on the Date of Igly's Calliope'.

(3) See p. 8 ff below.

boy' only, but that the fairies were added to provide extra spectacle at the Court performance. A reason for the use of fairies is not hard to find. Just one month after Gallathea was presented at Court, the Paul's boys performed Endimion,⁽¹⁾ a play in which fairies also appear, though rather more relevantly. Perhaps Endimion was in rehearsal when Gallathea was presented, and the fairy costumes were already made, so they were put to use to provide a little extra spectacle in Gallathea. All this suggests that the play was touched up for performance at Court, but that the revision was probably not very extensive.

Loves Metamorphosis was the last of Iqly's plays to be published (1601), and it differs from the others in that its title-page announces that it was 'First playd by the Children of Paules, and now by the Children of the Chappell.' The accepted interpretation of this⁽²⁾ is that the play was performed at Paul's before 1591, when the Paul's boys were put down,⁽³⁾ and revived by the boys of the Chapel when they resumed acting in about 1600. Loves Metamorphosis further differs from the rest of Iqly's plays in that there is no comic sub-plot of cheeky pages; the fact that it is also appreciably shorter than any of the other plays has led to the conjecture that the sub-plot was cut when the play was revived. The suggestion that the sub-plot was cut because it contained anti-Marprelate material is attractive, but it would put the date of the writing of the play rather later than is usually

(1) See p. 28 } below.

(2) See Chambers, op. cit., vol.III, p.416 and Hunter op. cit., p.80.

(3) See Bond, op. cit., vol.III, p.298 and Hunter op. cit., p.82.

accepted. In view of the theory that I shall put forward concerning Edas, I think we may safely reject possibility of Love's Metamorphosis being involved in the Harprelate controversy. ⁽¹⁾ I do not believe that it is possible to come to a positive conclusion about the nature of the revision of Love's Metamorphosis, but there are at least two indications in the text that it has survived in a revised form. Cupid assures the shepherds that when they next meet their cruel mistresses, the nymphs will be metamorphosed to various appropriate forms, and two scenes later (V,i) Ceres complains to Cupid that they have indeed been changed. There is, however, no scene of metamorphosis, although the nymphs are apparently onstage in their metamorphosed shapes when Protea and Petulius see them (V,ii). At the head of one scene (V,i), Tirtena is announced with Ceres and Cupid, but remains silent and ignored throughout the scene. This, again, may indicate some revision, but since Tirtena is a very minor character who seems only to wait upon Ceres (she speaks only two lines in the play, in II,i), it may be that she is there simply as decoration. The possibility of revision due to changes in staging techniques is discussed below, ⁽²⁾ but, on the whole, I believe that Love's Metamorphosis is not greatly different from its original form; I do not see how a sub-plot of pages could fit into the scheme of the play, as it is rather difficult to see whose pages they might be, and, in any case, the play already has a sub-plot, though a serious one, in the story of Erisicthon, Protea and Petulius.

(1) See p. 20 below.

(2) See p. 71 below.

The only other play of Iyly's which shows any signs of revision is Midas, in many ways the least satisfactory of Iyly's plays. Although it was written well towards the end of his career, Midas shows little of the growing technical facility in plot and sub-plot manipulation that we notice in those other plays written at about the same time, or just before. The action of the sub-plot is obscure, and the main plot develops its themes much less completely than Endimion or Loves Metamorphosis, for example.

In the Prologue 'in Paules' Iyly describes the play as a 'gallinaufrey', a 'mingle-mangle', and wittily justifies it 'because the whole world is become an Hodge-podge'. 'Gallinaufrey' has become a term for Iyly's dramatic technique in general,⁽¹⁾ and in some ways it is appropriate enough; in context, however, it seems that Iyly is making a specific apology for what he himself considers to be an inferior play. The key passage is this:

Time hath confounded our mindes, our mindes the matter, but all cometh to this passe, that what heretofore hath been served in severall dishes for a feaste, is now minced in a charger for a Gallinaufrey. If wee present a mingle-mangle, our fault is to be excused, because the whole worlde is become an Hodge-podge.
(11.16-20)

If we analyse this image carefully - Iyly's images are usually as precise as they are ingenious - I believe that we shall discover that Iyly was apologising for a particular fault that both he and his audience were aware of. The 'gallinaufrey' clearly represents the play as it was presented on the occasion when the prologue was used, that is, the play as

(1) See, for example, G. K. Hunter, op. cit., p.220.

we have it before us; but, if this is so, Iyly would also be referring to Midas as 'heretofore serued in seuerall dishes for a feaste.' The 'seuerall dishes' may be an allusion to the two legends about King Midas that the play deals with, but I suggest that the image is more precise than this, and that the clue to its meaning lies in the contrast of 'charger', a single large plate, with 'seuerall dishes'. If Midas is the charger of second-rate fare, the several (separate?) dishes could be interpreted as representing two (or more) earlier plays, which Iyly regarded as superior, a 'feast', and which were 'minced' together to form the play as we have it. There is a good deal of evidence, internal and external, which supports this theory: that Midas is a rehashed version of two earlier plays by Iyly, which we may term, postulatively, urMidas I and urMidas II.

The most striking point which supports the theory is the obvious and untypical dualism of the main plot of Midas. Iyly was not above including in one play two separate and almost independent plots - in Loves Metamorphosis, for example - running concurrently to a common denouement, but in no other play does the action, after reaching a climax, start again on a different tack as it does in acts III and IV of Midas. The link between the two actions is confined to the last few lines of the third act. Historical plays like The Troublesome Reign of John, King of England (published in 1591, but probably written earlier) and the sequel to the popular Tamburlaine were being played on the public stage at about the same time as Iyly was writing Midas, and it is possible that Iyly adapted this genre to his own needs. It was not long after Midas was written that a less well-known playwright than Iyly was trying an

apprentice hand at revising the three parts of Henry VI. A more immediate and decorous example of the two-play genre is Whetstone's Promos and Cassandra, which was published in 1578; we cannot be certain that Lyly was influenced by Whetstone, but we can say, if Lyly dramatised the two legends of Midas in separate plays with a common dramatis personae, that there is precedent enough.

Obscure references in the main plot to Midas's unnatural love (II,1,88 and V,3,61) which seem to have no obvious relation to the play, and which have been variously interpreted by Bond⁽¹⁾ and Hunter,⁽²⁾ could conveniently be explained as the result of a revision which has left these remarks unsupported by the text. It is, however, in the sub-plot of Midas that we find the most interesting and otherwise unexplained inconsistencies. The first two scenes of the sub-plot are, typically, dependent almost entirely on verbal humour, as the pages Licio and Petulus, and the servant girl Pipinetta, parody courtly love. It is not until the third act, when the 'golden touch' episode has almost reached its conclusion, that, with the introduction of the barber and his boy, the sub-plot produces any active intrigue. The presence of the barber in the play poses one of the major questions which will concern us. Lyly's source⁽³⁾ clearly suggested the barber as one of the dramatis personae, for in the original legend of the ass's ears the barber is the means whereby the scandal is made known. Lyly has ingeniously connected him

(1) Op. cit., III,524, note to II,1,88.

(2) Op. cit., pp.182-3.

(3) Ovid's Metamorphoses, XI,90 ff. and XI,146 ff.

with the 'golden touch' legend by means of the business of the golden beard. The remarkable thing about Motto, however, is that he does not fulfil his obvious function in the second part of the play. There are a number of indications that Motto was originally intended to be the cause of the reeds' song, but that, for a reason which I shall indicate later, is excised from the second part - from the second play, according to our theory - those scenes which involved him.

Immediately before the reeds are heard for the first time, Sophronia says of Midas 'None hath access to him but Motto, as though melancholy were to be shau'n with a razor, not cur'd with a medicin' (IV,iv,48-50). This would seem to be an unnecessary and irrelevant remark, unless in preparation for the discovery of Motto as purveyor of the secret. If indeed Motto had been the cause of the reeds' song, Sophronia's remark becomes meaningfully barbed with unconscious irony.

Later, Midas proclaims

...if there be any so cunning, that can tell the reason of these reedes creaking, he shal haue my daughter to his wife, or if she refuse it, a Dukedome for his paines..., (V,1,48-51).

which is reasonable enough, and sounds as if it is preparing the way for an effective denouement. Nothing, however, comes of this. Instead, the final scene of the sub-plot is motivated by the proclamation which follows, '...and withal, that whosoever is so bolde as to say that Midas hath access eares, shal presently lose his,' (V,1,51-2) an afterthought which, even in the stylised world of Ilyyan comedy, seems contrary to sense and, indeed, runs counter to the increase in humility which is necessary for Midas's salvation. These same proclamations are echoed

in the final scene of the sub-plot, in almost identical words (V,ii,72-5).

If Igly had excised the business connected with Netto from the 'ass's ears' section of the play, the scene where the reeds learn of Midas's punishment must have been entirely reconstructed. A glance at this scene (IV,ii) confirms our suspicions. Five shepherds, who appear nowhere else in the play, enter, having apparently overheard the nymphs who judged the contest discussing Midas's ass's ears, and repeat the news to each other, along with a good deal of allegorical reference to Midas as Philip of Spain. The shepherds superstitiously remark that even reeds have ears (^{IV}H,ii,19), and this, apparently, is how the reeds learn the secret. It is an excessively feeble way of transmitting the information, particularly as the machinery for passing it on in the way suggested by the legend was carefully prepared. The scene can most charitably be explained as an interpolation for the court performance (hence the allegorical references flattering to the Queen) replacing an original scene in which Netto passed the secret on to the reeds.

Immediately after this scene there is direct evidence that the play has been revised, possibly that the scenes have in some way been re-organised. Towards the end of the fourth act, the Huntsman excuses himself '...but I must be gone, I perceiue Midas is come' (IV,iii,73), but after a few lines it is Mallacrites, Martius and Eristus who enter. Midas does not appear until act V scene i. This same scene is interesting in that it introduces another character who appears nowhere else in the play. Minutius is recruited by Licio and Petulus to 'cousen the barber' (IV,iii,74) - to which he readily assents - but he is not heard of again. Instead, in the last scene of the sub-plot (V,ii), it is

Pipinetta who joins the two boys. The names Pipinetta and Minutius, like Epiton in Endimion and Halfpenny in Mother Bombie, suggest a very small boy as actor. Both Endimion and Mother Bombie involve only one such part, and would have doubtless used the smallest boy in the company; if we think of Midas as two plays, Pipinetta would have been associated with urMidas I only, and Minutius with urMidas II. In the extant play the actor might have had to double the two parts.

This final scene of the sub-plot, again, is in many ways unsatisfactory. It does not in any way unite the sub-plot to the main plot, although, from Gallathea on, Lyly's other sub-plots end with some kind of unifying gesture; the intrigue within the sub-plot is scrappy and confused, and the whole thing comes to a rather feeble end.

R. W. Bond, in a long note,⁽¹⁾ attempts bravely to construct a coherent story from the various sub-plot scenes. His theory is probably correct, but the fact that a note is required at all suggests strongly that the sub-plot has been in some way 'mingle-mangled', as, even in Lyly's most complex play of sub-plot intrigue, Mother Bombie, the action is never so involved that the audience does not know precisely what is happening. Lyly's humour tends to develop from a situation in which the audience understands more of the action than any of the individual characters on-stage.

The scene begins in the style of the first two scenes of the sub-plot, with verbal humour provided by Motto's 'immemorie'. This humour is largely of the cuckold kind, and extends the parody of courtly

(1) Op. cit., vol.III, p.534, note to V,ii,⁴.

love which occupies the early scenes. Pipinetta - not Minutius - enters, and continues this theme with her song, in which she laments that her maidenhead is still intact. The rather strange addition to Midas's original proclamation, that 'whosoever saith, that Midas hath asses eares shal lose theirs' (KV, 411, 74), is made the means by which the boys avenge themselves on Netto, and brings the whole action of the sub-plot to a particularly lame conclusion. The feeble ending becomes even stranger, when we realise that the original story had so many opportunities for Lylyan wit, and would have provided the pages - who could so easily have caught the barber telling his secret to the reeds - with a real means of 'shaving the Barbars house' by suitable blackmail.

There is, then, a good deal of evidence from within the play itself to suggest that it has undergone considerable revision; in particular that the barber seems to have been excised as a causative element of the plot. I believe that we are in possession of external evidence which uniquely supports and explains the nature of the revision.

It has been generally accepted⁽¹⁾ that the Paul's boys were involved in the Maryrelate controversy, and that the most likely reason for their dissolution was that they were illegally engaged in presenting anti-Martin plays. There are two relevant references to the Midas legend in the Maryrelate pamphlets; since Midas was written, so far as we can tell⁽²⁾ at about the time of Pappe with an Hatchet, Lyly's contribution to the controversy, it is at least possible that these are references to

(1) Chambers, op. cit., vol. II, p. 18; Hunter, op. cit., p. 80.

(2) See Bond, op. cit., vol. III, p. 110 f; Hunter p. 76.

lyly's play. One reference, in fact, occurs in Harvey's attack on Lyly in Pierces's Supererogation. The other is a rather obscure remark made by Nashe in An Almond for a Parrat, written in February or March, 1589/90⁽¹⁾,

...now a dayes, a man can not haue a bout with a Ballkatter or write Midas habet aures asininas in great Romaine letters, but hee shall bee in daunger of a further displeasure.

I suggest that this reference may be explained as a direct allusion to the scene in urMidas II which Lyly replaced with the five shepherds. It is easy to imagine Motto, no longer able to contain the secret he was entrusted with, writing it 'in great Romaine letters' (Motto 'has latin' - V,ii,160) and burying it in the reeds. The substitution of a written for a whispered message would have been an effectively dramatic realization of the original legend. If this is a reference to the missing scene, Motto must have been some kind of a Martin- or Harvey-figure. Two further points may support this possibility: Nashe dedicates Have With You to Saffron Walden (1592) to a barber, a humorous touch which may have had further ironical content if Harvey had already been identified with a barber, and, at the close of the same pamphlet, Nashe remarks that 'The Paradoxe of the Asse, M. Lilly hath wrought vppon',⁽²⁾ an allusion, otherwise unexplained, which may refer to urMidas II, particularly if the original denouement of the play contained some such business as Motto inheriting the ass's ears from Midas because of his betray-

(1) See R. B. McKerrow, The Works of Thomas Nashe (Oxford, 1958), vol.IV, p.461. Text from III,341-2.

(2) Id. cit., vol.III, p.139.

al of the secret. If Motto was a satirical figure, connected with the Margerelate controversy, the reason for the suppression of the scenes involving him is not hard to find. On 6th November 1589, the Privy Council issued its order to stay all plays in the city, pending censorship by a committee representing the Church, the State, and the Master of the Revels.⁽¹⁾ If Midas in its original form used Motto, suitably mocked by the pages, as a means of satirising the Martinists, it is possible that the censors required that all such scenes be excised, forcing Iyly to substitute the weaker scenes already discussed.

The notable thing about this revision is that it is connected with the 'ass's ears' section of the play; such sub-plot ^{as} that remains is largely concerned with the 'golden touch' business of the golden beard. By relating the theory, that Midas was originally two plays dealing with these themes separately, to the text as we have it, it is possible to arrive at a fairly coherent picture of the nature of the revision that Iyly was forced to make.

UrMidas I. dealing with the golden touch, is relatively complete. The main plot has no obvious omissions, except that the theme of courtly love, parodied in the sub-plot, ^{and} for which there is ample opportunity of expression in the relationship between Eristus and Celia, and perhaps in Midas's unnatural love, is touched upon only in one short passage (II,1,1-35).⁽²⁾ Also, in a fuller version, we would expect some kind of tidying-up scene after Midas recovers from the golden touch.

(1) Chambers, op. cit., vol.IV, pp.305-6.

(2) Hunter has remarked on this imbalance, op. cit., p.183.

The sub-plot is also fairly complete, although there is probably at least one scene missing - hence the necessity for Bond's note - between III,ii and V,ii. The references by both Motto and Dello to the pages overhearing them (III,ii,10 and 75), and thus cosening them of the golden beard, may indicate another missing scene. We cannot be sure how the business of the golden beard was originally concluded; a fitting end would be to have it change back to ordinary hair onstage while Midas is offstage in the river Pactolus, thus automatically resolving the struggle for ownership.

Apparently urMidas I was not deeply involved in the Marprelate controversy, for such scenes as may have been cut would seem, on the whole, to have been incidental to the main purpose of the play, and were presumably omitted for the sake of brevity. This play, clearly the earlier, may well have been written before Iyly became interested in the controversy. UrMidas II, however, is much less complete. In the main plot we miss only a possible opening scene with Midas at the hunt, and a probable scene in which the cause of the reeds' song would have been revealed. Of the sub-plot, however, we have only one complete scene, the huntsman scene (IV,iii), and possibly a part of V,ii, after the entrance of Motto. From line 99 in this scene, Pipinetta, who was presumably replaced by Minatius in urMidas II, is silent. The business involving Motto in uttering the forbidden words must, like the scene with the five shepherds, belong to the revision, but before this (i.e. about l.125), and after Motto's entry, may be a survival from the sub-plot of urMidas II. It is significant that, to my knowledge, the only echoes in any of Iyly's plays from Pappe with an Hatchet occur precisely at this point. The

enigmatic tag tria sequuntur tria (V,ii,166; Fappe, Bond, op. cit., vol.III, p.419⁴⁰⁶) occurs in both, and in Fappe (p.410) Lyly threatens that if Martin 'sticke to libelling' he will '...make him pull his powting croseloath over his beetle browes for melancholie, and then my next booke, shall be Martin in his mubble fubbles.' This is striking enough, for - true to his threat - this is exactly how Lyly introduces Motto at his entry in V,ii,

Pet. How now Motto, what all a wort?

Motto. I am as melancholy as a cat.

Licio. Melancholy? marie gap, is melancholy a word for a barbans mouth? Thou shouldst say, heauie, dull and doltish: melancholy is the creast of Courtiers armes, and now euerie base companion, beeing in his muble fubbles, sayes he is melancholy. (11.99-104)

If Lyly completed urfidus II at about the time that he wrote the second part of Fappe with an Hatchet, itself completed halfway through October 1589, (1) there would have been just time for it to reach the stage before the Privy Council edict of November 6th. It is possible that it was never performed, but Harvey's reference, in Pierce's Supererogation, dated November 5th, suggests that he had heard of it. If the evidence of an enemy is to be trusted, Lyly must by then have written some kind of anti-Martin play,

...all you, that tender the preservation of your good names, were best to please Pap-hatchet, and fee Euphues betimes, for feare lesse he be nocued, or some One of his Apes hired, to make a Playe of you. (2)

It is in the same general attack on Lyly that urfidus II seems to be referred to:

(1) See Bond, op. cit., vol.III, p.392; McKerrow, Nashe vol.IV, p.461.

(2) A. B. Grosart, The Works of Gabriel Harvey (London, 1884) vol.II, p.213.

Indeede what more easie, then to finde the man by his humour, the Midas by his eares, the Calfe by his tongue, the goose by his quill, the Play-maker by his stile, the hatchet by the Pap? (1)

If we suppose that, soon after November 12th, when the censorship committee was formed, Iyly found that much of his latest play was useless, we can see why he decided to patch up what was left rather than try to produce another, for the Paul's boys performed the 'gallimaufrey' Midas at Court on January 6th, 1589-90, after, no doubt, public rehearsal at Pauls, where the apologetic 'Prologue' was used. Presumably, after the Court performance of Midas, the Paul's boys survived to present Mother Bombie, and perhaps Love's Metamorphosis, but before October 1591, when Iyly's plays were entered in the Stationers' Register, they had in some way transgressed, perhaps by putting on urMidas II or some other anti-Martin play, and were dissolved as a result. (2) The sequence of events is interesting enough to put in tabular form:

urMidas I written and probably urMidas II begun, before Iyly became involved in the controversy.

First part of Pappe with an Hatchet written.

urMidas II, with anti-Marprelate material, written.

Pappe with an Hatchet completed, halfway through October, 1589.

Harvey's references in Pierces Supererogation, November 5th, 1589.

Privy Council edict, banning all plays, November 6th, 1589.

Censorship committee formed, November 12th, 1589.

(1) Ibid., vol.II, p.215.

(2) See the epistle 'The Printer to the Reader' at the beginning of Endimion (Bond, op. cit., vol.II, p.8.)

Midas, revised, rehearsed at Pauls and

performed at Court on

January 6th, 1589/90.

Nashe laments the censorship of urMidas II, February-March, 1589/90.

Paul's boys put down before

October 1591.

This, incidentally, would rule out the possibility of Loves Metamorphosis, or any of the other plays, being involved in the controversy, for the schedule is too tight to allow any other play to fit in.

The theory that Midas is a revised version of two separate plays is of more than purely bibliographical importance, for it provides an adequate external reason for what must otherwise be considered an unaccountable lapse in the steady technical development of Lyly's art. In the only substantial work of literary criticism of Lyly's plays yet advanced, Hunter's John Lyly, Midas is consistently discussed before Endimion, although it is generally agreed to have been written after. This is largely because, as we have it, Midas is undoubtedly a work of lesser achievement, its themes less balanced, its plot disjointed, and its parts less inter-related. The chief strength of the theory that Midas is a 'single-mangling' of two separate plays is that it allows us to see Midas in its true place in the development of Lyly as playwright.

The Woman in the Moone involves rather different problems from the earlier plays. It is the only play of Lyly's written in blank verse; it is divided formally into acts and scenes, but the characters involved do not head each scene as in other plays; the stage-directions are more numerous and informative, some, perhaps, added after the others, as they appear in different types in the quarto, and may represent a different hand in the printer's copy; the stage machinery used is more

elaborate than in the other plays, as this is the only occasion when Iyly used an upper level (the throne) or a trap (the cave); and, above all, the nature of the acting parts is different. There are no cheeky pages, as is usual with Iyly, but Ganophilus, a clown not a page, mature enough to make love to his mistress, as his name indicates, and the parts of the shepherds require a much wider expressive range of emotion than any part in the other plays. To realise this, we need only compare, for example, the vivid anger and violent imagery of Stecias, as he prepares to kill Pandora,

Go life, flye soule; go wretched Stecias!
 Curst he Vtopia for Pandoraes sake!
 Let wild bores with their tuskes plow vp my lawnes,
 Devouring Wolves come shake my tender lames,
 Drive vp my goates vnto some steepy rocke,
 And let them fall downe headlong in the sea. (V,i,243-8)

with Erisiothon's clock-work, unmotivated anger, and the conventional imagery, of no obvious relevance to the emotion, in Loves Metamorphosis,

What noyse is this, what assembly, what Idolatrie? Is the modestie of Virgins turned to wantonnesse? The honour of Ceres accompted immortal? And Erisiothon, ruler of this Forrest, esteemed of no force? Impudent giglots that you are, to disturbe my game, or dare do honour to any but Erisiothon. It is not your faire faces as smooth as Ieat, nor your entysing eyes, though they drew yron like Adamants, nor your filed speeches, were they as forcible as Thessalides, that shall make me any way flexible. (I,ii,58-65)

It is generally agreed⁽¹⁾ that The Woman in the Moone, because of these characteristics, and because it is the only play of Iyly's which does not mention the Paul's boys on the title-page, was probably written for the public stage - Iyly's last attempt, presumably unsuccessful, to retain popularity as a playwright. A comparison of the two passages quoted

(1) See Chambers, op. cit., vol.III, p.417; Hillebrand, The Child Actors, University of Illinois (1926) p.142; Hunter, Iyly, p.82.

shows how far Iyly managed to adapt his style to the demands and resources of the public stage; for Iyly The Woman in the Moone is a play of strong emotions, imagery and rhythm, but to the audience of about 1594-6 it must have seemed small beer.

The text of The Woman in the Moone, then, was probably aimed more at the usual play-reading public. It is not noticeably more corrupt than Iyly's other plays, and again we may place confidence in its general accuracy. It is, I suppose, possible that the added stage-directions were the result of a revision by Iyly himself before it was printed. There is no evidence that the play was ever revised.

One further point of textual importance remains to be discussed. W. W. Greg, in an article which has prompted a great deal of discussion, cast doubts upon the authenticity of the songs published for the first time in Blount's 1632 edition of six of the plays.⁽¹⁾ G. K. Hunter, in an appendix⁽²⁾ has restored some welcome sanity to the discussion. His theory is that Blount obtained the songs from the music library of the Paul's choir, where they had been kept, separate from the plays of their repertoire. The reasoned simplicity of this theory must gain its acceptance.

Hunter, however, does not refer in detail to a number of songs

(1) 'On the Authorship of the Songs in Iyly's Plays' M.L.R., I (1905). He also contributed a letter on the subject to the T.L.S. (Jan. 3rd, 1924). See also W. J. Lawrence, 'On Iyly's Songs', T.L.S. (Dec. 20th, 1925); Moore, J. R. 'The Songs in Iyly's Plays' P.M.L.A., XLII (1927), pp.623-640; G. W. Whiting, 'Canary Wine and Campaigns', M.L.N., XLV (1930), p.148; R. W. Bond, R.E.S., VI (1930), pp.295-299 'Iyly's Songs' and 'Addendum', R.E.S., VII (1931) pp.442-447; Dodds, M. H., 'Songs in Iyly's Plays', T.L.S. (28th June, 1941).

(2) Op. cit., p.367 ff.

which earlier critics have suggested ^{had} have some relation to the songs attributed to Lyly. J. R. Moore and M. H. Dodds have suggested that a total of four songs written before 1632 are related in some way to the songs published by Blount in that year. The songs concerned are the blacksmith's song from the Mountebank's Masque (1617-18), which has been attributed, on doubtful evidence, to Marston (cf. Gallathea IV,ii), a song from Arabia Sitiens (1601) by Percy (cf. Midas V,iii), Vulcan's song from London's Tempe (1610) by Dekker (cf. Sappho and Phao IV,iv) and 'The Payries Dance' (cf. Endimion IV,iii) from Thomas Ravenscroft's songbook A Brief Discourse, s.v. (1614).

None of these songs is an obvious imitation of the equivalent song printed by Blount, and there is some justification of the view that there is no direct relationship between them, and that any similarities are due either to coincidence, or to the dependence of both songs on a common ancestor. The possibility of a direct relationship between the songs, however, far from casting doubts on their authenticity, accords admirably with Hunter's theory.

Two of the songs, those from Arabia Sitiens and The Mountebank's Masque, are metrically identical with the equivalent songs in Blount, and could, in keeping with their musical rather than literary importance to the Paul's boys, have used the same music. Ravenscroft's song also has a musical link, as it was published in a specifically musical context, hence the only song which has no apparent link musically is Dekker's.

One other fact clarifies the picture. The three writers we can be certain of were all associated with the Paul's boys at a time when

some of Lyly's plays may have been revived. Thus they would probably have had access to the songs, if they were indeed retained in the Paul's library, and may even have had their attention drawn to them on the stage. Percy was associated with the Paul's boys with Arabia Sitiens itself, in about 1601, Dekker with Satironastix (1601),⁽¹⁾ and Ravenscroft, born in about 1592, was, according to the Dictionary of National Biography, a chorister at St. Paul's - old enough to have been one of the 'fayries' who sang the related song in Endimion, if the play was revived at the same time as Loves Metamorphosis. There is some rather striking support of this conjecture. Two songs from The Maydes Metamorphosis, also acted at about this time by the boys of Paul's, appear in the same songbook; it seems reasonable to suppose that Ravenscroft used his activities as a chorister at Paul's as a source for several of his songs. If Marston was indeed the author of the Mountebank's Masque, the chain of reasoning is complete, as Antonio and Mellida was produced by the Paul's boys in about 1599. This is one link which must remain conjectural; but whoever the author was, it is at least possible that he also had access to the Paul's library.

This suggests that these early reminiscences of songs later published by Blount were the result of their availability in the library at St. Paul's. Percy and the author of Arabia Sitiens may have written new words, with a glance at Lyly's, to the original music; Dekker's reminiscence (if it is one) was purely verbal; and Ravenscroft published a polished and generalised version of the original he may have

(1) These dates, of production, are taken from Chambers, op. cit.

known when a chorister at Paul's. The theory that Blount obtained the songs from the library of the Paul's choir gives a piquant accuracy to his claim in the epistle 'To the Reader',

These papers of [Iyly's], lay like dead Laurels in a Churchyard;
But I have gathered the scattered branches vp, and by a Charme
(gotten from Apollo) made them greene againe... (1)

A charm from Apollo might well be concerned with music as well as poetry, and perhaps the 'Churchyard' was St. Paul's. (*)

Finally, we must consider briefly the question of the relevance of works outside the accepted canon which have been attributed to Iyly, and we must establish how much we can rely on the accepted chronology of the plays.

In his edition of the Works, R. W. Bond includes a number of 'entertainments' (2) written for the Queen on progress, a large number of poems, and one play, The Haydes Metamorphosis, considered 'doubtful'. The inclusion of a large body of undistinguished lyric poetry as Iyly's, on little or no evidence, must prejudice us against the other attributions. There is no doubt that Bond, once he had started, let the game of hunt-the-Iyly go too far. To be fair, The Haydes Metamorphosis was originally attributed to Iyly, not by Bond, but by William Winstanley, (3) and Bond is of the opinion that at most Iyly only had a part share in it. Hunter does not mention the play, and I think we may safely assume that

(1) Bond, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 2-3.

(2) See also Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Mitcham (Yale, 1953) ed. Leslie Hotson, and attributed by him to Iyly.

(3) Lives of the English Poets (1687). Bond points out that, since Winstanley does not mention Loves Metamorphosis it is probably a mistake (see Bond, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 334-5).

(*) The substance of this comment on the songs has been accepted by Notes and Queries for publication, and appeared in March 1965 (New Series vol. XII, no 3, pp. 93-4).

its importance in a critical study of Iyly's plays is negligible. The issue is not quite so clear-cut when we come to consider the various 'entertainments' attributed to Iyly. Hunter admits that some of them could have been written by Iyly, but warns that 'the fact that they all contain figures that may be termed Euphuistic is no evidence of Iyly's authorship'.⁽¹⁾ The importance of the entertainments in any case is minimal, for they are slight performances, with wit commonplace enough, and carefully tailored sentiments, but there are one or two that seem to have a touch sufficiently deft to suggest that Iyly may have had a hand in writing them. In particular, those performed in 1592, during a lull in Iyly's playwriting activities, at Quarrendon, Bisham, Sudeley and Rycote⁽²⁾ deserve attention. The quasi-dramatic dialogue between Liberty and Constancy in the Entertainment at Quarrendon, for example, provides an interesting counterpoint to Loves Metamorphosis, and may even indicate why that play was never performed at Court.⁽³⁾ Of one thing we may be certain; whether or not these entertainments were written by Iyly, they demonstrate that at the time of their performance Iyly's influence in matters concerning courtly drama and compliment was still strong. I have myself indulged in some hunt-the-Iyly, and have come to the conclusion that Nashe's play Summers Last Will and Testament may be the result of a collaboration between Nashe and Iyly, with Nashe working from a half finished 'show' of Iyly's. Certainly it contains a great deal of

(1) Hunter, op. cit., p.84.

(2) Bond, op. cit., vol.I, pp.435-490.

(3) This entertainment, however, has more recently been ascribed to Richard Eedes, of Oxford (See Chambers, op. cit., vol.III, p.407

satirical comment on the Paul's boys, who ^{probably} acted it, and also on their best known writer, Iyly. ⁽¹⁾ Again, any part Iyly may have had in Summer's Last Will is of more importance to a general study of Iyly's life and influence than a critical study of his works, although the fact that the play is in blank verse may be a significant link between the earlier prose comedies and the later blank verse play, The Woman in the Moon. If Iyly did write part of Summer's Last Will, this would increase the possibility of his involvement in the entertainments, for it would demonstrate that he did not consider himself above the writing of mere 'shows'.

It remains for us to determine how rigidly we may establish the order in which Iyly wrote the plays. Some of the evidence which enables us to arrive at a chronology of the plays has been mentioned briefly in the preceding pages, but there is further evidence, both internal and external, which must be considered.

We can be pretty certain of the order of four of the eight plays, as each has a reference which would be intelligible only if the previous one were written. In Gallathea, Venus says (V,iii,85) to Cupid 'Syr boy where have you beene? alwaies taken, first by Sapho, nowe by Diana...', an obvious reference to Sapho and Phao. In Loves Metamorphosis, Ceres says, referring to Gallathea, 'Dianas Nymphe were as chast as Ceres Virgines, as faire, as wise: how Cupid tormented them, I had rather you should heare then feele...' (II,1,76), and in The Woman

and Clifford Leech, 'Sir Henry Lee's Entertainment of Elizabeth in 1592', M.L.R. XXX (1935), pp.52-5.

(1) See Appendix A below.

in the Moone, Leachus swears 'by Ceres and her sacred Nymphs' (III,1, 50). These four plays were published in 1584, 1592, 1601 and 1597 respectively. Into this framework we must fit Alexander and Campaspe, published in 1584, Endimion (1591), Midas (1592) and Mother Bombie (1594).

Alexander and Campaspe and Sapho and Phao were both produced at Court in 1583/4, ⁽¹⁾ on 1st January and 6th February respectively. Although it was produced at Court after Alexander and Campaspe, Sapho and Phao is a rather inferior play; and it is possible that it was written before Alexander and Campaspe, and that Lyly decided to begin his career as a Court dramatist with his latest production. There is no way of deciding priority with certainty, but I feel that Sapho and Phao is inferior, not because of lack of expertise, but because, while working with less dramatic material, Lyly was striving too much after ambitious effect. Much of the verbally spectacular 'unnatural natural history' in Sapho and Phao, for example, was invented by Lyly, whereas in Alexander and Campaspe Lyly indulged in it less frequently, and usually found an authentic myth for his analogies. It is probably safest to assume that the two plays were roughly contemporaneous in writing as well as production.

Endimion was not mentioned with Gallathea when that play was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1585, so we may assume that it was written after 1585, and before its performance at Court on 2nd February,

(1) See Chambers, op. cit., vol.III, pp.414-5; Hillebrand, op. cit., p.134; Hunter, op. cit., p.74.

1587/8.⁽¹⁾ If we accept the suggestion that Loves Metamorphosis is dependent on Greene's Alcinda,⁽²⁾ which was published in 1588, this would put Endimion between Callathea and Loves Metamorphosis. UrMidas I, urMidas II and Midas we may date after Endimion, as we have seen above, and Mother Bombie, because of its later printing, may be assumed to come after Midas, but where Loves Metamorphosis comes in relation to these two we can only conjecture. If we are to attach any significance to the table drawn up by C. G. Child⁽³⁾ analysing Iyly's stylistic changes, we will put Loves Metamorphosis between Endimion and Midas, a plausible enough position. But, although such evidence cannot be wholly dismissed, and it must be admitted that the figures correspond closely to what we know of the chronology, it seems that the safest attitude is to consider the three plays as a group, written between 1588 and 1591, when the Paul's boys were put down. We may safely put The Women in the Moone as Iyly's last play. It was only when the resources of Paul's boys were no longer available to him that he turned to the public stage.

These conclusions may be expressed in tabular form:

<u>Alexander and Campaspe</u>	}	written before 1583.
<u>Sappho and Phao</u>		
<u>Callathea</u>		before 1585.
<u>Endimion</u>		before 1588.

- (1) See Chambers, op. cit., vol.III, p.415; Hunter, op. cit., p.76.
 (2) See F. Brie, 'Iyly and Greene' Englische Studien XLII (1910), pp.217-222.
 (3) See p. 166 below and Appendix B.

<u>Loves Metamorphosis</u>	}	before 1591.
(<u>urMidas I. urMidas II</u>)		
<u>Midas</u>		
<u>Mother Bombie</u>		
(<u>Summer's Last Will?</u>)	}	before 1592?
(<u>Entertainments?</u>)		
<u>The Women in the Moone</u>		before 1595.

Throughout the rest of this work, except where the argument requires acknowledgement of its conjectural basis, I have assumed this chronology.

CHAPTER II

THE STAGE

The stages on which the plays were presented.

Before discussing in detail the way in which Lyly's plays were staged, we must establish, as far as possible, which stages he wrote for. Alexander and Campaspe and Sonho and Phao present no problem; they were clearly written for Court performance, and were presented first as 'exercises' at the theatre in the Blackfriars. They were published in 1584 (the entry in the Stationers' Register for Sonho and Phao is on 6th April), presumably because the Blackfriars theatre was closed at Easter 1584, ⁽¹⁾ and the 'Oxford Boys' dispersed. ⁽²⁾

Gallathea is not so easy to place. It seems to have been presented at Court on 1st January, 1587/8, but was earlier entered in the Stationers' Register on 1st April, 1585, not being printed, however, until 1592, after a second entry, with Endimion and Midas, on 4th October, 1591. It is understandable that Lyly should have kept Gallathea longer than Alexander and Campaspe or Sonho and Phao, even if it had reached the stage of production at Blackfriars, as it had apparently not been presented at Court. After waiting a year for a chance to produce it, Lyly must have decided that he might as well publish it, but for some

(1) See Hunter, op. cit., p.74, and p.34 below.

(2) The 'Oxford Boys' were probably some combination of the boys of the Chapel, the boys of Windsor and the Paul's boys. (See Hillebrand, op. cit., p.133 ff., Hunter, op. cit., p.74.)

reason changed his mind, and withdrew it after it had been entered in the Register. What the reason for his change of mind was, we cannot tell. Baker⁽¹⁾ associates it with the writ issued to Nathaniel Giles on April 26th authorising him to take up boys for the choir, taking this as an indication that the Paul's boys were once again active. Or it may be that about this time the Queen made one of her ill-fated promises to Lyly about the possibility of a career at Court. In a letter of December 1597 to Sir Robert Cecil, Lyly complains

I have not byn importunst, that thes 12 yeres w^t vnwearied pacienc,
have entertayned the p'roguing of her maities promises... (2)

which would put the promise sometime in 1585, the year that Gallathea was withdrawn from publication. It may be, then, that Gallathea was played on three stages; at Blackfriars, before 1585, at Court, possibly in a slightly revised form,⁽³⁾ in 1587/8, and presumably at the same time as an exercise at Paul's. We know, from contemporary references, that at about this time plays were presented at Paul's. In Lyly's own Panpe with en Hatchet, in a marginal note to the outline of a suitably scurrilous 'Tragedie' with Martin as villain, we are informed that 'If it be shewed at Pauls, it will cost you foure pence: at the Theater two pence: at Saint Thomas a Watrings nothing.'⁽⁴⁾ - an interesting indication

(1) G. P. Baker's edition of Endimion (New York, 1894), p.cxxiv ff.

(2) See Bond, op. cit., vol.I, p.68; A. Feuillerat, John Lyly: Contribution a l'Histoire de la Renaissance en Angleterre, (Cambridge, 1910), in Appendix A', p.554; Hunter, op. cit., p.356, n.63.

(3) See p. 5f. above.

(4) Bond, op. cit., vol.III, p.408.

also of the different audience expected at the more select Paul's playhouse. We might expect that Lyly would repeat the convenient arrangement which obtained at the Blackfriars, presenting those plays which were to be produced at Court in the private theatre first. The prologue 'in Pauls' to Midas already discussed in detail, indicates that this is exactly what he did.

Endimion, produced at court on 2nd February, 1587/8, ⁽¹⁾ and the various forms of Midas, produced in its revised form at Court on 6th January, 1589/60, would also have been played on the stage at Pauls. Mother Bombie and Loves Metamorphosis, the only two plays of Lyly's which seem not to have been presented at Court (although Mother Bombie is included in the Six Court Comedies published by Blount in 1632, and Loves Metamorphosis is called 'A Wittie and Courtly Pastorall' on the title-page) were both published as having been played by the children of Paul's, and must have been produced on the Paul's stage before 1591, when the company was put down. Loves Metamorphosis ⁽²⁾ was also produced at the second Blackfriars theatre by the children of the Chapel. The late date of publication of these two plays supports the assumption that they were not presented at Court; Lyly's foresight in withdrawing Gallathea from publication had ^{been justified} paid-off, and it is natural that he would have retained these plays while there was a possibility that he might find a company to produce them. There is no reason, of course, why a play already published should not be presented at Court, but publication would have allowed any rival company to use the play, and perhaps to steal

(1) See Chambers, op. cit., vol.III, p.415; Hunter, op. cit., p.76.

(2) See p. 6f. above.

Igly's thunder. Why Loves Metamorphosis was not published at the same time as Mother Bombe we cannot be sure, but it may be that Igly sold it to the children of the Chapel when it became obvious that he would not be able to use it himself.

We may summarise our knowledge of the stages that these plays of Igly's were produced on in this table:

<u>Blackfriars I</u>	<u>Paul's</u>	<u>Court</u>	<u>Blackfriars II</u>
<u>Alexander and Campaspe</u>		<u>Alexander and Campaspe</u> (1st. January 1583/4)	
<u>Sappho and Phao</u>		<u>Sappho and Phao</u> (6th Feb. 1583/4)	
<u>Gallathea?</u>	<u>Gallathea</u>	<u>Gallathea</u> (1st Jan. 1587/8)	
<u>Blackfriars I closed Easter 1584.</u>			
	<u>Endimion</u>	<u>Endimion</u> (2nd Feb. 1587/8)	
	<u>Loves Metamorphosis</u>		<u>Loves Metamorphosis</u> (c.1600)
	(<u>urMidas I</u>)		
	(<u>urMidas II</u>)		
	<u>Midas</u>	<u>Midas</u> (6th Jan. 1589/90)	
	<u>Mother Bombe</u>		
	<u>Paul's closed c.1591</u>		
		(<u>Women in the Woods</u>)	

The Woman in the Moone has no indication on the title-page of the company which presented it. Any attempt to determine what playhouse it would have been produced in is bound to be mainly guesswork, but there is enough evidence for our guess to be a relatively well-informed one. The Woman in the Moone was entered in the Stationers' Register on September 22nd, 1595, but it was not printed until 1597. A delay of two years (or at least eighteen months) between entry and printing was unusual, as a glance at Appendix L of The Elizabethan Stage⁽¹⁾ will demonstrate, and it may be that, as seems to have happened with Gallathea, Iyly found an opportunity to have the play produced after he had entered it for publication. If we can trust the evidence of the title-page, it was at some time performed at Court. The obvious place to look for traces of such a production, since The Woman in the Moone was probably written for an adult company, is in Henslowe's Diary. Two plays, marked as 'ne', and played between September 22nd, 1595 and the end of 1597, have titles which could conceivably have referred to The Woman in the Moone. 'Wonder of a Woman' was produced nine times between 15th October 1595 and 'maye Daye' 1596,⁽²⁾ and 'Woman Hard to Please' was played twelve times between January 27th, 1597 and May 27th, 1597.⁽³⁾ The first of these is remarkably apt, not only because the 'wonder' of the title is so appropriate to a play about the miraculous creation of the first woman, but because the date of its first pro-

(1) Vol.IV, p.379 ff.

(2) See Henslowe's Diary, ed. R. A. Foakes and R. T. Rickert, (Cambridge, 1961) pp.32,33,34,36.

(3) Ibid., pp.56,57,58.

duction comes soon enough after the entry to make a stay in printing plausible, and because the final production recorded allows ample time for the quarto to appear in 1597. How long it took Henslowe's company to rehearse a new play is difficult to decide, but at about the time when 'Wonder of a Woman' was produced, the company was introducing a new play every fortnight, though of course the rehearsals for each may have been over a longer period. During the run of 'Wonder of a Woman', the Admiral's men appeared at Court four times, ⁽¹⁾ on January 1st and 4th, and on February 22nd and 24th. They did not appear at Court during the run of 'Woman Hard to Please'; although the title could well refer to Pandora, its late date of production and the lack of opportunity for a Court performance combine to make it unlikely to have been Iyly's play. An analysis of the takings ⁽²⁾ recorded for 'Wonder of a Woman' accords with the apparent lack of appeal of The Woman in the Moone. It opens with a 'gate' of 53 shillings, a good sum, even when compared with other new plays, but rapidly the takings drop to 23, 27, 20 and 14 shillings. ⁽³⁾ The highest take recorded for the play follows, on St. Steven's day, 25th December, when the total was three pounds, two shillings, but again the takings fall rapidly to 27 and 11 shillings. After a break of three months, the last recorded performance, on 'maye Daye' 1596, grossed only

(1) See Chambers, op. cit., vol.IV, Appendix A, p.110.

(2) The takings recorded were probably only Henslowe's share of the proceeds from the gallery (see Greg's edition of the Diary (London, 1904-8), II, pp.133-4).

(3) Foakes and Rickert, op. cit., pp.32-33.

22 shillings.

None of this evidence is sufficient to allow a definite conclusion, but the coincidences of time are remarkable enough, I think, to make the identification of The Woman in the Moone with 'Wonder of a Woman' at least a sound conjecture. Two further points may be mentioned here, for what they are worth. The stage requirements of The Woman in the Moone (a raised throne or upper level accessible from the stage, a discovery-space, and a trap) are similar to those of a number of plays known to have been presented at the Rose, notably A Looking Glass for London (1594) and Old Fortunatus (1600),⁽¹⁾ and the only other play known to have been printed by the same press as The Woman in the Moone, The Blind Beggar of Alexandria,⁽²⁾ by George Chapman, was published by the same man, William Jones, and was also produced as 'ne' in the same season at the Rose, four months after 'Wonder of a Woman'.⁽³⁾ The Blind Beggar was published in 1598, after running until its last recorded entry on 1st April, 1597,⁽⁴⁾ almost a year after 'Wonder of a Woman' was dropped from the repertoire, and seems to have been produced again in about 1601.⁽⁵⁾ The title-page of the 1598 quarto describes it 'As it hath been sundry times publickly acted in London, by the right

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- (1) See p. 76 ff. below for a more detailed discussion of this point.
 (2) See the preface to the Malone Society Reprint of The Blind Beggar, p.v.
 (3) See Foakes and Rickert, ed. cit., p.34.
 (4) Ibid., p.57.
 (5) Ibid., p.169.

honourable the Earle of Nottingham, Lord High Admirall his seruanter.', but not all plays known to have been acted by The Admirall's men acknowledge this on the title-page. (1) To Lyly, it would have been more important, since his play had not been a great success on the public stage, that it had been presented at Court.

The nature of the stage. (a) external evidence.

Most of Lyly's ^{prose} plays, then, were written for three stages, Blackfriars, Paul's and the Court. One play (Gallathea) may have been produced on all three, Alexander and Campaspe and Sappho and Phao were produced both at Court and at Blackfriars, and Endimion and Midas were produced both at Court and at Paul's. In the discussion of Lyly's staging which follows, it is assumed that these three stages would have been substantially the same from the point of view of production. Much of the glamour of the plays at Blackfriars and Paul's, and hence much of their ability to draw audiences, must have been derived from their close association with plays about to be presented at Court, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the stages, perhaps the entire playhouses, were constructed so that they would be as close as possible to the conditions and the atmosphere of a Court performance. The Blackfriars theatre began, ostensibly at least, as a place for rehearsal, and it is possible that the same properties and costumes were used for these 'rehearsals' as for the performance at Court, although they were, of course, the property of the Revels Office. The importance of this assumption is

(1) See, for example, A Knack to Know an Honest Man (1596), marked as 'ne' on October 22nd, 1594 (Foakes and Rickert, ed. cit., p.25).

that we can gather such evidence as exists from the three sources, and form a composite picture of Lyly's stage. Similarly, we can analyse the plays presented on the three stages for internal evidence of Lyly's techniques of production as a body, without having to allow to any great extent for such external variables as differing or improved stage facilities. Undoubtedly the public stage, more robust and less conservative, would have had some influence on the private stage eventually, but I doubt if this would have been significant before 1591, when the boy actors disappeared for a long time from the Court. When the companies were reformed, they were not the purveyors of a separate and long-standing tradition, but were curiosities who 'aped' the adult actors. (1)

The Blackfriars Playhouse. The building in which the Blackfriars Theatre was situated is known to us in considerable detail. With the help of surveys made when the Priory was dissolved, and the leases of the occupants up to and including Richard Farrant, Master of the Children of Windsor, who obtained the lease in 1576 and turned a portion of it into the first Blackfriars theatre, we can gain a fairly accurate plan of the area used for the playhouse. (2)

The lease was divided into two parts; a northern section

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- (1) For a discussion of the Court play, see chapter III in Hunter, op. cit., 'Entertaining the Court of Elizabeth'. For a discussion of the change in attitude towards the child actors see A. Harbage, Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions, (New York, 1952), p.69 ff.
- (2) The surviving records are in the Losely MSS, reprinted in C. W. Wallace, Evolution of the English Drama..., (Berlin, 1912), and Malone Society Collections vol.II. Chambers's reconstruction is much the same, but differs in some details. See fig.1, f.p.40.

measuring about 46' x 27' and a southern section of 110' x 22', occupying the eastern half of the large (110' x 52') upper frater of the Old Priory. The other half of the frater was occupied by Richard Frith, a dancing-master, and a small room at right-angles to the main building, on the western side, was occupied by one Bradshaw. Access to Farrant's lodging was through the northern section, where Farrant's predecessor, Sir Henry Neville, had built two staircases; one small flight from a kitchen which he had had also built, apparently, in the extreme north of the lease, and one, a 'great staircase', also in the northern section, which had access to Water Lane, the road running along the western boundary of the old Priory. The whole lease comprised six rooms, two in the northern part and four in the southern.

All this is clear from the terms of the leases. Harder to locate is a small room 6' x 4½', composed of a 'prevye' and a coal-room, which Farrant seemed particularly anxious to obtain. In a letter to his landlord, Sir William More,⁽¹⁾ he asks for the use of it:

ther is a lytle darke roome yt you^r man bradshaw hath y^e vse of & standith him in lytle sted, but wold doo me gret pleasure. the roome is not past one yard & half brod, & too yarde at y^e most in length.

In Farrant's lease, the room is located in the northern section:

...whereof two of the sayd syxe uppere chambes lofte Lodgynges or Rones in the northe ende of the p'myssen together wth the bredthe of the lyttle Rone vnder graunted doe conteyne in Lengthe fyftye and syxe foote [given as 46' in all other leases and surveys] and a half and from the Easte to the weste pte thereof in bredthe twenty and fyve foote of Assyse... (2)

(1) Undated. See Wallace, *op. cit.*, p.132n.

(2) *H.S.C.*, vol.II, p.29.

Fig. 1: Farrant's Lodgings

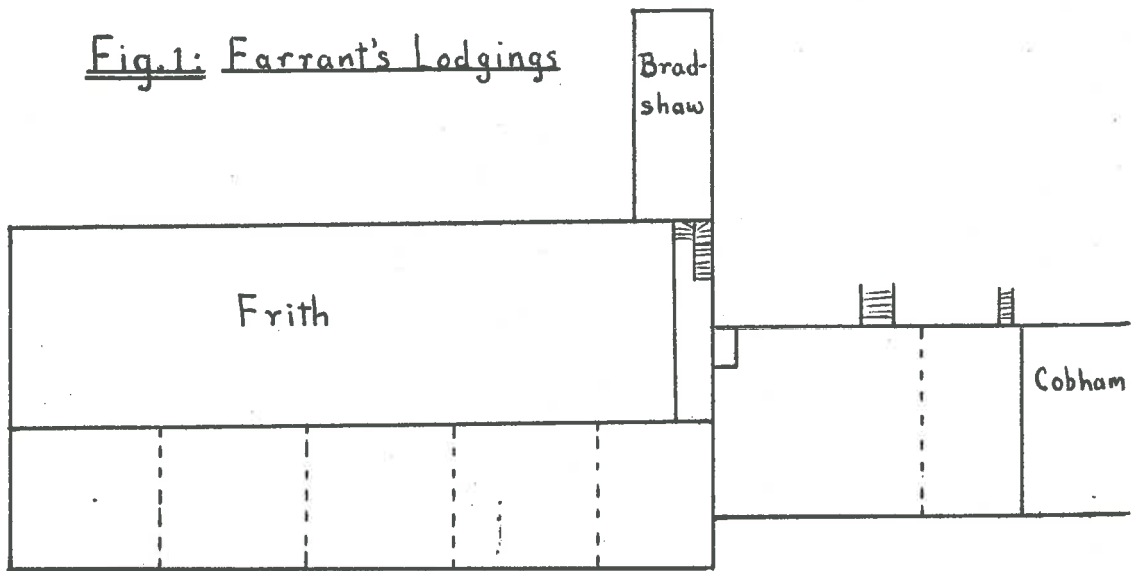
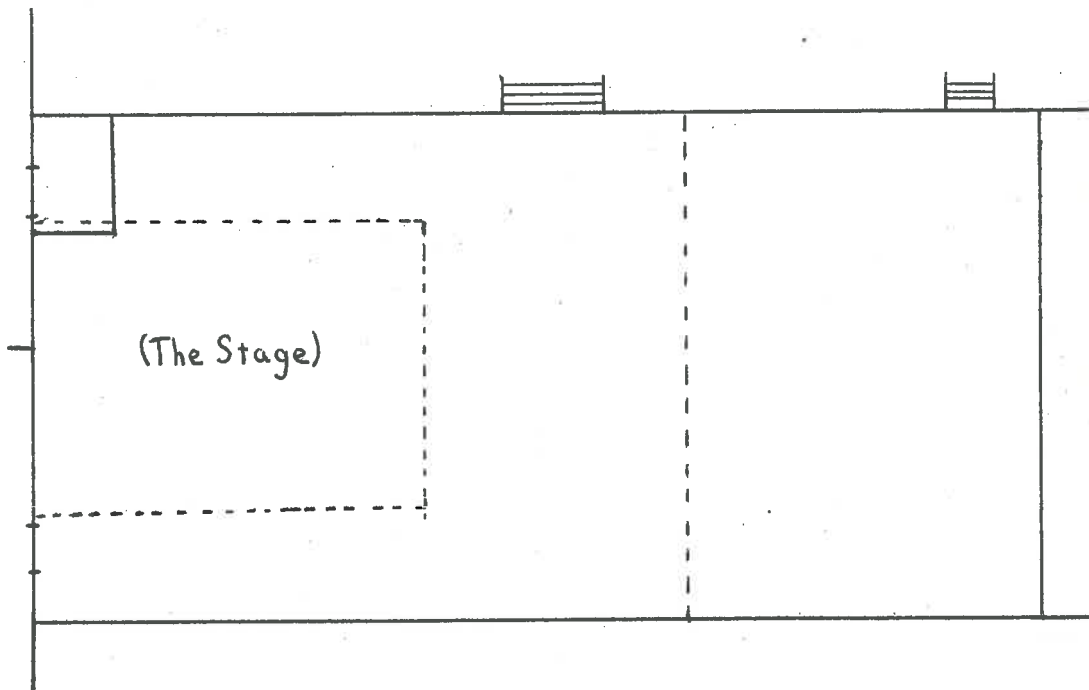


Fig. 2: The Theatre



Taken together with Farrant's reference to Bradshaw, this indicates that the little room was in the northern section, doubtless opening onto the hallway with the stairs that served Frith and Bradshaw. ⁽¹⁾

There is no direct evidence as to which of the two sections Farrant converted into the theatre. E. K. Chambers ⁽²⁾ apparently believed that it was the southern section, but he gives no reason for his preference. My own view ⁽³⁾ is that the theatre took up the whole of the northern section. We have seen that Farrant was particularly interested in the northern section, asking specifically for the small part of it that was not in the original lease. Farrant also requested that he be allowed

y^t I may pull downe one perticion & so make of too roomes - one. & wyll make it vp agayne at my departure, or when my lease shall end.

Again this would seem to point to the northern section, which was divided into two rooms. More, however, in his complaint when he was taking action against the holders of the lease after Farrant's death (at that stage Henry Evans and Igly himself) claims that Farrant did not stop at one partition,

ffarrant ...pulled downe partioons to make that place apte for that purpose [i.e. as a playhouse].

If More was not simply exaggerating his grievance, this could mean that

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- (1) See Fig. 2. Chambers puts the little room in the hallway.
 - (2) Op. cit., vol.II, p.496.
 - (3) Shared by Wallace, J. Q. Adams (Shakesperian Playhouses (London, 1918) p.97, 101n.) and Hunter, op. cit., p.73. Adams is the only one who gives the reason for his choice.
 - (4) Wallace, op. cit., p.131n.
 - (5) Wallace, op. cit., p.175.

the theatre was in the southern section, which was made up of four rooms, with, therefore, three partitions. It is equally possible, however, that Farrant made use of the little room he was so anxious to obtain by demolishing it, thereby providing More with his plural and himself with a clear acting-plus-audience space of 27' by 46'.

If we consider the proportions of the two possible theatre sites, again it seems that the northern section would have been used. The southern section had a maximum area of 110' x 22' if the four rooms were combined, a satisfactory length, but uncomfortably narrow. The northern section, however, though only 46' long, was five feet wider. The Great Chamber at Court was only 62' x 29';⁽¹⁾ though fifteen feet shorter, the northern section was only two feet narrower, and would seem to be a more manageable size, particularly if the audience was seated on three or four sides of the stage, as may have been the case.⁽²⁾ If we consider how the audience would have entered the theatre, the evidence in favour of the northern section becomes even stronger. The only means of entry to Farrant's lease was by the two staircases to the northern section described above, and the obvious way for those coming to see the plays to enter would have been from Water Lane by the 'great staircase'. The lease specifically barred entry through More's house or garden, and the interior stairway seems to have been reserved for Bradshaw and Frith, as it is not mentioned in Neville's or Farrant's leases. If the theatre had been in the southern section, the audience would have had to pass

(1) Leslie Hotson, Shakespeare's Wooden O (London, 1959), p.297.

(2) See p. 45f. below.

through the northern section on the way, which would have left Farrant very little undisturbed room to live in. Since we also know that he (improperly) sub-let^a portion of the lease,⁽¹⁾ I think it becomes clear that Farrant would have used the northern section for the theatre, and the southern section for his own lodgings, and for sub-letting.⁽²⁾

We can gather a further morsel of information about the Blackfriars theatre from More's complaints,

The partycions by yow Sr newell set vp are puld down & defaced the
windows spoyled and so the house in great Ruynes (3)

The 'spoyled' windows may well have been the result of blocking them up in order to present the plays by torchlight or candlelight, giving them greater similitude to the performance at Court. A final tantalising piece of evidence concerning the stage at the Blackfriars comes from a marginal note by Abraham Fleming in his translation of Vergil, Georgics III, 11.22-25,⁽⁴⁾ which was published in 1598, and must therefore refer to the old Blackfriars, with which we are concerned. A marginal gloss of the phrase 'curtains theatricall' reads

Or hangings: this seemeth to be ment of that kind of pagent called versalis sine versatilis, and not of the other named ductilis, which was draine, read of their severall sorts in Sexti & Vitruvius lib 5. this devise was not unlike the motion of late yeares to be scene in the black friers.

Fleming makes it clear that he is not speaking of curtains which would

- (1) See Chambers, op. cit., vol.II, p.496.
- (2) See fig. 3 for a re-creation of the Blackfriars setting for Alexander and Campespe.
- (3) Wallace, op. cit., p.175 n. Adams, (Shakespearean Playhouses, p.103 n.) makes the point that More's lodgings about the northern section, which would give his complaints more point if the theatre were next door.
- (4) Pointed out and discussed by W. E. Miller, M.L.N. LXXIV (1959) pp.1-3, 'Periaktoi in the Old Blackfriars'.

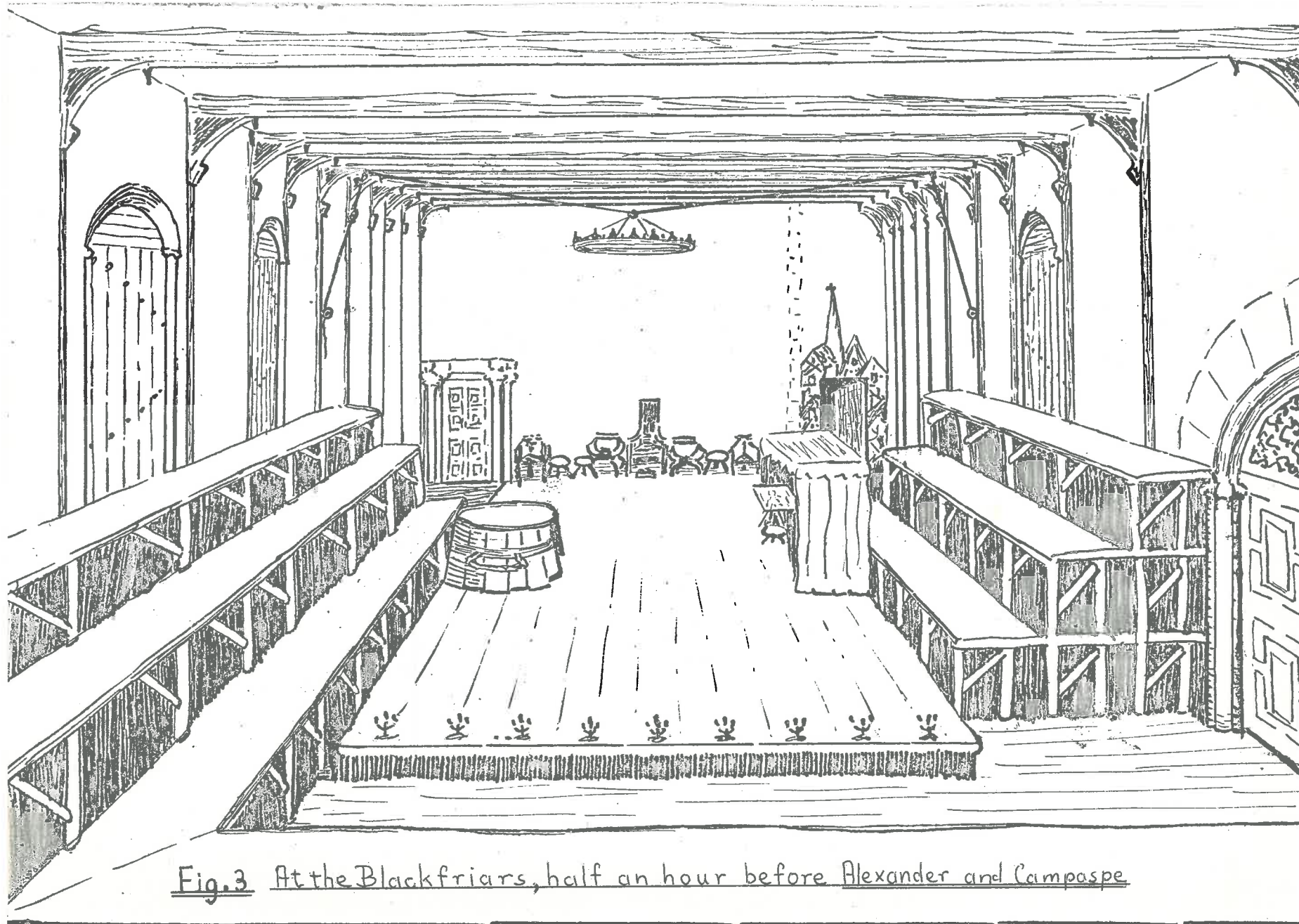


Fig. 3 At the Blackfriars, half an hour before Alexander and Campaspe

be drawn back for discovery.⁽¹⁾ W. E. Miller concludes, by reference to Servius Grammaticus and Vitruvius, that the most likely explanation is that Fleming had in mind some kind of stage machinery like the Greek periaktai, a triangular prism which could be rotated, so that each face in turn, on which different scenes were painted, confronted the audience. Where such machinery would have been used we can only guess, but we must be careful not to confuse it with the later elaborate use of periaktai by Inigo Jones.⁽²⁾ It is more likely that the periaktai would have been used in the same way that writers of this age believed that the original periaktai were used,⁽³⁾ as single units behind the stage doors or possibly at the entrance to one of the 'houses' onstage.⁽⁴⁾ However we interpret this reference, it serves to remind us that, even in 1590, staging could be both elaborate and ingenious, and, while we must accept the simplest explanation of possible stage effects as the most likely, it is by no means certain that the Elizabethan carpenters or producers would have thought the same way.

The Stage at Court. It is in keeping with our erratic knowledge of the Elizabethan stage that while we can learn some minute and en-

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- (1) Though these may well have been used in the Old Blackfriars. See pp. 49 and 65f. below.
- (2) See L. B. Campbell, Scenes and Machines on the English stage during the Renaissance (Cambridge, 1923), Chapter XII, where they are referred to as the 'Machina versatilis'. See also Designs by Inigo Jones for Masques and Plays at Court, ed. P. Simpson and C. F. Bell (Oxford, 1924), Introduction, pp.10-12 and plate IV.
- (3) Daniello Barbaro (1513-1570) apparently visualised the Roman theatre with three periaktai behind the doors of the scene (see the reproduction in Scenes and Machines p.25.)
- (4) See p. 66 below, and fig. 11, f.p. 69.

taining details about the properties used in the staging of plays at Court, we are left in doubt as to some of the basic facts. We cannot, for example, be sure where in the hall the stage was placed. Leslie Hotson⁽¹⁾ has produced a wealth of circumstantial evidence which, he maintains, demonstrates that the stage was in the middle of the hall, and the audience was 'round about' on all four sides. Earlier writers had assumed that the stage was set against the end wall of the hall in roughly the modern picture-frame manner. In support of the conventional view, the traditions of neo-classical staging, and of various types of street-entertainment, indicate that it was usual for the actors to act against a wall or curtain which could be used as a tire-house.⁽²⁾ Perhaps the most workable solution, one which satisfies the evidence in favour of both theories, is to suggest that the stage was placed against a wall with at least one entry from outside - from the equivalent of a tire-house - in such a way that, like the stage in the public playhouses, the audience was on three sides, with perhaps a few dignitaries sitting on the stage on the fourth side, opposite the Queen. Or perhaps it was the Queen who was on the fourth side, the whole court watching the stage from beside or behind the action, as was probably the case at Cambridge

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- (1) The First Night of Shakespeare's Twelfth Night (London, 1954).
 (2) See Allardyce Nicoll, The Development of the Theatre (London, 1927), illustrations on p.73, Masks Mimes and Miracles (London, 1931), pp.222,225 and G. W. Hodges, The Globe Restored (London, 1953), plates 18-28. Although, as W. J. Lawrence has pointed out, of the four known interior views of non-acoustic theatres, three show spectators at the back of the stage, they all show that the spectators were above the curtain or wall which was the tire-house. See Lawrence, The Elizabethan Playhouse and Other Studies (Shakespeare Head Press, 1912), p.32.

in 1564, and at Oxford in 1566. (1) Wherever the stage was actually situated in the hall (and there is no reason to suppose that it was always placed in the same position), it is probable that during Iyly's career at Court (c.1583-1590), a perspective picture-frame stage would not have been used, and that conditions of staging in some ways approximating to the modern technique of 'theatre in the round' presentation would have prevailed, (2) though I doubt whether, in the presence of the Queen, the actors would have been as careful of the spectators on each side as modern actors 'in the round', preferring no doubt, to keep their faces turned towards the Queen. In the same way, so long as the Queen could see everything, I doubt if anyone would have cared much about the sight-lines of the audience. If someone was stuck behind a pillar or a house, he would have to content himself with the aural experience, and come earlier the next time.

We have no way of knowing how big was the stage at Court or at the Blackfriars, but there is an entry in the works accounts (3) which calls for a stage 14' x 14' to be built 'for the Plaiors to plaie on' in 1588 at Richmond, the year after Gallathea and Endimion were presented by the Paul's boys. Since they appeared in the winter of 1588-9 three times, there is a good chance that the Paul's boys may have appeared on this very

(1) See Hotson, Wooden O, pp.161-3, and Glynne Wickham Early English Stages vol.I (London, 1959), p.248 and Appendix H.

(2) See Hunter, op. cit., p.106. This view now seems to be generally accepted in principle.

(3) Cited by Hotson The First Night of Twelfth Night, p.69.

stage.

The Revels accounts ⁽¹⁾ are a seemingly inexhaustible source of suggestive but inconclusive detail about the properties used in staging at Court. ⁽²⁾ '...apt howses: made of Canvasee, Framed Fashioned & paynted accordingly: as mighte best serve theier severall purposes' ⁽³⁾ were the principal properties other than costumes. They were made of wooden frames with painted canvas cloths, fastened with pins or nails, ⁽⁴⁾ stretched over them, and they were usually decorated with tassels or painted pasteboard. They were constructed so that the houses could be set up and taken down with a minimum of difficulty, as they were carried from place to place in frames, not as houses. ⁽⁵⁾ 'Howse' appears to have been a generic term applicable to any large property, for smaller devices not requiring extensive framework are referred to separately.

For a number of seasons, the Revels accounts describe in detail the houses used for each play. ⁽⁶⁾ They show that most plays required two houses - most commonly a city and a battlement - though some needed

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- (1) A. Feuillerat, ed., Documents relating to the Office of the Revels in the time of Queen Elizabeth (Louvain, 1908), hereafter referred to as Revels.
- (2) See for what is still the best discussion of this subject, Chambers, op. cit., vol.I, chap.VII and vol.III, chap.XIX.
- (3) Feuillerat, Revels, p.145.
- (4) Ibid., pp.201,203 etc.
- (5) Ibid., pp.204,218,266 etc.
- (6) 1579/80, 1580/81, 1582/3, 1584/5.

only one, or, rarely, none. With one possible exception,⁽¹⁾ no play during the period for which records survive required more than two houses. Apart from cities and battlements, the records describe some interesting properties; 'trees...for A wilderness in A play',⁽²⁾ monsters, mountains, forests and beasts,⁽³⁾ for example. There was no lack of ingenuity in devising spectacular effects, despite the limitation that the house would have been visible from at least three sides, and possibly four, if the staging was to any extent 'in the round', making it difficult to conceal any machinery. One delightful entry⁽⁴⁾ reads

the Mounte, Dragon with y^e fyre woorkes, Castell with y^e falling
sydes Tree with shyldes, hermytage & hermytt, Savages, Enchaunter,
Charryott & incydenes to thisis....

a spectacle which becomes even more remarkable when another entry⁽⁵⁾ shows that the castle with the falling sides was on top of the mount. If all these properties were used in a single play, one can imagine that it would have been the sort of play that Peele was satirising in The Old Wives Tale. Most plays, however, were more modest in their requirements. One 'An Invention called ^FFive plays in one'⁽⁶⁾ uses properties rather like those we would expect to be used for Endimion, 'a battlement of

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- (1) 'A Game of Cards' (Revels p.349), where 'iiij. pavillions' were needed. These however required only two 'cloths', and may therefore have been two houses, each subdivided.
- (2) Feuillerat, Revels, p.180.
- (3) Ibid., p.241.
- (4) Ibid., p.345.
- (5) Ibid., Table II.
- (6) Ibid., p.365.

canvas (Corraites's castle) & canvas for a well and a mounte (the lunary bank)'. Apparently a distinction was made between a city and a town used in the one play,⁽¹⁾ and there was probably a considerable variety in the houses baldly termed 'cities'. In one year when eight cities were required, a later entry⁽²⁾ in the same year shows that none was used twice, and that all the houses required were made new.

One interesting entry concerns a curtain for a senate house used by the children of Paul's in 1580/1,

A storie of Pompey enacted in the hall on twelf nighte wheron was ymplied newe one great city, A senate howse and eight ells of dobbie sarcenet for curtens...⁽³⁾

A later marginal note⁽⁴⁾ mentions the same curtain, 'The dable Sarcenett said into Curtyns and Implowid aboute Storie of pompey plaid by the Childring of powles', and an earlier senate-house had used curtains in the year 1573/4⁽⁵⁾

John Rosse for poles & shyvers for draft of the Curtens	
before the senat howse	...ijs
Curtyn Ringes	...viijd
Edging the Curtens with ffrange	...viijd
Tape and Corde for the same	...xd

The relevance of the tape and cord is explained by an entry in 1576/7,⁽⁶⁾ 'a lyne to draw a curteyne'. The most likely play to have used a senate-

(1) Ibid., p.321.

(2) Ibid., p.328, 'the payntinge of vij Cities one villadge.'

(3) Ibid., p.336.

(4) Ibid., p.338.

(5) Ibid., p.200.

(6) Ibid., p.275.

house in 1573/4 (the properties were not detailed) would have been 'Quintus Fabius', played by the children of Windsor, under Richard Farrant, two years before he opened the theatre in Blackfriars. There is ample precedent for the use of curtained houses at Blackfriars. We may safely assume that the curtains were employed because the play required scenes 'within' the senate-house; hence, I suppose, the curtains would have been on three sides of the house, capable of being drawn quickly and unobtrusively by means of cords. The curtain may have been on all four sides of the house, allowing those immediately behind to see as well, but I feel that limiting it to three sides would make it more manageable, and, as I have suggested above, I doubt if the comfort of the rank of courtiers would have received much attention. Those who could not see the Queen because of the houses would probably have felt a greater deprivation.

Feuillerat has calculated⁽¹⁾ that in the years that the surviving accounts give sufficient detail, enough canvas was bought to allow for sixteen square yards for every house.⁽²⁾ If we were dealing with a picture-frame stage, with its two dimensional flats, this would indicate either considerable wastage, or an improbably large size,⁽³⁾ but if we visualise a three-dimensional house, canvas-covered on three sides and on

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- (1) Le Bureau des Menu - Plaisirs et la Mise en Scène à la Cour d'Elizabeth (Louvain, 1910), p.70. 17
- (2) My calculations agree with his, but showed a variation in different years of between 14 and 17 square yards.
- (3) Cf. Chambers, op. cit., vol.I, pp.229-30. 'From the amount of canvas used, it may be judged that the houses were of considerable size.'

the top, sixteen square yards gives us a house size of 6'x6'x6'. This is the most approximate of figures, for it is probable that the houses varied considerably in size, and, in any case, a simple cube, on which the calculation is based, would hardly have satisfied the Elizabethan carpenters, with their love of ornament. Support for this approximate figure is given by another just as approximate, when we imagine how the eight ells of double sarcenet might have been used 'about' (is it making the word work too hard to see in it support for the theory that the curtain was used on three or four sides?) the senate-house. 'Double' sarcenet was probably sarcenet that was finished on both sides, like our modern double damask, and would not have meant that it was any wider than the usual, which, I assume, would have also been one ell, or 45 inches. This would have been appropriate for interior scenes, as some of the inside of the curtains would be seen when they were drawn back, and the inside of a senate-house should be sumptuous as the outside. Assuming that the senate-house was about six feet high, requiring curtains of roughly the same height (5'6" after hems), eight ells would provide a length of about 18'9". If the senate-house is to be curtained on three sides, we arrive again at the basic unit of about 6'x6'x6'. The figure again is very approximate - the house need not have been so tall for Elizabethan child actors, smaller than boys of pre-voice-change today, and no doubt the curtain would have been gathered to hang more neatly - but it accords surprisingly well with the figure arrived at from the canvas, and again reduces what seems an unnecessarily large amount to manageable proportions. We would expect a senate-house to be rather

larger than, for example, Apelles's studio, which could well have been only four to five feet square without cramping the actors.

I do not suggest that these calculations have proved the size of the houses used at Court, and hence at Blackfriars and Paul's, but I do believe that, allowing for the many assumptions and semi-informed guesses required to reach the final figures, they agree remarkably well with what common-sense indicates to be an economical, functional and decorative dramatic unit.

Finally, we must arrive at some conclusion as to how the houses were placed on the stage. I see no reason to differ from Hotson's assumption⁽¹⁾ that they were on opposing sides of the stage, with the Queen viewing from a third side. There is, indeed, evidence in the Revels Accounts to support this,

...a Tragedie of the kings of Scottes, to y^e whiche belonged diuers houses ... as ... the Pallace of prosperitie Scotlands, and a gret Castell one thother side...⁽²⁾

Opposition is desirable in many ways, particularly in plays like those of Lyly, where antithesis and balance of phrase and plot would gain considerable clarity and emphasis by means of a similarly balanced stage.⁽³⁾ Any other properties (woods, wells, gibbets and so on) would have been set at convenient points about the stage, possibly on the fourth side, opposite the Queen, to give the stage symmetry, and they, like the houses, would have been three-dimensional structures.

(1) First Night of Twelfth Night, illustration facing page 136.

(2) Feuillerat, Revels, p.119.

(3) This point is discussed extensively below. See p. 92f., p. 113 ff.

The Paul's playhouse. External evidence concerning the nature of the playhouse or stage at Paul's is practically non-existent. Iyly's plays are the only ones surviving which we know to have been acted at Paul's before the dissolution of the company in 1591. After the dissolution, the theatre remained closed until 1598-9, when it reopened to present plays by, among others, Middleton, Marston and Percy.⁽¹⁾ The exact location of the theatre is unknown,⁽²⁾ although Hotson⁽³⁾ refers to it as 'the octagonal St. Paul's, the ancient Chapter House', but he gives no reason for thus locating it. Hillebrand⁽⁴⁾ reviews the available evidence, and comes to the conclusion that it may have been

...the house of the almoner and choir-master, which was used as a school for the choristers, and was also turned to account as a playhouse. The house may have been one of those large residences in the northwest part of the south churchyard which ... were by now (1599) 'either decayed or otherwise converted'.⁽⁵⁾

There is a great deal of fascinating evidence about the Paul's playhouse to be gathered from the stage-directions of plays produced after 1598, particularly in the plays of Percy, but, unfortunately, it would be dangerous to apply this evidence to the stage that Iyly's plays were acted on. There is nothing to show that the plays produced in Paul's after 1598 were presented on the same stage, or even in the same building as the earlier plays. We know that there were two Blackfriars theatres, quite separate, and it may be that the two stages at Paul's

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- (1) Chambers, op. cit., vol.III, p.464) considers it possible that Percy's plays were acted before 1591.
 (2) Chambers, op. cit., vol.II, p.16.
 (3) Wooden O, p.180.
 (4) Op. cit., pp.112-114.
 (5) Hillebrand's source is Stow, Survey, ed. 1603, p.373.

separate in time, were also separate in location. Certainly, after a break of eight years, even if the building were the same, we would expect that a much more elaborate stage would be needed to attract playwrights and audiences, since in the meantime the standard of the public playhouses had risen from the Curtain and the Theatre to the new and sumptuous Globe of 1598/9. This means, regrettably, that we have no independent source of information about the stage at Paul's. We have only the basic assumption that it would have differed very little from Blackfriars or the Court, and the internal evidence offered by Lyly's plays.

We are now in a position to summarise what we know of the stage that Lyly's plays were produced on. The Blackfriars theatre was only 46' by 27', a tiny room for full-scale theatrical entertainment by today's standards, but the halls at Court were probably not much larger. That it was small by Elizabethan standards also is indicated by the fact that the whole Blackfriars theatre would have fitted neatly onto the stage of the Fortune. The acting-space must have been correspondingly small, though not necessarily as small as the 14' by 14' stage mentioned in the Works accounts. Allowing for a stage of 15' by 20', and assuming that rudimentary 'degrees' of the kind provided at Court would have been set up once the theatre became a commercial proposition, the theatre could have absorbed an audience of two hundred comfortably, or four hundred uncomfortably (see fig. 3). The importance of this small scale should not be overlooked. The comparison has often been made between Lyly's plays and chamber music;⁽¹⁾ in a room as small as the Black-

(1) See, for example, Hunter, *op. cit.*, p.159.

friars, the unbroken voices of the boys would have had no trouble reaching the farthest ear, and their young voices must often have reminded those listening of the high sweet sound of a consort of recorders or a chest of viols. (1) Stage properties, which would have been decorated as ingeniously as the Elizabethan carpenters were able, were probably visible throughout the action, and the location of the action would have moved as the players moved from one house to the 'place' and on to the next. (2) The houses were opposed across the stage, and were large enough, in some cases, for interior scenes to take place when the curtains, possibly on three sides, were drawn back. Single spectacular effects of great ingenuity were possible. In The Arraignment of Paris, for example, a play which was published in the same year as Alexander and Campespe and Senho and Phao, and which was probably produced at Court not many years before, there are a number of spectacular 'shows', involving elaborate machinery (act II, sc.ii, etc.), as Venus, Diana and Juno try to impress Paris and Queen Elizabeth. The Misfortunes of Arthur, acted in the same year as Gallathea and Endimion, (3) featured a series of dumb-shows which certainly used a trap, and Tancred and Gismonda, acted in about 1567 as Gismond of Salerne, used not only a trap from under the stage, but also, if the stage-

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- (1) See the note on p.130 below, and the discussion of Midas's attitude to music, p.128 ff.
- (2) See p.84 ff. below for a discussion of this with reference to Alexander and Campespe.
- (3) See Chambers, op. cit., vol.IV, p.103.

direction is not one of the parts of the play 'newly revised and polished according to the decorum of these daies (1592)', the 'heavens', from which Cupid descends. It is clear that plays used such effects freely, though they were usually in the form of particular 'shows' during the play, not integrated to the plot in the way that the catastrophe of The Jew of Malta combines action with spectacle. Lyly never seems to have been attracted to this sort of spectacle; even in his one surviving dumb-show, in Endimion, no extra properties are required. It may be that Lyly preferred to let his plays make their effect by purely literary means, or it may be that the stages at Paul's and Blackfriars were not equipped with the necessary machinery, and Lyly accordingly limited himself for the sake of the less elaborate but more profitable private stage. Houses, for the child actors, would probably have been rather smaller than the 6'x6'x6' suggested above, particularly on the small stage at Blackfriars. Some kind of machinery like the Greek periaktoi may have been used, either behind the stage doors (if there were any) or at the entrances to the houses. (1)

The question which remains unanswered so far in our enquiry concerns entrance onto the stage from places other than the houses. Hotson has suggested that a performance of Twelfth Night could be managed from the two houses, Duke Orsino's palace and Olivia's house, none of the actors needing to leave the stage. To make this possible Hotson proposes a convention whereby actors could become 'invisible', in effect

(1) Fig. 11 illustrates one way that entrance would have been possible through the periaktoi. (Facing p.69.)

offstage, by retiring to the side of the stage.⁽¹⁾ All of which seems to be rather clumsy, if, as I have suggested, much the same effect as 'in the round' staging could be achieved by putting the stage against a wall, with the audience on three sides. Alternatively, if the stage were in fact in the middle of the hall, entrances through the audience should have been practicable, since at Court there would have been adequate discipline to ensure the freedom of the actors, and in the private theatres it seems to have assumed that his audience would be decorous in its behaviour.⁽²⁾ It is reasonable, I think, to assume that the actors could enter the stage from some kind of tire-house offstage, either directly, or through the audience. Any slight loss of spectator space or intimacy would be more than adequately counterbalanced by the increased fluency of production and, as I shall demonstrate in the following chapter, increased clarity in the action.

The fact that a critic can seriously suggest that there were no entrances onto the Court stage other than from the houses indicates how slight the evidence about such entrances is, apart from what may be gleaned from the plays themselves. If we assume that there would have been one or more entrances from an offstage tire-house onto the stage, we can limit ourselves safely, I think, to two possibilities, that there were one or two doors. Three we may reject as both unlikely and unnecessary. In deciding which would have been the most likely, we must remember that the playwright would probably use the full resources open to

(1) Holton, *First Night*, p.91.

(2) See the prologues to *Alexander and Campaspe*, *Sappho and Phao* and *Nidas*.

him - if there were three doors available, he would use them all - but also that we must look for the simplest practicable arrangement. The evidence of the De Witt drawing, ⁽¹⁾ which shows only two doors, must prejudice us in favour of a low number, as the Swan was a building specifically designed for acting, and we might expect that it would be better equipped than any indoor theatre before 1599, as they were adaptations of rooms already existing for other purposes. To reach any more definite conclusion about the entrances from the tire-house to the stage, we must turn to the internal evidence offered by the plays.

The nature of the stage. (b) internal evidence.

In Gallathea (I,iv,73-5), we have what appears to be evidence that there were three exits,

Dicke. I will this way.
Robin. I this.
Raffe. I this...

but there are at least two ways that this could be produced with two doors. The three could point alternately to two exits, so that Dick and Raffe would go out the same way, or one of the three could decide to go to the Grove or Woods which may have been one of the houses; ⁽²⁾ Raffe, who is the first of the three to come back does in fact say, after his next entry, 'would I were out of these Woodes'. With the help of the Grove, it would be possible to produce it with only one exit offstage, but this would mean that Dick would remain in the Grove for the greater part of the play. Apart from this scene, there is no direct evidence of charac-

(1) See Allardyce Nicol, The Development of the Theatre, p.121.

(2) See p. 67 below.

ters meeting or separating, involving the use of separate doors as distinct from houses in any of Iyly's plays, but this, I think, is directly attributable to the lack of stage-directions. In the scene from Gallathea already discussed, though obviously the boys leave by at least two different ways, the scene closes with a bare 'exunt'. In Marlowe's Dido, there is a stage direction after line 598⁽¹⁾ 'Enter Verus (with Cupid) at another doore, and takes Ascanius by the sleeve',⁽²⁾ but there is no such evidence in Iyly's plays, although many scenes would most fluently be produced by the use of two doors, with different characters meeting, particularly in the sub-plot scenes (see, for example, Sanho and Phao, II,iii; Gallathea, V,i; Endimion, I,iii; III,iii; Mother Bombie, many times). Most of these scenes could be managed with the use of one door only, or, particularly in Mother Bombie, by the judicious use of houses and a single door; it is possible, for example, that in Endimion, I,iv, Dipsas enters with Tellus and Floscula from the one entrance, hence Tellus's remark 'we haue met', but the more obvious staging would be to have them enter from separate doors, as Bond suggests in his stage-direction. If there were only one entrance to the stage, we would involve ourselves in improbability (though by the Elizabethans' own standards this may not be a very telling argument) in such scenes as Alexander and Campaspe, I,1, where the captives would be led off through the same door as that through which Alexander would also make his exit.

(1) Ed. cit., p.408.

(2) See also Selimus, acted by the Queen's players, M.S.R., ll.571-3.

The only way it is possible to arrive with any certainty at a conclusion about the number of doors used is to visualise the plays in production on stages with one, and with two entrances. The answer is not, I think, left in much doubt, if we consider, for example, the scene in Loves Metamorphosis where the foresters enter one after the other, each pursuing his respective nymph (III,1). With only one entrance the effect would be rather absurd, each pair running out onto the stage, pausing to speak about thirty lines, and running back. There would inevitably be a pause before the next pair could run on, and the general effect would be rather like a sluggish cuckoo clock. With two doors, however, not only would the nymphs have somewhere to run to, but the action would move more purposefully across the stage, with each pair taking the stage in quick succession. The scene becomes a carefully constructed unit; after the song, while Niobe runs off, and while the other two foresters enter, all presumably through the same door, Silvestris has a short soliloquy, giving the actors plenty of time to move without causing congestion, or letting the action flag by an uncomfortable silence. The test of production, discussed in detail in the next chapter, is definite enough to allow us to say that a stage with two doors opening onto it is a probability rather than merely a possibility.

It is not difficult to see how Iqly used the most important properties of the Court stage, opposing houses. In Alexander and Campaspe there are three 'places' which could be houses, Diogenes's tub, Apelles's studio and Alexander's palace. Diogenes's tub is certainly a house; the various changes of locality that take place during scenes where those already onstage go to visit Diogenes (I,iii; II,ii; III,

iv, etc.) can only be explained (unless we are to accept Bond's stage-direction 'Diogenes' tub is thrust on') by Diogenes's presence onstage for the whole play, out of sight in his tub when not needed, and hence able to 'enter' or 'exit',⁽¹⁾ even when onstage all the time. One striking piece of evidence which supports this is the way in which Alexander and Diogenes both refer to the tub as a 'cabin' (V,iv,71⁴/₂), a term which would be inappropriate unless referring to a structure which combined the attributes of a tub to which every way is open (III,ii,63), and which Diogenes prys over (V,iii,21) with some kind of conventional house-structure. Apelles's studio also is most easily visualised as a house, with curtains which could be withdrawn to reveal interior scenes (III,iii; III,iv, etc.). Alexander describes the studio as a 'shoppe' (V,iv,23), which may have been an accepted term for a house, if we can take its use in *Thersites* as typical,⁽²⁾ and Payllus is commended to stay outside by the 'window', and is to answer, if any ask for Apelles, 'Non lubet esse domi' (III,i,18-19). One of the most obvious ways a house is distinguished from a more generalised 'place' is by the fact that all entrances and exits must be made to or from the stage, as, we must assume, if the houses were three-dimensional structures detached from any tire-house wall or its equivalent, there could have been no means of communication out of sight of the audience. All entrances and exits to and from Apelles's studio are made from the stage, if we imagine that in such scenes as III,iii and IV,ii the curtains would be drawn, leaving Apelles

(1) See, for example, II,i,53 'Exit Diogenes'. In *Thersites*, Malcoiber retires to his 'shop', until he is called again.

(2) See Dodsley ed. *Old English Plays*, ed. W. G. Hazlitt (London, 1874),

and Campaspe inside the studio, out of sight, while the ensuing scenes take place on the stage. Since they are clearly meant to remain in the studio during these scenes, and since their next appearance is also from the studio, this would be entirely consistent with the text, and, in fact, clarifies the action. I have already suggested that a play with more than two houses would have been rather exceptional. It is possible that Alexander's palace may have been a house,⁽¹⁾ but the entrances and exits are less clearly defined than those for Diogenes's tub and Apelles's studio, and, since many more people are involved in action to and from the palace, it would have to be a much larger structure. Even if we allow a third large house, it would be difficult to produce the play without a good deal of congestion and a certain amount of improbability. For example, the captives would have to retire to the palace, although Alexander has instructed them to be conducted 'into the City' (I,1,76-7), unless we postulate a fourth house, the City. The solution to this problem, I believe, lies in the other property available to the playwright, the entrances from the tire-house. One obvious corollary of two doors opening onto the stage is that they would very easily acquire specific significance; in Alexander and Campaspe one door could lead 'to the palace', and one 'to the city'.⁽²⁾ In this way we would overcome the difficulty of imagining either as a large house, and the actors would have the extra conveniences of a relatively clear stage, and communication, if neces-

vol.I, p.396 etc.

- (1) Chambers, op. cit., vol.III, p.33 and Hunter, op. cit., p.108 assume that it is.
- (2) See figs. 3 and 4, f. pp. 43, 67.

ary, behind the stage between the city and the palace.⁽¹⁾

We can guess that the Elizabethan audiences were sensitive to distinctions of this kind from a well-known passage in Sidney's Defence of Poesie, which would have been written at about the same time as Ily was writing his first two plays.⁽²⁾ Sidney complains of these plays

...where you shall have Asia of the one side, and Affricka of the other, and so manie other under Kingdoms, that the Player when he comes in, must ever begin with telling where he is, or else the tale will not be conceived. (3)

Despite the possible confusion of many 'under-kingdoms', a play could be staged so that one side of the stage (or an entrance on one side) was understood to be in Africa, the other side in Asia. A later reference by Jasper Wayne in Jonsonus Viribus (1638) to one of Jonson's virtues,

The stage was still a stage, two entrances
Were not two parts o' the world, disjoined by seas. (4)

both makes more explicit Sidney's complaint, and demonstrates that the habit was one which died hard. Another interesting reference is in the

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- (1) Such an interpretation of Ily's stage renders rather meaningless the discussion (see Chambers, op. cit., vol.III, p.32, Hunter, op. cit., p.108) as to whether Alexander's palace was between Diogenes's tub and Apelles's shop or whether Diogenes's tub occupied the middle position. The palace would have been behind the other two, making it possible for the action to flow from one to the other in any order.
 - (2) The generally accepted date is 1581, shortly after the publication of Stephen Gosson's School of Abuse (1579) to which it is, in part, an answer. The evidence for this date is set out in Shackeburge's edition of the Defence (Cambridge, 1891), p.xxvii ff.
 - (3) The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. A. Feuillerat (Cambridge, reprint of 1962), vol.III, p.38.
 - (4) Quoted by J. F. Reynolds 'Some Principles of Elizabethan Staging' in Modern Philology, vol.II (1906), pp.581 ff.

fourth chapter of Dekker's Gals Hornbooke (1609),

Your Mediterranean Ile, is then the onely gallery, wherein the pictures of all your true fashionate and complementall Gals are, and ought to be hung vp: into that gallery carry your neat body, but take heede you pick out such an hour, when the maine Shoale of Islanders are swimming vp and downe. And first obserue your doores of entrance, and your Exit, not much vnlike the plaiers at the Theatres, keeping your Recesses, euen in phantasticallity. As for example: if you prove to be a Northerne Gentleman, I would wish you to passe through the North doore, more often (especially) than any of the other: and so, according to your countries, take note of your entrances. (1)

Taken together with the evidence presented by Jocasta (1566) and The Cuck-Queenes and the Cuckolds Errants (c.1600), both of which clearly indicate doors of specific significance, these references establish at least that Iyly's audience would have been thoroughly familiar with the convention if he had applied it to his plays. Many plays would have gained in clarity of presentation if doors of specific significance had been used. In Clyomon and Clisides, The Warres of Cyrus and The Misfortunes of Arthur, for example, the action alternates, if not between continents, between places which must be considered a considerable distance apart. Of Iyly's plays, only in Midas must the player begin, so that the tale will be conceived, 'This is Delphos' (and presumably this would have been as true of urhidias II, unless the whole last scene was rewritten for the Court performance). Whether the audience would have been assisted in their understanding of which side of the stage was Africa and which Asia by the use of locality-boards is a matter for con-

(1) The Non-dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker, ed. A. B. Grosart, (London, 1885), vol.II, pp.230-1. Quoted by W. J. Lawrence in his article 'Title and Locality Boards on the Pre-Restoration Stage', op. cit., p.65. Many of the ideas expressed in this and the following chapter were stimulated by the work of Lawrence.

jecture, though W. J. Lawrence⁽¹⁾ has persuasively argued that title-boards and locality-boards were used extensively in the Elizabethan theatre. In the Defense of Poesie, Sidney refers scornfully to 'Thebes written in great letters on an old door'^e,⁽²⁾ which is incidentally the nearest thing to contemporary external evidence on stage-doors that we possess. It seems to me most unlikely that 'an old door' would refer to the door of a 'house', and in fact it is difficult to see in it anything but a reference to a door opening onto the stage (hence the stage could not be in the middle of the room), with a locality-board above it, which would fit neatly enough into the scheme I have proposed.

A stage with two opposing houses, and two doors of differing significance, fits Iqly's plays remarkably well. The seemingly arbitrary changes of scene in Alexander and Campaspe become natural and rapid, with movement flowing from the doors to the 'place', on to the houses and back.⁽³⁾ The changes of scene in Sapho and Phao are also made clearer when we apply the play to this stage. The Sibilla's cave might be considered the counterpart of Diogenes's tub, for she seems to be on tap whenever wanted, although there are no obvious changes of location during a scene of the kind we associate with the tub in Alexander and Campaspe. The scenes where Sapho is 'in her bed' (III,iii; III,iv; IV,i; IV,iii, etc.) may involve another house rather like Apelles's studio, a curtained chamber with a bed inside; as suggested above, rather like the similar

(1) Loc. cit.

(2) M. cit., p.29.

(3) See chapter III below for an extended analysis of stage-movements in Alexander and Campaspe.

scene in Tamburlaine,⁽¹⁾ allowing Sapho to be curtained off to sleep alone, while the ladies-in-waiting converse outside (III,iii,36), or allowing the ladies to retire to the chamber with Sapho, while other action takes place onstage, though the number of ladies in each scene seems to vary considerably. This may, of course, be because they were all present but some were silent.⁽²⁾ The only inconsistency which should be noted at this stage is that Sapho does not enter from the stage to her first scene 'in her bed', indicating either communication to the chamber from the tire-house out of sight of the audience, or a convention with the same effect.⁽³⁾ The stage is further complicated by the presence of Vulcan's forge. This also is most easily visualised as a house, probably in the form of a cave, though it is used for one scene only. It is possible, however, that the forge was represented simply by an anvil, which could have been onstage for the whole play, rather like the well in Edimion. The forge, like the well, is used for only one scene. Or it may be that the Sibilla's cave served both for the Sibilla and Vulcan - indeed, it may be because of Vulcan's forge that the Sibilla is shown as living in a cave, not a house like Mother Bombie. This second possibility may provide us with a solution to Abraham Fleming's obscure remark about pariaktai. Perhaps the change from the Sibilla's cave to Vulcan's forge was effected by a motion from within the house which in some way resembled the pariaktai. Either possibility would do

(1) And in many other contemporary plays. See p. 78 below.

(2) See p. 98 below.

(3) But see p. 98ff. below.

away with the seeming necessity for three houses. ⁽¹⁾

Gallathea, by way of contrast, has a rather austere stage.

The only property necessary for the play is a tree, a 'faire Oake' (I,i, 2) to which Hæbe is bound (V,ii). It is possible that on the side of the stage opposite the tree (Igly, I think, would have preferred a balanced stage) there was a group of trees to or from which various entrances and exits (usually Gallathea and Phillida) could be made. ⁽²⁾ I am not sure if this is significant or not, but whether the group is referred to (always just before the exit or just after the entry) as 'Woods' (II,i,57; II,iv,12; II,v,5, and ^{III}IV,1,87), 'Groves' (III,ii,58 and IV,iv,32) or 'Thickets' (V,iii,9), it is always given the dignity of a capital letter. Such an arrangement, as well as providing a more symmetrical stage, would have made greater flexibility in the production possible.

Endimion provides us with perhaps the most readily definable stage-properties of any of Igly's plays. Like Diogenes' tub, the lunary bank is best imagined as a house in some way open to view all the time, though whether Endimion would have been out of sight when asleep, but not needed, we have no way of knowing. Like Diogenes's tub, the lunary bank is called a 'Caban' (IV,iii,^{III}III). The castle in which Tellus is kept prisoner by Coraites would be the other house. All entrances and exits to or from the castle are from the stage, even the

(1) See fig. 5.

(2) See fig. 6.

Fig. 4: Alexander and Campaspe

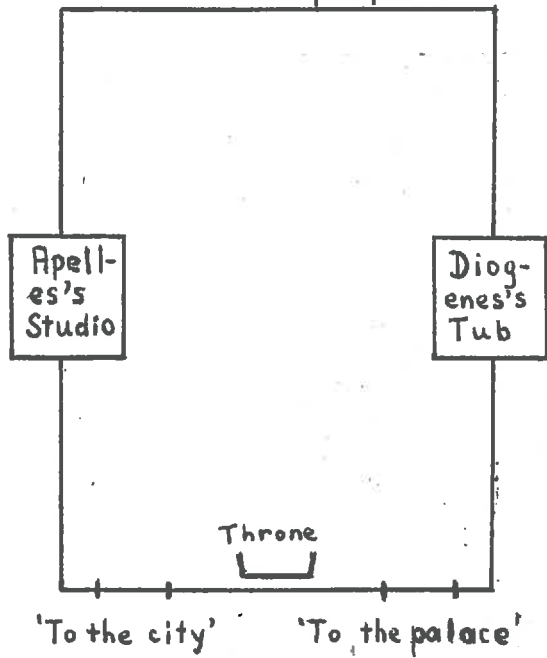


Fig. 5: Sapho and Phao

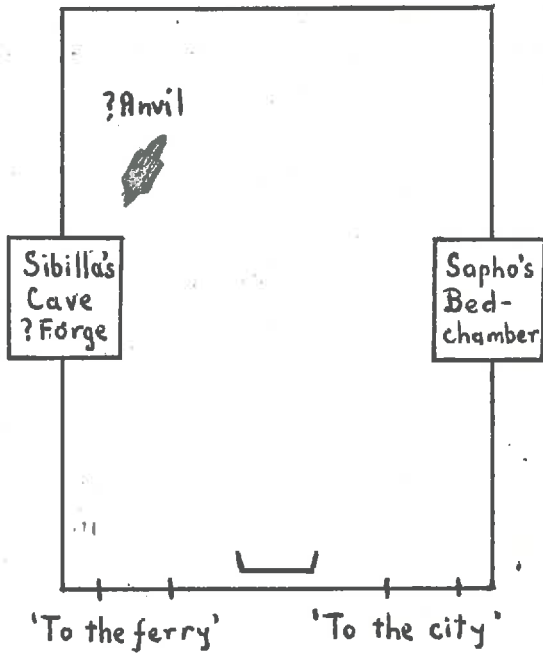


Fig. 6: Gallathea

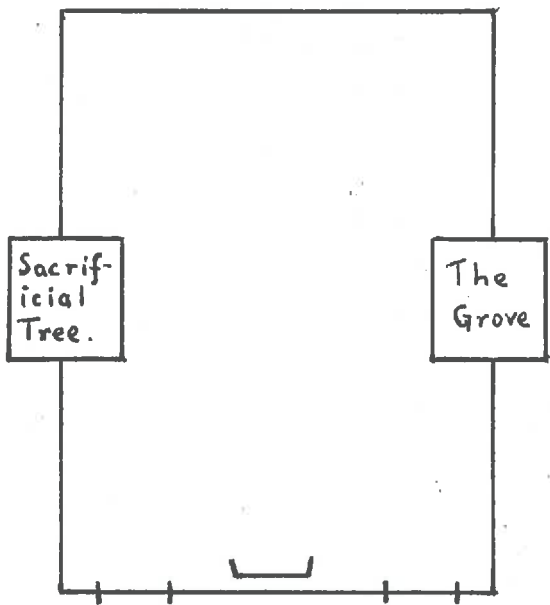
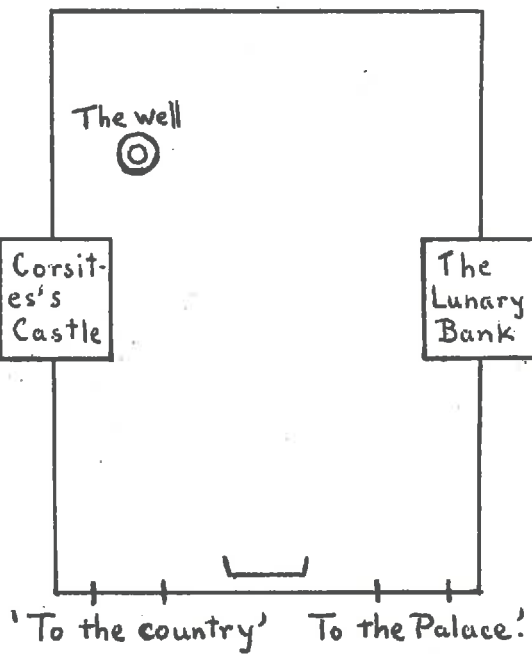


Fig. 7: Endimion



mission of Panelion and Zotes (V,111), which serves the same function as that of the page in Alexander and Campagna (IV,v,3 and V,iv,25) - to give those in the house onstage a reason for joining the action. Corrites's remark (III,ii,1) 'Heere is the Castle,' and Tellus's later unkind comment (IV,1,79) 'I will in, and laugh with the other Ladies at Corrites sweating' suggest that the castle was a house on the opposite side of the stage to the lunary bank, and hence, when dramatically appropriate, in sight of the sleeping Endimion. The fountain, which is used only in III,iv, would have been onstage near the lunary bank, for, although it took Zmenides many years to find it, Epiton describes it as 'hard by' (IV,ii,67). Cynthia's palace, like Alexander's, is felt to be nearby, but would probably be unmanageably large as a house. One of the entrances from the tire-house could have been understood to signify 'from the palace'.⁽¹⁾

Mother Bombie is perhaps the most difficult of all Iqly's plays to fit into the pattern of two houses opposed across the stage. There are no less than seven possible houses: the houses of Sperantus, Prisius, Memphis and Stellio, Mother Bombie's house, the tavern, and the scrivener's house. Of these, the scenes concerning the tavern and the scrivener could be managed easily enough without a house actually onstage, by suitable use of a stage door or entrance (although the mention of the tavern's 'bush' (II,1,39; II,ii,10) strongly suggests that the tavern was either a house or a decorated door), but it is difficult to see how the play could be produced without separate entrances onto the stage

(1) See fig. 7.

from the other five houses. Mother Bombie, like Diogenes and the Sibilla, would have been in her house throughout the play, ready to answer when needed. The other four houses could be set up across the stage in pairs, with each stage-house representing two houses. Some arrangement such that, say, Memphis and Sperantus were opposed to Stello and Prius, would highlight the conflicting interests of the old men, and would accord neatly with the scene (V,iii) where the musicians serenade first Sperantus, then, next door, Memphis. We would then have two stage-houses, perhaps a little larger than usual, opposed in the orthodox manner across the stage. Mother Bombie's house, which would not have to be very large to hold one small boy, could be on a third side. Hence, perhaps, the fact that she gives her name to the play, as her central position would give her an importance on the stage that she seems rather to lack in the text. ⁽¹⁾ Apart perhaps from Santo and Phao, Mother Bombie is the most difficult of Iyly's plays to fit into the pattern we have established, though justification of a kind for the concept of paired houses is found in the Revels Accounts, ⁽²⁾ where we find that the houses sometimes involved partitions,

Carpenters occupied not onely in repayring of the old frame and
Settinge of it App But alsoe in makinge of Certayne particions and
Dore...

It may be, of course, that by the time Mother Bombie was being written, the Paul's theatre was undergoing some kind of modernisation to allow more complicated staging (a neo-classical street-perspective, perhaps).

(1) See fig. 10.

(2) Feuillerat, Revels, p.120.

Fig. 8: Loves Metamorphosis

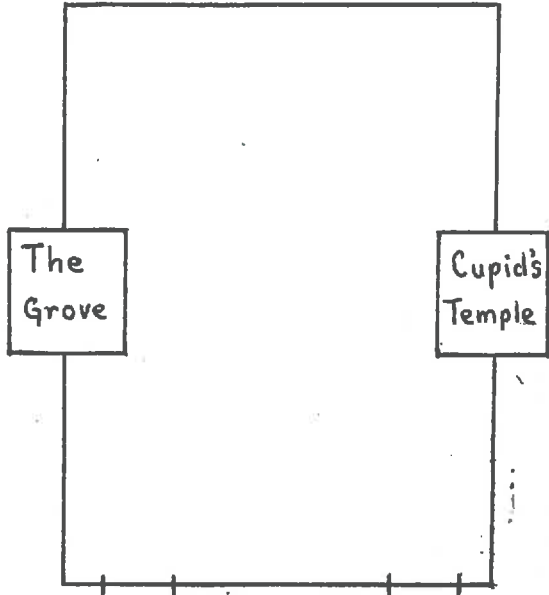


Fig. 9: Midas

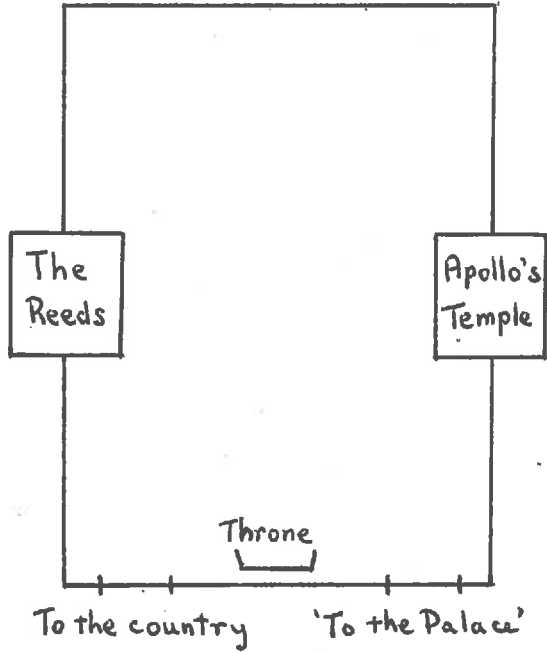


Fig. 10: Mother Bombie

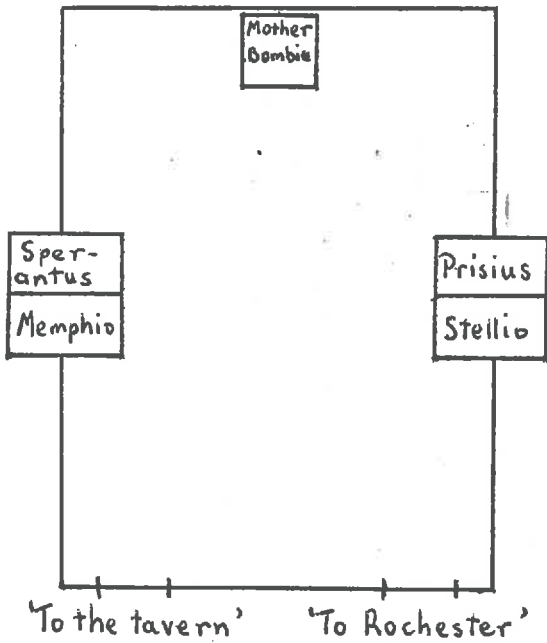
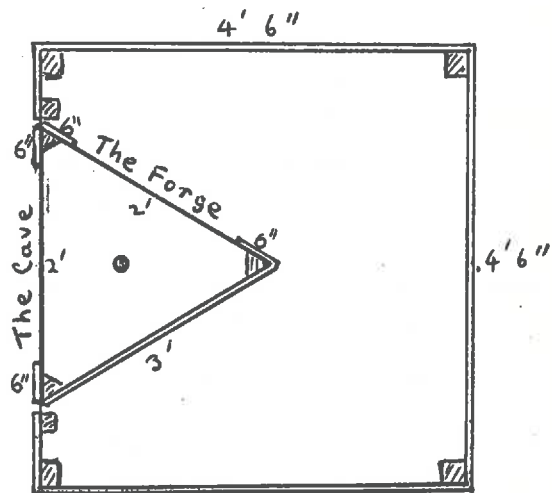


Fig. 11: the periaktoi



but if we accept the scheme I have proposed, the staging becomes relatively simple, and all entrances and exits are made in view of the audience.

Midas, as we might expect, has its special problems. In the play as we have it, two houses are required, Apollo's temple at Delphi, and some kind of structure representing the reeds. The oracle is not needed until the last scene, and probably could have been staged with a stage door, if ^{it} they opened directly onto the stage. If, however, the temple was a stage house, Apollo presumably would have made his exit to it at the end of IV,i. I have no idea how the reeds were represented onstage, but presumably there was room enough for one boy to hide so that the reeds could utter their all-important lines. Both houses are used only in what is left of Midas II; if Midas I used any houses, they were apparently done away with so that the stage of the revised version should not become too cluttered. In both Andrison and Midas, as in Alexander and Campaspe, we infer that the castle of the monarch is nearby, but it is not involved directly in the action, and may best be imagined as an entrance with the significance 'from the palace'.⁽¹⁾

Loves Metamorphosis, the last of the plays to be considered here, as The Woman in the Moone requires separate treatment,⁽²⁾ is another play which may not survive in its original form. We can have no idea, for example, how the three nymphs were metamorphosed into their appropriate shapes, although the transformed nymphs must be onstage for

(1) See fig. 9.

(2) See p. 76ff. below.

Protea and Petulius comment upon their changed shapes. One way to stage the metamorphosis would be by a dumb-show, of the kind that Blount supplies to Endimion. We must remember, however, that Loves Metamorphosis was doubtless played on the modernised stage of about 1599, and the 'thicke mist' (IV,i,109) and the later 'showre' (V,iv,34) by which the nymphs regain human shape, may have been added to accord with later techniques of production. Similarly the doors which Protea refers to when, as Ulysses, she instructs Petulius to follow her in 'at this doore, and out at the other' (IV,ii,96), in order to regain her protean shape, may most easily be explained as stage doors, but again could be an interpolation to avoid what might by 1598 be considered a clumsy metamorphosis onstage.⁽¹⁾ But we can be fairly sure of the main properties used for the play, the tree sacred to Ceres, and Cupid's temple. Cupid's temple would have been another house where the actor remained inside throughout the play, like Dicogenes, the Sibilla and Mother Bombie, withdrawing when not needed. Ceres's tree, although supposedly chopped down by Erisiothen in I,ii, is mentioned later (IV,i,130) specifically, and may be referred to in IV,ii,86 where Protea suggests to Petulius that they should go 'into the woods' (IV,ii,100). It seems likely that the tree remained after being symbolically chopped down, and was, perhaps, the centre-piece of a grove large enough both to hold Fidelia and perhaps occasional characters who made their exits to it. We may visualise this postulative grove, and the similar one in Gallathea, as rather like the pastoral setting in the surviving illustration of entertainment at Court

(1) C.f. Endimion's change to youth onstage (V,iii,c.187).

in Paris 1584.⁽¹⁾ In IV,ii, there is a 'Syren' who is announced by stage-direction, though there is no entry or exit recorded, and who sings 'with a Glasse in her hand and a Combe'. She is rather like Geron in Endimion, who apparently sings at the well (Endimion, III,iv,1), but who has no entry recorded separate from Eumenides. Perhaps the Siren's rock is the equivalent of the well in Endimion (it may even have been the metamorphosed nymph, if she was changed between IV,i and IV,ii), and perhaps the line 'Aye me, behold a Syren haunts this shore...' is a cover for its entrance.⁽²⁾ :

When we consider that the texts of *Igly's* plays provide a minimum of clues, we can view with some satisfaction, I think, the way in which they conform with the concept of the private stage that we had built up independently from external evidence. A number of inconsistencies are inevitable, as our picture of the stage is a vague one - houses of cards built on a platform of conjecture.

Some of the other plays known to have been acted at Court are more informative about their staging. Gismund of Salerne, published in 1592 as Tancred and Gismunda, gives details of the dumb-shows and the music between each act, and it also indicates where most of the entrances and exits were made from. Tancred's palace is mentioned specifically as an exit and must be considered a house of some kind, and Gismund's chamber would be another house in or near the palace.

(1) See Helene LeClerc, "'Circe', ou 'Le Ballet Comique de la Reyne,'" Theatre Research, III,2 (1961), pp.101-120, plate facing p.112. It is also reproduced in C. W. Hodges, op. cit., plate 39.

(2) See fig. 8, f.p. 69.

In addition, we know that a good deal of action came from under the stage, and that Cupid was able both to descend from the heavens, and to 'recount' later. A close look at the movements of the actors shows that it must have been possible for them to communicate between the palace and the chamber out of sight of the audience. For example, in I,ii,⁽¹⁾ Tancred and Gismund 'depart into the palace', but at the beginning of act II, the dumb-show indicates that Gismund was discovered behind the curtains in her bed.⁽²⁾ Either the chamber was a part of the house that was the palace, or the palace and the chamber were facades over stage doors opening directly onto the stage, and communicating behind. On a stage placed against an end wall, with, as I have suggested, the audience on three sides, this would be possible, and the play would be quite easily produced, if we further imagine that there were two entrances from under the stage, one in Gismund's chamber, and one further on the stage itself. It is fairly clear from Tancred's remark

...one vault remains,
 Within our Court, the secret way whereof
 Is to our daughter Gismund's chamber laide:
 There is also another mouth hereof,
 Without our wall: which now is overgrown,
 But you may finde it out, for yet it lies
 Directly South a furlong from our place:
 It may be known, hard by an ancient stoop,
 Where grewan Oke in elder daies decays...

that this was how the stage was arranged. It is possible, I suppose, that communication was possible between the chamber and the palace from under the stage, rather in the way suggested by Hotson in Shakespeare's

(1) 11.216-7 N.S.R., sig.B2.

(2) N.S.R., sig.E4^v.

Wooden O. ⁽¹⁾ This would be necessary if the stage were to be in the middle of the hall, but it seems an unduly complicated way of staging the play, particularly if we add the further difficulty of constructing the 'heavens' in the middle of a hall. Tancred and Gismonda could be staged by the use of two traps and two stage doors, each with a facade, one a palace, and the other a chamber and bed rather like Sappho's chamber in Sappho and Phao, but it must be remembered that it is a much more elaborate play, from the point of view of staging, than any of Iyly's plays. Another play which used dumb-shows between the acts, but which was performed more nearly to the time of Iyly's plays is The Misfortunes of Arthur, performed on February 28th, 1587/8 by the gentlemen of Gray's Inn. ⁽²⁾ There are three houses mentioned; some 'cloisters', to which three nuns in the first dumb-show retire, and which Guenevere refers to towards the end of I,iii, ⁽³⁾ Mordred's house, mentioned in the first and second dumb-shows, and 'the house appointed for Arthur', mentioned in the second dumb-show. From the first dumb-show we know that there was a trap from under the stage for three furies to rise out of, and presumably for Gorlois to retire to at the end of V,ii, ⁽⁴⁾ and from the third dumb-show we know that there were at least three possible entrances onto the stage ('From a third place there came four soldiers...'). ⁽⁵⁾ The cloisters are used only on the two occasions indicated above, and could

(1) p.185 ff.

(2) Chambers, op. cit., vol.IV, p.103.

(3) Doddsley, Old English Plays, ed. cit., vol.IV, p.272.

(4) Ibid., p.338.

(5) Ibid., p.315.

simply be one of the places 'nearby' on the other side of a stage entrance, but the other houses could be used consistently throughout the play by the opposing sides. Another play of about the same period is Marlowe's *Dido*, performed by the children of the Chapel, though it is not known whether they actually performed it at Court. There are again three possible houses, the curtained discovery-space behind which Jupiter is discovered dandling Ganymede on his knee,⁽¹⁾ with Mercury asleep nearby, there is the grove in which Ascanius sleeps,⁽²⁾ and there is Carthage.⁽³⁾ Chambers⁽⁴⁾ visualizes Carthage on one side of the stage with the other side on pastorale including both the grove and the discovery-space, but if Carthage is to be a three-dimensional house, it would have to be a very large one, as a large number of actors would have to occupy it. As well as these properties, there seems to have been a shrine to Jove^{at} which Iarbus sacrifices at in IV,ⁱⁱ and on which Dido somehow commits suicide. I suggest that this shrine was the discovery-space of the first scene, and that Dido's, Iarbus's and Anna's exits were made at the end of the play by drawing the curtain. The 'vgly cays' of IV,i,1091 could have been either the grove or the shrine. If Carthage were to be one of the stage doors, we would again have a simple stage, with the grove on one side opposed to the curtained discovery-space on the other.

To complete the picture of the stage that Igly's plays were

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- (1) *Ibid.*, p.393 (act I, sc. 1).
 (2) *Ibid.*, p.403 (II,i,611).
 (3) *Ibid.*, p.401 (II,i,1).
 (4) Chambers, *op. cit.*, vol.III, pp.35-6.

acted on, it is necessary to mention briefly the kind of stage that The Woman in the Moone would have been produced on. Summer's Last Will and Testament, which, I have suggested, may provide a link between the later prose plays and The Woman in the Moone in style, does not help us here, as its performance was clearly of a specialised nature, probably using a simple floor-space in an appropriate room at the Croydon palace of the Archbishop. The way in which Vertumnus ushers in the characters would be consistent with a stage in the middle of the room, necessitating the clearing of a path through the audience. But The Woman in the Moone would have been presented in the public theatre, possibly, as I have suggested, the Rose. It would not be appropriate in this study to reconsider at length the evidence concerning the nature of the public stage,⁽¹⁾ but there are a number of points which may be made about the stage on which The Woman in the Moone would have been acted. A glance at those plays known to have been staged at the Rose⁽²⁾ demonstrates that the properties called for in The Woman in the Moone were used in many other plays of the period. Although, for Igly, the play uses such elaborate stage-props as a raised throne and a trap, compared to the staging complexities of The Spanish Tragedy, The Battle of Alcazar or

(1) The modern view concerning the details of the Elizabethan stage seems to be one mainly of agnosticism, though there are a number of recent books and articles which provide food for thought - see Hotson, Shakespeare's Wooden O; C. W. Hodges, op. cit.; Shakespeare Survey No. 12 (1959), which contains a number of interesting articles; Lawrence J. Ross 'Use of a "Fit-up Booth" in Othello', in Shakespeare Quarterly, XII No.4 (1961), pp.359-370, and Richard Hosley 'The Staging of Desdemona's Bed' Shakespeare Quarterly, XIV (1963), pp.57-65.

(2) Chambers, op. cit., vol.II, pp.143-5.

The Joy of Malta, it was relatively straightforward. The raised throne, mentioned in Henslowe's Diary,⁽¹⁾ as well as being used, no doubt, in many plays with royalty, was called for in Looking Glasse for London, where Oseas sits and comments on the action for most of the play, and in Old Fortunatus.⁽²⁾ The trap was called for in many plays; Looking Glasse for London, Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, Titus Andronicus, John a Kent and Edward I all require it specifically, and many others could have used it incidentally. Apart from the throne and the trap, there is one rather interesting stage property used in The Woman in the Moon. It is described in one of the unusually detailed stage-directions printed in a small Roman type,

They draw the Curtins from before NATURES shop, where stands an Image clad and some vnclad, they bring forth the clothed image. (3)

Nature's shop, like Malciber's shop in Thersites and Apelles's shop in Alexander and Campespe is doubtless some relative to the 'house' of the court entertainments. It is a discovery-space with no need of an exit out of the sight of the audience. The traditional view of the Elizabethan theatre⁽⁴⁾ would have it that this was the 'inner stage', but the fact that there was no need for an exit suggests that it was a structure independent of the tire-house, though, of course, it may have been

(1) Ed. Foakes and Rickert, p.7.

(2) 'Fortune takes her Chaire', stage direction following I,i,63; see The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker, vol.I (Cambridge, 1955), ed. Fredson Bowers, p.118.

(3) Bond, op. cit., vol.III, p.245.

(4) See, for example, J. C. Adams, The Globe Playhouse (Harvard U.P., 1943).

placed against the tire-house wall. A curtained discovery-space, with functions similar to those of the Court 'house', is called for in many of the plays produced at the Rose, though it goes by different names. In one or two instances (as is the case with Sapho's first appearance 'in her bed') the text suggests contact with the structure from the tire-house, but mostly the entrances and exits involving it are clearly from the stage only. I have already mentioned⁽¹⁾ the use of a bed within a curtained structure in Tamburlaine; the same feature is used in The Massacre at Paris (M.S.R. 1.300 'enter the Admirall in his bed', and 11. 355-6), The Battle of Alcazar (M.S.R. 1.37, 'They draw the curtains and smother the young princes in the bed') and The History of Edward Longshankes (passim). In Old Fortunatus (ed. cit., p.163) and in Looking Glasse for London (M.S.R. 11.510,552) a discovery-space with curtains is needed, and in each case, although there is no indication in the text, the previous exits of those discovered could be to the discovery-space. In Titus Andronicus there is a tomb, in Doctor Faustus there is a study, and in Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay there is a cell, all of which could use the same type of structure. The other properties used in this group of plays (and of course there were many which use none of these properties, A Humorous Days Mirth and Knack to Know a Knave, for example) are a tree (The Massacre at Paris, Orlando Furioso, Knack to Know an Honest Man, John a Kent, The Battle of Alcazar, Old Fortunatus, etc.) and an upper stage of some kind, often the walls of a town (Edward Longshankes,

(1) See p. 3 above.

Titus Andronicus, The Blind Beggar of Alexandria, The Jew of Malta, etc.).

The similarity of stage properties between The Woman in the Moon and these plays is not a positive argument in favour of the identification of The Woman in the Moon with 'Wonder of a Woman'. We would expect that most plays of the period could have been staged in any of the theatres, but by analysing this group of plays known to have in common a production at the Rose, we can gain a fairly complete picture of the nature of the public stage at the time that Igly was writing. In none of the plays produced at the Rose is there any evidence of a tripartite meeting, and we may assume that the doors opening onto the stage would, as in the drawing of the Swan, have been two in number. There would have been a throne, worked by machinery, set above the stage for the various planets, all of which mount and descend in sight of the audience. A trap would have been available for much more spectacular effects than the modest cave required by Igly for Steias to hide in (III,ii,190 ff.), and 'Nature's shop' would have been a curtained discovery-space placed somewhere on the stage - perhaps the neatest place, combining the arguments for and against the 'inner stage', would be between the two doors. The audience would have been certainly on three, and possibly on four sides of the stage.

CHAPTER III

THE PLAYS IN PRODUCTION

The dramatist is no more writing 'pure' literature than the composer of an orchestral piece writes 'pure' music. Each artist exploits the medium available for particular effect; the composer conceives his music in terms of orchestral timbre, orchestrating accordingly, and the dramatist conceives his words as delivered by actors in a particular setting, and arranges the movements of his characters accordingly. Just as we understand the 'terraced' dynamics of Bach or Mozart by relating the growth of musical thought to instruments which, like the harpsichord or the baroque organ, were incapable of making a crescendo, our appreciation of the dramatist's art is heightened by applying his plays to the test of production - in this study, of necessity, theoretical.

One of the problems for a producer on a stage with only two doors, particularly when working with a large cast, would be congestion at one or other of the doors. If the doors were anonymous, and also communicated behind stage, the action could be continuous across the stage, all exits being made to one door and all entrances from the other, but I cannot imagine such a simple and, from the point of view of the audience, monotonous solution being accepted by any producer. Nevertheless, the ideal use of the two doors would be to have one group of actors making their exit to one, while the characters involved in the

next scene make their entrance through the other. If the two doors are to have a specific significance, as I have suggested may have been the case with Alexander and Campagna, the author and the producer (Lyly may have been both) would have to be careful in the management of scene-changes, to ensure that whenever possible an exit and an immediately following entrance did not use the same door. This would, of course, necessitate careful writing and arrangement of scenes.

The remarkable thing about Alexander and Campagna - and this is also true of the other play of Lyly's which probably involved doors of specific significance, Endimion - is that not only is it possible to differentiate consistently between the two doors 'to the palace' and 'to the city', but, after a certain amount of careful juggling, the principle we may call 'alternating doors' is adhered to remarkably consistently. As in the scene from Love's Metamorphosis already discussed,⁽¹⁾ the use of alternate doors for entrance and exit results in a smooth and rapid flow of action. The effect is more like a fast-moving old-lady-old-man barometer than a slow-moving cuckoo clock. The fact that both of these theories are consistently applicable to the plays must in itself constitute a powerful argument in their favour; ^c Either Lyly wrote the play for a production which followed fairly closely along these lines, or else we are dealing in an unusually large size in coincidences.

Before considering Alexander and Campagna in detail, it is worth noting that the only play of about the same period which tests both theories in a similar way, Marlowe's Dido, produces similarly encouraging

(1) See p.60 above.

results. If one of the doors represented Carthage, the remaining door would have some such general significance as 'to the country' or 'to the shore', and would be used by the gods and goddesses, who would hardly make their exits to Carthage. Thus produced, there are only two occasions when an exit and the entry immediately following must use the same door. At the beginning of IV,ii,⁽¹⁾ Iarbus, having (I suppose) gone off with Dido to Carthage at the end of IV,i, returns to sacrifice. Since, if he did not simply remain onstage, there would have necessarily been a break between his exit and subsequent entrance, this can hardly be described as a clash producing congestion.⁽²⁾ At the end of IV,iv, Dido makes her exit to Carthage, and, at the beginning of IV,v, the Nurse enters, also from Carthage, with Cupid disguised as Ascanius. Here there is a definite clash, and the stage must have been empty for some moments. At the end of IV,v, the clash is not repeated, as the Nurse is specifically bound for the country.⁽³⁾

I do not find the same smoothness of action in the earlier Court plays. Damon and Pythias could be produced with Syracuse and Dionysius's palace, either as doors or as houses,

Lo here in Syracuse th'ancient Towne, which once the Romaines
wonne,
Here Dionysius Pallace, within whose Courte this thing most strange
was donne (4)

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- (1) All references are to Tucker Brooke, ed. cit.
 (2) Compare Alexander and Campaspe, II,ii - III,i, where Apelles goes off and returns (see p. 94 below).
 (3) Ed. cit., II,1311-2.
 (4) M.S.R., sig.Aii, II.35-6.

but whatever combination was used, I have been unable to arrange entrances so that they alternate consistently. Many of the early plays, Horatius and The Conflict of Conscience, for example, use few actors, and are more or less continuous in action, so that the problem of congestion would not arise. Similarly in plays like Corboauc and, rather later, The Misfortunes of Arthur, the formality of the action is such that there would be no congestion within the acts even with one door. Since apparently the acts were marked by dumb-shows and music, there is no need for the relatively sophisticated production technique that, I suggest, is found in Dido, and in Igly's plays. The Warren of Cyrus may come halfway, for the principle of alternating doors may successfully be applied to the play, but this may be because of its simple construction, with the action moving alternately between the opposing factions. Generally speaking, those plays written strictly on classical models cannot be said to be a fair test, as the problem of congestion is not likely to arise on a stage with a limited number of characters coming and going one at a time. Similarly, those plays written specifically for five or six actors, with each actor doubling a number of parts, were written with entrances and exits very much in mind, but for a different reason - the actors needed time to change between roles - and, indeed, many of them could be produced well enough with only one entrance. It is only in plays of relatively complex structure, with several groups of actors alternating on the stage - pages, philosophers, lovers and kings - that we can regard the presence of a pattern of production such as I have suggested as significant.

The stage for Alexander and Campaspe would be set with two houses, Diogenes's tub and Apelles's studio, and the two doors would represent 'from the city' and 'from the palace'. In the schematic representation of this stage⁽¹⁾ I have put the entrance from the palace and the tub of Diogenes on the right-hand side of the stage (from the point of view of the Queen, or the privileged ones who sat in her place at the Blackfriars), and Apelles's studio and the city to the left. Elizabethan audiences may have been sensitive to the possible significance of right and left on the stage as a legacy from the morality plays with their Hell-mouth and Heaven,⁽²⁾ so I have put Apelles, associated with Campaspe and the life of luxury which Hephæstion so deprecates, and which is eventually rejected, to the left, and Diogenes, who in his own way pursues a life as single-minded and as worthy as Alexander ('...were I not Alexander, I wolde wishe to be Diogenes'⁽³⁾), to the right, with the palace.⁽⁴⁾ It must be remembered that, so far as the following analysis of stage-movements is concerned, the position of the stage in the hall is immaterial; so long as two entrances from offstage were available to the actors, the theories concerning the significance and alternation of the entrances will be applicable. I have already indicated the reasons for my preference of a stage placed against an end wall, with the audience on

(1) See figs. 3 and 4. f. pp. 43, 67.

(2) See Notson, Wooden O, chapter IX, 'Righteous Heaven and Sinister Hell', pp. 237-257.

(3) II, ii, 148.

(4) The significance of this opposition is discussed further, p. 93. below.

three sides,⁽¹⁾ so I have represented the stage thus, since a diagram requires a commitment of some kind, although the method of production I propose would work as well with the stage anywhere in the hall.

The only scene in Alexander and Campaign which presents any real difficulty in staging, if we are to preserve the significance of the two doors, is at the very beginning; the prisoners are presumed to have entered from neither the palace nor the city, as it is to the city that Alexander instructs Parmenio to conduct them. An effective and spectacular way of overcoming this difficulty, thoroughly in keeping with the spirit of Court entertainment, would be to have a masque-like procession of the 'spoils & prisoners' (I,1,26), entering through the audience to the stage. There is, however, no evidence to support this. If the captives enter 'from the city' only to be led back upon Alexander's command (I,1,76-7), it is the only time Lyly allows such redundancy.

In the interests of verisimilitude, and in order to keep the action as clear as possible, we would expect that the principal characters at least would tend to make their entrances from the door they last made their exit through. This means that in our reconstruction of the stage-movements in Alexander and Campaign we have three tasks: the doors must retain the significance 'to the city' and 'to the palace' respectively; when the stage is clear momentarily, entrance following must be from the opposite door; and, finally, the characters must, as far as possible, make their entrance from the door they last went out. The result of

(1) See pp.45-46 above.

this reconstruction is recorded in detail below. In one or two cases - surprisingly few - lesser characters could use either door, and I have indicated these alternatives whenever they occur.

After Line No.	Characters	Entrance from	Exit to	Previous Exit to	Comments
<u>I.i</u>	Clitus, Parmenio	Palace		-	
28	Timoclea, Campaspe (and guards, etc.)	City?		-	Or, as suggested above, a pageant from outside.
57	Alexander and Hephaestion	Palace		-	
79	Parmenio (Clitus) and captives		City		1.76 '...conducte these honourable ladies into the Citie...'
88	Alexander, Hephaestion		Palace		
<u>I.ii</u>	Mance, Gran- ichus, Pyllus	City		-	
105	Mance, Gran- ichus, Pyllus		City		They go off to seek Plato's food, presum- ably in the city.
				CLASH	
<u>I.iii</u>	Melippus	City		-	Applause after the song might have covered the clash.
24	Melippus		Palace		
24	Philosophi, (Clitus and Parmenio?)	City		-	Clitus and Parmenio are mentioned at the head of the scene, though they are silent. Either they accompany Alexander (as Bond's stage-directions sugg- est) or they enter with the philosophers, tak- ing this opportunity to return to the palace.

After Line No.	Characters	Entrance from	Exit to	Previous Exit to	Comments
50	Alexander, Hephaestion	Palace		Palace	
103	Alexander, Hephaestion		City		1.103 'But come, let us go and give release, as I promised, to our <u>Theba</u> thralls'. See comment on II,ii en- trance, and p.93 below.
110	Diogenes	Tub		-	He has been there from the beginning of the play.
134	Philosophi (Clitus and Parmenio)		Palace		They have been summon- ed there (I,iii,1-2; 61-2)
<u>II.i</u>	Pylius, Manes, Granicus	City		City	Diogenes remains on- stage.
53	Diogenes		Tub		
67	(Manes Pylius Granicus)		(Tub (Studio (Palace)		'...every man to his home, and let us steal out againe a- nons.' (1.65) Gran- ichus goes after his master (I,iii,134 above).
<u>II.ii</u>	Alexander, Hephaestion, Page	City		City	The change in Alexander is nicely underlined by brief stay in the city. The page could well have been always with Alexander.
117	Page		Studio		11.114-5. 'Sirha, goe presently to <u>Apelles</u> ...'
119	Diogenes	Tub		Tub	

After Line No.	Characters	Entrance from	Exit to	Previous Exit to	Comments
154	Diogenes		Tub		
154	Apelles, (Page)	Studio		-	He also would have been there from the beginning though he could be summoned from the city.
161	Alexander, Hephaestion, Apelles, (Page)		Palace	CLASH	1.159 'come you [Apelles] with me'.
<u>III.i</u>	Apelles, } Campaspe)	Palace		Palace City	But the action requires a brief break, as Apelles is involved in both the exit and the entry. Campaspe's entrance from the Palace comes as a surprise, and would have further underlined Alexander's seeming degeneration. Alternatively, Alexander could have again gone off to the city.
17	Payllus	Studio		Studio	Apelles ^{orders} tosses Payllus out of the studio.
19	Apelles, Campaspe		Studio		
<u>III.ii</u>	-				Payllus remains onstage.
8	Manes	Tub		Tub	
66	Manes, Payllus		City		1.66 '...let us goe away, that wee may returne speedily.'
<u>III, iii</u>	Apelles, Campaspe	Studio		Studio	The curtains are drawn for an interior scene.
51	Apelles, Campaspe		Studio		
<u>III,iv</u>	Clitus, Parmenio	Palace		Palace	

After Line No.	Characters	Entrance from	Exit to	Previous Exit to	Comments
20	Alexander, Hephaestion	Palace		Palace	But see comment on III, 1, first entrance.
27	Clitus Parmenio		Palace		
45	Diogenes	Tub		Tub	
c.45	Crysus	City		-	
53	Diogenes		Tub		
57	Crysus		City		
57	Apelles, Campaspe	Studio		Studio) i.e., the scene becomes) interior.
57	Alexander, Hephaestion		Studio		
116	Alexander, Hephaestion	Studio		Studio	
121	Campaspe	Studio		Studio	
c.122	Campaspe		Palace		'How stately she passeth bye...' (1.122). Cam- paspe's exit to the palace lends colour to Apelles's lament that she is the paramour of Alexander.
127	Alexander, Hephaestion		Palace		
<u>III.v</u>	Pyllus, Manes	City		City	
3	Manes		Tub		'I pray God my maister be not flowne before I come.' (1.2)
3	Apelles	Studio		Studio	
12	Pyllus		Studio?		'Away in!' (1.12) See next entry, IV,1.

After Line No.	Characters	Entrance from	Exit to	Previous Exit to	Comments
33	Campaspe		?City		Campaspe, who has resolved to 'stande aloofe from kinges lous...' (1.32) could underline this by returning to the City.
<u>IV.v</u> 3	Apelles Page	Studio Palace		Studio (Palace)	The page is used to get Apelles from his house to backstage (the Palace).
10	Apelles, Page		Palace		
<u>V.i</u>	Silvius, Perin, Milo, Trico Diogenes,	City Tub		- Tub	It is hard to see why Manes would have been included in this scene (he has only one line) unless we assume that he remains with Diogenes in the tub.
64	Diogenes,		Tub		Manes may leave with Silvius, as he has no more lines in the play, or he may remain with Diogenes, silent, in the remaining scenes.
64	Silvius, etc.		City		
<u>V.ii</u> 17	Apelles Apelles	Palace		Palace Studio	
<u>V.iii</u>	Milectus, Phrygius, Lais	City		-	
21	Diogenes	Tub		Tub	
c.35	Diogenes		Tub		

After Line No.	Characters	Entrance from	Exit to	Previous Exit to	Comments
38	Milectus, etc.		City		'let us make haste, least Alexander finde us here.' (1.38)
V. ix	Alexander, Hephaestion, Page	Palace		Palace	
25	Page		Studio		
37	Diogenes	Tub		Tub	
74	Diogenes		Tub		
74	Apelles	Studio		Studio	
c.74	Page	Studio		Studio	He remains in or near the Studio until he gives the alarm.
102	Campaspe	?City		?City	See IV, iv, 33.
143	Apelles, Campaspe		{ Studio { City		The Studio would be more appropriate, but an exit to the City would get them off the stage. Diogenes (perhaps with Hanes) remains in his tub, however.
146	Page		Palace		
155	Alexander Hephaestion		Palace		

Of twenty-two occasions when the theory of alternating doors or houses is put to the test, only two result in a clash. One (II, ii, 162) involves a necessary pause in the action, and the other (I, ii, 103 - I, iii) is between the characters of the sub-plot and a messenger.

The whole basis for this analysis is conjectural; not only the stage it is based on, but most of the entrances and exits are made without

comment or with a comment that is ambiguous, and hence give no indication, other than the context of the action, of the door used. Consequently it might be possible to reshuffle a number of the stage-movements I have proposed without contradicting the text. The only important sequence that could be queried, I think, is that which involves Alexander's exit to the city and his subsequent return (I,iii,103; II,ii). Alexander could, no doubt, give release to his Theban thralls as easily from his palace as from within the city where the prisoners have been taken. This would mean that Granichus would exit to the city (which is after all his 'home') immediately before Alexander's entry, and would probably enter from the city with Solimus at his next entry (IV,1). However, as I have suggested in the analysis, the change in Alexander when he re-enters at II,ii indicates that he has seen Campaspe, and his brief stay in the city, on the 'wrong' side of the stage, would illustrate neatly the way in which he has succumbed to her charms. In much the same way, I have suggested that Campaspe's entrance from the palace with Apelles would indicate to an observant audience that Alexander's affair was progressing, and would give some substance to Apelles's complaint that she is Alexander's paramour (III,v,28-9), and her later exit, after she has pledged her love to Apelles, if made to the city, would emphasize her rejection of Alexander. The way in which Alexander's page and Hanes, Diogenes's servant, appear from time to time may indicate that they remained with their masters more than is indicated in the text, attending on them even when they are silent for a whole scene.

There are two occasions when the doors do not alternate. Helippus enters from the city after the pages have run off to the same place, and Apelles returns from the palace with Campaspe after making his exit, also to the palace, with Alexander. The first of these clashes, as I have suggested, could be covered by applause to the song, if the Court audience had habits of applause anything like those of later years. In any case, the clash is between minor characters, and there would have been no lapse in decorum⁽¹⁾ if Helippus had entered while the boys were still onstage. The second clash is more interesting. Because it involves the departure and immediate return of the same character, Apelles, there must in any case have been a break of some kind in the action. Ily could easily have filled the gap with a brief scene of the pages, or with an entertainment along the lines of that provided by Peria, Milo and Trico, or Miletus, Phrygius and Leis; the fact that he did not do so is perhaps an indication that there was some kind of break between II,ii and III,i. We know that in such plays as Corboeus, Clifford of Salerno and, nearer Ily's time, The Misfortunes of Arthur were divided into their separate acts by interludes of music, followed by dumb-shows. Ily's plays are not so highly formalised as these, and there is no indication in the plays that the action was broken to allow any interludes. Ily includes such music as is appropriate to Courtly entertainment in the play itself; often, particularly in Alexander and Campaspe, at the expense of introducing irrelevancies. But if, for any reason, there was to be a break

(1) See chapter IV, p.131 ff. below.

in the play, it could well be taken after Apelles's exit at the end of II,ii. This is roughly half-way through the play.⁽¹⁾ The other plays all have places about half-way through where a break would either assist in our understanding of the unity of the play, as in Alexander and Campaspe, or at least it would be possible without losing any of the threads of the plot. In Sapho and Phao a break could provide cover for putting Sapho 'in her bed', and could be immediately before this scene (III,iii), after Sapho's sickness has been announced in her absence, and the comic scene which follows.⁽²⁾ An appropriate place for a break in Gallathea, though it is certainly not necessary, would be between III,1 and III,ii. The three previous scenes have been, respectively, comic sub-plot, Gallathea-Phillida complication, and the amusingly climactic scene in which the three nymphs betray their 'affections' to each other; the possible break is followed by three scenes which develop these themes in turn, after a certain amount of recapitulation.⁽³⁾ Endimion has two possible breaks, the dumb-show, and the unexplained appearance of Geron at the well which presupposes a change of both time and place. The dumb-show occurs rather early in the play,⁽⁴⁾ but if there were a break before the scene at the well (III,iv), it would fall roughly half-way.⁽⁵⁾ Such a break again would be useful to the dramatist, in that it

(1) In Bond's edition of the Works, the distribution of pages before and after this point is $17\frac{1}{2}$ - $24\frac{1}{2}$, though this is at best an approximate indication.

(2) 24pp. - 20pp.

(3) $18\frac{1}{2}$ pp. - 22pp.

(4) 19pp. - 40pp.

(5) $26\frac{1}{2}$ pp. - 33pp.

would clarify for the audience the passage of time, and it might also provide an opportunity for placing Bagoa, in her metamorphosed shape, onstage, possibly as the tree near Endimion's head which had grown from a twig to a tree (V,i,51-2). Midas, as produced at Court, would certainly benefit from a break between III,iii and IV,i, as this would mean that the play would retain a certain unity in each half. Like Alexander and Campaspe, Mother Bombie has only one place where there is a necessary break in the action. At the end of III,iv, Lucio and Riscio take the clothes of Accius and Silena for Candidus and Iivia respectively, and at the beginning of IV,i, Candidus and Iivia enter in their borrowed attire. There must therefore have been a break at this point. ⁽¹⁾ Loves Metamorphosis, a play which may have been out for performance when it was revived, does not fit the pattern so easily, although there is one place where a break might solve a problem in staging. Between IV,i and IV,ii the nymphs are metamorphosed and placed onstage, a problem which could be overcome if at this point there was a break in the action. This, however, comes rather more than halfway through the play. ⁽²⁾

The application of these theories of production to Sappho and Phao involves a number of difficulties, but on the whole, I think, it makes some sense of an otherwise confused play. The first half is relatively straightforward. The only house used is the Sibilla's Cave, and the entrances and exits work very smoothly if one is 'to the ferry' and

(1) 35pp. - 25pp.

(2) 20pp. - 11½pp.

the other 'to the city'. One sequence is interesting enough for close analysis. The two servants, Criticus and Molus, are mentioned with Trachinus and Pandion at the head of I,ii, but they are silent throughout the scene. The only reference to them comes at the end of the scene, where Molus is instructed (I,ii,70-73) to go to Syracuse 'about by land'. This instruction serves a double purpose; it gives the servants an excuse for remaining for the comic scene which follows (though Igly does not usually bother to explain such trivia), and it provides a reason for the boys to leave at the end of the scene by the opposite door to the one their masters left by, as Trachinus and Pandion leave, presumably, to the ferry (they are not going to Syracuse by land), thus crossing the stage from one door to the other. Criticus and Molus leave 'by land', however, and leave the other door, 'to the ferry', free for the entrance, immediately following, of the ladies of the Court, coming from the ferry. Chambers⁽¹⁾ says that II,ii is the only scene in the first two acts that is not near Phao's ferry, but I cannot see why this should be so. The most convenient staging for this scene would be to have the servants enter with their masters in the previous scene (having presumably met at the Court offstage), again being silent throughout. They then remain onstage, to be joined later by Calypho from either door, or, if Vulcan's forge was a separate house, from there. The second half of the play, after the point where I have suggested that there could be a break in the action, provides a number of problems. There is no need for an exit 'to the ferry', for Phao could as well come

(1) Op. cit., vol.III, p.33.

to see Sapho from a door of more general significance. Both the Sibilla's cave and Vulcan's forge are used, though as suggested above⁽¹⁾ they could be the same house, or the forge could be represented merely by an anvil. The most difficult part of the staging concerns Sapho's bed-chamber. Once she is in it things are relatively simple if we imagine the bed to be within a curtained house, with enough room for the ladies of her court. The varying number of names at the head of each scene is an indication of the number of characters who speak, not necessarily of the number present on the stage. That the other ladies are present but silent must remain a conjecture, but this is what we would expect, since the scene-headings are a literary convention, not an acting guide. With a bed-chamber as I have described, the action becomes a series of alternating interior and exterior scenes, much in the same way as those involving Apelles and Campaspe in Alexander and Campaspe. In fact, when we look at this part of the play in detail, it becomes apparent that it could be staged with only one door, of no specific significance, though it would be possible to retain a 'to the country' rather than 'to the ferry' significance. The problem remains how to get Sapho to her bed, if we are not to assume that there was a stage-convention which would allow her to come to the bed in sight of the audience. One interesting point which may provide a clue is the uncharacteristic disappearance from the play in the second half of the comic sub-plot, ^{from the second half of the play.} Trachinus, Pandion, Criticus and Molus all disappear after III,ii. One way to get Sapho to her bed-chamber would be to

(1) See pp.66-7 above.

have her make her exit to it at the end of II,11, but the two courtiers, and probably their servants, would then follow, and it would hardly be decorous for them to be present with Sappho in her bed. The ^{last} ^{which} scene ⁱⁿ⁻volving ^{es} the two courtiers - or at least the scholar and the courtier - reads almost like an exercise in getting rid of them. They enter with the ladies (accompanied, perhaps, by their silent servants) and are interrupted by Dageana, who calls the other ladies away. The menfolk then decide that a breath of 'open ayre' (III,1,42) might clear their thoughts, and Criticus and Eolus remain long enough to decide, with Calypho, 'in drinke to die' (III,11,94). But the indecorum of the presence of Trachinus and Pandion in the interior scenes may not wholly explain their complete absence from the rest of the play. They could, for example, have joined the ladies outside Sappho's chamber in III,iii. It is possible that they were dropped from the action so that only one door was needed, making it possible for the door leading 'to the city' to become Sappho's bed-chamber, but this could only be the case if the stage were placed against the wall so that a structure could be made projecting beyond it for the chamber, and in any case it would put the action at a distance from the audience. I am inclined to believe that Sappho's chamber was an orthodox house, as the various scenes where people move to and from the chamber are typically constructed so that the characters have something to do or say as they move across the stage in sight of the audience. Thus Miletus's exit (III,iii,134) is covered by Sappho's song, her subsequent entry with Phao produces a dialogue of some thirty five lines before they decide to go into the chamber, and Phao's exit becomes



an important thread in the plot, as he meets Venus on his way out. The only point which might indicate that the bedchamber was set up over one of the doors is Sapho's odd request for Miletta to 'shut the doors' (V,ii,101) on her last exit, whereas she has previously asked for the curtains to be drawn, but since an exit from such a structure could be covered by the drawing of the curtains in any case, I do not think it significant. The most probable explanation is that Sapho rises from her bed, since she is once again well, and leaves by the door.

Gallathea is a different kind of play altogether, and poses none of the problems in staging that we find in Sapho and Phao. The 'place' is a generalized pastoral setting, with the tree of sacrifice and possibly a grove decorating the stage.⁽¹⁾ There are no obvious differences possible between the doors, although one again could mean 'to the city' and the other 'to the country', but the differentiation is slight, and there is certainly not the awareness of the difference between the open air and Syracuse that we find in Sapho and Phao, or the natural opposition between palace and city that we find in Alexander and Campagna. In both these plays the difference between the doors to some extent clarifies the action, but in Gallathea there is no such clarification. The staging can be managed very nicely with two relatively indeterminate doors, and possibly the occasional use of the grove.

The other play of Lyly's in which our theories are put to the test is Endimion. The two doors, one relevant to the moon and one to

(1) See p.67 above.

the earth, would represent 'to the palace' and 'to the country'. The lunary bank and the palace would perhaps be on the right-hand side of the stage, with the door to the country, and Coraites's castle, over which Tellus gains dominance, on the left. If there was a break between III,iv and III,v, the wall could have been brought onto the stage at that time, thus further explaining the change of location, and incidentally explaining why the only reference to the wall other than in the scene between Geron and Eumenides occurs afterwards (see IV,ii,67).

After Line No.	Characters	Entrance from	Exit to	Previous Exit to	Comments
<u>I,i</u>	Eudimion, Eumenides	Palace		-	
75	Eudimion		Palace		
79	Eumenides		Palace		
<u>I,ii</u>	Tellus, Floscula	Country		-	
82	Tellus		Country		
86	Floscula		Country		
<u>I,iii</u>	Dares, Semias	Palace		-	Their masters are courtiers.
4	Sir Tophas, Epiton	Country		-	Or from the palace, but a meeting would look better.
112	Dares, Semias		Palace		'...let us see what our Maisters doe...' (1.112)
116	Tophas, Epiton		Country		'Now will I march into the fields...' (1.105)
				CLASH	
<u>I,iv</u>	Dipsas	Country			Igly could have arranged for Sir Tophas to have left before the pages, and I cannot imagine Dipsas coming from the palace. Perhaps she enters as he leaves, and

After Line No.	Characters	Entrance from	Exit to	Previous Exit to	Comments
<u>I.iv</u>					they meet at the door, as he must have seen her to fall in love with her. Tellus and Floscula could then enter to Dipsas, hence Tellus's opening remark, which suggests that they have just met. The only objection to this is that Sir Tophas does not show his love in his next scene, but perhaps his was a delayed-action passion.
49	Tellus, Floscula Tellus, Floscula, Dipsas	Country	Country	Country	
<u>II.i</u>	Endimion	Palace		Palace	
46	Tellus, Floscula Dipsas	Country		Country	
100	Endimion, Tellus, Floscula, Dipsas		Country		
<u>II.ii</u>	Dares, Sarcas, Scintilla, Favilla	Palace		Palace	
56	Tophas, Epiton	Country		Country	
153	Tophas, Epiton		Country		'...come <u>hpi</u> , let me to the battaile with that hideous beast [the sheep].' (II.151-2)

After Line No.	Characters	Entrance from	Exit to	Previous Exit to	Comments
156	Dares, Semias, Scintilla, Favilla		Palace		
<u>II.111</u>	Endimion	Country		Country	
c.10	Endimion		Lunary Bank		
c.23	Dipsas, Bagoa	Country		Country	
44	Dipsas		(Country)		No reason is given for the departure of Dipsas. Perhaps she leaves for the palace to put the spell of estrangement on Cynthia, but it is not mentioned.
52	Dipsas	(Country)		(Country)	
57	Dipsas, Bagoa		Country		
	Dumb Show				'Musique sounds', so there would be nothing to cause a clash. There would have been a short pause in any case.
<u>III.1</u>	Cynthia, Tellus, Semele, Eumenides, Coraites, Zontes, Pamelion	Palace			Tellus left for the country at II,11,100, but she was presumably involved as one of the ladies in the dumb show, and would have left for the palace. (See note (1) at end of table.)
60	Cynthia, Semele, Zontes, Pamelion, Eumenides		Palace		Eumenides could leave for the country on his quest.
<u>III.11</u>	Coraites, Tellus				They remain onstage.

After Line No.	Characters	Entrance from	Exit to	Previous Exit to	Comments
32	Corcites, Tellus		Castle		
<u>III.iii</u>	Tophas, Epiton	Country		Country	
70	Dares, Semias	Palace		Palace	
156	Tophas, Epiton, Dares, Semias		Country		'Sen. Come Dares, let us not lose him till we find our Maisters...' (11.152-3).
<u>III.iv</u>	Geron	At the well			
	Eumenides	Country?		Country?	See his exit at III,i, 60.
197	Geron, Eumenides		?Country		But they enter from the palace at V,i,9.
<u>IV.i</u>	Tellus	Castle		Castle	
27	Corcites	Castle		Castle	
71	Corcites		?Country		He could leave to the palace, or go straight to the lunary bank, hiding during the next scene.
79	Tellus		Castle		'I will in, and laugh with the other Ladies at <u>Corcites</u> sweating.' (1.79)
<u>IV.ii</u>	Dares, Semias	Country		Country	
5	Epiton	Country		Country	
72	The Watch	Palace		-	They are sent by Cynthia.
139	Dares, Semias, Epiton, The Watch		?Palace		But it might be indec- orous for them to leave for the palace to drink. See V,i.
<u>IV.iii</u>	Corcites	?Country		?Country	See IV,i,71.

After Line No.	Characters	Entrance from	Exit to	Previous Exit to	Comments
c.3	Coruities		Imnary Bank		
25	Fayries	Country		-	The fairies, though they protect Eudision, are not sent (as is the Watch) by Cynthia, but are more the instruments of Tellus's revenge, and seem to be part of the original spell. Hence they would more properly enter from the 'earth' side.
41	Fayries		Country		
41	Cynthia, Floscula, Senele, Fanelion, Zontes, Gyptes, Pythagoras)	Palace		Palace	
85	Coruities	Imnary Bank		Imnary Bank	
171	Cynthia and train		Palace		
171	Coruities		Castle		
				CLASH	
V.i	Dares, Senias	?Palace		?Palace	Dares and Senias have heard from Eumenides, and must, I suppose, come from the palace to give the news, but time must have elapsed between the two scenes anyhow, in much the same way, though less obviously, as in the clash between II, 11 and III, 1 in <u>Alexander and Campaigns</u> .

After Line No.	Characters	Entrance from	Exit to	Previous Exit to	Comments
9	Cynthia, Floscula, Semele, Eumenides, Panellion, etc.	Palace		Palace	
c.20	Cynthia		Imagary Bank		
23-30	Endimion (Cynthia)	Imagary Bank		Imagary Bank	
145	Cynthia (attended?)		Palace		
162	Endimion, Eumenides, Floscula, Dares, Semias, etc.)		Palace		Dares and Semias have stolen in among the others (1.9).
<u>V.ii</u>	Tophas, Epiton	Country		Country ?Palace (Epi)	See IV,ii,139. But the change is hardly signi- ficant.
51	Dares, Semias	Palace		Palace	
110	Tophas) Epiton)		Country (or Palace)		See V,ii,274.
116	Dares, Semias		Palace		'...wee to heare what newes of Endimion for the conclusion' (11.115-6).
				CLASH	
<u>V.iii</u>	Panellion, Zontes	Palace			Two groups of lesser characters.
18	Panellion, Zontes		Castle		
18	Cynthia, Semele, Floscula, Dipsas, Geron, Endimion,	Palace		Palace	

After Line No.	Characters	Entrance from	Exit to	Previous Exit to	Comments
18	Eumenides, Pythagoras, Cypres				
52	Tellus, Coraites, Panalicon, Zontes	Castle		Castle	
18- 274	Tophas (Epiton)	Country (or Palace)		Country (or Palace)	See V,ii,110
283	Bagoa	?Innary Bank			A miraculous change which, as I have suggested above, could be connected with the break and the Innary bank.
295	Onnes		Palace		

- (1) B. P. Huppe, 'Allegory of Love in Lyly's Court Comedies,' *E.L.L.*, XIV (1947), pp.93-113, and J. A. Bryant Jr., 'The Nature of the Allegory in Lyly's *Endymion*', *Renaissance Papers*, (1956), pp.4-11 speak of the ladies of the Dumb Show in terms of the Four Daughters of God, Mercy, Justice, Peace and Truth. While agreeing that this is so, in so far as it is possible for three ladies to represent four, I suggest that the function of the Dumb Show is more obviously dramatic; it represents the attempt of Tellus to throw permanent disfavour (death) upon Endymion instead of temporary disfavour (sleep), and the three ladies either are, or represent, Cynthia, Tellus and Floecula. The old man may be Geron, whose name suggests as much.

Of eighteen occasions when entrances and exits occur together, only three are possible clashes, and of these, one (I,iii,116 - I,iv) could be deliberate, for the sake of the plot, one is between two groups of minor characters (V,ii,116 - V,iii), and one comes at a time when a pause indicating the passing of time would clarify the action.

One interesting point which receives further support from this play is the possibility that the sub-plot characters are sometimes on-stage to be seen and not heard. After their few lines at the beginning of V.1, Darses and Samias see Cynthia with her train entering, and decide to 'sneak in amongst them' (1.9). They presumably remain to see the awakening of Endimion, and leave at the end of the scene with their masters, although they remain silent. The reason for this silence will be discussed in the following chapter.⁽¹⁾ But the interesting point to notice at the moment is that the pages could well be on-stage with Cynthia's train in the last scene of the play. Sir Tophas either enters with the others, or comes in later in the scene, and again we may suppose that the faithful Epiton comes with him. If the characters from the sub-plot were on-stage during this scene, it would be a pleasant everyone-on-stage-for-the-final-curtain effect, in the manner that has become traditional for comedies.

Loves Metamorphosis, like Gallathea, is a play with a pastoral setting. The central features of the stage are the tree which Erisiothon chops down (though, as suggested above, it seems to remain for the whole play), and the temple of Cupid. Both of these houses must have concealed actors. Many scenes seem to require two doors - particularly the scene, discussed above, in which the foresters pursue their respective nymphs - but the doors do not seem to require any particular differentiation in the places they represent, although the possibility

(1) See p.131 ff. below.

of a symbolic differentiation will be discussed in the next chapter.

As we might expect, Midas does not fit the pattern as neatly as the plays we have been discussing. Clearly enough, one door would represent 'to the palace', and the other some general significance, perhaps, as in Endimion, 'to the country'. But it is difficult, if not impossible, to arrange that the various entries should not clash. Most of the action comes from and returns to the palace; both the sub-plot and main-plot characters use the same door for the first part of the play. For a while, after Midas leaves for the river Pactolus, and during the hunting scenes, a satisfactory alternation can be maintained, but generally there seems to be much more haphazard congestion than in the other plays. Possibly this is the result of Iyly's trimming of the two plays, urMidas I and urMidas II; the other plays all seem to keep more strands of action moving than we find in Midas, where the matter of the troubles of Midas, and the scrappy sub-plot, hold the stage for all but a few lines of the play. There are no characters equivalent to the useful Panelion and Zentes in Endimion, nor is there what we might call a side-plot equivalent to the courtship between Tellus and Coraites, except for the brief scene between Celia and Kristus. Further confirmation of the less organised staging of Midas is found in the fact that there are two occasions when characters leave the stage at the end of one scene, to return at the beginning of the next (Martius and Nellacrites both times, see II,ii - III,i, and IV,iv - V,i). By putting act-breaks at these points, Iyly makes these breaks unimportant to the reader, but to his audience it must have emphasised the fragmentary nature of the play.

particularly when we add to these two breaks in time, the break in subject-matter between the first and second halves of the play (i.e., between III,iii and IV,1), where it would be natural for a slight pause in the action, and the break in place between V,ii and V,iii, where the scene shifts to Delphos. The fact that our theories of stage-presentation will not apply to Midg is in a way an argument in favour of their validity when they do work.

The only play which remains to be discussed is Mother Bombie, as the conditions of staging for The Woman in the Moon, we may assume, would have been rather different. In any case, since the setting for The Woman in the Moon is Utopian and pastoral, as in Callithra and Love's Metamorphosis, there is no particular significance possible for any doors that might be used on the public stage, since they would all, presumably, simply lead to more Utopia. The play could be produced smoothly enough with two doors, the action flowing to and fro more or less randomly, but, interestingly enough, with the supernatural beings consistently using only one of the two doors. Mother Bombie has nothing of the taut symbolic movement about the stage that we find in Endimion, but if the stage is set up as I have indicated, the action becomes remarkably clear, and the stage-movements miraculously economical and swift-moving. Entrances to and from houses never clash, and must have been arranged with great care with this in mind. The various characters not using the houses onstage would use the doors from the tire-house which had the significance 'from Rochester' (Maestius, Serena, the Musicians, Rackneman, Sergeant, etc.), and the other door would have repre-

sented the tavern. By putting Memphis and Sperantus opposed to Stellio and Priscus, the entrances of the various pages all become meetings from opposite sides of the stage, which surely must have been deliberate. In addition we find that the two boys, Candidus and Accius are opposed to the two girls, Livia and Silena, a point which emphasizes the conflicting aims of the old men.

With the notable and understandable exception of Midas, Ily's plays support the theories of stage-presentation we arrived at as far as possible by reasoning from external evidence. The important point is that the plays not only passively support the theories by fitting in, but that they gain considerably in clarity and speed when we imagine them in production in this way. Speed is not a quality usually associated with Ily's plays; the threads of action are so slight that at times the interest of the plays seems to depend entirely on the verbal wit of the author, while the action slows to a standstill. But it is precisely in plays of this kind that a virtuoso production is most needed. We can be sure that the boys were drilled to perfection in their parts, (1) and when we add speed of movement between scenes to virtuoso performance during

(1) The point is well made by Hunter, op. cit., p.95. On the subject of Elizabethan acting, see B. L. Joseph, Elizabethan Acting (Oxford, 1951), and The Tragic Actor (London, 1959), ch.I, A. Harbage, 'Elizabethan Acting', P.M.L.A. LIV (1959), pp.685-708, and H. Rosenberg, 'Pon or Marionettes', P.M.L.A. LXIX (1954), p.915-927. Rosenberg's protest against the assumption of highly formalized acting is well supported, but refers more to the later professional stage of the adult actors. The arguments put forward by Harbage and Joseph are particularly relevant to the early boy companies, and to the Paul's boys, based as it was on the school, where oratory would have been taught as one of the fine arts.

the scenes themselves, the rapid succession of short scenes, usually of less than a hundred lines, becomes a tour-de-force of dramatic skill, making the most from the limited variety that the boys could provide in the way of changing moods.

I have not attempted to apply the principle of alternating doors to other than Court plays, or to those of the public stage. It would not have been so necessary in plays where the scenes tended to be long and the number of actors limited but capable of reproducing sharp changes in mood and tone. Nevertheless, in that most courtly of all Shakespeare's plays, Love's Labour's Lost, the use of two doors, one leading to the castle, where the King and his courtiers come from, and the other leading to the field where the ladies were encamped, would provide a similar balance, and the entrances and exits would alternate fairly consistently throughout. The fact that the alternation works well with Marlowe's Dido indicates that it was not a technique that was limited to Lyly; it may have been developed by the time of the first Blackfriars theatre, and hence passed on both to the children of the Chapel and to the Paul's boys.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LILY'S DRAMATIC TECHNIQUE

In the two previous chapters, I have tried to establish so far as is possible the nature of the technique of production which Lily would have used in presenting his plays. My aim in doing so has not been to propose a theory of production in order to illustrate its development, but to provide the background necessary for a sympathetic discussion of Lily's plays as drama. I do not think that it is likely that the techniques of production outlined in the previous chapter would have undergone any great development through the seven plays that were produced on the private stage. The probability is that Lily adopted, and used skillfully, a technique already used by those writing for the child actors. Nevertheless, we can see in Lily's use of the stage a growing facility, and a greater ability to use the stage to illustrate and underline the action.

Production. Whether it was because the stage at Paul's was in some way different from the stage at the Old Blackfriars, or whether it was because Lily found it undramatic to limit intimate scenes to a small enclosure, we can say with some confidence that after Alexander and Campaspe and Sepho and Phao, Lily did not use interior scenes; it is interesting to notice, for example, that Lily brings Tellus and Coraites outside the castle before their conversation. Even if there were a convention allowing interior scenes to spread to the nearby stage, such scenes

must have been by their very nature static and lacking in movement, and it may be that the audience found the series of scenes in Sappho's bedroom wearisome - hence Igly's apology, in both the Prologue at Court and the Epilogue, for the length of the play, and for the inconclusiveness of the plot,

There is nothing canst such giddines, as going in a wheele,
neither can there any thing breede such tediousnesse, as hearing
manie words vttered in a small compass. (Epilogue, ll.7-9)

If we accept the general validity of the theories of production put forward in the previous chapter, there is one point in which we may notice a considerable development between Alexander and Campaspe and Endimion. In Alexander and Campaspe the use of two doors clarifies the action to some extent, and provides a sense of purpose as the characters - the philosophers, for example - move from A to B. As I have suggested, the brief visit of Alexander to the city, and the appearance of Campaspe from the palace, could in quite a subtle way underline the way the plot is developing. However, the main function of the two doors is simply to provide smooth-flowing action as the entrances and exits alternate. In Endimion, however, the significance of the doors is much more complex. Not only do they allow rapid-moving action, but they assume, as well as 'to the palace' and 'to the country', the deeper significance of the opposing forces in the play, moon and earth, good and evil. In this way, together with the lunar bank and the castle - one where Tellus gains power over the moon-oriented Endimion, and the other where Cynthia restores the balance by imprisoning Tellus - the doors underline the action in a far more impressive way than in Alexander and Campaspe.

The fact, for example, that Sir Tophas is associated throughout with the entrance 'from the country' gives a definite direction to the parody that he is involved in; it opposes him to, and separates him from, Endimion, and associates him more with that other sleeping lover, Ceresites. While this is considerably more subtle than his use of the stage in Sepho and Phao or Alexander and Campagne, I do not think that Lyly uses his stage in so symbolic a manner in all his later plays. We cannot tell how he used the stage in the original versions of Midas, but in Mother Bombie, a tour de force of rapid action and intrigue, there is no time for symbolic or moral overtones of the kind we may find in Endimion. In Love's Metamorphosis it might be possible to maintain a distinction between the entrance associated with Ceres and chastity, and the entrance associated with Erisiathon and violence, a distinction which would accord well enough with the opposing forces in the play. It would have some interesting effects - the nymphs would be chased by their men-folk from 'violence' to 'chastity' - and would work well enough on the whole, so far as alternation is concerned, particularly if Proteus and Petulius made their exit at IV,ii,102 'into the woods' (l.100) or the grove-house onstage. But since we are dealing with a play, the text of which was possibly revised for a later staging, I do not think that it is possible to analyse it as confidently as we have Endimion. We must be content with the observation that the staging of Endimion, while no more involved so far as actual stage movement or ornament is concerned, is at a rather more complex level in its use of symbolism than Alexander and Campagne.

One other point which the analysis of the two plays demonstrates - though it is a point which is independent of the theories of production - is an increasing symmetry in Iqly's management of the stage and in the balancing of his groups of characters. It might be expected that as Iqly's dramatic art developed he would become less dependent on external symmetry, in the way that he became less dependent on elaborate syntactical balance in his prose, but a glance at the plays is enough to show that his love of balance was such that, as he became more familiar with the techniques of playwriting, he used more and more the balance and opposition that the stage offered him. Although the opening scenes of Alexander and Campaspe maintain an alternation between the two doors, this is almost incidental, and there is no real opposition suggested between the city and the palace. The sub-plot has so little relation to the main plot that there is no balance between the opening scenes, for there is no beam connecting the two groups of characters, and there can be no fulcrum. Much the same is true of Sapho and Phao, where, although the characters are all in some way connected, there is no real opposition until Sapho falls in love with the lowly Phao, much later in the play. In Gallathea we find some obvious balance in the opening scenes, with the similar pairs Tyterus-Callathea and Melobeeus-Philida entering separately, and a scene from one of the sub-plots intervening. But it is in Endimion and Mother Bombie that the symmetry of the stage is fully exploited. The opening scenes of Endimion announce in quite a striking way the opposing forces in the play. Endimion and Eumenides enter from the palace, establish the nature of Endimion's moon-orientedness, and

Endimion leaves, followed by the protesting Eumenides; in the second scene Tellus and Floscula enter, establish the duplicity of Endimion, and Tellus's wish to earth-orientate Endimion, and Tellus leaves, followed by the reluctant Floscula. In the third scene Dares and Semias enter from the palace, and Sir Tophas and Epiton enter from the country (probably), and establish a conflict on a lower level. As suggested above, the balance continues later in the play, when Endimion is asleep in the luxury bank, and Tellus imprisoned in the castle. Wether Bombie, of all Iqly's plays, is the most obviously symmetrical in construction, but the balance is that of similarity or parallel, rather than antithesis, though the conflicting aims of the old men provide some kind of opposition. In this the play is more like Callathea than Endimion, though of course it is much more intricate.

Stage Effects. It is obvious that Iqly avoided the kind of spectacle that we find suggested in the Revels accounts, and that Peele, for example, was so fond of. Even in The Arraignement of Paris, Peele's most polite play, he finds room for spectacular shows, which must have required quite elaborate machinery. Either the private stages, which provided Iqly with his immediate source of prestige and, probably, income, did not have the necessary machinery, or he deliberately limited the appeal of his plays to the purely verbal. But this is not to say that his plays are entirely lacking in spectacle. Possibly the only way in which Iqly provided visual novelty was in the metamorphoses in Endimion (when Endimion regains his youth), Loves Metamorphosis, Hidas and The Woman in the Moone. In three of the plays the metamorphoses apparently

occur onstage, and it is possible that in the only play which does not allow this, Love's Metamorphosis, the business was altered to offstage for the later production. The 'Fayries' in both Endimion and Gallathea would have provided a pleasant combination of the visually and aurally pleasing. In common with most of the plays written for both the court and public stages, there are many songs scattered through Lyly's plays, the chief function of which is to provide aural entertainment equivalent to visual spectacle. Since the songs are the only stage effect used consistently throughout the plays, it is worthwhile looking at them in context and in detail, to see whether there is any change in the way that Lyly used them.

There are three songs preserved in Alexander and Campaspe. A fourth would have been sung by Miletus, Phrygius and Laïs at the end of V,iii. The three songs we have are probably the best that Lyly wrote,⁽¹⁾ and provide a fair indication of Lyly's use of song in the earlier plays. The first is one of the best of Lyly's drinking songs, perhaps because it eulogises not only the pleasures of drinking, but of eating and wenching as well.

Wines (indeed,) & Girles are good,
 But braue victuals feast the bloud,
 For wenches, wine, and lusty cheere,
loue would leape down to surfet heere. (I,ii,100-103)

The last two lines provide a worm's-eye view, typical of Lyly's sub-plots, of the later discussion between Apelles and Campaspe,

(1) I have discussed the question of Lyly's authorship of the songs above, chapter I, pp.22-5.

Camp. What are these pictures?

Apel. This is Laeda, whom Ioue deceived in likenes of a swan.

Camp. A faire woman, but a foule deceit.

Apel. This is Alcmena, vnto who Iupiter came in shape of
Amphitriō her husband, and begat Hercules. (III,iii,9-13)

The song grows neatly out of the previous discussion, in which the pages bewail their lack of food, and agree to go to the house of Granichus to 'stanch their guts'. So much cannot be said for the later song by Trico. Perim, Milo and Trico enter with their father, Sylvius; Perim dances, Milo tumbles, and Trico sings a charming song (which Dekker later borrowed for The Sun's Darling) about various bird-calls. None of this is in any way relevant either to the main plot or to the sub-plot, to which it is loosely attached by making the performances for the benefit of Diogenes and Manes. I cannot think even of any way in which the song parodies or parallels anything else in the play. The whole scene is an interpolation purely for the sake of spectacle. As Hunter points out, the bare directions 'PERIM daunceth' and 'MILO tumbleth' probably indicate extended virtuoso exhibitions.⁽¹⁾ The song has no more relevance to the play as a whole than these. We may assume that the song by Milectus, Phrygius and Lais would have been little more to the point, though Iyly does relate this scene to the rest of the play by making it a commentary on the nature of the change in Alexander's court. One scene which illustrates the happy disregard for relevance, for the sake of an effect, that obtained in Alexander and Campaspe, is that in which Crysus is introduced. While Alexander and Hephæstion are talking, Crysus

(1) Op. cit., p.95. See note on p.111 in the previous chapter.

enters and goes to Diogenes's tub. He speaks to Diogenes, then to Alexander, and leaves. A clumsy introduction of a seemingly superfluous character, all for the sake of a few epigrams. In none of the later plays does Iqly allow himself such licence. The other song which Elount printed in his edition of Alexander and Campaspe is perhaps the most famous of all Iqly's songs, 'Cupid and my Campaspe'. At first sight this would seem to be far more relevant than the other songs, and that Apelles breaks into song to express intensity of feeling in the same way that Pithias, in Damon and Pithias, when powerfully moved, says

What way shall I first beginne to make my mone?
 What wordes shall I finde apt for my complaynte...

and breaks into song,

Awake ye wofull Wightes
 That longe haue wept in we:
 Resigne to me your plaintes and teares,
 my haplesse hap to sho:
 My we no tongue can tell,
 ne Pen can well descric:
 O, what a death is this to heare,
 DAMON my friends must die.

The losse of worldly wealth,
 mannes wisdom may restore,
 And Phisicke hath provided too,
 a Salve for euerie sore:
 But my true Friends once lost,
 no Arte can well supplie:
 Then, what a death is this to heare?
 DAMON my friend must die...

(1)

Edwardes uses the song to illustrate the feelings expressed in the previous few lines of the play, and in the lyric he achieves an intensity that the halting verse of the play never approaches. In the same way

(1) M.S.R., 11.686-707.

the last song in Damon and Pythias catches up the theme both of the final speech of Fabulus and of the play as a whole and turns it to a compliment to the ^QQueen. But the song that Apelles sings, though more sophisticated than the lyrics of Edwards's play, is much less carefully integrated into the scheme of the play as a whole. It comes at the end of one of the longest speeches in the play, a dramatic monologue which uses most of the tricks of style that Iqly was fond of and which is something of a tour de force of dramatic rhetoric. Apelles does not ask what words are apt for his complaint, for Iqly has at some pains already provided them. The speech begins with Apelles stating the danger of his passion,

...by so much the more hast thou encreased thy care, by how much the more thou hast shewed thy cunning: was it not sufficient to behold the fire and warme thee, but with Satyres thou must kisse the fire and burne thee? O Campaspe, Campaspe, arte must yeeld to nature, reason to appetite, wisdom to affection. (III,v,15-20)

After a pretty conceit comparing his painting of Campaspe to the 'Ivory' of Pigmalion, Apelles decides that his position is without hope,

...starres are to be looked at, not reched at: princes to bee yeilded unto, not contended with: Campaspe to bee honoured, not obtained, to be painted, not possessed of thee. (III,iii,37-9)

after some further lamenting, however, he concludes that 'in cases desperat there must be used medicines that are extreme', and announces the subterfuge that will bring Campaspe again to his shop. All this is a well-constructed soliloquy dramatising the inner conflict between art and nature, reason and appetite, wisdom and affection, and, as the sections quoted will show, it is couched in Iqly's most splendidly balanced and alliterative prose. The song which follows is a beauti-

fully executed love-lyric, but it is not really relevant to the preceding speech, which is an analysis of the consequence of Apelles's love rather than a panegyric upon the cause. Coming, as it does, after Apelles has announced his course of action, it does not in any way intensify the feelings of the audience, but to some extent delays the action and introduces a new mood. I doubt whether any song would have been other than superfluous after the soliloquy.

The comparison of Igly with Edwardes shows that in Alexander and Campaspe Igly was less able to integrate the entertainment provided by the songs into the general scheme of the play. A glance at The Arraisment of Paris, a play that uses music and song far more than any of Igly's, indicates that Peele too made his songs rise more naturally from context, notably in the song between Oenone and Paris. In a pastoral play the transition between verse and song is, of course, more natural than in a play on a classical theme, but I think that we are justified in making the observation that Igly was far from expert in the way he introduced music into Alexander and Campaspe. Nor is there any notable advance in Sappho and Phao. Four songs were printed in Sappho and Phao by Blount, two involving the sub-plot characters Criticus, Molus and Calypho, one 'in making of the Arrows' and a love-lament by Sappho. The song that Falcan sings while forging the arrows for Venus is relevant, and is certainly less obviously grafted onto the play than the songs in Alexander and Campaspe. The whole scene could be produced in quite a spectacular way - perhaps with fire, hammers, anvil, and dancing - without distracting attention from the main plot. The earlier

songs in the sub-plot, however, are scarcely integrated even to the preceding dialogue. In Alexander and Cynnagos, the drinking song of Panoes, Granichus and Paylinus grows naturally out of their discussion of hunger, but there is no such preparation for either of the drinking songs in Sopho and Phag. In II,iii, after an amusing dialogue parodying formal logic, Criticus says '...but let us take up this matter with a song' (II.94-5), the song; however, takes up quite a different matter, even if it is in some sort connected with the singers,

Molus. I shall forget the Rules of Grammar.
Galy. And I the pit-spat of my Hammer. (II,iii,106-7)

The second drinking-song similarly is barely connected to the dialogue which precedes it. Finally there is Sapho's lament, Like the song of Apelles in Alexander and Cynnagos, it seems at first to be entirely appropriate, but on consideration it becomes clear that it is far less important to the play than the lament of Pithias in Edwards's play. The subject matter of the song is more appropriate to Sapho's mood than the song of Apelles is to his, but again, it comes immediately after a long set speech. There is no intensification of mood by the use of song, for the peak of intensity has already been reached in Sapho's prose lament.

Both of the songs which survive in Gallathea are related to the prose text in subject-matter. In I,iv the three boys Robin, Dicke and Raffe sing about their farewell to life on board ship, and their intention to live by their wits on land 'Until the Hangman cries strike sailer' (I,iv,92) and the song of Telusa, Surota and Larissa rather de-

lightfully generalises the significance of their capture of Cupid. The play may have ended with a song by the three boys. Damon and Pythias ends with a song, and Igly concludes Hidas (urHidas II) with a song of praise to Apollo, so it is certainly possible that Gallathea may have ended with, again appropriately enough, a Hymen. I should make it clear that much of what I have said about the songs in context is supported by reference to the quarto texts which omit the lyrics. This is true particularly of the irrelevant songs in Alexander and Cassius, and of the laments of Sapho and Apelles. However, at least from Gallathea on, the songs are so closely integrated to the action of the play that I find it impossible to doubt that these were the songs used for the original production of the plays, whether they were by Igly himself, or whether he got someone else to write them (a possibility which, though it may not be completely discounted, seems to me extremely improbable).

Of all Igly's plays, Endinion is perhaps the one which uses music most extensively. There are five songs indicated in the text, three of which survive, and there is the dumb-show, which is introduced by music. The songs do not much differ from those which Igly uses elsewhere, and the situations are roughly the same. There is the usual drinking-song, and we may assume that Ceron's 'sad musique' was the usual lament. The drinking-song is closely woven into the plot, not only because the words are a continuation of the jocular struggle between the Watch and the pages, but because it serves quite materially to advance the plot. Endinion must be guarded, hence the Watch arrives, but he must be left alone for Corsites to struggle with, so the Watch must be

got rid of. Without the words of the song that Blount added in 1632, the scene would have ended ineffectually, for there would have been no apparent motive for the Watch leaving with the boys. We have no idea what Geron's song was about, except that it was 'tuned on the same key' as Hamenides's hard fortune. It comes at a point when the locus of the action changes radically, and after we may suppose some years to have elapsed; even if the song did not concern itself with a statement of these changes, it would have provided a brief pause in the action, and, together with the use of the well for the first time, it would to some extent have prepared the audience for a change.

The remaining three songs are particularly interesting. The 'incantment for sleepe' that Bagpa is instructed to sing is not preserved, but at least we may say that Endimion's magic sleep is associated with music. Not long after, Sir Tophas, also in love, falls asleep, and the pages sing to wake him. In every way the reverse of Endimion, Sir Tophas is wakened to music, whereas Endimion was put to sleep with music. Finally there is the Fairies' song, in which they pinch Corrites, leaving him black and blue, and also sleeping, to be discovered by Cynthia and her train. The three lovers all fall asleep, and their sleeping is in each case associated with appropriate music. As we saw in the case of the drinking-song, where the song is not only relevant to the preceding action, but actively contributes to the plot, the three songs further underline the parallel development of the plots about the three lovers, as well as in each case (if we may assume that the 'incantment for sleepe' was just that) being relevant to the action which they

follow.

This, I suggest, indicates a clear line of development in Iqly's use of song. In Alexander and Cassandre and Safo and Phao it does not seem to matter whether the songs are relevant to the action, or even, in Alexander and Cassandre, if the characters who sing have any relevance to the rest of the play. In Gallathea the songs are much more relevant to the action, though they do not contribute to it, and in Endimion they are not only relevant to their context but contribute in some way to the plot. Never, I think, in Iqly's plays do the songs become the expression of a particularly intense emotion, incapable of being expressed in any other way, as is the case in Damon and Pythias, because Iqly's prose remains his most expressive medium. Even in the later plays, the songs are therefore largely ornamental, though it is an ornament which becomes more integrated to the design of the play as a whole.

I am not sure that a development can be traced beyond Endimion, partly because the texts are inadequate - particularly those of Loves Metamorphosis and The Woman in the Moon, where the songs have not been preserved, and of Hidas, because of the incomplete nature of the sub-plot - and partly because much of the change in Iqly's later plays is more the result of experimentation than of that kind of development which is the result of self-criticism. In Mother Bessie, for example, the use of song shows no particular advance over Endimion. The songs of the sub-plot are worked neatly into context; the drinking-song is just before the boys retire to a tavern more specific than those mentioned in the other drinking-songs, and the song by the four boys with

Hizala not only continues the general topic of the scene, but continues the battle of the sexes in a delightful - and rather less bawdy - way,

Hiz. Then I wish'd for a noyse
Of crack-halter Boyes,
On those heppen strings to be twanging.
Long lookt I about
The City throughout, -

The Pages. And found no such fiddling varieties.

Hiz. Yes, at last coming hither,
I saw foure together.

The Pages. May thy heppe chocke such singing harlots. (III,iv,
45-55)

The songs of the three fiddlers are used to trigger the discovery of the pages' schemes, and the songs by Accius and Silena are carefully justified in the plot. While this indicates the same sort of carefully integrated construction that we found in Endimion, I do not think that it indicates greater expertise, except that the join between prose and verse is perhaps a little smoother. Compare, from Endimion,

Har. A watch, quoth you? a man may watch 7. yeres for a wise worde, & yet goe without it. Their wits are all as rustie as their bills. - But come on Ha. Const. shall we haue a song before we goe?

Const. With all my hart. (IV,ii,113-117)

with the wittier join in Mother Bombie,

Dr. Wee burne time, for I mast giue a reckning of my dayes worke; let vs close to the bush ad deliberandum.

Half. In deede Inter uocula philosophorum, it is good to plea among pots.

Hiz. Thine will be the worst; I feare we shall leaue a halfepeeie in hand.

Half. Why sayest thou that? thou hast left a print deeper in thy hand already than a halfepeeie canne leaue, vles it should sing worse than a hot yron.

Lucio. All friendes, and so let vs sing: tis a pleasant thing to goe into the tauerne clearing the throate. (II,i,139-148)

Here the anticipation of the subject-matter of the song, and the pun on

'sing', particularly since it follows similar puns on hanging, branding and ear-clipping, make the transition from prose to song much smoother, by a kind of verbal sleight-of-hand.

Even in its present form, it is possible to see in Midas the same skill in the integration of song into the design of the play as a whole. Only the rather charming song by Pipinetta in V,ii seems to have no particular relevance. Since Pipinetta probably belonged to urMidas I, the song could well have fitted into the pattern of a parody of courtly love that the sub-plot of urMidas I seems to have established, though there survives no consistent analysis of courtly love itself in the main plot. Apart from this the songs fit well enough. The other song in the sub-plot, which would also (perhaps significantly) have come from urMidas I, is the song about Petulus's tooth-ache; a song which is not only relevant, but which provides the extra - comforting - information that the tooth-ache is cured. The songs by Apollo and Pan are obviously related to the action, although, as has justly been observed,⁽¹⁾ it is not immediately obvious that Midas is wrong in preferring the song of Pan to the song of Apollo. Apollo's song is couched in conventional and impersonal imagery,

By Daphne's Haire is twisted Gold,
Bright starres a-piece her Eyes doe hold...
Daphne's snowy Hand but touch'd does melt,
And then no heemlicher Varnth is felt...

(IV,1,84-5,90-1)

(1) See Hunter, op. cit., pp.181-182, and A. W. Ward, English Dramatic Literature (London, 1899), vol.I, p.299, quoted by Bond, op. cit., vol.III, p.531, note to p.143.

whereas the rustic imagery of Pan's song has a certain liveliness,

Cross-gartred Swaines, & Dairie girles,
With faces smug, and round as Pearles,
When Pans shrill pipe begins to play,
With dancing weare out Night and Day... (IV,i,109-12)

Bond and Hunter both, accordingly, suggest that Pan's imperfections must have been in his performance, since it does not show up in the poetry. But I have no doubt that both performances were of the highest degree of perfection the boys could reach. If Pan was intended, in the eyes (or rather the ears) of the audience, to be inexpert and uncouth in his performance, I am sure that it would have been obvious in the poetry that it was 'neither keeping measure, nor time' (IV,i,124). The difference between the songs, like the difference detailed in the prose debate between Pan and Apollo earlier in the scene, is that one is refined, courtly, conventional, and incidentally perhaps rather effete, and the other is homely, rustic, picturesque, and perhaps rather more lively. Midas's error is that he is guilty of a lapse of decorum in preferring the wrong kind of music, rather than that he is incapable of musical or literary criticism. There is an illuminating passage in Euphuus which supports this interpretation. Describing Euphuus's circumspection Lyly writes,

Yet hee behaued hymselfe so warilye, that he singled his game wiselye. Hee could easily discern Appollo Musicke, from Pan his Pype, and Venus besutie from Iunos bramerie, and the faith of Iselius, from the flattery of Aristippus...
(Bond, op. cit., vol.I, p.186)

The important thing, it seems, is to be able to tell the difference be-

tween a pipe and music.⁽¹⁾ Midas is therefore 'unworthie to bee a King' (1.137), and is suitably humiliated by having similarly indecorous ears thrust upon him. The play ends with a hymn in praise of Apollo, no doubt because he was so insistent that Midas withdraw his hand from Lesbos,

So blessed be Apollo, quiet be Lesbos, happie be Midas: and to begin this solemnitie, let vs sing to Apollo, for, so much as Musick, nothing can content Apollo. (V,iii,125-8)

To trace with such detail the development in Iyly's use of song in his plays, when the songs themselves have been under attack as later additions by another hand, might have been considered unwise and unjustifiable were it not for two important points. The generalisations I have arrived at are supported not only by the texts of the songs as printed by Blount, but by the texts of the quartets, from which the songs were omitted. Even if it were to be proved conclusively that the surviving songs were by a hack hired by Blount (and I do not believe that this theory is tenable), the broad lines of the development I have

(1) Apart from recorders, it seems that pipes, particularly the 'hoboys', were considered lower class by the Elizabethans. Hamlet calls for a recorder, a suitably courtly instrument, to put Rosencrans and Guildenstern in their place, but the play - obviously put on by an old-fashioned company more accustomed to playing to the public - is introduced by hoboys. The Citizen in The Knight of the Burning Pestle is bored by the courtly music of the private theatre and arranges for the waits of Southwark to be sent for to provide more cheerful entertainment (see The Dramatic Works of Beaumont and Fletcher, ed. A. Glover (Cambridge, 1905), vol.VI, p.165). In The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll (1600) a sympathetic laugh is expected when a servant announces to Flores that one of his 'Haultboyes' is drunk (sig.B2, actI, sc.1). Thomas Morley, in his Plaine and easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke (1597), ed. E. A. Harnon (London, 1952), describes the tone of the oboe as not much inferior to the trumpet.

sketched would still be much the same, though far less detailed.

I have suggested that the frequent onstage metamorphoses that Igly indulged in may have been another source of spectacle for his audience, but I do not intend to discuss Igly's use of metamorphosis here, for it is too closely bound to the general ideas behind the plays to admit of discussion purely as a technique. The fact that metamorphosis seems to have had, at least in some cases, a specifically sexual meaning for Igly, complicates the issue considerably, and I have reserved this topic for more detailed discussion below.⁽¹⁾

Sub-plot integration and decorum. One of the most interesting and most consistent ways in which Igly's plays develop is in the growing importance of the various sub-plots. As Hunter has shown,⁽²⁾ the sub-plots are carefully related to the main plots in subject matter, usually through the device of parody. The pages give a worm's-eye view of the same questions that confront the more dignified characters of the main plot. It is not my intention here to show how the ideas in the sub-plot parody and echo those in the main plot, for this properly should be dealt with in a later chapter.⁽³⁾ My purpose here is to demonstrate a development in the way that Igly treated the sub-plot as part of the play, giving it a more active part in the plot as a whole in the later plays.

The question which arises immediately we look carefully at the sub-plots of Igly's plays, and which must be answered before we can dis-

(1) See p. 267 f. below.

(2) Op. cit., p.229 ff.

(3) See p. 219 ff. below.

cuse any development in his treatment of them, is why the sub-plots are so rigorously divided from the main-plots. In Damon and Pythias, the most carefully constructed Court play now surviving which antedates Iqly's plays, the clown Stephano mingles freely with the more exalted characters in the play, although Will and Jack, the nearest approaches to Iqly's pages, are introduced only in separate scenes. It is notable that in Iqly's plays the pages are never seen in conversation with their masters (with one or two exceptions to be discussed below), but appear only in scenes where they are in the company of their own kind. In this respect Iqly does not follow classical precedent, for the slave and his master in Greek and Latin comedy ~~are frequently in contact.~~ ^{frequently conspire together} Nor does he follow the native tradition where the Vice mingles freely with the other characters, dignified or lowly. But we do not have to look far for the reason for the extreme separation that we find in Iqly.

Documents of dramatic criticism in the Elizabethan age are few and far between. There are, however, two well-known commentaries which provide a clue to Iqly's attitude, both written not long before Iqly's career as playwright began. The first is a passage from the prefatory epistle to Promos and Cassandra by George Whetstone, published in 1578. In his general attack on the indecorum of the English comedies being written at that time, he says, 'Manye tymes (to make mirth) they make a Clowne companion with a Kinge: in theyr grave Counsels they allow the aduise of fooles...'⁽¹⁾ This is hardly enough to build a critical

(1) Sig.A,ii^v (Tudor Facsimile Text, 1910).

attitude on, but if we add to it a comment made by Sir Philip Sidney in his Defense of Poesie, also in a general attack on the English playwright, we may be justified in making some generalisations.

But besides these grosse absurdities, howe all their Playes bee neither right Tragedies nor right Comedies, mingling Kinges and Clownes, not because the matter so carrieth it, but thrust in the Clowne by head and shoulders to play a part in majesticall matters, with neither decencie nor discretion: so as neither the admiration and Consideration, nor the right sportfulness is by their mongrell Tragicomedie obtained. (1)

Both these writers, while dealing with larger issues, condemn specifically the practice of mingling clowns with kings. Iqly does not seem to have worried unduly about producing a mongrel tragicomedy, for the running-title of Alexander and Campaspe reads 'A tragicall Comedie of Alexander and Campaspe.'. Nor is he much concerned if he does not conform to the neo-classical 'unities', although he violates them less drastically than many of his precursors. But he does seem to be concerned with the principle of decorum in his plays. In the prologue to Sanho and Phao at the Blackfriars, he explains :

Our intēt was at this time to moue inward delight, not outward lightnesse, and to breede (if it might bee) soft smiling, not loude laughing: knowing it to the wise to be as great pleasure to heare counsell mixed with witte, as to the foolish to haue sporte mingled with rudenesse. (11.7-11) (2)

and, even more to the point, in the Prologue to Alexander and Campaspe, also at the Blackfriars, he speaks specifically of the mixed genre that his plays represent,

But howsoeuer we finish our worke, we crasse pardō, if we offend in

(1) Ed. cit., vol.III, p.39.

(2) C.f. Sidney, ed. cit., vol.III, p.40.

matter, and patience if we transgress in manners. We haue mixed mirth with counsell, and discipline with delight, thinking it not amisse in the same garden to sowe pot-herbes, that we set flowers.
(11.23-7)

The interesting point is that Iyly, while sowing pot-herbs and flowers in the same garden, keeps them strictly to their own rows. It seems that the rigid segregation that Iyly enforces between his pages and his dignified characters is a compromise between the popular native tradition, with its audience-appeal, mingling mirth with counsel, and the strictures of neo-classical decorum, as expounded by Whetstone and Sidney, no doubt more in reaction to the extremes of the native tradition than by classical example.

The segregation between master and servant, at least as far as conversation is concerned, is fairly rigid until Mother Bonbie and The Women in the Woods. In Alexander and Campaspe, Diogenes and Apelles both speak with their servants, but they are lesser beings, and it is perhaps a measure of their social standing that their servants may be cheeky to them. Alexander's page does not speak until spoken to, although it would be appropriate for him to attend on Alexander throughout the play. That the pages were sometimes mute when onstage with their masters is shown in Sepho and Phao where, as I have suggested above,⁽¹⁾ the stage headings indicate that in two scenes (I,ii and II,ii) Criticus and Molus enter with their masters but do not speak (though they are spoken to at the end of I,ii) until they are left alone on the stage. The characters of the sub-plot do not communicate with their superiors

(1) See p.97 above.

at any stage in this play. Callithers is hardly comparable, for none of the characters are dignified in the human sense of the word, but nevertheless, except for the last thirty lines of the play, the sub-plot is entirely self-contained. I have already indicated that in Endimion there is some physical contact between the pages and their masters, particularly in V,1 where they 'sneaks in amongst' Cynthia's train, and possibly in the final scene, where Sir Tophas appears, they may be onstage silent. But nowhere is there verbal communication between the plots, except when Sir Tophas, who is, after all, a knight, requests the return to human shape of Bagoa. There is an amusing scene in Midas (II,ii) where Petulus and Licio 'shrinke aside' as their masters enter; after Mellacrites, Martius and Eristus finish discussing the oracle, they discover the boys and actually exchange a few threatening words with them. In Mother Bombie, which is closely associated in spirit with Roman models, there is a good deal of communication between page and master, but the masters are far from being dignified characters. They are old men, whiteheaded, shaking with palsy, and unable to down a round or two of sack without having to 'lie by it' (III,ii,45). The whole setting is rustic, and no break of decorum is implied in the mingling of witty * servants-rather than pages - with doting old men. In The Woman in the Moone, again, there is no great difference in dignity between Pandora and Gunophilus, although it is clearly a sign of Pandora's extreme lunacy and fickleness when she starts courting the clown.

Lyly's solution of the problem of how to mix kings and clowns in the one play without upsetting decorum, is, I think, unique. Other

writers with leanings towards neo-classical decorum (notably Ben Jonson) wrote plays about clowns or plays about kings, avoiding the combination altogether. Most writers followed the native tradition, and allowed characters from various levels to intercommunicate freely. A notable example, of course, is King Lear, although this is best understood as the deliberate use of an extreme and unusual situation, using the clown's counsel to the king not to make mirth but to make tears.

Although the segregation of master and servant in Iqly's plays is interesting in the way it illustrates the extent to which Iqly adhered to a principle of decorum, and although it shows that he became slightly more democratic in the later plays, the real development in his use of the sub-plot is in the way that the action in the main plot becomes more closely related to it by direct cause and effect in the plot as a whole. The sub-plot, as well as reflecting the ideas in the main plot by parody, becomes significant in triggering the action in the main plot, without, however, upsetting decorum in any way.

The sub-plots of Alexander and Cassandre and Sapho and Phao could be cut completely without influencing the main plot. However important Diogenes is to the balance of the play, and to an understanding of Alexander's magnanimity,⁽¹⁾ he could be left out of the play without in the least affecting the plot. In the same way Trachinus and Pandion could be left out of Sapho and Phao. The pages in each play could be left out without influencing the dialogue of the main plot. Gallathea

(1) See p. 198 ff. below.

is no further advanced - if we take the sub-plot in this play to be the incidents involving Dick, Robin and Raffe - except that Iyly does make a gesture towards a kind of unity, however superficial, by bringing the whole cast onstage together for the final scene. Loves Metamorphosis again has no real interaction between the plot involving the love of Protea and Petulius and the courting of the nymphs by the foresters, although Erisiethon is active in both plots. In this ^{play} way - as we have it - there is no possibility of a breach of decorum, for the characters are all on the same level of dignity. The design of the play seems to require parallelism without much interaction.

In Endimion, which was probably written earlier, the action in the sub-plot has some consequences in the course of the main plot. The obvious place where this happens is in the last scene where the intervention of Sir Tophas secures the return of Bagon to human shape, but the earlier scene where the pages lure the Watch to a tavern has its consequences also, as this clears the stage for the attempt of Corrites to move Endimion. It was necessary that the Watch should put in an appearance, to show Cynthia's concern for Endimion, but it must also be got out of the way, and in this the sub-plot contributes to the main plot. The main value of the sub-plot in Endimion, as in all of Iyly's plays, is in the way it echoes the issues in the main plot, but it is interesting to see it becoming more important in the action of the main plot as well.

The sub-plot of Midas, of course, is not easily fitted into the pattern, unless we consider the two plays, so far as is possible, separately, as the play in its present form is clearly not as inter-related as

ly would have wished. From what we can gather of the sub-plot to Midas I, concerning the golden beard, there would have been no noticeable change from the usual formula. The intrigue between the barber and the two boys was probably quite complex, but there is no sign of its being involved in any way with the main plot, except that the beard, of course, was Midas's. Midas II, however, is a different matter altogether. If the conclusions concerning the original form of this play that I have arrived at above are accepted, it will be obvious that the sub-plot, through Motto, would have had considerable repercussions in the action of the main plot. We know for certain from Sophronia's remark (IV,iv,48-9) 'none hath access to him but Motto' that Midas was mingling with a clown, even if it was offstage. Perhaps, in the same way as his lapse of decorum in preferring the rustic song of Pam, his association with Motto may be taken as an indication of the depths to which he had sunk. Irrespective of conjecture about a possible final scene in which perhaps Motto was discovered as the purveyor of the secret, there would have been more causal contact between the two levels of Midas II than in any of the earlier plays. Motto's action in betraying the secret to the reeds, however it was done, was the cause of the discovery of Midas's deformity. Motto becomes an important causative element in the plot, the first time that a sub-plot character is so involved.

Without this understanding of Midas II, Mother Bombie would appear to be a much more radically experimental play than it really is. In Mother Bombie the sub-plot takes over the control of the whole plot (if we may call the activities of the pages in this case a sub-plot at

all). As Hunter has pointed out,⁽¹⁾ Mother Bombie differs from all of Igly's other plays in that the plot is far more in control of the characters - specifically in the control of the servants. But if we take the activities of Botto as a guide to the way Igly's technique of plot-construction was developing, it is not an enormous difference. Even in a play with clowns and kings there has developed a degree of causal interaction; is it such a change that in a play of young clowns and old clowns there should be a much greater interaction? Igly's adaptation of Roman comedy did not involve an abrupt change of technique; it was the means whereby a technique already developing reached its fullest expression.

There is, I think, a rather larger gap between Mother Bombie and The Women in the Moon than between Mother Bombie and Artides II in the construction of sub-plot. Neither of these plays could really be said to have a sub-plot in the sense that the other plays have, but, for the purpose of comparison, we may extend the meaning of the word to cover the lower level of the plot - the servants in Mother Bombie and Gnophilus in The Women in the Moon. But although I believe that Mother Bombie can be considered as an end-product of a line of development in Igly's technique of play-construction, albeit an end-product experimental as well as evolutionary, I do not think that we can consider The Women in the Moon in the same terms. It is a play of an entirely different genre, and Gnophilus will not fit into the family of plays that inhabit Igly's other plays. Nevertheless Gnophilus is not an entirely new character-

(1) Op. cit., p.226.

type, as we might at first suppose. He is related, though not perhaps very closely, to Sir Tophas and Motto. Like them he is older, and capable of communicating with the more dignified characters in the play; like them he parodies the passionate gestures of the same 'higher' characters, and like them his actions have some influence on the way the plot moves. Gunophilus's involvement is, of course, much deeper than even Motto's as we might suppose him to behave in urHidas II. I do not think, however, that we can justifiably trace a line of development in the involvement of these characters in the plots of their respective plays, for, particularly in the case of Gunophilus, the change is almost certainly brought about more by the necessity of adapting to a different genre than by any internal change in Igly's technique of writing plays. The activities of Gunophilus do not represent a complete break in Igly's technique, but neither do they indicate a development.

Unity of action within the separate levels of the plays. Parallel with the gradual development towards the unity of action within the play as a whole that we find in Mother Bonbie, The Woman in the Moon and perhaps in urHidas II, which we have discussed in detail above, there is a growing tendency towards a unity of action within the separate levels both of the sub-plot and the main plot.

The sub-plots of Alexander and Camaspe and Sapho and Phao have no action to be unified about. The pages are interested, so far as we can tell, only in escaping from their masters and roaring at taverns. At least this is the only intrigue that they are involved in. They spend some time in witty verbal battles, but generally, particularly in

Sepho and Phao, these are more important as parodies of the issues in the main plot than as a means of providing action for the sub-plot. I suppose that the sub-plot of Sepho and Phao is in fact rather more unified than that of Alexander and Cassandre, for it is confined to Criticus, Molus, Calypho and perhaps Trechimus and Pandion, whereas there are a number of lesser threads in Alexander and Cassandre apart from the pages. Ilyly, however, seems less interested in the sub-plot of Sepho and Phao, since he leaves it altogether half-way through the play, though this may, as I have suggested, be due to difficulties in staging. (1)

The sub-plot of Gallathea is notably more coherent than those of the two plays already discussed, although it has no more contact with the main plot. It is the story of the adventures of Raffe from the shipwreck to the reunion with his friends. Interest, in the meantime, is provided by the Alchemist and the Astronomer. The technique is narrative rather than dramatic - 'a number of funny things happened to me on the way to the wedding' - but the important thing about it when compared with the earlier plays is that there is some action. Perhaps Ilyly's experience in the theatre convinced him that action of some kind was needed to keep the audience's attention fixed. In Endinion the improvement is striking. The amours of Sir Tophas, closely paralleling those of Corrites and Endinion, provide a continuous thread for the action in the sub-plot scenes, and Ilyly found it unnecessary to introduce extra characters (c.f. Crysus, the philosophers, the Alchemist and the Astronomer) to

(1) See pp.66-7 above.

maintain interest. Scintilla, Favilla and the Watch are introduced for individual scenes, but the first two are expressly for the purpose of establishing the unamorous nature of Sir Tophas, and the Watch is connected with the main plot. I suspect that the sub-plot of urHidas I would have been rather similar, except that a further element of intrigue, in the battle for the golden beard, would have been introduced. This again is something of a development, for in Edinon the pages remain figures purely of commentary, albeit witty commentary, whereas in Hidas in its surviving form, and this would presumably have been true of urHidas I, the pages become actively involved in intrigue amongst themselves. Perhaps from the threat to 'abuse the Barbers house' (IV,iii,74-5) we may conjecture that the 'density of intrigue'⁽¹⁾ in urHidas II increased yet further, particularly if otto was a Martin- or Harvey-figure, and required cutting down to size. In Loves Metamorphosis there is a coherent sub-plot, the story of Petulius and Protea, with a well-defined line of action. The serious nature of the sub-plot makes it difficult to fit into the scheme of development I have proposed, but granted the rather experimental nature of the play - or its truncated form - it fits well enough between Gallathea and Hidas. In some ways Loves Metamorphosis is very like Gallathea without the comic characters, with the two plots, the loves of the foresters, and of Protea and Petulius, corresponding roughly to the semi-separate plots of Cupid and the nymphs and Phillida and Gallathea.⁽²⁾ But the interesting point again is that when we take into

(1) The phrase is Hunter's (op. cit., p.225).

(2) For an extensive comparison of these two plays, see p. 264 below.

account the probable form that Midas originally took, there is a less unaccountable jump when we try to fit Mother Bombie into the picture. The density of action and intrigue in the sub-plots increases steadily from Gallathea to urhidias I and perhaps urhidias II, and it is not so surprising to find the intrigue becoming all-important in Mother Bombie.

It is not so easy to see a parallel development in the higher levels of the plots. After Endixion the most important development in Igly's manipulation of the plot is that the sub-plot becomes more integrated into the plot of the play as a whole, as I have shown above; consequently there is not the same movement towards a unity of action, but rather a tendency towards diversification as the main plot becomes less exclusive of the other elements in the play. Nevertheless, it is possible to see a development in the main plots of Igly's plays closely related to the development we have already noticed in the sub-plots. The development is two-fold; as in the sub-plots, there is a tendency in the earlier plays to derive interest from side-issues, events and discussions which have no relevance to the plot, however relevant they may be to the theme of the play, and, in a way which is perhaps analogous to the increase in the density of intrigue in the sub-plots, the main plots become more complex. The development is from side-issues to what we may call side-plots, and in this way it is less obvious than the development of the sub-plots, which move from non-action to separate action to integrated action. I have limited the present discussion to the first four plays of Igly's output; the two key plays which follow Endixion, Love's Metemorphosis and Midas are too unreliable textually for any valid conclusions to

be drawn from them, and by the time we reach Mother Bombie and The Women in the Moon the process of integration has been completed, and it would be false to talk of a separate upper level in the plays.

In each of the four plays under discussion it is possible to separate one line of action which we may call the main plot. In Alexander and Campaspe, Sapho and Phao and Endimion it is the love-interests of Alexander, Sapho and Cynthia respectively, and in Callithers it is the love between the two girls disguised as boys. If we look at the scenes involving those characters which take part in this 'main plot', we see a considerable change between the earlier plays and Endimion. The characters in Alexander and Campaspe who form the basis of the plot are Alexander, Campaspe and Apelles. Diogenes is a fringe figure, important to the balance of the play, but his presence has no active influence on the action. Both the interludes between Alexander and Diogenes (II,ii,118-147; V,iv,37-74) and the intrusion of Crysus (III,iv,46-57) are side-issues, unconnected with the plot, although they give plenty of opportunity for wit. Similarly the scene between Alexander and the philosophers (I,iii) is an irrelevance for the sake of a number of well-turned, if borrowed, epigrams. The scenes involving Apelles and Campaspe, together and separately, are all to some extent related to the plot, although the attempt by Alexander to paint is only barely relevant. The other two courtiers, Clitus and Parmenio, are chorus figures, and do not in any way contribute to the action. The characters in Sapho and Phao which take part in the main plot are Sapho, Phao, Verus and Cupid. The scenes where the ladies-in-waiting chat together (I,iv, and III,iii,37-67) con-

tribute nothing but some pretty debates and confessions. The only scene in which they are more than spectators is the rather puzzling occasion when they talk with Trachinus and Pandion, and communicate to the audience the information that Sapho is sick. Sapho, unlike Alexander, is not involved in many side-issues. The only scene in which she takes part that does not contribute to the progress of the plot is the one in which she and her ladies discuss their dreams (IV,iii). Venus and Cupid, except possibly for the scene with Vulcan, are also directly involved in the plot whenever they appear. Phao, however, has a number of scenes where he discusses his fate with the Sibilla. These scenes, however instructive and improving, do not contribute to the plot in any way, since all the action bringing Sapho and Phao together is initiated by Sapho. Her soliloquy (III,iii,83-113) is important, for in it she resolves to see Phao.

In both of these plays we see the principal characters involved in scenes which deal solely with side-issues, and which do not in any way further the action. This is less true of Callathan, although this may to some extent be because it is a different kind of play, with less well-defined levels. Nymphs, gods and country citizens mix freely, although they all stand aloof from the vagabonds. It is also the first of Iqly's plays to achieve coherence more from the plot than from a basic moral issue. There are moral issues in the play, certainly, but all comes right in the end, not because a moral issue has been faced and its requirements satisfied, as is the case particularly with Alexander, but because the cause of the basic moral issue, the virgin-tribute, is re-

moved by external means through the plot. ⁽¹⁾ The plot of Gallathea therefore is of much more importance than the plots of Alexander and Campaspe and Sonho and Phao, and we would expect that rather less time would be spent on scenes irrelevant to the plot but relevant to the moral issues, such as the interludes between Diogenes and Alexander and Phao and the Sibilla. In the whole 'upper level' of the play there is, I think, only one scene which does not advance the action of the play, and that is when Diana's nymphs, having caught Cupid in the previous scene, bring him back onstage to tease him and to discuss the nature of love (IV,ii). This represents a considerable advance in dramatic technique, but, as I have indicated, it could be attributed to the change in the style of the play rather than to the kind of development which is the result of self-criticism. The test comes with Endimion, for this play, written after Gallathea, is concerned with much the same situation, and is centred ^{upon} around much the same moral issues as the two earlier plays.

The main plot of Endimion revolves around the triangle Tellus-Endimion-Cynthia. Unlike the triangle in Alexander and Campaspe, which has no complications, the plot radiates from these three characters until it involves all but the pages and a few of the courtier-figures. The plot of Tellus introduces Dipsas and Bagoa; the search for a remedy involves Eumenides's rival affections for Semele and Endimion, and introduces Geron, husband of Dipsas; the imprisonment of Tellus sparks off love-interest with Coraites; Sir Tophas falls in love with Dipsas, then, when she is no longer available, with Bagoa, and so on. What we have

(1) See p. 228 f. below.

here is a series of side-plots, each carefully arranged so as to highlight the central Cynthia-Endimion relationship by its degree of perfection. The important thing to realize is that the side-plots all contribute to the trend of the main action as well as progressing themselves. By means of the business of the peculiar fountain, Eumenides furthers his own love for Semele as well as providing information for the relieve of Endimion, and introducing yet another variation on the love-friendship theme. The fondness of Corites is a means of demonstrating both the baseness of Tellus, and the impossibility of assisting Endimion by other than miraculous means. The plot of Endimion, like the sub-plot, shows a considerable increase in the density of intrigue, or rather, in the multiplicity of relationships developing between the various characters during the course of the play. Igly has achieved this without, I think, sacrificing unity of action, for the only scenes in the upper level of Endimion which do not directly contribute to the progress of the main plot are those involving the description and interpretation of Endimion's dream passages which, like those of Sapho's dream, must almost certainly have had specific topicality for Igly's audience. The manipulation of the main plot of Endimion clearly represents a considerable advance on the preceding plays from the purely technical point of view; although the action is more diversified, in that more characters are important enough to have feelings as well as opinions, it never becomes obscure, and this is partly because each scene has its contribution to make to the progress of the plot.

It is therefore all the more surprising to find in Hidas the

bare bones of action, as in Alexander and Campagna, but without the ornament which even that play provides. There is not enough of the main plots of urHidas I and urHidas II left for us to carry on the argument in the way that it is possible in discussion of the sub-plots. As I have suggested above, the references to Hidas's unnatural love, and the apparent imbalance of the plot, so far as Igly's usual analysis of love is concerned, may indicate the direction that the side-plots took, particularly as there is ample opportunity for development in the relations^{ship} of ^{between} Eristus and Celia.

One further aspect of the playwright's art is worth discussing, without going into great detail, and that is the business of a painless exposition. A glance at the opening scenes of his plays shows that in this field too Igly gained in expertise. In Alexander and Campagna, Clitus and Parmenio, characters not directly involved in the action at all, put us in the picture. In Gallathea the opening scene is rather reminiscent of that scene in The Tempest where Prospero bores Miranda with his long resume of their history. Indeed, both authors seem aware of the clumsiness of the technique by admitting the likelihood that the young ladies to whom the story is being told, and presumably the larger audience they represent, would lose interest. Prospero is insistent that Miranda remain attentive,

Prospero. Dost thou hear?

Miranda. Your tale, sir would cure deafness... (I,ii,106)

and after a long explanation by Tyterus, Gallathea says encouragingly,

"To heare these sweete ^umarvailles, I would mine eyes were turned also into

cares' (I,i,35-6). Endinion and Ioves Metamorphosis show a greater finesse by (in a quiet way) introducing the audience to the action in medias res (and it must be remembered that the static exposition scene in The Tempest comes after the exciting opening scene of the ship-wreck). By Mother Bombie Iyly is able to sneak the exposition in among a barrage of wit,

Memphio. Boy, there are three things that make my life miserable; a threed bare purse, a curst wife, & a foole to my heire.

Dr2. Why then, sir, there are three medicines for these three maladies; a pike-staffe to take a purse on the high way, a holly wand to brush choliar frō my mistres tong, and a young vench for my yong master... (I,i,1-7)

Gradually it becomes apparent that of the three things that make Memphio's life miserable, the play is to be about the fool; but the parallels, as well as adding typically Iylyan wit to the bare bones of the plot, tease attention from the audience, who have to sort the consequential from the inconsequential. (1) Iyly is aware of the dangers of irrelevance, for the following scene, between Stellio and Riscio, is less than half as long, and establishes the basic situation with a minimum of frills, allowing the basic irony of the double deception to maintain interest. The opening of The Woman in the Moone is hardly comparable, as Iyly uses a rather different technique, more related to the Court masque than to comedy.

The purpose of this chapter has been to demonstrate that the specifically dramatic techniques that Iyly used in his plays developed

(1) The complaint of J. A. Barish ('The prose Style of John Iyly', E.L.H. XIII (1956), pp.14-35, see p.33) that the irrelevancies are simply the result of Iyly's passion for parallels is not really justified, for, as I have indicated, they serve a useful purpose in this scene.

more or less consistently throughout his output. In some ways the development of his literary art may be traced right from Epithura to The Woman in the Moone, notably of course in his use of language (this will be the concern of the following chapter), but in our present discussion I have taken the starting-point as the two plays Alexander and Cammaspe and Sarbo and Phap. In both the use of the stage - so far as we can reconstruct it - and the technical construction of the plays, Lyly shows an increasing skill, and an increasing awareness of the possibilities of the medium. From the early plays which, to some extent, merit the term 'dramatic recitative' applied to them by H. C. Bradbrook⁽¹⁾ to the unity of symbolism in Endimion, the unity of intrigue in Mother Bombie and the sophisticated blend which is The Woman in the Moone is a considerable step. That it was not enough for Lyly to retain his popularity is more because he had to change his genre completely between Mother Bombie and The Woman in the Moone than because he was incapable of the act of self-criticism which produces constructive development. Lyly exploited the peculiar appeal of the child actors in a way no previous writer did, and it was largely the suppression of the Paul's boys which led to the eclipse of his fame. That Lyly was unable to adapt completely to the medium of the public stage is no indication of inadequacy; that he was able to try, and The Woman in the Moone cannot be said to be a complete failure (it was, after all produced at Court), shows that he was a writer of courage and ability. He was left behind in the surge of writing for

(1) The Growth and Structure of Elizabethan Comedy (London, 1955), p.65.

the public stage in the last five years of the sixteenth century, but this should not blind us to the fact that for more than ten years before this he had, in his own field, developed consistently towards a drama, native in tradition, that was both decorous and varied, heterogeneous and integrated.

CHAPTER V

STYLE AND LANGUAGE

It was Iyly's style which gained him most fame in his own time, although that fame was relatively short-lived; not altogether surprisingly, it is this aspect of his work which has attracted most critical comment. The major works are those of C. G. Child⁽¹⁾ and H. W. Croll;⁽²⁾ their researches were comprehensive enough to limit later writers largely to a discussion of the origin of Euphuism.⁽³⁾ Two recent articles have demonstrated something of a new approach to the study of Iyly's prose. W. H. King⁽⁴⁾ has shown brilliantly that the structure of the 'set pieces' in Euphuism is determined by the narrative - dramatic - requirements of situation and character, and J. H. Barish⁽⁵⁾ has approached the analysis of Iyly's prose from the point of view that its distinguishing

- (1) John Iyly and Euphuism (Mannheimer Beiträge zur Romanischen und Englischen Philologie VII, 1894).
- (2) In the introduction to the two parts of Euphuism ed. H. W. Croll and H. Clavens (London, 1916).
- (3) J. Smart, 'Iyly and Pettie' English Studies, XXIII (1941), pp.9-18; George Pettie, A Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure, ed. Sir Israel Collinson (London, 1908) vol.I, pp.ix-xii; William Kingler, 'The Immediate Source of Euphuism', P.M.L.A., LIII (1938), pp.673-686; W. G. Crane, Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance (Columbia U.P., 1937), passim, but particularly chapter III, 'The Narrative Discourse'. See also, for general analyses of Euphuism, Bond, op. cit., vol.I, p.120 ff.; Feuilletat, John Iyly, 'Le Styliste', pp.411-475; Hunter, op. cit., chapter V, 'The Victim of Fashion'.
- (4) 'John Iyly and Elizabethan Rhetoric', Studies in Philology LII (1955), pp.149-161.
- (5) 'The Prose Style of John Iyly', E.L.H., XXIII (1956), pp.14-35.

characteristic is antithesis, and he has shown that there is less change between Iqly's narrative romances and his plays than earlier writers have assumed.

It is, then, with an acknowledgement of the researches of all these writers, and a recognition that much of the material which follows is inevitably secondhand, that I begin this chapter.

The usual method of analysing Iqly's style is to define the various rhetorical devices that he uses and to estimate their relative density and artificiality or effectiveness. That this method may be used with some subtlety is shown by Hunter's study. The 'exornations',⁽¹⁾ said most obviously to characterise Iqly's style are isocolon (the use of phrases or clauses of about the same length), perison (successive clauses with the same syntactical form), and paromoion (similarity of sound either of words or syllables). Hunter includes, as separate categories, quasi-rhymes and alliteration. Tropes said to characterise Euphuism are those involving the use of 'unnatural natural history', the many proverbial and quasi-proverbial exemplums which Iqly uses to reinforce his arguments, and the frequent rhetorical questions that Iqly's characters ask in soliloquy.

The difficulty of reducing the study of Iqly's prose to these characteristic figures is twofold; as Marish foresfully points out, to do so involves a falsification in that inevitably form and content become

(1) The term is Thomas Wilson's. See his Arte of Rhetorique (1560), ed. G. H. Mair (Oxford, 1909), p.177.

divorced in discussion, and in addition, the supposedly different characteristics thus defined in fact overlap to a considerable extent. Hunter, for example, illustrates isocolon, parison and paromoion by the same short sentence. (1) While it is justifiable to separate the syntactical effect of parison from the more purely aural effect of paromoion, I doubt whether there is much point in trying to distinguish between parison and isocolon, since isocolon is little more than a restatement of the phenomenon of parison in rhythmic - and hence more general - terms. Similarly it would seem to be unnecessary to distinguish between the strict form of alliteration between related words that is implied in paromoion, and alliteration of a slightly more random, but still prominent kind. Again, the division between the extended simile from natural or unnatural history and the exemplum provided by proverb lore or observation is not really helpful in a discussion of style, since both represent much the same schematic use of words.

What I am trying to suggest is that if we redefine the characteristics of Rhythmic so that we use only one term for each phenomenon, the field may be sufficiently clear for an attempt to decide whether the characteristics change in any consistent way through Iqly's output. To make the point clearer, let us look in detail at a short but typical passage in Euphrosia. It comes at the beginning of the soliloquy where Euphrosia debates with himself the issues of friendship and love after he has become infatuated with Lucilla.

(1) Op. cit., p.265.

What is hee Raphnes that knowing thy witte, and seeing thy folly; but will rather punish thy lawlesse, then pittie thy heuiness? Was there euer any so fickle so soone to be allured? any euer so faithlesse to deceiue his friend? euer any so foolish to bathe himselfe in his owne misfortune? To true it is that as the Sea Crabbe swimmeth alwayes against the streame, so wit always striueth agaynst wisdom: And as the Bee is oftentimes hurte with hir owne hoony, so is wit not seldome plagued with his owne conceipte. (1)

The parison of the first sentence is obvious enough, as is the parison or alliteration which punctuates the first two sentences ('punish... pittie' 'fickle...faithless...foolish'). But the second sentence is rather more subtle, and cannot be adequately defined by our terminology. The three members of the sentence do not involve parison or isocolon, but they are carefully constructed to form a rather more complex balance. The passive verb of the first clause with a qualifying adverb before it ('so soone to be allured') is balanced by the active verb and its object in the second clause ('to deceiue his friend'), a change of emphasis which is pointed by the non-grammatical alliteration between 'faithless' and 'friend'. These two clauses are isocolonic, but the final clause balances them together in rhythm (five major stresses as against the six of the previous two), and is in effect, though not in logic, a summation. It retains the active verb of the second clause while the subject returns from 'friend' to the 'self' implied in the first clause. Raphnes gestures with his left hand, with his right, and throws them up together. Balance of this kind is not capable of definition by the terms of contemporary rhetoric, and yet it is just this sort of subtlety which makes

(1) Bond, op. cit., vol.I, p.208.

Igly's prose readable. It is the occasional alliteration on words not grammatically linked, and the balance achieved by unequal lengths which are perhaps the most important stylistic devices which Igly uses, because it is this which gives his prose some measure of distinction. And yet it is precisely at this point that our terminology fails us. It would be quite impossible to develop a terminology sensitive to the subtleties of Igly's - or anyone's - style, because the range of effects is too wide. It is only because there are some quite long stretches of Igly's prose which can be analysed by the relatively crude tools at our disposal that so many writers have used this method. The danger is that because the tools are crude, the critic will come to believe that the prose is crude - witness, for example, the patronising attitude of Feuillerat.

It was because of the inadequacy of this mode of classification as well as the resulting artificial schism between thought and expression, that Barish proposed a classification based on the varying degrees of antithesis in Igly's style.⁽¹⁾ This system has the advantage that it places the emphasis squarely where it belongs, on the thought or thought-process, and only secondarily on the syntax. But it is difficult, in a study of this kind, to apply it consistently. The distinction between three kinds of antithesis, varying in degree, is valid as a means of defining the ways in which Igly's mind worked, but where our purpose is to examine the style of various works written during Igly's life to see if there is any significant change, it becomes rapidly apparent that there

(1) See Barish, op. cit., p.15.

are too many in-between cases which do not fall into any obvious category. Barish maintains that there is little change between Iqly's use of antithesis in Banquet and Mother Bombie, except for a decline in what Child calls 'mechanical devices',⁽¹⁾ described rather more revealingly by Barish as 'the smaller symmetries'.⁽²⁾ Barish also hints that the plays which use fewer of the smaller symmetries are those with more of the larger symmetries⁽³⁾ - Midan with its tripartite division of the tempters, and Mother Bombie with its highly symmetrical balance between the various groups of characters. In chapter IV we established that the stage-settings of Iqly's plays tended to become more and more symmetrical and, in a sense, more antithetical, by means of the implied opposition of the two sides of the stage.⁽⁴⁾ In the same way, the groups of characters in Endition, Midan and Mother Bombie are obviously more symmetrically conceived than those of the early plays. It seems then, that Iqly's habits of thought, antithesis and parallel (the one fault with Barish's article is that he does not take enough notice of Iqly's tendency to connect thought in parallel as well as in opposition), did not change remarkably through his literary output, although the nature of the thoughts and their means of expression may have. It is the aim of this chapter to investigate the possibility that the 'means of expression' - the style - changed or developed, over the broad survey of Iqly's work.

(1) Op. cit., p.96.

(2) Op. cit., p.31.

(3) See op. cit., pp.32-3.

(4) See ch.IV, p.116 above.

Thus far I have been concerned with indicating the inadequacy of the critical vocabulary which is used to analyse the sound-patterns and the syntax-patterns of Iqly's style. Differentiation between examples from 'unnatural natural history', classical precedent and proverbial sayings is no more constructive in an analysis of Iqly's figures of speech. The difference between these 'schemes' is decided by their sources, not by their functions. They all perform the same function as units of thought, namely to add strength to Iqly's arguments by analogy or similitude. It is not enough, however, to distinguish between tropes and schemes - the metaphor or simile confined to a single word or phrase, and the extended analogy or similitude - because there are two uses of the scheme recognisably different in effect. The form more commonly used by Iqly is as an analogy with one area of resemblance with the object or situation with which it is compared, but occasionally, we find extended similitudes with several areas of comparison, in the style that reached the peak of its popularity with the metaphysical conceit. Compare, for example, the two simple similitudes in the passage already quoted from Euphonia with this passage from the prologue to Midas.

Trafficks and traffell hath wouen the nature of all Nations into ours,
and made this land like Arras, full of devise, which was Brode-
cloth, full of workmanshippe. (1)

The seemingly dead metaphor 'woven' becomes a subtle and satisfying image which condenses a great deal of meaning into a few short lines. The contrast is not simply between the plain and the ornate, but also between

(1) Bond, op. cit., vol.III, p.115. The image which follows this is the 'gallinmafrey' conceit analysed in full, p.8 f. above.

the useful and the decorative, neatly condensed by Lyly's use of two words, 'deuise' and 'workmanshippe' not necessarily opposed, in a syntactical arrangement that puts them in opposition. It is worth pointing out in passing that the basically Kyphuistic nature of the prose has changed very little; there is still a tendency to hunt the letter ('trafficke', 'trauell'; 'nature', 'Nations'), and the last clause is divided into fairly accurately parisonic members. The difference between these two schemes is important enough to warrant a distinguishing terminology. The extended similitude with more than one area of comparison may be called a 'conceit', although it must be understood that in Lyly a conceit is a much simpler affair than it became in the hands of the Jacobeans. Since not all of the simpler similitudes so beloved of Lyly are strictly analogies, I shall use the term 'similitude' throughout this work to mean those figures with only one area of comparison, including in this one term all such schemes, regardless of their source. Images and metaphors based on the one word will be known by the generic term 'trope'.

There are two ways of analyzing a possible development in Lyly's style. One is the method used by C. G. Child; by counting the frequency of certain patterns, we may discover a general increase or decrease. This is, in effect, a statistical method, and should be accompanied by some attempt to reduce to a minimum external variables which could effect the style. One such obvious variable is the difference in style to be expected between the dialogue by those in the sub-plot and those in the main-plot. Again, dialogue is by its very nature very different from

monologue. In a dialogue between two characters involved in an identical situation - and this happens frequently in Iqly's plays - stylistic parallels, if at all elaborate, have a thoroughly comic effect. The best example of this is in Mother Bombie.

- Drog. Now, if I could meete with Eigio, it were a world of waggery.
- Rig. Oh that it were my chance, Obuism dare Dromio, to stumble vpon Dromio, on whom I doo nothing but dreame.
- Dro. His knauerie and my wit, should make our masters that are wise, fooles; their children that are fooles, beggers; and vs two that are bond, free.
- Rig. He to cosin & I to coniuere, would make such alterations, that our masters shuld serue themselves; the ideots, their children, to serue vs; and we to wake our wits betweene them all.
- Dro. Hem quam oportuna, looks if he drop not ful in my dish.
- Rig. Iurus in fabula, Dromio inbrace me, hugge me, kisse my hand, I must make thee fortunate.
- Dro. Eigio, honour me, kneele down to mee, kisse my feet, I must make thee blessed.
- Rig. My master, olde Stellio, hath a foole to his daughter.
- Dro. Nay, my master, old Mamphio, hath a foole to his sonne.
- Rig. I must conuey a contract.
- Dro. And I must conuey a contract.
- Rig. Betweene her and Mamphio sonne, without speaking one to another.
- Dro. Betweene him and Stellios daughter, without one speaking to the other. (II,i,1-23)

The comic parallel between the plots of the two old men is underlined strongly by the deliberate parallels in the dialogue. When the two boys enter separately their speeches have not only internal parison but almost exact parison with each other. When they speak together, they echo each other exactly. Such a device, though producing high comedy, is far too crude for the gentler interplay of ironies that we find in the less boisterous scenes of Iqly's plays which involve a similarly parallel situation. One of the most charming scenes of all the plays is in Gallathea, when the two girls in disguise contrast their naturally feminine instincts

with the behaviour demanded by their dress, without daring to speak to each other,

Galla. I perceive^{ei} that boyes are in as great disliking of themselves as maides, therefore though I weare the apparell, I am glad I am not the person.

Phil. It is a pretty boy and a faire, hee might well have bene a woman; but because he is not, I am glad I am, for nowe vnder the color of my coate, I shall decipher the follies of their kind.

Galla. I would salute him, but I feare I should make a curtaile in steed of a legge.

Phil. If I durst trust my face as well as I doe my habite, I would spend some time to make pastime: for saie what they will of a mans wit, it is no seconde thing to be a woman.

Galla. All the blood in my bodie would be in my face, if he should sake me (as the question among men is common) are you a maide?

Phil. Why stands I still? boyes should be holde; but heere cometh a braue traine that will spill all our talke. (II,i,16-32)

As Barish remarks, 'symmetry here is striking only by its absence.'⁽¹⁾

The ironical position of the two girls is sensitively explored here, and in two later scenes (III,ii and IV,iv), without the slightest suggestion of parallelism in the dialogue. Wherever Iqly wants a scene of less than riotous humour, he avoids excessive and obvious balance between consecutive speeches. This, clearly, is one variable that must be taken into account in any statistical approach, and I suggest that the only way to remove it is to focus attention purely on the soliloquies and monologues in the plays. This also would remove the influence of the subplot from the study of the frequency of what may be agreed on as significantly Euphuistic devices.

But the statistical approach, while it is useful as a pointer and as a check, has a definite limitation. Hunter is perhaps a little

(1) Op. cit., p.30.

harsh in his criticisms of Child's approach, claiming that 'charts are drawn (as if this were a stylistic fever) to show the extent of infection or health in each of the plays'.⁽¹⁾ If there is a consistent change in Lyly's use of the more definable characteristics of Euphuism it should be possible to draw up a meaningful chart, based on significant samples. Nevertheless, such an approach is extremely insensitive, and can tell us only the crudest and most obvious changes. The most satisfactory method is to take a representative passage from each play, and by detailed analysis, to see how much the general indications of the statistical approach are borne out in detail. I have selected monologues from each of the plays (except Mother Bombie which has none) for this purpose. Euphuus, Euphuus and his England, Alexander and Campaspe, Sapho and Phao and Endimion each have a monologue by a doubtful lover, debating with himself what action he should take. Euphuus argues the issue between love and friendship (vol.I, pp.208-211), Philautus bewails the impossibility of his love for Casilla (vol.II, pp.85-90), Apelles similarly soliloquises about his dangerous love for Campaspe (III,v,13-61), Phao of his love for Sapho (II,iv,1-37), and Endimion of his love for Cynthia (II,i,1-46). Gallathea has a short speech by Telusa on the same lines (III, ,1-27), but the monologue by Haebe (V,ii,8-55), is more obviously a set speech, and may conveniently be compared with the similar death speech by Fidelia in Loves Metamorphosis (I,ii,90-130). There are many extended speeches in Midas, though they do not touch the same general subject-matter as

(1) Op. cit., p.243.

those of the other plays. Perhaps the best example of the set speech is that which follows Midas's reading of the oracle (III,1,3-64).

Mother Bombie has no extended monologues of any kind, but the speeches by the old men Sperantas and Priscus as they chide Candidus and Livia (I, iii,164-192) are more or less equivalent. The opening lines of The Woman in the Moon are a monologue by Nature, but since Euphuism is a characteristic prose style, and The Woman in the Moon is a verse play, we are dealing with a very large variable, and must treat this passage as something less than equivalent to the others.

This, then, is the method by which I propose to investigate the nature of any change in Iyly's style: I shall demonstrate and discuss the findings of the statistical approach and follow with such detailed analysis as will clarify or modify the conclusions of the statistical method.

The sound-patterns of Euphuism are of two main kinds, alliterative and rhythmic. Barish has lucidly shown that the rhythmic patterns, parison and isocolon, being basically allied to syntax, are as much units of thought as units of sound⁽¹⁾ and cannot be described as ornamental. Alliteration and assonance, however, are more obviously decorative. Although it would be false to suggest that sound and sense are not related, I think that it is fair to assume that any preoccupation with sound will show up in the presence of increased alliteration. Assonance is less reliable as a guide, because it is so closely allied to the pun in the

(1) Op. cit., p.15.

way that Igly uses it, and the pun is a figure of thought as well as of sound. A passage from the same soliloquy of Euphues will serve as an example,

No fonde foole, no. Neyther is it forbidden vs by the gods to loue, by whose diuine providence we are permitted to lyue, neyther doe wee want remedies to recure our maladies, but reason to vse the meanes. But why goe I about to hinder the course of loue with the discourse of law? (vol.I, p.208)

The semi-play on 'love, live' is very common with Igly, and might be passed over, if it were not for the balancing of 'remedyes' with 'maladies' in the same sentence. Sound and thought are closely integrated. In the following sentence there is an attempt to repeat the effect by the play on 'course...discourse' and 'love...law'. The second of these could be dismissed simply as an example of alliteration, not of assonance, but, whatever the cause, the quest of a sound-pattern has led Igly to the use of a word - 'law' - loosely. It is just possible that Euphues is seriously comparing his arguments to the rhetoric of a lawyer, but in context, I think that the image is not so clearly defined. The opposition expressed is simply the familiar one of reason v. emotion, and the incidental image of Euphues as an argumentative lawyer is distracting. This is one occasion when clarity of thought suffers for the sake of a jingle. Disruption of this kind for the sake of a pun or a half-pun is rare. Usually, as in the first sentence quoted, and as in the word-play later in the same speech ('loppeth'...'stoppeth' (p.209, ll.1-2); 'chayned'...'changed' (ll.12-13); 'shadows'...'shadow' (ll.33-4); 'Stoycke'...'stock' (p.210, ll.18-19) etc.) the words played on perfectly follow the train of thought, and might even, in some cases, have suggested it.

If, then, we are to have some way of testing Igly's use of ornament throughout his prose output, we must look for some test other than his use of pun and assonance unless we are to 'suggest that thought itself is ornamental'.⁽¹⁾

The answer, I think, is to limit our study to the density of alliteration. There are, of course, innumerable instances in Igly of the use of alliteration to emphasize the formal structure of a sentence, and hence of a thought; in the passage from Humana just quoted (p.164), the symmetrical alliteration between 'remedyes...maladyes' and 'reason...meanes' emphasizes functionally the balance of the clauses. There is also, however, a good deal of less severely functional alliteration, 'fond fool...forbidden', 'providence...permitted' and so on. It is not easy to make a consistent differentiation between functional, or 'pointed' alliteration, and the frequent semi-random alliteration illustrated, simply because it is possible for alliteration to be purely random. In this last sentence of my own, for example we could consider the alternate alliteration of the stressed syllables ('possible...purely', 'alliteration...random') to be functional, although I am aware that it was not deliberate. For this reason, in my statistical analysis, I have simply counted all cases of alliteration, in order to test the relative density of the device in passages written at different times during Igly's life.

The results are a little surprising. The researches of G. G. Child might have suggested that alliteration, as one of the most obvious

(1) Barish, op. cit., p.15.

of 'mechanical devices' should have become less persistent in Igly's later works. The table he provides of his researches into the style of the seven prose plays suggests this very strongly. I have reproduced his findings in Table A of the Appendix, together with a figure which normalises (approximately) the figures he obtained to those which would be obtained if each play were fifty pages in length. The suspicious thing about the table is that Child thought that Gallathea was written after Endimion, and the results obediently indicate a lower density of alliteration in what he thought was the later play. We can be fairly sure⁽¹⁾ that Endimion was in fact written after Gallathea, a piece of information that rather spoils the pretty symmetry of the table. I am not suggesting that there was a deliberate attempt by Child to pervert the evidence; rather I feel that it indicates the futility of trying to define too rigidly the patterns of sound and syntax. When there are many borderline cases, it is fatally easy, even for an investigator who is trying to remain impartial, to allow them to be graded to suit a preconceived idea. To psychologists the phenomenon is well-known.⁽²⁾ In addition, the variables I have discussed above were not adequately controlled, and the presence of sub-plots of growing importance with the relaxation of tone that this brings, must have considerably influenced his findings.

The results of my own counting are recorded in Table B of the

(1) See p.28 f. above.

(2) It is known as the 'halo' effect, and is one of the side-effects of mental set.

Appendix. I counted only the alliteration in extended speeches, where possible soliloquies or monologues, although this was not possible in Hothe Rumble. All cases of the recurrence of a letter in a few words (or, rather, accented syllables) were counted, but a letter had to appear four or five times before it was recorded twice. The plays were not analysed in chronological order. The only conclusion that can profitably be drawn from the table is that there is no significant change until we reach the terse dialogue of Hothe Rumble.

It is something of a surprise to find the relatively low density of alliteration in Romulus and his England. There are some sentences as elaborately pointed as we could expect, 'I see that India bringeth golde, but England breedeth goodnesse,'⁽¹⁾ but there are long passages without significant alliteration. Perhaps this bears out the impression the whole work gives of a laxity or looseness not found either in Romulus or in the plays. After the brilliant defense, by W. N. King, of the seeming lack of logic in some of Iyly's extended speeches,⁽²⁾ I hesitate to suggest that this laxity may have extended to Iyly's processes of thought, but I doubt whether even the extremity of the lover's fit which is upon Philantus could have produced this non sequitur, 'Thou a woman, y^e last thing God made, & therefore y^e best. I am a man y^t could not live without thee, & therefore y^e worst.'⁽³⁾ Just how little Iyly's use of pointed alliteration changed between Romulus and Alexander and Cae-

(1) Road, op. cit., vol.II, p.86, l.11.

(2) Op. cit.

(3) Road, op. cit., vol.II, p.86, ll.5-8.

usage is shown by this passage in the soliloquy by Apelles.

But as they that are shaken with a fever are to be warmed with clothes, not greases, & as he that melteth in a consumption is to be recured with Colices not conceites: so the feeding cōker of my care, the neuer dying worm of my hart, is to be killed by cōnsel, not cries, by applying of remedies, not by replying of reasons.

(III,v,49-54)

The line of reasoning is much the same as that followed by Euphues when he exclaimed against hindering 'the course of love with the discourse of law', but here the imagery is precise, and the resonance between 'applying' and 'replying' focuses and intensifies the thought instead of distracting from it. The lavish preponderance of the letters 'c' and 'r' on accented syllables is offset by the use of an occasional neutral phrase ('the neuer dying worm of my heart'), so that the effect never becomes comic.

Nor can we see any growing reluctance in Gallathea to use the jingling consonants,

Shall it onely be lawfull amongst vs in the prime of youth, and pride of beautie, to destroy both youth and beautie: and what was honoured in fruites and flowres as a vertue, to violate in a virginity a vice?

(V,ii,21-4)

Even in Titus, the last play which uses extended monologues, Iqly is prepared to hunt the letter,

To what kingdom have I not pretended clayme? as though I had been by the Gods created heire apparent to the world, making euerie trifle a title; and all the territories about me, traiters to me. Why did I wish that all might bee gold I toucht, but that I thought all mens hearts would bee toucht with gold, that what pollicie could not compass, nor prove, gold might haue commaded and conquered?

(III,i,40-5)

The alliteration here is not, I think, quite as insistent as in the earlier passages quoted, and the various puns and assonances are accordingly

more important to the balance of the sentences, but the change is not really enough to be described as 'a manifest decrease in the use of mechanical devices'.⁽¹⁾ Confirmation of the fact that Iqly enjoyed the jingle of alliteration until quite late in his literary output comes from an unexpected source. In Pope with an Hatchet, there is a revealing aside, 'If this will not make Martin mad, malicious and melancholic (ô brane letter followed with a full crie) then will we be desperate...'⁽²⁾ and later when he exclaims 'Faith, thou wilt bee caught by the stile' (p.401), it is after a pun and a burst of alliteration, not after a sequence of balanced sentences, or a patch of unnatural history. The appropriateness of the comment by Will Summers in Summers' Last Will, if it is an attack of some kind on Iqly,⁽³⁾ should not be missed. Before stigmatising 'the poet' as 'one of those Hieroglyphicall writers that by the figures of beasts, planets and of stones, express the mind, as we doe in A.B.C.' Summers speaks of him as trying to 'hold (my Lord) half the night with riff-raff of the runding of Elfinor',⁽⁴⁾ a reference glossed by McKerrow as referring slightly to the Skeltonic habit of excessive alliteration.⁽⁵⁾

The conclusion that Iqly altered little in his attitude to the 'mechanical devices' which characterized his style is inconceivable if we limit ourselves to the set speeches, where obviously style is of para-

(1) C. G. Child, op. cit., p.96.

(2) Bond, op. cit., vol.III, p.400, ll.22-4.

(3) See Appendix A.

(4) Ed. cit., vol.III, p. 252.

(5) Ed. cit., vol.IV, p.427.

mount importance because of the lack of action. And it is notable that Iqly persists in his use of set-speeches until Mother Runkie. It seems that he thought that his style was interesting enough to give the audience a chance to listen to it without the distraction of stage-business or dialogue. I am not suggesting, however, that the soliloquies are necessarily undramatic. If we look at the soliloquy of Apelles, we see that Iqly was careful to include in his set speeches only what was appropriate to the character, and to relate it to the dramatic surroundings. The two most elaborate conceits in the soliloquy are both related to Apelles as painter, (the comparison of himself with Pigmalion and the desire to 'paint things vnpossible for mine arte, but agreeable with my affections' - III,v,44-5) and there is a passage where it is pleasant to visualise the gesture of the child actor as he looks at his painting of Ganasppe; 'O faire face! O vnhappy hand! & why didst thou draw it so faire a face?' (III,v,39-40).

Statistical analysis of Iqly's characteristically parallel structure in syntax is less satisfactory, for reasons outlined above; either one chooses to stick to strict parison, in which case many cases of subtler parallelism are ignored, or, by broadening the terms of reference, one is confronted with an enormous number of borderline cases. Such figures as I was able to obtain from the second approach are recorded in Table C of the Appendix, but I am not sure whether it is even possible, because of the necessary unreliability of the method, to pronounce that there was no significant change. Certainly, however, the passages I have quoted above are enough to show that Iqly's love of rhythmic and

syntactical balance never entirely disappeared. Even in such rough-and-tumble work as Fayre with an Hatchet, Iyly enjoys balanced sentences as well as characteristic punning,

For I knowe there is none of honour so carelesse, nor any in scale
so pecunish, nor of nature any so barbarous, that wil succor those
that be suckers of the Church, a thing against God and policie;
against God, in subverting religion; against policie, in altering
government... (1)

The technical requirements of blank verse make elaborate syntactical parallels between consecutive lines not only difficult, in that the necessity for regular parcelling of syllables into lines makes further regularities more difficult, but it also reduces the effect of neatness that parison gives in prose. Regularity is expected in the rise and fall of the verse, and closer correspondences of syntax are less noticeable than, for example, the use of rhyme, a device that Iyly does not use in The Woman in the Moone. Nevertheless, there are occasions when we hear the accustomed echoes:

Inhales. We cruce, fayre goddesse at thy heavenly hands,
To have as eury other creature hath,
A cure and certaine remedies among our selues.
To propagate the issue of our kinde:
As it were comfort to our sole estate,
So were it ease unto thy working hand,
Each Fish that swimmeth in the floating sea,
Each winged fowle that soareth in the ayre,
And eury beast that feedeth on the ground,
Have rates of pleasure to uphold their broode... (I,1,39-46)

Thou art indowd with Sabura deepe conceit,
Thy minde as harte as Janiters high thoughts,
Thy stomack Lion-like, like Emors hart,
Thine eyes bright beaude, like Sol in his array... etc. (I,1,95-98)

(1) Bond, op. cit., vol.III, p.397, ll.12-15.

two quotations which will serve to demonstrate as well that Iqly's adventure into verse did nothing to curb his love of alliteration.

Given the space, in a prologue, an epilogue, or a set speech, to build castles with his sentences, Iqly, even in the later plays, constructs an edifice as symmetrical and as intricately worked as he does in Euphues. The total content of such devices within the plays undoubtedly declines as the sub-plots assume more and more significance, and as the action in the main plots becomes more intricate than a simple moral issue to be debated. The style itself changes little, and the habits of thought, as I have suggested above, depend as much on balance and opposition in Mother Bombie and The Women in the Moone as in Euphues, except that the plot rather than the style has become the means of expression. What could be more Iqlyan in concept than Nature attended by her two handmaids, Concord and Discord? (I,1,29) 'For Nature workes her will from contraries'.

Although the architectural design and the ornamentation of Iqly's word-castles changes little, it remains to be seen whether the materials themselves change. By this, of course, I mean vocabulary and imagery. Barish has remarked on the 'predominantly native vocabulary'⁽¹⁾ of Iqly's style, and in all fairness to Iqly it must be admitted that he avoided the trap which we might have expected a young University writer famous for his affected style to fall into - the use of inkhorn terms.

However, it is noticeable that in Euphues, even in a fairly

(1) Op. cit., p.34.

commonplace narrative, where Iqly is not specifically dealing with abstractions, the vocabulary is made up of a high proportion of words of Old French or Latin derivation, even though there are few words which are not current today. In this passage, for example,

Rubens having sojourned by the space of two moneths in Spain, whether he were moved by the courtesie of a young gentleman named Philatus, or inferred by dexterie: whether his pregnant wit, or his pleasant conceits wrought the greater liking in the minde of Rubens: I know not for certayntie: But Rubens showed such entyre love towards him, that he seemed to make small account of any others, determining to enter into such an inviolable league of friendship with him, as nayther time by peccensale should enpire, neither fancie viterly dissolve, nor any suspition infringe. (1)

most of the key words are of French or Latin origin ('sojourned', 'space', 'moneth', 'courtesie', 'gentleman', 'inferred', 'dexterie', 'pregnant', 'pleasant', 'conceits', 'certayntie' etc.). Where Iqly speaks of abstractions - love, virtues, friendship, manners - this is rather to be expected, but in a passage concerned primarily with narrative, we may, I think, take it as an indication of the elevated tone Iqly was striving for. Rather a striking contrast is found in this passage from King, where Iqly is specifically speaking of an abstraction,

Ambition eateth gold, & drinketh blood; climeth so high by other mens heads, that she breaketh her owne necke. What should I doo with a world of ground, whose bodie must be content with seven foote of earth? or why did I count to get so many crownes, having my self but one head? (III, i, 11-15)

In the whole passage there are only four words of Romance origin ('Ambition', 'content', 'count' and 'crown'). The difference is not so much that Iqly uses a higher proportion of native words, for I doubt whether

(1) Bond, op. cit., vol. I, p. 196.

he would have regarded this as a virtue, but that he is using more direct, more concrete language. We see an abstraction, by virtue of simple and striking images, become concrete, whereas the earlier passage finds abstractions in the statement of a simple narrative. A change of this kind may not be the deliberate result of self-criticism, but, if consistent, it may be taken as a symptom of a larger change in tone or attitude.

From each of the ^{set speeches} plays I have taken a sample of some sixty key-words (that is, leaving out all prepositions, conjunctions and such empty words) and investigated their origins. I have avoided passages where elaborate similitudes are used; these have an obviously poetic air, and might not be representative of a 'normal' style, since they do not appear in the later plays (this is a point which will be discussed below). The results are tabulated in Table D of the Appendix, and the indication is clear enough. Again it should be recorded that the speech in Richard Bonville from which the sample was taken, an old man ^{scolding} ~~ticking-off~~ his daughter, is by its nature less likely to involve abstractions than the set speeches of the other plays, and we would expect Igby to avoid the indecorum of making his rustic speak like courtiers. The samples are too small to be of any significance other than to show a general trend away from the high-sounding Romance vocabulary of the Richard to the concrete and earthy language of Igby. I have, however, checked these results by similarly testing a larger group of randomly chosen words (the first key-word of every second line in every speech of eight or more lines by characters in the main plot) in several of the plays. These show a similar general tendency, although the differences tend to level out. The rever-

sion to a higher proportion of exotic words in Women in the Moon is understandable as an attempt to achieve a 'poetic' diction, influenced, no doubt by the glittering lines of Marlowe and the young Shakespeare.

Igly may not consciously have altered the content of his vocabulary - the change is best understood as the result of a change of emphasis from abstract to concrete habits of thought - but he had a great interest in language, and was well aware that two words may describe the same phenomenon with quite different significances,

Pat. How now Motto, what all a merr?

Motto. I am as melancholy as a cat.

Pat. Melancholy? merric gap, is melancholy a word for a barbers mouth? Thou shouldst say, heemie, dull and doltish: melancholy is the crest of Courtiers armes, and now merric base companion, being in his noble fables, sayes he is melancholy.

Pat. Motto, then shouldst say thou art humpish. If thou encrooch upon our courtly termes, weele trowce thee: belike if thou shouldst spit often, thou wouldst call it the renne.

Motto, in men of reputation & credit it is the renne: in such mechanicall murtherers, it is a catarre, a poxe, the water ouill.

(Masse, V,ii,99-109)

Igly's interest in words never extends to the brilliant extemporising of his associate, Henshe, but there is one aspect of language that fascinated him. Specialised language, what today we would call jargon, is used as a source of honour in a number of the plays. In Gallathea the boys try to learn the points of the compass, and become hopelessly confused.

Later Raffe meets 'The Alchemists boy Peter', and is blinded by science,

Peter. ...it is a very secrete Science, for none almost can vnderstand the language of it. Sublimation, Almagination, Calcination, Rubification, Incorporation, Circination, Sementation, Albification, and Frenentation. With as many termes vossible to be vttered, as the Arte to be compassed.

Raffe. Let me crosse myselfe, I neuer heard so many great deails in a little Honkies mouth.

Peter. Then our instruments, Croslets, Sublinatories, Cucurbits,

Isabecks, Decensores, Violes, musall and merrall, for exhibing
and combing, Belloves, molificatine and enderative.
Raffe. What language is this? (II,iii,10-21)

This is not a parody, but a sheer delight in the complexities of sound and sense, or seeming nonsense, of a specialised vocabulary. Iqly of course has his own specialised vocabulary in matters of love and he is sufficiently aware of it to parody himself in Madimon,

Igg. ...What a sight would it be to embrace one whose haysre were as
orient as the pearle! whose teeth shal be so pure a watchet (light
blue), that they shall staine the truest Turkin! whose nose shall
throw more beemes from it than the fierie Cartuncle! whose eyes
shall be emircircled about with redness exceeding the deepest Corall!
And whose lippes might compare with silver for the paleness!
(V,ii,95-100)

Iqly evidently enjoyed making his Miles gloriosus into a grotesque lover trying to 'Parley, Raphuians'.⁽¹⁾ The humor of the passage is two-edged; in itself the image of Sir Tophas's ideal love is amusing, and it is made more so by the incongruity of the language. Iqly is sufficiently sure of the appeal of his style to get a laugh from its misuse. In Hidan there are two occasions when Iqly uses jargon for comic effect. Motto speaks to Dello of 'phrases of our eloquent occupation' (III,ii, 34 ff.), and the boys Licio, Petulus and Minatius torment the Huntsman by misusing his language. Motto's 'Tullia de orators, the very art of trimming' is introduced for its own sake, like the alchemical terms in Gallathea, without malice or parody, but the boys make fun of the Huntsman by punning on the technical words,

Pet. Ile warrant hee hath by this started a covey of Bucks, or
rouned a scull of Presents.

(1) The phrase is from Blount's epistle 'To the Reader'.

Huntz. Treason to two brace sports, hawking & hunting, thou shouldst say, start a hare, rouse the deere, spring the partridge.

Fat. He warrant that was devised by some Country swab, that seeing a hare skip vp, which made him start, he presently said, he started the hare.

Ligie: I, and some lubber lying besides a spring, & seeing a partridge come by, said he did spring the partridge. (IV,iii,45-53)

From Igily's treatment of these specialized vocabularies, we may, I think, deduce that he was thoroughly self-aware in his use of language. He does not use them for purposes of irony or satire, as Shakespeare does in Love's Labour's Lost, for example, but in the realization that they have the appeal of the exotic, made more piquant by their homely settings.

Perhaps the most obvious of the characteristics of Euphuism is the use of similitudes. It was Igily's fondness of 'terms of trees and stones' ⁽¹⁾ which was singled out for criticism by his contemporaries, once he had become 'the victim of fashion', ⁽²⁾ but this should not blind us to the fact that the similitude as an element of style was not confined to the more absurd examples. Although we often find in Burton, a series of similitudes drawn from unnatural natural history (see for example, the paragraph beginning 'The filthy Sow when she is sicko...' Bond, op. cit., vol.I, p.208), more often the exotic similitude is placed side by side with others less absurd to modern ears. Anticipating a long battle for the affections of Lucilla, Euphuus remarks,

Fyre cometh out of the hardest flynts wyth the Steele. Cyle out of the dyrest Icete by the fyre, love out of the stoniest hearte by feyth, by trust, by tyme. Make Tarquinius vnd his love with

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- (1) The phrase occurs in a poem by Thomas Brabine prefixed to Greene's Menaphon (1587).
 (2) See Hunter, op. cit., chapter V.

colours of continuance, ^u *Ingratia* woulde eyther wyth some pitie
 have answered hys desyre, or with some persuasion have stayed hir
 death. (1)

The emotic similitude, the real or imagined property of jet, is here paralleled with one from common observation, the flint and the steel, and one from classical sources. It is clear that similitudes of this kind, regardless of their source, are the dominant form of imagery in *Raphnes*. In the passage quoted there are two words which might be used metaphorically, 'stoniest' and 'colours', but these are both, if not dead, dying metaphors. In the whole of the soliloquy of *Raphnes* we have taken as text for this chapter, the number of metaphors may be counted on the fingers of one hand, if we reject the many dead metaphors. *Raphnes* 'bathes' himself in his own misfortune, is 'entangled' with desire, and later 'intangled' with her beauty, he hinders the 'course' of love, moderates his 'overlashing' affections, his fancy is lewdly 'chained', and so on. None of these could be called 'alive' metaphors, and those which are least moribund are the result of a search for attractive sound rather than greater expressiveness. The 'course' of love is dictated by the 'discourse' of law, and his fancy, having been lewdly 'chained' is lightly 'changed'.

There is no obvious change in the soliloquy by *Apelles*; the similitudes are still the dominant form of imagery and, I think, occur as often. There is, however, some sign of life in the metaphors of this passage in particular,

(1) Bond, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 211, ll. 8-15.

Now must I paint things vnpossible for mine arte, but agreeable
with my affectione: deepe and hollow^e sighes, sadde and melan-
cholye thoughtes, wounds and slaughters of concocites, a life post-
ing to death, a death galloping from life, a wauering constancie,
an vnsettled resolution... (III,v,44-48)

The metaphorical use of 'paint' is quite striking. For a moment it
looks as if the spark of life will die in a sea of commonplaceness, 'deepe
and hollow^e sighes', and 'sadde and melancholye thoughtes, by which time
we are bogged down in abstractions again, but it catches fire suddenly
with the 'wounds and slaughters of concocites'. The lively metaphors
continue with the 'posting and 'galloping' of death and life - we might
have thought either on its own a dead metaphor, but together they give
life to each other by creating a definite image.

If we look ahead to Madrigall, we find that the glimmering of
life in metaphor that we found in the speech by Apelles was not a dying
spark. The similitudes remain, and there is a touch here and there of
the exotic imagery we are familiar with,

I am none of those Holmes, that berke most when thou shyneest bright-
est; but that fish (thy fish Cynthia in the flood Araris) which at
thy waning is as white as the driuen snowe, and at thy wayning, as
blacke as deepest darkness. (II,i,30-33)

If, however, we compare this with a similar passage in Endymion, we are
immediately aware of a change,

I see now that as the fish Spadoides in the flood Araris at the
waning of the Moon is as white as the driuen snow, and at the
wayning as blacke as the burnt coale, so Endymion, which at the first
encreasing of our familiaritie, was very zealous, is now at the
last east become most faythlesse. (1)

(1) Bond, op. cit., vol.I, p.232, ll.18-23.

In each case the similes for black and white are commonplace; the difference is that Philautus chooses the similitude simply as an example of inconsistency, whereas Endimion chooses it because it has an actual relevance to the person to whom the lament is directed. It is only incidental that the same similitude is used for extreme inconsistency and extreme constancy (Lyly sometimes does this deliberately in his debates, see Euclides and his England, Bond, op. cit., vol.II, p.166, ll.4-6 and p.168, ll.10-17), the point is that one is dramatic while the other is literary. Endimion is personally involved in both of the similitudes because he is speaking to Cynthia, while Philautus simply uses it as an appropriate exemplum. Apart from the change towards a more dramatic use of similitude, the soliloquy of Endimion demonstrates that the metaphor has become increasingly alive,

Desirest thou the passions of love, the sad and melancholic moodes
of perplexed minde, the not to be expressed torments of racked
thoughts? Behold my sad teares, my deepe sighes, my hollow eyes,
my broken sleepes, my hemic countenance. Wouldst thou have mee
vowde onlie to thy beautie? and consume sweete minute of time in
thy service? remember my solitarie life, almost these seven yeeres:
when have I entertained but mine owne thoughts, and thy vertues?
What companie have I used but contemplation? (II,1,8-16)

Lyly is still content to use the conventional image of the neglected lover, and to use the conventional language associated with it, but he avoids mere cliché by linking a seemingly dead metaphor with a similar one, still alive. 'Tormented thoughts' is cliché, but the 'torments of racked thoughts' is alive. Similarly the emptiness of 'entertained' is counteracted by the extension of the image which follows, 'what companie have I kept...'. The change is perhaps not very great, but it is

enough to show that even in passages where imagery is dictated by convention Lyly is consciously trying to give life to his metaphors. We do not expect forceful poetic language from Lyly; at all times his prose remains decorous and transparent, but in Hidas's soliloquy there are enough strong words and images to give his remorse some grandeur.

I have written my lawes in blood, and made my Gods of golde, I have caused the mothers wombes to be their childrens tombes, cradles to swimme in blood like boates, and the temples of the Gods a stoves for strumpets. Have not I made the sea to growne under the number of my ships: and have they not perished, that there was not two left to make a number? (III,1,28-33)

The familiar devices of assonance and alliteration are there still, but they intensify rather than distract from the effect of the images. For Lyly, the images projected by 'tombes', 'boates', 'stoves' and 'growne' are clear and strong. Metaphor and simile have become the means whereby Lyly effects strong emotion. These similitudes that are used have been condensed until they might as appropriately be called similes.

Have not I entised the subjects of my neighbor Princes to destroy their natural Kings? like moths that ate the cloth in which they were bred, like vipers that growe the bowels of which they were borne, and like woormes that consume the wood in which they were ingendred? (III,1,35-40)

The net effect of the change from extended similitude and dead metaphor to condensed similitude and live metaphor is, of course, to produce a more highly coloured, and more dramatic prose. The similitude has all but disappeared in *The Woman in the Moon*, perhaps because its length makes it unamiable for expression in ten-syllable lumps. We might expect that metaphor would play a large part in Lyly's blank verse for this reason, and the opening lines by Nature show the way,

Here I survey the pictured firmament,

With hartleese flames in concave of the Heome,
 The liquid substance of the welkins waste,
 Where mystarens treasure is clouded vp,
 The mutuall Ioynter of all swelling seas,
 And all the creatures which their wombe containe... (I,1,5-10)

but on the whole, the language of The Women in the Moon is Spartan, with very little imagery of any kind. Apart from the monologues of Nature, there are very few reflective speeches in the play, and very few of over a dozen lines. It is as if Iqly found the strain of keeping measure and accent so great that he had no energy left to develop figurative language.

The change of emphasis in Iqly's use of imagery from similitude to metaphor may be put to the test of statistical analysis, perhaps rather more satisfactorily than syntactic or axial changes. The difficulties are twofold; it is sometimes difficult to decide whether we are dealing with a particularly appropriate similitude, or a wild conceit, and it is similarly difficult to tell whether some of Iqly's metaphors are dead or just alive. The results are recorded in Table E. The figures in the first ^{two} three columns were obtained from samples of roughly the same size as the other statistics, and those in the last ^{two} three from exhaustive analysis of the complete plays omitting sub-plot scenes. The change from similitude to metaphor is striking in both cases - the lower ratios in the second group are probably the result of a ruthless rejection of all but obviously alive metaphors.

In this analysis of Iqly's style and language, I have been almost exclusively occupied with the language of kings not of clerics. As explained at the beginning of the chapter, the main reason for this has been that it has allowed us to speak of the whole corpus of Iqly's work

including the two parts of Bunyan and Love's Metamorphosis, which would otherwise not be strictly comparable. It is also because the language of the sub-plots tends to be more functional than that of the main-plots and it therefore cannot be discussed in the context of Englishism. I do not think that the prose style of the sub-plots is distinctive enough to require extensive analysis, although it is plain that in this too there is a development. The most obvious difference between the sub-plot scenes of, say, Alexander and Campaspe and Mother Bombie is that the later play has a much higher density of wit. Two quotations will illustrate: Pyllus compares his own and his master's attitudes to food, and the boys in Mother Bombie compare their attitudes to drink,

Pyll. This doeth hee then, bring in many examples that some have lined by colours, & prometh that much easier it is to fatten by colours: and telle of birdes that have bene fatted by painted grapes in winter: & how many have so fed their eyes with their mistresse picture, that they neuer desired to take food, being gluttid with the delight in their fauours. Then doth he show ne counterfeites, such as have surfeited with their filthy & loathsome vomits, and with the riotous Bacchanalles of the God Bacchus, & his disorderly crew, which are painted al to the life in his shop. To conclude, I fare hardly, though I go richly, which maketh me when I shuld begin to shadow a ladies face, to draw a Lembes head, & sometime to set to the body of a maide a shoulder of mutton: for Semper animus meus est in ratibus. (I,ii,62-74)

Dir....Howe wrought the wine, my lads?

Enter HALPHEWIE, LUCIO.

Half. How? like wine, for my bodie being the rindlet, and my mouth the vent, it wrought two daies over, till I had thought the hoops of my head woulde have flied asunder.

Lucio. The best was, our masters were as well whittled as we, for yet they lie by it.

Dir. The better for vs! we dyd but a little parboile our liners, they have sod theirs in sacke these fertile yeeres

Half. That makes them spit white broth as they doe. (III,ii,40-48)

I do not think that the passage from Mother Bombie is necessarily funnier

than the remarks by Payllus, but there is no doubt that the thought is much more concisely expressed, and that the language is less artificial both in sentence structure and vocabulary. There is a considerable change in the kind of humour too. Payllus is much more pure-minded than Halfpennie - compare his 'filthy and leathsome visits' with Halfpennie's euphemism, for example. There is a trend towards an earthy colloquial humour, dependent on puns and a kind of play on words that might be called a conceit, as in Halfpennie's image of himself as a barrel of wine and Riscio's 'partoile...sed'. It is not as subtle a change as takes place in the Euphuistic prose of the plays, and the process of evolution is virtually complete by the time we reach Edimion. Edimion is, I think, a turning-point in the development of the plays, for many reasons. It is in this play that Iqly was confident enough of the rightness of his style to use it for purposes of irony.

Ex. It is an olde goose, Qui, that will eate no oates; olde Kine will kicke, olde Rats gnawe cheese, and old^e sacker will haue much patching; I preferre an old Cony before a Rabbet sucker, and an ancient henne before a young chicken peeper.

See. Argumentum ab antiquitate, My master leaeth anticke worke. (V,11,28-33)

Here, unlike the passage quoted above,⁽¹⁾ incongruity is achieved by the use of simple and colloquial words in a formal and balanced style.

Notice too that the tag is here used as part of a chain of wit ('ancient'...'antiquitate'...'anticke'), whereas the tag produced by Payllus is simply appropriate.

The conclusion to be drawn from this study of Iqly's style

(1) See p.176 above.

is that, while the formal nature of his dignified passages relaxed very little, there is a consistent trend away from abstractions towards a concrete use of language, away from elaborate analogies to simpler and more direct metaphor. The style of the sub-plots evolves rapidly towards a colloquial humour with a high proportion of verbal wit.

CHAPTER VI

CONFLICT FROM DISORDER

Royalty and love. One of the most widely accepted philosophies of the Elizabethan period was the concept of a natural and immutable order. We have already seen that Iyly was very sensitive to the decorum which was the proper expression of an ordered world, even if his world was for the most part limited to the court and its surroundings. The belief in a natural order was firmly established in the humanist tradition which Iyly inherited. Sir Thomas Elyot begins The Boke Named The Governour ⁽¹⁾ with some general comments about order and chaos. After discussing the derivation of the Latin Respublica, he goes on to say

For as much as Flahg in latin, and cominere in english, be wordes only made for the discrepance of degrees, wherof procedeth ordre: whiche in thinges as wel naturall as supernaturall hath ever had such a preeminence, that thereby the incomprehensible maiestie of god ... is declared to the blynde inhabitantes of this worlde ... Also where there is any lacke of ordre needs must be perpetuall conflicts... ⁽²⁾

One remark of Elyot's that Iyly would particularly have agreed with, 'A ploughman or carter shall make but a feble answer to an ambassadour', ⁽³⁾ echoes Sidney's stricture against mixing kings and clowns that seems to have been taken so seriously by Iyly in the construction of his plays.

That Iyly's ideas concerning the proper conduct of royalty, and

(1) First published in 1531, edited by H. H. S. Croft (London, 1980).

(2) Ed. cit., ^(Vol I) p.3.

(3) Ed. cit., ^(Vol I) p.7.

the maintenance of natural order were conventional should not surprise us; his political ambition would have ensured that he would not have been so tactless as to indulge in controversy. Four of Igly's plays are to some extent concerned with the conduct of royalty when confronted with the temptation to behave in an unroyal manner. The temptation which naturally attracted Igly's pen was concerning what Elyot called 'continence', 'the onely forbergyage the unlesfull company of women'.⁽¹⁾ It is obvious that the ideal ruler will not allow an emotion as weakening as love to rule his life, and Igly - sometimes, perhaps, reluctantly - framed his plays to make capital from the conflict between the ruler's natural desire for love, and the austerity demanded by his position. It is interesting that Elyot, on the topic of continence, has an anecdote to relate about Alexander, the subject of Igly's first play,

The great kynge Alexander, after his firste victorie agayn kynge Darius, having^e all wayes in his hearte the wife of the same Darius, whiche incomparably excelled all other women in beautie; after that he had once seen her, he neuer after wolde haue her come in his presencc. All be it that he caused her estate still to be maintayned, and with as moche honour as ever it was, sayng^e to them whiche, wondryng at the ladyes beautie, marvelled why Alexander dyd not desire to haue with her company, he answered that it shulde be to hym a reproche to be any wise subdued by the wife of him whom he had vauquished.⁽²⁾

It was natural for Igly to choose this famous example of the ideal ruler around which to construct a play that was to be a compliment to the ruler of England. The difficulty in organising a play around a treatment of royalty directly complimentary to the Queen may be imagined.

(1) *Id. cit.*, vol.II, p.305.

(2) *Id. cit.*, vol.II, p.313.

There was the risk of misinterpretation resulting from a too close identification of the royal figure in the play with the Queen. It was apparently the practice of the courtiers to look for topical references in the plays staged at Court. Richard Edwards, in the Prologue to Damon and Pithias wrote with some emphasis,

Wherin talkyng of Courtly toyce, wee doo protest this flat,
Wee talke of Dicynizing Courte, wee meane no Court but that. (1)

and Igly, in the Prologue to Endimion, one of the most elaborately complimentary of his plays, expresses the hope that 'none will apply pastimes, because they are fancies'. As early as 1584, Igly apparently had acquired a reputation for putting contemporary personalities in his plays, presumably for the purpose of ridicule. (2) The extent to which we can reconstruct from the text the topical personalities and allusions which may have been intended has been the subject of much debate. (3) It is not my intention to take very seriously the controversy about the so-called allegorical content of the plays. The plausibility of all of the theories put forward is enough to demonstrate that no amount of research will produce a final answer. One point that all those who have persuasively argued their own theories have missed is that the text is unlikely to retain enough evidence to establish a reference to any contemporary personality, since parody of this kind would depend much more on the

(1) N.S.R. Aii, 11.39-40, 'Dicynizing' in the original.

(2) See Hunter, op. cit., p.76, for a discussion of a letter of 1584, written by one Jack Roberts, which establishes Igly's reputation. See also F. P. Wilson, 'An Ironical Letter', N.L.R. XV (1920), pp.79-82.

(3) See p.250 n. below for references to the political allegory in Endimion.

actors themselves. Costume, and the imitation of well-known mannerisms would have conveyed far more to the audience than the possibility of a parallel situation between a character in the play and a Court personality. The unfolding of a situation takes some time, and its effect would be approximate and slow-acting, whereas a little gentle imitation of the actions or clothing of the same personality would have a much more immediate effect, but would leave no trace in the text. For this reason, parody which might be perfectly plain to Iqly's audience will remain obscure to those who have only the text as guide. Characters in the subplot would be particularly appropriate for parody of mannerism, and it may be that Trachinus and Pandion, rather than Sappho and Phao, gave Iqly his reputation for topical references. The sensible reaction to this situation, surely, is to ask whether the plays can stand without their topical paraphernalia. Was Iqly writing elegant gossip or literature? This agnostic attitude is taken by Hunter;

I do not know the meaning of these references in Sappho and Phao, and I take it that I do not need to know them in order to appreciate either the aesthetic merit of the play or its general relation to the court of Queen Elizabeth. As in The Favourite, the general reference may carry a particular reference inside it, but the particular reference can only be apposite if it particularises the general one. Therefore, to know the 'secret history' of the play might satisfy our curiosity, but is not necessary to our understanding of the drama. (1)

and must be adopted if we are to make a critical evaluation of Iqly's work. His plays must be judged on what we know they contain, not on what they may have meant to a contemporary audience.

(1) Hunter, op. cit., p.177.

We can be sure that two of the plays are headed by figures meant to represent Queen Elizabeth, Sappho and Cynthia. Of the other plays involving royalty, Alexander and Campaspe appears to have no specific personal allegory (at least no-one has yet discovered one) and King has a thinly veiled Philip of Spain as its archetype of an evil monarch.

In Alexander and Campaspe, probably the first of the four plays, the study of royalty is impersonal and general. Earlier Court plays which specifically discuss royal persons, King John and Coridon, for example, are so preoccupied with their special messages, the evils of popery and the necessity of leaving on hair, that they do not at any stage generalise about the qualities that make a good ruler. Iqly has no axe to grind in either of his two early plays. In Alexander and Campaspe he is concerned with the portrayal of an idealised monarch, and in Sappho and Phao and Endimion he tries to make this portrait specifically that of Queen Elizabeth.

Alexander and Campaspe begins with a clear statement that the ideal monarch is both valiant in war and wise in peacetime government, one who mingles courage with courtesy, and who is as much at home with philosophers as soldiers. (1) The other important requisite, stated by Hephaestion, is that the monarch should be able to control his own emotions as entirely as he controls those under him. These two themes, peace and war, and Alexander's control of his emotions, recur throughout the play. The plot itself springs from a testing of Alexander's ability

(1) See Alexander and Campaspe, I,1,2,80-1.

to overcome the weakness of love, and the theme of war versus peace appears as commentary in several places. Clitus and Parmenio contrast Alexander's apparent softness with his previous warlike nature,

Clitus. ...what doth Alexander in the meane season, but vsa for Tantara, Sol. Pa. Ia, for his harde couch, downe beddes, for his handfull of water, his standinge Cup of wine?

Parm. Clytus, I mislike this new delicacie & pleasing peace: for what els do we se now then a kind of softnes in every mans mind; Bees to make their hives in soldiers helmets; our stedes furnished with foote clothes of gold, in steede of saddles of steel... Sithence Alexander fell from his harde armour to his softe robes, beholde the face of his court: youtnes that ware wont to carry deuises of victory in their shieldes, engrave now poesies of loue in their rings... in steede of sword and target to hazard their liues, vsa pen and paper to paint their lounes... (IV,iii,2-18)

And so he goes on, using a variety of symbols to indicate the way that a softness in the ruler has influenced his whole court. The imagery is, on the whole, conventional, and relatively uncommitted, in the sense that there is nothing necessarily evil in sweet music, wine, or love-making, and the well-known emblem of bees nesting in a soldier's helmet just as well demonstrates the sweetness of peace compared to the hardship of war. The point is illustrated by a later passage in the same play, where similar imagery expresses precisely the opposite,

Phry. Downe with armes, and vp with legges, this is a world for the noose...

Mil. It is true Lays, a featherbed hath no fellow, good drinks makes good blond, and shall pelting words spill it?

Phry. I meane to inioy the world, and to draw out my life at the wiredrawers, not to curtall it off at the Cattelers.

Lais. You may talke of warre, speake bigge, conquer worldes with great wordes: but stay at home, where in steede of Alarums you shall haue daunces, for hot battelles with fierce noyse, gentle Skirmishes with fayre womanne. These porter coates canne neuer sitte so wel as satten dublets. (V,iii,2-3, 11-19)

The punning image of the wire-drawers, with the suggestion of

courtly entertainment,⁽¹⁾ and outlanders, where the weapons of war are made, is the most entertaining and original of either image-clusters. Of the two, I feel myself that the second is perhaps more persuasive, but I do not think that Igly or Igly's audience would have taken it as anything but an indication of the lamentable influence of Alexander's softness. Immediately after Miletus, Phrygians and Laïs finish their song (now lost), Alexander enters, and indicates to Euphrosion that though he wishes he sleeps not. The play ends, of course, with the orders 'let the trumpet sound, strike up the drums and I will presently into Persia'. The minor issue, or debate-theme,⁽²⁾ 'Is war or peace more appropriate to royalty?' is resolved in favour of war.

This conclusion, one feels, is rather a remarkable reversal of the admirable sentiments expressed in the opening scene by Clitus and Parmenio. It appears that Alexander was not ~~so~~ able to govern as well in peace as conquer in war, despite his dabblings in philosophy. The reason, of course, is that in this play peace becomes identified particularly with the weakness of love, as Alexander seems to become infatuated with the charms of Campaspe. In Nidas, a rather similar comparison of peace with war is extended in meaning by dividing the attractions of peace between love, represented by Kristus, and humorous living, argued persuasively by Hellaerites. War is made a matter of ambition and bloodshed by Martins, whereas in Alexander and Campaspe it is a matter of

(1) See the Revels Accounts for their frequent references to the wire drawers (Revels pp. 237, 258, 263 etc.).

(2) The term is Hunter's, op. cit., p.160 ff.

action and honour. Hidra is a more serious analysis of the issues of peace and war; in Alexander and Cassius it is subordinated to the theme of royalty in love, and in Edimion, the only other play in which the issue is discussed, it appears only in the sub-plot of the milis glaxion-ua in love, and in a few comments by Cynthia on the unsoldierly conduct of Coraites. Sir Tophas provides us with another group of related images of war and love,

Take my gunne and give me a gowne... Take my sword and shilde,
and give mee beard-brush and Gynners... take my pike and give mee
pen... Nowe for my hove and belts give me yake and paper; for my
Skiter a pen-knife... (III,111,28-39)

Again we find ideas expressed with apparent seriousness in the earlier plays appearing as parody in Edimion,⁽¹⁾ although later in the same play similar images are used seriously once more,

Crath. ...Is it not a shame Coraites, that having lived so long in
Mage his Campe thou shouldst now bee rockt in Yanus Cradle?
Boost thou wears Quids Quiner at thy gyrdle, and make launces of
lockes? (IV,111,118-21)

In all of these passages there is the underlying image of love as war, as a skirmish, and in fact they are little more than an extension of this basic image with a bias on one side or the other. It is of course a thoroughly commonplace image, but it is one which seems particularly to have attracted Iqly. In Edimion it appears almost often enough to become a dead metaphor, although it is live enough (though commonplace) for the most part:

Tush it were no love if it were certeyne, and a small conquest it is
to overthrow those that never resisteth.

(1) The irreverent attitude to valour is anticipated in Sopho and Phoe, II,111.

In battayles there ought to be a doubtfull fight and a desperat ende, in pleadinge a diffyculte enterance, and a defused determination, in lose a lyfe without hope and a death without feare. (1)

and in The Women in the Moon Pandora's wounding eyes (II,1,124-5) are reinforced by her wounding hand, under the influence of Mars, before she submits (temporarily) to love. The juxtaposition of war and peace, or war and love, is not, therefore, a simple antithesis in Iqly, it is also a parallel. War and love are opposed, but they resemble each other closely. (2)

The conflict of love and war is made the basic issue in Alexander and Campaspe, and one of the major themes in Midas, but does not appear, except in parody, in Sappho and Phao or Edification. In these plays the weakness of love is opposed to the strength required by a ruler, and emphasized by the great difference in birth between the monarch and the hopeful lover. The difference, of course, is related to the sex of the monarch. It is appropriate for Alexander to seek kingly valour and honour in war, but this is hardly possible for Sappho or Cynthia. The conflict, however, is essentially the same, and may be summed up as a debate-theme 'Is there a place for the weakness of love in true kingliness/queenliness?' The whole of the action in the main plots of Alexander and Campaspe and Sappho and Phao is based on this debate-theme, and it is the focal point of the various themes in Edification. Midas, an examination of the worst, rather than the best in kingliness, is, as we shall see, more concerned with the perils of reaching too high than those of stooping too low, and the question of royalty and love is mentioned

(1) Bond, op. cit., vol.I, p.211.

(2) See p.204 below.

only in passing. By making the ruler evil rather than good - Philip of Spain rather than Elizabeth of England - Ilyly is able to explore much more fully the weaknesses to which royalty is prone. The difficulty of building a play around the central figure of a monarch clearly designed to be compared with Elizabeth herself must have been considerable; in order to write a play, not a panegyric, there must be some conflict, and in order for there to be a conflict, with eventual triumph over it, there must be some kind of weakness. It could not have been easy to suggest, however tactfully, that Elizabeth would have been even temporarily weak. We shall see how successful Ilyly was in producing drama from what must be admitted to have been undramatic material.

The problem is not so acute with Alexander and Campaspe, because Alexander is clearly not the exact counterpart of Elizabeth. Nevertheless, Alexander is something of an idealized ruler, and his weakness must not be thought too great. The conflict between royalty and love is as clearly stated as the conflict between war and peace, by Alexander himself, 'I love, Hephaestion, I love! I love Campaspe, a thing farre vailt for a Macedonian, for a king, for Alexander,' (II,ii,20-1) but this is immediately after Hephaestion has indicated the ideal attitude for a soldier,

Could I aswell subdue kingdomes, as I can my thoughts; or were I
as farre from ambition, as I am frō love; al the world wold account
mee as valiant in armes, as I know my self moderate in affection.
(II,ii,11-14)

Hephaestion speaks in general terms, mentioning the evils both of mis-directed strength - ambition - and the weakness of love. Ambition is

not one of the themes of the play, and it might be thought that its mention here is simply another example of Iuliy's love of antithesis getting the better of him, but when he says this, Hephæstion is not aware of the conflict. His remark leads to Alexander's confession of weakness. The attention of the audience is focused on the general problem, then abruptly, as if by a zoom lens, the field is narrowed to the central problem of the play made explicit by Alexander's confession. The technique is similar to the opening scene in Neither Man nor Beast, where the three curses of Memphis's life are narrowed to the one which really matters, his idiot son. This technique is used rather more subtly in Alexander and Campaspe, however, since Hephæstion anticipates the eventual solution; Alexander proves at the end of the play that he can 'lead affection in fetters' (V,iv,133). Hephæstion's remarks have a comforting irony about them; by putting the obvious solution so close to the statement of the conflict we seem to be assured that Alexander will do the right thing.

There are a number of hints that Alexander is indulging in a divertissement rather than a grand passion, and that he could throw off all thoughts of love whenever he wanted to. The first time he returns to the stage after the scene of confession, he assures Hephæstion that he is 'not so far in love with Campaspe, as with Jeosphalus' (III,iv,31), and goes on to explain,

...give me leave a little, if not to sitte, yet to breathe. And doubt not but Alexander can, when he wil, throw affections as farre from him as he can cowardise. (III,iv,42-4)

Again, at his next entry almost the first thing he says is 'though I

wake, I sleep not.' (V,iv,4) Clearly Igly was at pains to minimise the weakness in his idealised monarch; a necessary precaution if the play were to make its complimentary point of the implied comparison of Alexander to the Virginia Queen, ^{who,} like him, ^{was} able to resist love as she list (V,iv,146-7). It is a less fortunate by-product of the minimising of Alexander's conflict that the play becomes thereby less dramatic. It is perhaps a truism to point out that the dramatic level of a play is directly proportional to the intensity of conflict within or between the main characters. In farce, and in melodrama, or plays of suspense, it is conflict between the main characters; in certain types of comedy, and in tragedy, the conflict is within the principal character - Viola, Hamlet, or Alexander. But as I have suggested, the conflict within Alexander between peace and war, dignity and love, is minimal, and does not provide enough dramatic interest for a whole play. The progress of Alexander's love, from start to finish, is recorded in three scenes (II,ii, III,iv, and V,iv). Apart from irrelevant side-issues, discussed above, ⁽¹⁾ the rest of the play is concerned with the much more real and vivid love-affair between Apelles and Carpaspe, and the occasional contributions of Diogenes. So far as the plot is concerned, Apelles and Carpaspe offer more excitement than Alexander; the conflict between their own desires and those of the powerful Alexander (whose half-heartedness, though suggested to Hephæstion and the audience, is not revealed to them) is dramatic enough to maintain quite a high level of interest

(1) See p.119 ff.

during the many scenes that their love progresses.

The role of Diogenes seems at first quite superfluous. He does not influence the plot in any way, although he provides a number of diversions. He does, however, come in contact with Alexander in a number of interesting scenes, and must therefore be considered in the scheme of the play as a whole. The first encounter between the two indicates that they are not only equals, but that their attitudes to life have much in common, though at opposite ends of the scale. Alexander's famous remark 'were I not Alexander, I would wish to be Diogenes' (II,ii,148-9) indicates their equality, and the opposition of their situations is expressed by the epigrammatic utterances,

Alex. I have the world at command.

Diog. And I in contempt.

(II,ii,142-3)

Alexander is balanced between the austerity of Diogenes and the frank affection of Apelles; the implied opposition on the stage, with Alexander entering from the palace behind, suggests as much, ⁽¹⁾ and the fact that Apelles and Diogenes do not come in contact with each other at all, while Alexander has contact with both, also suggests that Diogenes and Apelles are at the extreme ends of a see-saw, with Alexander as the fulcrum. Certainly this is an external manifestation of the struggle, within Alexander, between austerity and love; but the interesting point of the play is that the opposition of Diogenes and Apelles is more structural than inherent. Obviously the two who are most directly opposed are Alexander and Diogenes; the only common bond between them is that they

(1) See pp.60-2 above.

are extremists, and that, eventually, they reject love.⁽¹⁾ In this way the obviously middle-class Apelles is balanced between the two extremes, not so much the fulcrum of a see-saw, but the apex of an equilateral triangle. In worldly possessions he has neither nothing nor all, but he does accept, and win, love. This may explain why the affair of Apelles and Campaspe takes up so much of the play; although schematically it is represented otherwise, they are in fact at the centre of the play (with, I think, Iqly's complete sympathy), and Alexander and Diogenes are the extremes. The importance of Diogenes in the play is chiefly that he makes it possible, for the sake of decorum, and the compliment to Elisabeth, for Alexander to seem at the centre of the play. Iqly, with some success, contrives to have his cake and eat it, to make Alexander-Elisabeth's attitudes to love seem natural and desirable in a monarch, while placing at the real centre of the play a study in love which, if we may judge from the rest of his plays, would have echoed his own interests much more closely.

Iqly must have felt that Alexander and Campaspe suffered by its double standard of love and its dual centres of balance. He made some attempt, other than the appeal to the conventional image of the perfect soldier, incompatible with the softness of love, to justify the double standard. We have seen how he suggests that weakness in the sovereign has a deleterious effect on his followers. There is also one incident which seems to me to be a further justification of the double standard.

(1) Diogenes has his moments of weakness, like Alexander - see IV,1,55 and V,iii,28-9.

Alexander's visit to the shop of Apelles proves that he can draw like a king, 'but nothing more valike a Painter' (III,iv,115); it is not necessary for a king to be able to paint ('Ansl. God shield you should have cause to be so cunning as Apollani', III,iv,84-5) but it is appropriate for Apelles both to paint and to love. The incident establishes the important fact that Alexander and Apelles must be judged by quite different values.⁽¹⁾ Finally, we may notice that Iyly concludes with a slightly ironical twist of the issue between love and war, hinting once more that they are similar, and that the conflict is continuous,

And, good Rehearsal, when all the world is weene, and every country
is thine and mine, either find me out an other to subdue, or of my
word I wil fall in love. (V,iv,153-5)

We have seen that in Alexander and Cassandre Iyly was able to reconcile his obvious sympathy with the phenomenon of love and the austerity demanded by a virgin-oriented court only by suggesting a double standard, dependent on the difference in status between the monarch and the painter. The technical difficulty of presenting the double standard was surprisingly well surmounted, for Alexander and Cassandre remains perhaps the most charming of all his plays, but Iyly must have felt that some kind of unification was desirable; in Sepho and Phao and Gallathea he tackles the two problems - royalty in love, and love itself, with all its inherent paradoxes - separately.

By focusing on the problem of royalty and love, in Sepho and Phao, Iyly did not make the business of complimenting Queen Elisabeth any

(1) This is of course strictly orthodox - compare the similar attitude in Elyot, op. cit., vol.I, pp.6-7.

easier, because the whole play depends on the weakness of Sapho, and, as I have already suggested, although it all ends happily, it would be possible to make Sapho tactlessly weak for the sake of a dramatic conflict. The problem is further intensified by the sex of the monarch. Not only is Sapho much more obviously to be considered the equivalent of Queen Elizabeth, and because of this more likely to be compared to the Queen in detail, but the relationship of a queen to a lowly male lover is very different from the relationship of a king to his concubine. Sapho, although a queen, cannot woo Phao, simply because she is female, and to do so would 'transgress the modestie of [her] kind' (IV, i, 9). Alexander may decide to take Campaspe as a paramour without debasing himself beyond admitting to the weakness of love, but Sapho would be yielding, not taking - she would herself become the concubine.

Once again Igly has been careful in his handling of the compliment. The final situation, with Sapho enthroned as the new goddess of love, is a pretty tableau, and not quite as crude as Peele's denouement of The Arraignement of Paris. In the earlier part of the play, for example, the issue of Sapho's love is treated obliquely; Igly has put far more emphasis on the dilemma of Phao, by means chiefly of his conversations with the Sibilla, and the issue of royalty in love is raised only by implication. I do not think, however, that he has produced as good a play as Alexander and Campaspe, or even that the compliment is as well handled.

Apelles and Campaspe are clearly of appropriately similar status, and Alexander is never to be compared with either. The similar

triangle in Sapho and Phao, Sapho, Phao and Venus, is not so clearly defined in status. The difficulty of course is with Venus, who, although a goddess, behaves in a thoroughly lower-class way. It is necessary for the purpose of the final tableau (one can hardly call it a dénouement) for Venus to be shown unfit for her high office, and accordingly we see her being led by love instead of commanding it as even an earthly monarch should. But not only is Venus dethroned, she is rejected by Phao; she falls from the top of the ladder to the bottom, from a goddess supreme to a tart rejected even by a ferryman. The Elizabethans seem to have agreed that Venus was wanton. Peble, for reasons similar to Lyly's, represents her as a rather genteel, deified madam, selling the physical delights of love in exchange for the coveted apple,

And I will giue the may a lowellie kyss,
 And come and play with thee on Ica hewe,
 And if thou wilt a face that hath no peere,
 A gallant girle, a lustie mision trull,
 That can giue sports to thee thy bellyfall,
 To wish all thy beating veines with ioye,
 Here is a lasse of Venus court, my boy, ...

(1)

Marlowe, in Ride, makes of her a clever schemer, and Spenser, describing the tapestry decorating Castle Joyous, hints a half-disguised lasciviousness,

Then with what sleights and sweet allurements she
 Entyst the Boy, so well that art she knew,
 And wooed him her Paramoure to be;

And whilst he bath'd, with her two crafty eyes,
 She secretly would search each daintie lim...

(3)

(1) M.S.R., 11.524-530.

(2) C.F., however, the discussion on p. 247 f. below.

(3) The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser, ed. J. C. Smith and H. de Selincourt (Oxford, 1912), The Faerie Queene (III,i,35-6).

The only gratification that Venus could get from Phao would have been as circumspect as this. The element of the myth of Venus and Adonis in the relationship between Venus and Phao is vividly glossed by Shakespeare's reluctant Adonis and forward Venus.

It is appropriate for the paradoxical nature of love to have a goddess who mingles divine attributes with some mortal frailties, and it would be characteristic of Ily to make this so; but, contrary to his usual practice, he does not make a clear statement of the paradox. The character of Venus is well sustained, but it is wholly on the lusty level; our first glimpse of her emphasizes that she is frustrated and unfaithful, though, to be sure, the prose is at Ily's delicate best,

It is no less unbecomely than unholen for Venus, who is most honoured in Princes courts, to sojourne with Vulcan in a smithes forge, where bellows blow in steede of sighes, dark smokes rise for sweet perfumes, & for the panting of loving hearts is only heard the beating of steeld hammers. Unhappy Venus y^e carling fire in thine own breast, thou shouldst dwell with fire in his forge. What doth Vulcan all day but ... driving nails, when he should give kisses, and hammering hard armour when he should sing sweete Amore... He gives thee bolts, Cupid, in steed of arrows, fearing ... that if he should give thee an arrow head, he should make himself a breed head.
(I,1,19-31)

The impression that Venus gives is that of rather genteel frustration. It may be possible to read actual vulgarity into the passages; the reference to Vulcan's cuckoldry may be simply indelicate, the reference to bolts may be coincidental, but I cannot refrain from balancing the phrase 'driving nails...' by a more obvious parallel than giving kisses. Such an imbalance is almost unavoidable to one used to Ily's habits of parallel thought, and could be communicated unmistakably by the actor. Whether this is an accurate interpretation of the text or not, Venus is

established firmly as a wanton by the end of the scene, when Phao unintentionally reminds her, and the audience, of her infidelity with Mars, and its inglorious and indecorous conclusion. It is a measure of Ily's political tact that although he was obviously interested in love, and the power of love, almost to the exclusion of all other themes in his plays, only once does he introduce the obvious converse of the war-love conflict, Mars conquered by Venus. This archetype, though followed often enough by other dramatists (Tamburlaine and Xerxes, Antony and Cleopatra) never emerges as a theme in the plays, and in fact is mentioned only once, and then it is in a context which leaves no doubt of its impropriety - Phao offers to tell Venus of her own amorous adventures. (1) Shakespeare's Venus, in a series of commonplace images very similar to Ily's, makes no secret of her conquest:

'I have been woo'd, as I entreat thee now,
 Even by the stern and direful god of war,
 Whose sinewy neck in battle ne'er did bow,
 Who conquers where he comes in every jar:
 Yet hath he been my captive and my slave,
 And begg'd for that which thou us'd'st shalt have.

'Over my altars hath he hung his lance,
 His batter'd shield, his uncontrolled crest,
 And for my sake hath learn'd to sport and dance,
 To toy, to wanton, dally, smile and jest;
 Scorning his charlish drum and ensign red,
 Making my arms his field, his tent my bed. (11.97-103)

Ily's thoughts tend to depend on antithesis and paradox, but in Sappho and Phao, the paradox of a goddess driven by desires base in a mortal is never satisfactorily expounded, and we never really believe in

(1) Sappho and Phao, I, i, 67-71.

her godhead. The picture is further confused by Cupid, a small boy capable of being wooed with sweets, who holds power over love in his hands. I take it that the point of Lyly's compliment is to depict Elizabeth dethroning wanton, physical love, and ascending the throne as goddess of the purer, more spiritual, courtly love. The dual nature of love was a commonplace of the period - a natural complement to the doctrine of courtly love was the attitude to love expressed by the Wife of Bath and by the two married women and the widow of Dunbar's poem of that name. Dunbar's poem is an interesting example, as its most striking effect is not the frankness of the ladies as they discuss their appetites, but its courtly language, particularly in the introduction. Dunbar deliberately exploits the paradox of the opposing kinds of love; it is as if Chaucer's goose in The Parliament of Foules were to give utterance to her views in the language of the tereal. It is clear enough that Venus represents the equivalent of the lusty goose, but it is far from clear exactly what aspect of love is symbolised in Cupid, and it is correspondingly difficult to see what positive value of love is demonstrated by Sappho's triumph. We are not told whether she stands for virtuous love, like Spenser's Britomart, or for chastity and virginity, as Cynthia in Endimion certainly does.

In Alexander and Campaspe we discovered that consistency was achieved by the assumption of a double standard, cleverly defined, but in Sappho and Phaon the standards are unclear and unresolved. Sappho, unlike Alexander, admits throughout the impossibility of associating beneath her, and the question is simply whether she is strong enough to withstand

temptation. Phao, like Campaspe, realises that his position is hopeless, but has no consolation on his own level. These two subscribe to the same moral standard in a way that Alexander and Campaspe do not, for they both reject the licentiousness of Venus.

The major weakness in the play is that Sapho does not triumph over love by her own strength of will, but by the machinations of Venus, which misfire owing to Cupid's enmity. Alexander subdues his affections with a magnanimous gesture, but Sapho is cured of her weakness by outside forces. Sapho's magnanimity towards Phao (she says she will 'wish him fortunate') hardly measures up to Alexander's gift of Apelles to Campaspe. However flattering to Elizabeth the final tableau may have been, the process by which it is arranged is hardly flattering. As Ily himself points out in the Epilogue, the plot of the play is circular - Venus, Sapho and Phao enter through separate entrances into the Labyrinth, meet briefly in various combinations, and go out the ways they went in - to use Ily's own conceit.

Sapho and Phao fails as a play because the ideas implicit in the struggle between lust and purity for the mastery of love are never explicitly aired. This, I suspect, is because the conclusion desired for the sake of the compliment, the victory of chastity (if this is what it is) is rather inimical to Ily's own beliefs. The conflicts within the two main characters, Sapho and Phao, do not trigger the action of the play in the way that Alexander's conflict does. The play is brought to a conclusion by technical device that is not only clumsy and almost entirely unmotivated - Cupid is a cipher to be won, not a character or even

an abstraction - but which in fact leaves entirely unresolved the conflict in *Sappho* between love and honour, by simply removing the cause. Iqly has made his compliment too elaborate to allow himself freedom to develop his own ideas, and the play consequently has the tediousness of many words spoken without getting anywhere. (1)

None of Iqly's critics has remarked on the extraordinarily interesting fact that *Endimion* begins with almost exactly the same tableau as *Sappho and Phao* finishes with. (2) *Sappho and Phao* ends with Phao hopelessly and permanently in love with the royal goddess Sappho, who is entirely free from all notions of love. *Endimion* begins with Endimion hopelessly in love with the chaste and distant goddess Cyathia. The situations are almost exactly parallel. J. A. Bryant Jr. has argued that the rather odd structure of *Endimion* could be explained in non-allegorical terms as the outcome of Iqly's adaptation of the myth of Endimion and the moon to suit his purpose of courtly flattery. (3) When we realise further that what Iqly did to the myth was to change it to parallel the situation he had already exploited in *Sappho and Phao*, the argument becomes almost unassailable. Once the central situation is established, the embroidery of the various side-plots develops naturally

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- (1) See both the Prologue at the Court and the Epilogue for Iqly's admission of this.
- (2) Hunter hints at the similarity in parenthesis, but fails to follow what would be a powerful argument in his favour. See op. cit., p.189.
- (3) See p. 251 below.

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to fill specific dramatic needs.

The advantage of the Cynthia-Bodinion relationship over the Sapho-Phao relationship is that the protagonists are sufficiently removed in status for Cynthia to be entirely above even the bare possibility of indecorous love. The first scene emphasizes this to the extent of courting the absurd,

Dem. There was never any so possible to imagin the Moone eyther capable of affection, or shape of a Mistress: for as impossible it is to make love fit to her humor which no man knoweth, as a coate to her forme, which continueth not in one bigoness whilst she is measuring. (I, 1, 19-25)

Hammer establishes the impossibility of associating love with the moon at the expense of some inconsistency with the Cynthia we see later in the play. By promoting his Elizabeth-symbol to the unapproachable Cynthia, Ily has also made it possible for her hopeless lover to be promoted from a definitely lower-class, if beautiful, ferrymen, to the courtier Bodinion. This has given him far greater opportunity for developing his ideas on love which seem to have found their expression for the most part in courtiers and courtier-types. Ily was able to base almost the whole of the action of the play at the lower, or mortal, level, leaving Cynthia's actions free from misconstruction, however ingenious. The only action which involves Cynthia in lowering her station is the restorative kiss, and here again the compliment is perfectly safe, for it is an action of magnanimity entirely in keeping with royalty. There is no conflict in Cynthia's mind, only the careful use of the faculties of judgment and mercy:

Dem. I marvel what Cynthia will determine in this cause.

Ham. I feare, as in all causes, heare of it in iustice, and then
 iudge of it in mercy: for howe can it be that shee that is
 unwilling to punish her deadliest foes with dyegrace, will reuenge
 iniuries of her trayne with death. (V,iii,9-15)

The magnanimous gesture of the kiss to revive Hamlet, and the equally magnanimous arrangement of the various marriages at the end, forgiving all, are preceded by evidence enough that Cynthia is strong as well as merciful. Two other actions of Cynthia's which are of relevance to the plots of the play are the imprisonment of Talus and the silencing of Seneca, both actions of strength stemming from what seems like very little provocation.⁽¹⁾ It seems that Ily is at pains to build up an image of Cynthia as powerful in the early part of the play to contrast more sharply with the magnanimity and generosity of her actions at the end.

The main interest of Endimion, as I have suggested, is in the net of intrigue, and the consequent interplay of ideas, among the lesser characters. Ily's treatment of the theme of royalty and love is of interest only as a means of complimenting Queen Elizabeth. There can, I think, be no doubt that Ily manages the compliment much more sensitively in Endimion than in Sepho and Phao, but this is more the result of an improved technique than any change or development in his ideas about the relationship of love and royalty. The theme has, in fact, been diluted from the concentrated issue it was in Alexander and Cammasus and Sepho and Phao to a much milder consideration of royalty and generosity or

(1) For a discussion of a critical attitude appropriate to the seemingly unmotivated actions in Ily's plays, see p. 251 ff. below.

mercy.

The only other play of Iqly's which specifically deals with royalty is Midas. The issue of love and royalty is hinted at only in a few veiled remarks about Midas's unnatural love. Iqly made his whole task much easier by making the subject of his play an evil king. Bad characters are notoriously easier to create than paragons of virtue; by making the basic question of the play 'what is a bad king?' rather than 'what is a good queen (i.e. Elizabeth)?' the problem of indiscretion is virtually overcome, and the whole business may be gone into much more thoroughly. All that is necessary is an occasional reference, indicating how different is the Prince of Lesbos when compared with Midas, to make the desired compliment to Elizabeth.

There is no doubt that Iqly explores the nature of an evil king with considerable enthusiasm. He puts Midas squarely in the middle of the action, and arranges around him his three temptors, counselling him to war, love and riches. Midas seems to begin well, although Bacchus's compliment, that he is 'a king of fellows' (I,1,5), sounds rather backhanded. When Bacchus offers to fulfil his fondest wish, Midas, for very proper reasons, asks if he may seek advice before committing himself,

Mid. Bacchus, for a king to begge of a God it is no shame, but to aske with aduise, wisdom; geue me leaue to consult: least desiring things aboue my reach, I bee fiered with Phaeton; or against nature, I be drowned with Icarus; & so perishing, the world shal both laugh and wonder, crying, Midas inuenit aurum.

Bacchus. Consult, Bacchus will consent.

Mid. Now my Lords, let me heare your opinions, what wish may make

Midas most happy and his Subjects best content? (1)

Midas establishes in this short passage that the faults most likely to be found in a king are ambition and transgression against nature. Incidentally, he suggests that the contentment of his subjects is one of the things a good king will seek. The legend of Phaeton is used appropriately enough (though neither Phaeton nor Icarus were kings) to illustrate the results of excessive ambition, and the reinforcing tag serves notice that ambition will probably be under discussion further in the play.

But the legends of Phaeton and Icarus are really very similar. It is not easy to see from the examples that he has given us just what Iqly means by 'against nature' as distinct from excessive ambition. It may be that there is no really clear distinction in Iqly's mind, for I find it difficult to see how the aspirations of Phaeton would be considered more natural than the similar ambition for a high altitude which led to the downfall of Icarus. I can only suggest that the distinction, if there is one, is that Icarus is cited because he left his natural element, the earth, for the unnatural air - though this does less than justice to the modest Daedalus. Taking the hint from this passage, I propose to discuss the failings of Midas under the headings of 'ambition' and 'offence against nature'.

Midas, on consulting with the lords Eristus and Martins - in that order - seems to be confronted with a familiar conflict, between love and war. Before this previously fertile topic for debate is under way, however, it is capped by a third. Hellearites argues that the

(1) I, 1, 14-21.

possession of gold outweighs both the possession of one's mistress and the command of the world, simply because it is the means of obtaining both these ends. Gold thus becomes a symbol of physical ambition - lust both for bodily pleasure and material power. All three counsellors, of course, advise Nidas how to make himself most happy, without considering how to make his subjects best content.

It is clear that Ily tries to show that physical ambition of this kind is unnatural for a king. Sophronia explicitly says so in the first speech that refers to the unfortunate situation in which Nidas finds himself.

...the constant honour of you both I contemne and wonder at, being unfit for a king, whose honor should consist in liberalitie, not greedines... (II,1,38-40)

Martius, in a manner reminiscent of similar comment in Alexander and Campaspe, argues that the unhealthy example of those in authority is contaminating the whole court,

That greedines of Mallasri... and thy effeminate minde Eristus... hath bredde in all the court... a tender wantonnes... Since this insatiable thirst of gold, and intemperat humor of lust crept into the kings court, Souldiers have begged almes of Artificers, and with their helmet on their head been glad to follow a lecher with a glove in his hatte... (II,1,57-61,64-68) (1)

but Sophronia interrupts him to insist that martial ambition is as reprehensible as intemperate lust for physical pleasure and riches:

The leue hee hath followed - I feare vnaturall, the riches he hath got - I know vnmeasurable, the warres he hath leuid - I doubt valowfull, hath drawne his bodie with graie haire to the grones mouth... ambition hath but two steps, the lowest bloud; the highest

(1) C.f. p. 191 above.

ambition hath one heele nayled in hell, though she stretch her finger to touch the heavens... Let Phrygia be an example of chastitie, not luste; liberalitie, not covetousnes; valour, not tyrannie. (II, i, 88-93, 96-7, 104-5)

I do not believe that it is necessary for us to speculate that My Midas I would have contained a technically unnatural love affair involving Midas to see the point of this passage. Any love affair, particularly as I imagine that it would be lustful, would have been regarded by Ily and the court as unnatural in a monarch. But, as this last quotation suggests, it is the theme of ambition that is most prominent throughout the play. In the first of his speeches of repentance - incidentally highly complimentary to the Prince of Lebes, an obvious representation of Elizabeth - Midas remarks that 'Ambition eateth gold, & drinketh blood; climeth so high by other mens heads, that she breaketh her owne necke.' (III, i, 11-12) Soon after, at the end of the 'golden touch' episode, Midas renounces his worldly ambition by bathing in the river Pactolus:

My Lords, I faint both for lack of food, & want of grace. I will to the river, where if I be rid of this intollerable disease of gold, I will next shake off that watererat desire of government... (III, i, 60-2)

The act of bathing is not a ritual cleansing, although the story lends itself to this interpretation, but an act of humility, rather like the curing of Naaman the leper. (1)

The first of the two Midas legends, as we have seen, was concerned with gold, which in Ily's hands became a symbol of physical ambition, particularly in love and war; the second legend is focused on music, and it is apparent that this is directed towards some other

(1) II Kings.5.

aspect of inadequate royalty. Chastened and depressed from his spell in the Pactolus, Midas seeks solace in hunting, only to get himself into trouble again by insisting that Pan's music is better than Apollo's. Midas enters after Pan and Apollo have argued for some time, and Apollo invites him to judge the contest. It immediately becomes clear that this is to be a rather different testing of Midas's qualities; Apollo, in explaining the nature of the contest, lays heavy emphasis on judgment,

...none can in the earth better judge of Gods, than Kings...
 Seeing it happens in earth, we must be judged of those on earth;
 in which there are none more worthy than Kings and Nymphes.
 Therefore give care, that thy judgement erre not. (IV,1,71-77)

Midas takes little heed of Apollo's warning. He immediately demands that his judgment be accepted before that of the nymphs if they should differ. After each performer the nymphs chorus what are obviously the right answers, but Midas, as if to assert his own superiority, disagrees with them. There are two ways in which Midas fails this further, more abstract test of his shortcomings. He judges wrongly - as I have suggested above, more because it is indecorous for a king to prefer rustic music to courtly music, than because Pan's performance is really worse - and in addition he exhibits a spiritual pride in insisting that his judgment be considered superior to that of the nymphs, and in perversely disagreeing with them. These dual failures correspond roughly with the two legends discussed earlier; Midas's spiritual pride is very similar to Phaeton's, and his indecorous choice, like Icarus's flight, is against nature.

It is interesting to notice that the scene in which the shep-

herds disease Hidas's deformity returns to a consideration of Hidas's physical ambitions and cruelty, although this has been dealt with at length before. The value of this, I suppose, is that it gave Iyly an extra outlet for criticism of Philip of Spain, with the attendant compliment to Elisabeth. The inappropriateness of this repetition can be explained if the scene was an interpolation for the performance at Court, replacing the original scene in which Netto may have buried a placard with 'Hidas habet aures avaras' in 'great romaine letters' on it.

Memory of Hidas's earlier follies is never far from him, but it is clear that his indecorous lapse of judgment is the predominant theme in the second legend,

Ah poore Hidas! are his conceits become blockish, his counsells vnfortunate, his iudgements vnkilfull? Ah foolish Hidas! a iust reward, for thy pride to waxe poore, for thy ouerweening to waxe dull, for thy ambition to waxe humble, for thy crueltie to say, aisa, miser sumus, non sis miserabilis vili. (IV,1,179-185)

In a similar general confession at the temple of Apollo, Hidas explicitly states that the first legend was concerned with the folly of vanity and the second with the folly of poor judgment,

My pride the gods disdain; my pollicie men... I wil therefore yeeld myself to Neptune, and acknowledge my wish to be vntill: to Apollo, and confesse my iudgement to be foolish... (V,iii,54-5,58-60)

He adds two less relevant deities for the sake of widening the scope of his villainy, '...to Mars, and say my warres are vniust: to Diana, and tell my affection hath been vnaturall' (V,iii,60-1). Sophronia, the virtuous chorus of the play, singles out the lapse of judgment for special comment, excusing it only as the result of his earlier troubles:

Soph. Is it possible that Hidas should be so ouershot in iudgement?

Unhappy Midas, whose wits melt with his gold, and whose gold is
 consumed with his wits. (V,iii,64-6)

The two parts of Midas seem to show a consistent differentiation in emphasis. The first legend, of the golden touch, is concerned with physical ambition or vanity; the second legend, of the ass's ears, concentrates more on spiritual pride and lack of judgment. This division into the physical and the spiritual or intellectual is fairly obvious, and is inherent in the original legends. Whether Igly used them for one or two plays, the shift in emphasis is important in maintaining the intellectual impact of the subject. The main difference between the conjecturally original form of the play and the scheme discussed above is that urMidas I and urMidas II would have had more scope to deal with some of the issues. UrMidas I might have given Midas more excuse to go and apologise to Diana, and urMidas II would have considerably reinforced the theme of Midas's lack of judgment, by giving more attention to the indecorous association of the king and the barber.

The vices of Midas are satisfactorily purged by the end of the play. For the sake of patriotism, attention is focused on the renunciation of Midas's territorial ambitions, as Midas promises to forewear all claims on Lesbos. The remaining physical ambition is thus disposed of. Midas does not specifically renounce his spiritual pride, but he does show in, I think, two ways, that the period of indecorum and poor judgment is over. When he says 'That great Apollo, that loyrd to my head Asses eares, hath put into my heart a lions minde' (V,iii,97-8), Midas is establishing that his thoughts and actions are once more fit for a king.

no longer degenerate, as they were earlier in the play:

Agam. Well, then this I say, when a Lion doeth so much degenerat
from Princely kind, that he wil borrow of the beasts, I say he is
no Lion, but a monster; pecc'd with the craftines of the fox,
the crueltie of the tyger, the ravenous of the wolfe, the dissem-
bling of the Hyena, he is worthie also to have the eares of an
asse. (IV,ii,25-30)

Finally, Midas asserts his good sense by calling for music, no doubt accompanied by much more decorous instruments than the 'harsh pipe' of Pan, to content Apollo.

Ily clearly found that it was easier to analyse the qualities of a bad monarch, complimenting Elizabeth by implying that she was the converse, than to state directly the qualities of a good monarch, inevitably representing Elizabeth herself. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the nature of the converse dictated Midas's qualities to some extent, whether Ily was wholly bent on compliment, or whether it was that this was the way that a normally patriotic Elizabethan thought. If it is true that the greatest sin that an Elizabeth-figure (Alexander or Sappho) could commit was to stoop too low, it is also true that the greatest sin of the Elizabeth-converse was to reach too high. Sappho could depose Venus, but Midas could not dictate to Apollo. The greatest fault in Midas was his ambition, physical and spiritual, but the only mention of ambition made in the earlier plays refers to the ambition of those under the Queen. Two dream sequences, in Sappho and Phao and Bedivision,⁽¹⁾ are used as excuses for symbolic reference to the often bitter struggles for power within the circle of the court, but the 'Caeder', the moon, and

(1) See Sappho and Phao, IV,ii and Bedivision, V,i,75 ff.

the 'princely Eagle' are above reproach. The change from Cynthia to Midas does not indicate a real development of Igly's ideas on royalty, it is a change of approach designed to give him more freedom to express ideas substantially the same.

The four plays, Alexander and Campaspe, Sapho and Phao, Edification and Midas all are centred on a royal figure. The nature of this central figure changes little, except that Midas is an accurate reverse of the others, and the problems that they face are all similar. The main interest of this discussion has been in the way that Igly's presentation of the theme of royalty has changed. His purpose, at least from Sapho and Phao on, was to compliment Queen Elizabeth directly, and I suppose, indirectly to warn the patriotic hearts of his fellow Elizabethans in the audience at Paul's. Alexander and Campaspe is the least self-consciously complimentary play, and it is this which gives the play its spontaneity and charm. Sapho and Phao is a clumsy and involved compliment that apparently did Igly no more good in his career at Court than it ought to have. Edification is a much more successful re-run of the same material, deriving more of its interest from the side-plots than from the central figure. Midas, finally, by avoiding the inhibitions inherent in direct compliment, arrives at the fullest statement of Igly's views on the nature of royalty, despite the apparently incomplete nature of the text. Whereas the three earlier plays hinged on a simple situation which eventually established that royalty should not demean itself, Midas involves a wider enquiry into the general status of royalty. There is evident a growing expertise in the presentation of the compliment, and, in

Hidas, an apparent desire to explore more fully the questions raised by inadequacy in the central figure.

Interest in the plots of these plays was derived from a conflict between distinct levels. Alexander, Sappho and Hidas are all of a higher social level than Campaspe, Phao and Hotto. In Iqly's plays I think we might go on to say that Cyathia, Bacchus and Apollo are of a higher social level than Eudimion or Hidas. Conflict between different social levels not connected with royalty also occurs in Iqly's plays, although, as we would expect, it is of minor importance in the plays already discussed.

Sub-plot parody. One of the few aspects of Iqly's dramatic art which Hunter discusses in terms of a development is Iqly's use of sub-plot parody and intrigue. Hunter demonstrates that the wit of the pages in Alexander and Campaspe and Sappho and Phao reflects the underside of philosophy, study and the court, as their masters concern themselves with the glamour of these pursuits,⁽¹⁾ and he points out that the sub-plot of Callithia has no relevance to the main plot. By discussing Hidas before Eudimion, he is able to trace a development up to 'the apex of Iqly's art in sub-plotting.'⁽²⁾ It is not my intention to cover this ground again, except to indicate the steady increase in the relevance of the sub-plot parody, and to reconsider the position of Hidas in the light of the theory that the text has undergone considerable revision.

(1) Op. cit., p.229 ff., see p.232.

(2) Op. cit., p.234.

There is no physical conflict between the separate levels of the sub-plot and the main plot in the early plays; but there is no need for physical contact for the implied conflict of ideas that finds expression in parody. The parody of Alexander and Cassius and Scythia and Ethio is directed away from the central topic or debate-theme of the play, towards peripheral figures in the higher level, the philosophers, Apelles, Trachinus and Pandion. Criticus and Molus come momentarily closer to the central theme of the play when they parody the business of honour, but even here the parody is directed at the courtier, and does not touch on the struggle between honour and appetite in Scythia's mind, although Molus ingeniously substitutes appetite for honour (II,iii,6-25).

Hunter discusses the parody in the sub-plot of Endimion in some detail, and points out the similarities between Sir Tophas and Endimion. The interesting thing about this sub-plot, however, is that there is a third related character, Corvites. In common with both Corvites and Endimion, Sir Tophas falls in love, falls asleep, and is restored to happiness by the magnanimity of Cynthia. Corvites, in a way, is already a parody of Endimion - or perhaps it would be fairer that he is intended as a parallel which would redound to Endimion's credit - Laertes to Endimion's Hamlet. For this reason, I feel that Sir Tophas is not really intended to parody Endimion (which might endanger the compliment) but Corvites.⁽¹⁾ Sir Tophas begins by parodying gloriously the will that one supposes is Corvites. This provides the comedy for the whole of the

(1) See also the relevance of this to the staging of Endimion, p.114 f. above.

first two sub-plot scenes; although the second introduces Scintilla and Favilla, this is purely to establish the unloving nature of the truly warlike knight. It is, I think, significant that Sir Tophas becomes love-sick, and sleeps, not in the scene following the beginning of Edimion's epic slumber, but immediately following the first hint that Corvites is a velvet hand in a steel glove,

Tellus. I marvelle Corvites that you being a Captain, who should
~~seem~~ ~~nothing~~ but terror, and ~~such~~ ~~nothing~~ but blood, can finde in
 your hart to talke such smooth wordes, for that it agreeth not
 with your calling to use words so soft as that of love.

Corv. Ladie... you must not thinke that Sculdicour be so rough
 hawke, or of such knottie nettles, that beautie cannot allure, and
 you being beyond perfection enamourt. (III,ii,19-25)

Sir Tophas then becomes an amator gloriosus at the same time as Corvites, though it is true that his panegyric on the charms of Bipsas recalls more the effluences of Edimion than anything Corvites says of Tellus. It is this part of Sir Tophas's career that is important in the structure of the play as a whole, for his attitude to love forms a contrast to those of the various side-plots, each of which has some serious variations on the same theme.⁽¹⁾ Bearing in mind Sir Tophas's association with the entrance 'to the country', and his obviously lower status, although he is a knight, we may perhaps say that the contrast he provides is not only comic but earthy.

The first two scenes of the sub-plot in Hidag parody a subject which has no real counterpart in the main plot, except for one short scene between Kristas and Celia, courtly love. We may conjecture that prilidas I

(1) See p.256 ff. below.

provided more of a counterweight by developing more fully a theme which lightly elsewhere was preoccupied with. The business of the golden beard, however, has its relevance, although we do not know how it all ended originally. The squabble over the beard, lighthearted though it is, is a manifestation of the corruption spread through the court by Midas's greed. Its very lightheartedness, in a way, is its chief point of parody, for Midas is so desperately serious about it all. In the surviving version of the play, the business of the golden beard does not become involved in the action until Midas has left for his purifying swim, and the comparison between the two kinds of gold-hunting - ambition and humorous knavery - is not forced upon our attention as it might have been if the action of each plot were more closely interwoven. In the second part of the play we may suppose that the sub-plot, in the person of Hotto, came into actual conflict with the higher level of the play, and, as I have already suggested, this may have been of considerable significance in establishing the extent of Midas's shortcomings. In one short passage which we may suppose comes from the original prudent II, Licio and Petulus discuss the prospect of marrying Sphronia or becoming Dukes (a prospect which would have had more relevance in the conjectured form of the original plot). Their attitude to a rise in social level parodies Midas's desire to be equal to the gods,

Licio. He be a Duke, I finde honoꝝ to bud in my head, and mee thinkes euery loynt of mine armes, from the shoulder to the little finger, saies send for the Herald...

Est. And my heart is like a hearth where Cupid is making a fire, for Sphronia shall be my wife: so thinkes Venus and Nature stands with each of them a paire of belloves, the one cooling my love birth, the other kindling my loftie affections. (V, ii, 76-83)

The reference to Nature, in the context of Midas's unnatural acts, is particularly illuminating. There is enough here for us to see the skeleton of extensive parody in the sub-plot of Midas II. There is, then a distinct development in Iqly's handling of the sub-plot, not only in the increasing density of intrigue,⁽¹⁾ but in the relevance of the subject matter from which they derive their wit. In Alexander and Commence and Scabe and Phao the parody is directed at peripheral figures; in Radixion it is directed primarily at Corvites, who is also a fringe figure, but it is also directed through him at Radixion, one of the central characters; in Midas we may guess that both in the 'golden beard' section and the 'ass's ears' section the parody was directed at the central figure himself - at Midas's covetousness and ambition.

None of these plays gives us a truly clear idea of the way Iqly would handle conflict between different levels of society where there is nothing to modify his approach. In all of the plays involving royalty, Iqly is discernably influenced by the necessity of framing the compliment in the main plot, and in the sub-plots the characters do not openly conflict with the higher levels at all. Three other plays, however, depend to some extent for their dramatic interest on a conflict between different levels which do not directly involve royalty - Gallathos, Mother Bunkie and The Yoman in the Bone.

The play which most obviously depends on a conflict between the sub-plot pages and their superiors is, of course, Mother Bunkie. By

(1) See p.140 ff. above.

putting the action of the play in Rochester, Iqly reduces the difference in social standing between servant and master -- it is only in a courtly environment that strict decorum must be observed. (1) To reduce the difference in status between the two levels is to some extent to reduce the conflict, and thus the dramatic interest. Iqly counteracts this by emphasizing the difference not in social standing, but in age. Little use is made of the motive, common to Iqly's Latin models, of the bondsman gaining his freedom by doing his master a service. (2) The real motive for the scheming of the little boys is simply to score over the old man, and Iqly makes much play on the youth of the boys, and the senility of the parents.

The transience of youth and the bitterness of old age are themes which recur in many of Iqly's works. In *Euphrosyne*, the warning that the beauty of youth, 'in a minute is both a blossom^e and a blast' (3) is sounded on a number of occasions, and the conflict between them is also exploited, notably in the argument between the brash Euphrosyne and the old gentleman in Naples, right at the beginning of the narrative. (4) A sense of the tragedy inherent in the passing of time crops up in the most unlikely places throughout the plays. Diogenes, in flying over the disordered lives of the Athenians, says

(1) See p. 131 ff. above.

(2) See II, i, 6-7 and Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

(3) *Udage*, II, i, 108-9.

(4) Bond, *op. cit.*, I, 186-194.

Remember that greene grasse must turne to dry hay. When you sleep, you are not sure to wake; and when you rise, not certaine to lye downe. Looke you neuer so hie, your heads must lye lowell with your foote. (IV,1,48-51)

In Snake and Phao the Sybilla contrasts her own ugly age with Phao's beautiful youth, and graphically points the moral,

When you shall behold ouer this tender flesh a tough skinne, your eyes which were wont to glasse on others faces to be suncke so hollow, that you can scarce looke out of your own head, and when all your teeth shall wagge as faste as your tongue, the will you repent the time which you cannot recall... (II,1,94-8)

Endimion introduces the contrast between Endimion's age and the miraculously preserved youth of everyone else at the expense of some logic.

The two old crows, Dipeas and Bagon, like the Sybilla, remind us of mortality.

Thou that laist downe with golden lockes, shalt not awake vntill they bee turned to silver haire; and that chin, on which scarcely appeareth soft downe, shalbe filled with brissels as hard as broome: thou shalt sleep out thy youth and flowering time, and become dry hay before thou knowest thy selfe greene grasse... (II,iii,29-34)

...how it grieueth me that that faire face must be turned to a withered skinne, & taste the paines of death before it feels the reward of loue. (II,iii,47-9)

Flat feet, and wrinkles around the eyes seem to have attracted *lyly* as symbols of the inevitable advance of age, for we find reference to them in very similar language, in Banquet,⁽¹⁾ Snake and Phao,⁽²⁾ and Love's Metamorphosis,

...let all Ladies beware... for when the Crow shall set his foote in their eye, and the blacke Oxe tread on their foote, they shall finde their misfortunes to be equall with their deformities, and men both

(1) Bond, op. cit., vol.I, p.203, ll.6-7.

(2) IV,ii,20-1.

to loath and laugh at them.

(IV,1,134-8)

Igly does not pursue the darker side of this theme in Mother Bonbie, although I suspect, from the frequency of its appearance and the relatively direct nature of the imagery associated with it, that it was only Igly's overpowering interest in love that prevented it from becoming more prominent. My point is that there is sufficient interest in the conflict between age and youth in Igly's other works for us to say that Mother Bonbie exploits an already established theme rather than introducing something entirely new. In Mother Bonbie, Igly is not concerned with the tragic aspect of old age, but with its ridiculousness. Throughout the play the old men are made ridiculous by the wit of their young servants and their own folly.

The first two scenes, between Memphis and Dromio and Stelio and Riscio, establish the mood of servant wittily outwitting his master, but the third scene, between Priscus and Sperantio, first exploits the physical absurdity of the old men,

Sag. Hold thy hands still, thou hadst best; & yet it is impossible now I remember, for thou hast the palsy... This happens pat, take heed you cough not Priscus.

Pris. Tush! spit not you, & Ile warrant, I, my beard is as good as a handkerchiefe. (I,111,23-4,63-7)

This is the sort of thing that could be much emphasized for comic effect on the stage. The boys heartlessly play on the same subject,

Lucio. The best was, our masters were as well whittled as we, for yet they lie by it.

Ris. The better for vs! we dyd but a little parboile our liners, they have sod theirs in souke these fortie yeares.

Half. That makes them spit white broth as they doe. (III,11,44-8)

As I have suggested above, the motive for the elaborate scheming of the

boys is not the combination of a desire to help the young master, with the added bait of freedom that spurred on their Roman counterparts, but a simple desire to score off the old men, and incidentally to gull the Hackneyman, Sergeant and Scrivener as well. Riscie says as much, '...this all stode vppon vs poore children, and your yong children, to shewe that olde folkes may be overtaken by children' (V,iii,236-8). For reasons less explicit, the old men forgive the young ones for all that has passed, and they all live happily, if not ever after, at least for the whole of the following week.

Mother Bombie is a play of intrigue, not a play of ideas.

There is a conflict between the levels of the play, but it is not a conflict of philosophy or of decorum, as it is in the other plays discussed in this chapter. Hunter has pointed out⁽¹⁾ that the probable explanation for the otherwise unlikely and functionally redundant figure of Mother Bombie herself is that Iyly felt that some mystery or supernatural authority was needed to give the play some depth. Gods were obviously out of place in Rochester, hence the wise old woman, Mother Bombie. With the possible exception of urWidas II, Mother Bombie is the only play of Iyly's in which the sub-plot actively conflicts with more dignified characters, but this is achieved at the expense of bringing the whole play down to the level of the sub-plot.⁽²⁾

The influence of the gods. The sub-plot of Gallathea, on the

(1) Op. cit., pp.223-4.

(2) Hunter discussed Mother Bombie under the general heading 'Sub-plot intrigue' (p.220).

other hand, does not sufficiently come into contact with the higher levels of the play for there to be any conflict. Such parody as there is in the sub-plot refers to other characters of the sub-plot, the mariner, the astronomer and the alchemist. There is, however, a conflict between the townspeople and the gods. The reason for the virgin-tribute was that the people of the land had torn down Neptune's temple and committed sacrilege against him. Neptune first sent floods, and then when the people repented, imposed the tribute as a reminder of their perfidy. The dramatic interest of the play is derived from the attempts of Tytanes and Malebus to avoid sacrificing their daughters, and Neptune's resulting anger. The other conflict in the play is between Diana's nymphs and Cupid. It is difficult to know whether this is a clash between different levels; whether nymphs are considered to be on the level of human or gods. On the strength of Hidag I would allot them a place above ordinary mortals, but below the gods - roughly equivalent to kings, 'there are none (in earth) more worthy than Kings and Nymphs'.⁽¹⁾

If we assume that the contest between the nymphs and Cupid also involves two levels, a pattern begins to emerge. The mortals flout the authority of Neptune, with results that are about to become disastrous, and Cupid attempts to make a mockery of Diana's nymphs, again with unfortunate results, this time for the god. Naturally enough, by a kind of barter, it is possible to arrange for a happy ending. The pattern is prettily symmetrical, and appropriate for Ioly; that he planned it con-

(1) Hidag, IV,1,75-6.

sciously in this way can be seen from Neptune's first words,

Doe sillie ⁵sheepeheards gee about to deceiue great Neptune, in
putting on mens attire vpon women: and Cupid to make sport deceiue
them all, by veing a womans apparell vpon a God? (II,ii,15-17)

Igly not only planned the whole system of conflicts to balance, but took delight in the lesser asymmetry of the disguises - or probably put Cupid in nymph's clothing for the sake of symmetry. The extra confusion resulting from the disguises of the two girls is charmingly worked to provide both a suitable ending of the play, and, as shall be discussed in the next chapter, a chance to analyse the mechanism of love between those of the same level.

The interesting thing about the conflicts between god and mortal in Gallathea is that Igly arranges to resolve them without disturbing the status of the levels. In the plays involving royalty, final satisfaction is achieved by adequate definition of the status of the royal figure, either by the renunciation of base temptation, as in Alexander and Cassius and Janus and Phoeb, or by an access of adequate humility as in Uidas (Cynthia's status is never really threatened). Even without the constraining influence of compliment, Igly is concerned to keep his characters on the appropriate links in the chain of being. Given freedom from the restriction of the compliment, however, Igly created a much more balanced and baroque plot.

The last play to be discussed at length in this chapter is The Women in the Moon. I do not find conflict between different levels at all in Loves Metamorphosis; the various love-conflicts are all between social equals, and on the higher level, such conflict as there is be-

tween Cupid and Ceres has no causal repercussions among the mortals.

The Women in the Moon is the only play of Iqly's which has conflicts between three different levels, the servant, the mortals and the gods. Perhaps Nature, who obviously stands above the gods, should be added as a fourth level above them all. The conflict of greatest dramatic importance is between the gods and the mortals. The gods instigate the conflict by interfering with the lower level, as do Cupid in Gallathea and Alexander in Alexander and Campaspe, but The Women in the Moon is unique among Iqly's plays in that this interference is malicious, and remains to the end unrepentant. The baser motives in Alexander are manfully overcome, and he magnanimously brings happiness to Campaspe and Apollon; Cupid indulges in playful 'pranks',⁽¹⁾ is punished and returned to be looked after more carefully; the jealousy of the gods in The Women in the Moon turns to admiration, as they compete to have her placed with them, but the result of their jealousy is left unresolved. The conflicts stirred within the shepherds and Pandora are directly the result of the jealous interference of the gods, but these conflicts are not resolved in a normal way. Three of the shepherds, Helos, Iphicles and Learchus, reject all possibility of married happiness, 'Sweet is a single life' (V,1,242), and Pandora and Steias are metamorphosed into the moon and the man in the moon, with Steias expressing bitterness, extreme for Iqly, until the end. Gnophilus, changed first to a hawthorn bush, is uprooted, to be used by Steias as a weapon against

(1) Gallathea, I,11,32.

Pandora,

Sig. Then, to revenge me of Ganophilus,
 He rend this bathrobe with my furious hands,
 And bears this bush; if eere she looks but backe,
 He scratch her face that was so false to me. (V,i,316-9)

This is an extraordinary ending in the context of Iqly's other plays.

If The Woman in the Moon is to be classified as a comedy, it must be considered Iqly's 'dark comedy'.

It is not easy to see why the interference of the gods is malicious. Alexander's stooping is never coercive, and Cupid's sport is both lighthearted, and, in context, a necessary balance in the design of the play as a whole. The Woman in the Moon is neither political nor playful. A clue to the meaning of the play may, I think, be found in the scenes of the play where one of the gods, Jupiter, interferes directly and conversationally with Pandora, over and above his astrological influence over her. Jupiter discovers himself, and attempts to woo Pandora. Ironically, his advances are rejected because Pandora is filled with ambition and disdain as the result of his own influence. Jupiter's love, or lust, for Pandora is an even more blatant interference in the affairs of the mortals; we might expect, from what we already know of Iqly's attitude to social indecorum, that Jupiter's loves, not only for Pandora, but for Danae, Leda and Europa et al., would be regarded as debasing and improper. Jupiter mentions these other loves, comparing them unfavourably with Pandora,

Jup. Danae was fayre, and Leda pleasd me well,
 Lowely Calisto set my hart on fyre:
 And in mine eye Europa was a gemme... (II,i,13-15)

Igly seems to have regarded Jupiter's love life, long before he wrote The Woman in the Moon, as something of an archetype of infatuation. References to the legends are common, particularly in those plays which are concerned with social conflicts, and are usually slanted in such a way that Jupiter is shown to have been in the wrong. In Alexander and Campaspe there is a charming dialogue between Apelles and Campaspe on the subject of Jove's loves,

Camp. What are these pictures?
Apel. This is Leda, whom Jove deceived in likeness of a swan.
Camp. A faire woman, but a foule deceit.
Apel. This is Alceus, unto whom Jupiter came in shape of Amhitris her husband, and begot Pericles.
Camp. A famous scene, but an infamous fact.
Apel. He might do it, because he was a God.
Camp. Nay, therefore it was euill done, because he was a God.
Apel. This is Jove, into whose prison Jupiter drisled a golden shevre, and obtained his desire.
Camp. What God can make one yeelde to desire?
Apel. This is Haros, whom Jupiter requished; this Antione.
(III,iii,10-20)

This might simply be the reaction of a puritan, and Cupid's remark in Sappho and Phao, 'If Ioue espie Sappho, he will devise some new shape to entertaine her',⁽¹⁾ might just be an irreverent aside, but when we look at Igly's use of this legend in Midas I think we are justified in regarding these as early references to a theme which Igly found particularly relevant in the context of conflict between different levels of society.

Heliocritus, in his persuasive appeal for the king to make gold his request of Bacchus, refers to the familiar legends,

...Jupiter was a god, but he knew gold was a greater: and flew into

(1) I,1,36-7. See also the Sybilla's story concerning Phoebus, II,1, 41 ff.

these gates with his golden wings where he could not enter with his Swan's wings... Sub Iove nunc mundus, in sua regnare Iovis.
(I,1,77-9,86)

Mellacrites, however, is an evil counsellor, and Igly is using the legend here as a temptation to evil. Midas's own love is supposed to be unnatural, and it seems that Mellacrites is here holding an unnatural example before Midas. Later in the play Caelia puts Christus firmly in his place when he tries to use Jupiter as an example of constancy,

Christ. Men change the manner of their love, not the humor: the means how to obtain, not the mistress they honor. So did Jupiter, that could not intreat Europa by golden words, possess his love by a golden shewre, not altering his affection, but using art.

Cael. The same Jupiter was an Aegle, a Swan, a Dall; and for every Saint a new shape, as men have for every mistress a new shadow.
(II,1,12-18)

Again our sympathy is clearly supposed to be with Jupiter's detractor. A third reference in the play to the legend of Leda is made by Pan, 'Love made Jupiter a goose, and Europa a swine, and both for love of an earthly mistress' (IV,1,47-8). Here the indecorum of Jupiter's behaviour is highlighted by calling him a goose instead of a swan. Even in a play not directly connected with the struggle between god and mortal, Love's Metamorphosis (the gods in this play are extensions of the conflicts between the mortals) Petalio makes a relevant comment,

A strange discourse, Protes, by which I find the gods enormous, and Virgines immortal, goddesses full of cruelty, and men of vanapiness.
(V,11,1-5)

This remark could in fact sum up the theme of The Weaver in the Hoop.

Igly's attitude to interference by the gods, exemplified by

the legends of Jupiter, ⁽¹⁾ is consistently one of disapproval. In The Human in the House the conflicts between mortals are directly the result of malicious - and unnatural - interference by the gods. Iqly's attitude seems to be that the human race would be happy if the powers above would leave them unmolested. There may be a political significance in this - Nature as the Queen, and the gods her malicious deputies interfering with the humble people of the kingdom - but I do not think that we need to look for an answer of this kind to explain the play. The human race would be happy without interference from above, but the shepherds are aware that their lives are incomplete without the female sex; they discover eventually that the incomplete life they led at first was preferable to the confusion and frustration which follows the arrival of Pandora, and Melos, Iphicles, and Learchus leave Stecias to his married fate,

Lear. Fret, Stecias, fret; while we dance on the playne.
(V,i,240)

Stecias, however, is unable to reject Pandora so simply. He is about to kill her when he is interrupted first by the gods and then by Nature, and finally metamorphosed to the status of a god, thus immortalising his hate.

The metamorphosis of Pandora and Stecias to the status of gods seems to be an attempt by Nature to balance the earlier interference by the gods. They have descended to the level of the mortals in their jealousy, so the mortals most affected supplant one of the gods. I do not think that it is necessary to construct a semi-philosophical system

(1) Compare also the attitude of Summer to the aneurs of Sol in Summer's Last Will and Testament.

from the play in order to explain its rather unusual form. To do so might be to repeat the mistake that I believe many earlier critics made in discussing Edinica, and would in any case involve the doubtful assumption that Igly set out to expound his beliefs rather than simply to write a play.

The core of the play's meaning, however, that aspiration is folly, is consistent with what we already know of Igly's orthodox views on natural order, and may, if we like, be referred to the disappointment he had by this time suffered in his own quest for courtly advancement. The bitter metamorphosis of Stecias, however, is not required in order to make this simple point, and must, I think, point to a further level of meaning in the play. I do not believe that Igly would have tacked this on simply for the sake of the tableau of the man in the moon with his hawthorn bush, though Nature's particular choice of the hawthorn to turn Gmophilus into may have been influenced by this effect. I do not know whether Igly intended the names of the shepherds to be of particular significance - Pandora and Gmophilus are obviously appropriate - but Learchus, Melos and Iphicles could conceivably represent the rulers, artisans and workers of a Utopian state. There is no consistent differentiation between the characters in the play itself to suggest that Igly was consciously making a distinction of this nature, particularly as Stecias, 'one who makes to stand', is not obviously related to any fourth group, unless we understand it as 'one who stands alone', and regard Stecias as an early Outsider. If it were Melos who was metamorphosed we might consider Pandora to be another manifestation of the White Goddess. But

again I think that the point is relatively uncomplicated. Stasias, through suffering, has for a moment glimpsed the joy of the fruition of his aspiration,

Sts. ...in my sufferance have I wanne thy love;

Now all is well, and all my hurt is whole,
And I in paradise of my delight.
Come, lovely spouse, let vs go walke the woods,
Where warbling birds recorde our happines,
And whistling lasses make musick to our myrthe,
And Flora streus her bowre to welcome thee.

(III,i,75,76-81)

and cannot return to the sweet single life the others may once more enjoy. Pandora's betrayal simply encourages the other shepherds to swear to live singly forever, but to Stasias it is a blot which must be erased,

Sal. Take her agayne, and love her, Stasias.

Sts. Not for Vtopia! no, not for the world!

Paq. Have I offended thee? Ile make amends.

Mer. And what canst thou demand more at her hand?

Sts. To slay her selfe that I may live alone. (V,i,255-7,259-61)

Igily's point seems to be that mankind is happier without ambition, but he who has experienced perfection for a moment can never recapture the happiness of contentment, however high he rises.

The Women in the Moon is not a play about love in the way that Love's Metamorphosis, for example, is. In Love's Metamorphosis the gods are figures which epitomise certain qualities in the mortals, as we shall see in the next chapter, but in The Women in the Moon the position is reversed. The mortals are the puppets of the gods, and the conflict between Pandora and the shepherds is artificially induced by them. It is this which makes the final rejection so important. It is the only

action by the mortals which the gods did not predict and could not prevent, the only action in the whole play which asserts the independence of the humans. It is appropriate that Pandora should be elevated to the status of the gods, because the gods have interfered directly with her life, but the metamorphosis of Stesias is more the result of his stand against the gods, and is, paradoxically, both a punishment and a reward. Perhaps the name Stesias is after all significant. Stesias achieves a kind of disgruntled immortality because, although it is against Nature to reject Pandora, he has made a stand against the gods and has defended his honour as a mortal wronged by the gods. The fate of Stesias is a paradox of immortal life and immortal hate, the reverse of the paradox seen by Keats in the lovers etched on the Grecian Urn,

Bold lover, never never canst thou kiss,
 Though winning near the goal - yet do not grieve;
 She cannot fade, though thou hast not thy bliss,
 For ever wilt thou love and she be fair.

The metamorphosis of Stesias is appropriate to the paradox of the betrayed lover whose intensity of jealousy is proportional to the original depth of love. Pandora's metamorphosis is a simpler embodiment of the paradox of her nature,

...know that change is my felicity,
 And fickleness Pandorae's proper form.

...Gyphis made us idle, mutable,
 Forgetful, foolish, fickle, frantic, madde;
 These be the humours that content us best... (V,1,301-2,307-9)

I think we may be justified in seeing Pandora not only as the prototype of womankind, but as Lady Fortune, or even, if we take the hint from Keats, as a symbol of unattainable perfection in beauty or truth.

Igly's last play brings out his humanistic views more strongly than any of his earlier works. (1) There is a strong feeling throughout the play that the human race would be happier without interference from fate, or the gods, if it were left to live the way Nature intended. The decision of Steias to stand against the gods may have some relation, by inversion as it were, to the doctrine of the fortunate Fall. The final metamorphoses of Pandora and Steias (perhaps also of Gneophilus, for the hawthorn has the thorns of the rose without its obvious beauty) are the ultimate expression in Igly of the paradoxes implicit in so much of that aspect of life which attracted his imagination, the

...good and bad, or light and dark,
Pleasant and sad, moving and fixed things,
Frale and immortall, or like contraries...

(I, i, 20-2)

In Igly's world, although order is carefully preserved, it is Discord which finally triumphs.

(1) It is not coincidence that this play is set in Utopia, a name connected with a greater humanist than Igly.

CHAPTER VII

LOVE BETWEEN EQUALS

Love, with all its inherent paradoxes and contradictions, is the theme upon which all of Iqly's works are based. We have seen in the previous chapter that even his elaborately designed compliments to an ageing Queen depended on her supposed control over love, and on the suggestion that her courtiers were all hopelessly and incurably in love with her. The love of Phao and Eudimion is conventional courtly love, earlier typified in Philotas's hopeless love for Camilla. But when we consider the relationships between those of similar status in Iqly's plays, we find a much more varied and interesting attitude to love.

Alexander is the focus of Alexander and Campaspe, and he and his dissuader, Hephaestion, have much to say about love, in a way that ironically contrasts with Apelles and Campaspe. Love is 'a thing farre unfit for a Macedonian, for a king, for Alexander' (II,ii,20-1) by his own admission, but he excuses himself on the grounds that love is 'not to be measured by reason' (II,ii,92). When Alexander maintains that it is both likely and reasonable to expect Campaspe to fall in love with him, Hephaestion is quick to point out the inconsistency, 'You say that in love there is no reason, & therefore there can be no likelihood' (II, ii,110-11). There is a double irony in this passage, for it turns out that love is more reasonable than either Alexander or Hephaestion realise. Of Campaspe we can only agree that 'It is not possible that a

face so faire, & a wit so sharpe... should not be apt to loue' (III,iii, 47-8) - for love she does, in an entirely reasonable way. She loves at her own level. She would rather be in Apelles's shop grinding colours than in Alexander's court following higher fortunes:⁽¹⁾

Campaspe sola... Fond vouch! the baseness of thy mind bewraies the
meanness of thy birth... A needle will become thy fingers better
than a late, and a distaffe is fitter for thy hand than a Scepter.
(IV,ii,6-7,12-15)

Love, impossible for soldiers and kings, is natural and desirable between those of similar, but lowly status.

The love between Apelles and Campaspe is simple and uncomplicated. The main interest is in the way that Igly handles its development with tact and wit; the fact that their affair develops at all is unusual in Igly, as we shall see later in this chapter. Both Apelles and Campaspe at first are gently suspicious, Campaspe suspecting that Apelles is colouring his speech as he colours his painting, and Apelles, in a rather urbane, almost courtier-like way, suggesting that she is detracting from her beauty in order to draw attention to it. He instructs Pyllus to stay at the window to tell enquirers that there is no-one home. Campaspe, we feel, is probably justified in her initial suspicion of his motives, for Pyllus tells us that Apelles has entertained other fair gentlewomen in the same way. After the scene in which we see them neutrally sparring over the loves of Jupiter⁽²⁾ and the chatecism of love, Apelles, in soliloquy, reveals his love, and resolves to do his best to

(1) See IV,iv,15-17.

(2) Quoted above, p.232.

obtain her by wit, since he has no authority. By means of the blemish he gives her picture, he is able to woo further, at first indirectly,

Apel. But wil you give me leave to aske you a question without offence?

Camp. So that you wil answer me an other without excuse.

Apel. When do you loue best in the world?

Camp. He that made me last in the world.

Apel. That was a God.

Camp. I had thought it had beene a man. But whom do you honour most, Apellus?

Apel. The thing that is lykest you, Campaspe.

Camp. My picture?

Apel. I dare not venture vpon your person. (IV,ii,34-44)

Later - after the curtains have for a while been discretely drawn - he woos with charming directness, despite a certain playful scepticism on Campaspe's part,

Apel. I haue now, Campaspe, almost made an ende.

Camp. You told me, Apellus, you would neuer ende.

Apel. Neuer end my loue: for it shal be eternal.

Camp. That is, neither to haue beginning nor ending.

Apel. You are disposed to mistake, I hope you do not mistrust.

Camp. What will you saye if Alexander perceiue your loue?

Apel. I will say it is no treason to loue...

Camp. Wel, I must be gone: but this assure your self, that I had rather bee in thy shop grinding colours, than in Alexanders court, following higher fortunes. (IV,iv,1-7,15-17)

The love between Apelles and Campaspe has by this time reached fruition, and it needs only the magnanimity of Alexander to put all right. This is of course what happens, but not before we are shown a little more of Apelles than we might have expected from so simple a plot. When Alexander springs the trap he has prepared, Apelles reacts as expected, 'Ay me! if the picture of Campaspe be burnt, I am vndone!' (V,iv,63-4). Alexander questions him accordingly, asking whether he is in love with Campaspe. Apelles, who boldly told Campaspe that he would answer that it

was not treason to love, tries hard to back down,

Apel. Not love her! but your Maiestic knowes that painters in their last works are said to excel themselves, and in this I haue so much pleased my selfe, that the shadow as much delighteth mee being an artificer as the substance doth others that are amorous.
(V,iv,89-95)

Ignoring the irreverent hint of the last remark, Alexander rebukes Apelles in terms similar to those of Campaspe in the earlier scenes,

Alg. You lay your colours grossely; though I could not paint in your shop, I cō spy into your excuse.

The point of all this may simply be to give more credit to Alexander for his magnanimity - a bolder Apelles might become a too sympathetic hero - or it may be that Iqly was particularly interested in the various kinds of deception which are involved in the game of love. We remember the importance of faithfulness in the catechism of love propounded, ironically, by Apelles (III,iii,34-41), and we notice the recurrent imagery, appropriate to the painter, of 'colouring' the truth, and of 'shadowing' the substance - two images which could almost be neo-Platonic. (1)

Sepho and Phao is less concerned with love between equals than any of Iqly's other plays. There is one scene of lighthearted chat about love between the various ladies in attendance on Sepho, but it is little more than a collection of courtly and feminine commonplace. The only character of roughly the same social standing that Phao speaks to is Miletia, and their contact is limited to one brief scene. Phao makes unkind remarks about feminine dissembling,

(1) See, for a further discussion of this point, p. 268ff. below.

Mileta. ...Why, think you me so dul I cannot loue, or so spitefull I will not?

Phao. Neither lady: but how shoulde men imagine women can loue, when in their mouths there is nothing rifer, than 'in faith I do not loue.'

Mileta. Why, wil you haue womée loue in their tongues?

Phao. Yea, els do I think there is none in their harts.

Mileta. Why?

Phao. Because there was neuer any thing in the bottō of a womens hart, that cometh not to her tongue end. (III,iv,24-33)

Phao makes use of feminine modesty in love to be insulting, whereas Apelles turned the same phenomenon to a compliment:

Mistresse, you neither differ from your selfe nor your sex: for knowing your owne perfection, you seeme to dispraise that which men most commend, drawing thē by that meane into an admiration, where feeding them selues they fall into an extasie... (III,i,8-11)

Love in Sapho and Phao is Venus, wanton, lustful and despised, and Cupid, a toy to be won by the promise of sweets and a little attention:

Sapho. ...if Venus fret, Sapho canne frowne, thou shalt bee my soune.

Mileta. give him some sweets meates; speake good Cupid, and I will give thee many pretie things....

Cupid. I could be ~~swam~~ with my mother: and so I will, if I shall call you mother....

Sapho. Sweete Cupid... Thou shalt sitte in my lappe, I will rocke thee asleepe, and feede thee with all these fine knackes.

(V,ii,8-10,15-16,20-22)

Sapho's victory is hollow, for the love she triumphs over is peevish and infantile.

In Gallathea, for the first time, themes not concerned solely with the appropriateness of love in the context of royalty are introduced. The mood is still closely related to Elizabeth's court, as we might guess from the opposition of Diana and Cupid, love and chastity. The plot concerning the love of Gallathea and Phillida is not directly concerned with the debate between Diana and Cupid, but their contest forms the intellect-

ual centre of the play.

Sandwiched between the two carefully balanced scenes of Tyterus and Calliope and Melibeus and Phillida at the beginning of the play is the meeting of Cupid and one of Diana's nymphs. Cupid is quick to display his sweet wares,

Cupid. I pray thee sweete wench, amongst all your sweete troupe, is there not one that followeth the sweetest thing, sweete love?

Nymph. Love good sir, what meane you by it? or what doe you call it?

Cupid. A heate full of coldnesse, a sweet fall of bitternesse, a paine full of pleasantnesse; which maketh thoughts haue eyes, and hearts eares; bred by desire, nursed by delight, weaned by ielousie, kild by dissembling, barred by ingratitude; and this is love! fayre Lady wil you any? (I,ii,12-20)

Cupid is a persuasive salesman of the paradoxical delights of love - by no means a new subject in Italy - but the nymph is entirely sales-resistant, preferring the delights of the athletic life that Diana leads, and the virtue of chastity, to the soft life of love, and its inevitable wantonness. She concludes irreverently '...and so farewell little god', (I,ii,29) a remark which would certainly be appropriate to the Cupid of Senho and Phao. Cupid in the meantime seems to have grown up a little - 'Cupid though he be a child, is no babie' (II,ii,5-6) - and he determines to make all the nymphs fall in love to show his power.

Once the nymphs are in love, the debate begins in earnest. We are immediately made aware of the paradoxical nature of chastity, in the same way that Cupid earlier expounded the paradox of love,

Talaga. O vaine and onely naked name of Chastitie, that is made eternall, and perisheth by time: holy, and is infected by fancy: diuine, and is made mortall by folly. Virgins hearts I perceiue are not vnlike Cotton trees, whose fruite is so hard in the budde, that it soundeth like Steele, and being rype, poureth forth

nothing but wooll...

(III,i,15-20)

Cupid, as he threatened, has proved that love will conquer even Diana's nymphs. The conflict in the minds of the nymphs is dramatised in one of the most effective scenes in the play, where the nymphs confess to each other that they are in love with the strange boys in the woods. The nymphs alternate between a rejection of chastity, as we see in Telusa's speech quoted above, and a rejection of love as a sickness, an affliction.

Europa. ...I feels my thoughts vnknit, mine eyes vnstaied, my hart I know not how affected, or infected... If this be loue, I would it had neuer bene deuicid.
(III,i,46-7,49-50)

The third nymph to arrive, Ramia, introduces a new note. She decides that perhaps love is not as bad as Diana would have it, (according to Diana, 'of all affections, loue hath the greatest name, & the least vertue'⁽¹⁾) and she argues that 'If Loue be a God, why should not louers be vertuous?'(III,i,70-1). In context, this is to be regarded as a rationalisation, a piece of sophistry indicating the extent to which Cupid has corrupted her. To Diana all love is unchaste,

Shall it be said... that Diana the goddess of chastity... shall haue her virgins to becomee vchaste in desires, imoderate in affection, vntemperate in loue, in foolish loue, in base loue?
(III,iv,27-33)

This is an attitude less moderate than Hephaestion's epigrammatic reply to Alexander,

Alex. Is loue a vice?
Hep. It is no vertue.

(II,ii,15-16)

and, if we may anticipate, it is an attitude to which a more dignified

(1) III,iv,26-7.

Cupid in Love's Metamorphosis has a ringing reply.

Ceres. ...though to love it be no vice, yet spotlesse virginitie is
the onely vertue...

Cupid. Why, Ceres, doe you thinke that lust followeth love?

Ceres, lovers are chaste: for what is love, divine love, but the
quintessence of chastitie, and affections binding by heavenly
motions, that cannot be undone by earthly means, and must not be
controlled by any man? (II,1,118-126)

In Callithers, however, Cupid is made captive by Diana, to be used later
as a reason for the release of the virgin-tribute.

We may assume, I think, that Diana is Elisabeth-oriented in the
mind of Igly, and probably of his audience. The capture of Cupid is
very similar to the stealing of Cupid by Sapho in Sapho and Phao, a par-
allel which is pointed out by Igly, through the long-suffering Venus,
later in the play, 'Syr boy where have you beene? alwaies taken, first
by Sapho, now by Diana..' (V,iii,65-6). The forces of chastity triumph,
and proceed to torture their torturer. Cupid, who first was a pedlar of
the wares of love, is now a thief.

Eurota. O yes, O yes, has any lost
A Heart, which many a sigh hath cost;
Is any cowed of a teare,
Which (as a Pearle) disdaines does weare?

All 3. Here stands the Thiefe, let her but come
Hither, and lay on him her doome. (IV,ii,7-12)

- one of the best of Igly's songs. Cupid is captive, and set to work
untying love-knots, but he retains his independence in a way that Sapho's
mycophantic Cupid did not. He can untie only those knots which were
never tied well, or which were knit by money, not love. One knot
amuses him because it was tied by a man's tongue, 'the fairest and the
falsest, done with greatest arte and least trueth, with best colours,

and worst conceits' (IV,ii,52-4). Love, though captive, is far from conquered by chastity.

Before Callathra and Phillida reveal their identities and their loves, with the complications that follow, Diana and Venus conclude the conflict between love and chastity, to their mutual satisfaction. There is the beginning of a good scrap when Venus first enters. The goddesses are just beginning to enjoy the fight when Neptune interrupts, suggesting that Cupid be handed over in exchange for the lifting of the virgin-tribute. Love and chastity remain unchanged in their views at the end of the play; Cupid is unrepentant, and Diana is as fixed in her views as the nymph Cupid met in the second scene of the play,

Diana. ...had I twentie Cupids, I would deliver them all to some
one Virgine; knowing love to be a thing of all the vainest, virg-
initie to be a vertue of all the noblest. (V,iii,72-5)

The conflict between love and chastity is successfully concluded, but the debate remains unresolved.

Spenser, in *The Faerie Queene* (book III, canto vi) described a similar encounter between Venus and Diana. Venus, as in *Callathra*, was looking for her errant son, and after looking in the Court, the city and the country without success, she came to the woods and forests to ask the help of Diana. Diana was caught by surprise - in a state of undress - and answered Venus sharply. Venus countered by hinting that Cupid might be disguised as one of Diana's nymphs,

...such I am affeard,
Least he like one of them him selfe disguise,
And turne his arrowes to their exercise...

(1)

(1) *Ibid.*, stanza 23.

Spenser's allegorical debate between love and chastity is extended by the discovery of the beautiful daughters of Crysogone, adopted by the goddesses as Belphoebe and Amoretta. The subsequent history of Amoretta shows clearly that Spenser believed that love and chastity could be combined in married fidelity, a conclusion which seems not to be suggested in the debate in Gallathea.

While the struggle between Diana and Cupid is going on, Gallathea and Phillida are involved in a love affair which has rather different problems. The scenes between these two explore, sensitively, the complex of ambiguities inherent in the situation, two small boys acting girls dressed as boys, each in love with the other, each half afraid that the other is as he/she is. There is no attempt to illustrate love, chastity, or any such abstraction in this plot, only the dramatisation of one of the stronger situations that love and feminine modesty land themselves in. Gallathea and Phillida show that love is not necessarily immodest or wanton. For the purity of their love, they are rewarded by the opportunity to enjoy it,

Nept. An idle choyce, strange, and foolish, for one Virgine to
dote on another; and to imagine a constant faith, where there
can be no cause of affection. Howe like you this Venus?

Venus. I like well and allowe it, they shall both be possessed of
their wishes, for neuer shall it be said that Nature or Fortune
shall over-throwe Love and Fayth. (V,iii,128-133)

Despite the fact that the debate between Venus and Diana is not resolved, the love of Gallathea and Phillida is rewarded, according to Venus, as the result of their fidelity. It looks as if Ioly is here hinting at a solution not far removed from Spenser's Amoretta; the

girls are a perfect example of chaste love, and are a living contradiction to Diana's assumption that all love is wanton. Callathea has the last word in the play, pleading to all the ladies present to yield themselves to the paradoxical delights of love; although Diana and Venus are left agreeing to differ, Ioly himself seems anxious to demonstrate that love and chastity are not necessarily so mutually exclusive.

In these three early plays, it is possible to see a pattern emerging. If it offends decorum, love can be an abasement and an infection; Alexander and Sapho could not yield to love because of the irresponsibility of such action, particularly since the loved ones are of lowly birth, and the nymphs of Diana must reject love because it would be most unseemly if the followers of the goddess of chastity yielded to wantonness. Despite the apparent suggestion that love is necessarily unchaste, the loves of Apollo and Campaspe and Callathea and Phillida achieve a happy fruition because of their simplicity and faithfulness. The emphasis on the faithfulness of these lovers, and the frequent derogatory comments on falsehood and dissembling in love, suggest that Ioly is less interested in chastity, except as a political necessity, than in the rights and wrongs of love. Endimion and Love's Metamorphosis, the two plays most concerned with the theme of love between equals, are less tied up with political considerations, and explore the whole question in a much freer way.

Endimion is a play of many side-plots, each with its own interest, and each bound to the centre of the play, Cynthia. Ioly explores love in its many varieties and variations. Towards the end of the play,

Cynthia, feeling no doubt rather pleased with herself for having arranged things so neatly, comments on the successful pairing off of the dramatis personae.

Well, Endimion, nothing resteth now but that we depart. Thou hast my favour, Tellus her friend, Mercurius in Paradise with his Suzale, Geron contented with Dianus.
(V,iii,271-3)

and then of course there is the final pairing of Sir Tophas and Bagon. There is in the play no simple centre upon a debate, for each pair of lovers represents a separate variation on the basic theme, love between equals - except, of course, for Endimion, who loves Cynthia, without hope of reward.

Earlier critics have sought various allegorical explanations of the attitudes and actions of the central characters in Endimion, and have attempted to explain the play in terms of political intrigue or neo-platonic abstractions. (1) The possibility of political allegory has been discussed above and does not concern us here. The difficulty of assigning capitalised abstractions to Tellus, Endimion, or even Cynthia, is that their actions and utterances are too complicated to be pigeonholed in this way. Both Long and Huppe oversimplify the interesting and paradoxical

(1) Henry Morley, English Writers IX (London, 1892), pp.204-8; P. W. Long, 'The Purport of Iqly's Endimion', P.M.L.A., XXIV (1909), pp.164-84, and 'Iqly's Endimion, an Addendum', Modern Philology, VIII (1910-11), pp.599-605; B. F. Huppe 'Allegory of Love in Iqly's Court Comedies', E.L.H., XIV (1947), pp.93-113. For the discussion of the political allegory, see N. J. Halpin, Oberon's Vision... (London, 1843); G. P. Baker's edition of Endimion, pp.xii-xxiv; Bond, op. cit., vol.III, pp.81-103; Feuillerat, Iqly, pp.143-190; G. F. T. Brooke, 'The Allegory in Iqly's Endimion', E.L.H., XVI (1911), pp.12-15; J. W. Bennett, 'Oxford and Endimion', P.M.L.A., LVII (1942), pp.354-369.

nature of Tellus by calling her Earthly Beauty or Earthly Passion. An allegory of the kind sought by these critics would require a much clearer and more neatly dovetailed series of actions, admitting no apology for apparent inconsistency. J. A. Bryant, Jr., in a paper on 'The Nature of the Allegory in Iqly's Endymion'⁽¹⁾ makes a break from the tradition that looks for a 'meaning' of the play, and suggests with great plausibility the genesis of its unusual structure, starting with the simple assumption that Iqly chose the myth of the sleep of Endymion for the purpose of flattering the Queen. Arguing from this, Bryant reasons that each set of characters is added for mechanical reasons, or to create the symmetry so dear to Iqly. We can be grateful that the good sense of Bryant's paper has removed the necessity for looking for a single key to the meaning of the play by the relatively clumsy tool of allegory, but there is one question arising from the critical attention that the play has received which is worth asking. Why have so many critics found it necessary to look for an allegory? Even Tucker Brooke, in the most balanced survey of the question,⁽²⁾ assumes that the meaning of the play is dependent on an allegory of some kind.

The truth is, I suppose, that Iqly, the lover of paradox, has here presented us with a paradox in the criticism of his works. Endymion seems to be so carefully written, so subtly interwoven in the smaller symmetries, that it is difficult to account for what seem to be larger discrepancies. Zontes and Panclion go into Greece and Egypt respective-

(1) Renaissance Papers (1956), pp.4-11.

(2) C.f. Tucker Brooke, op. cit.

ly, and bring back their appropriate philosophers, Pythagoras and Cypres, to attempt the healing of Endimion; Florscula ironically anticipates the fact that Tellus attains the shadow, not the substance, of Endimion;⁽¹⁾ these, and other points like these, show that Iqly was an artist as careful in the inter-relation of the parts of the play as he was in balancing the syntax of his periods. When the PERSONS of his plays act or speak in a certain way, we must be sure that there is an excellent reason for it, and, in the later plays particularly, it would be unwise to explain it as the result of a mechanical necessity. Iqly may have introduced the jealous earthly lover, Tellus, as a means to explain the sleep of Endimion, but, as Bryant suggests,⁽²⁾ the act of choosing this particular means of explaining the sleep is the act of creating the play, and Iqly must be judged by the end product, not by the process by which it was reached. The reasons why critics have looked so persistently for allegorical significance within the play are, I think, twofold. Iqly himself toyed with the idea of allegory, as we can see in his sporadic use of a physical allegory. The combination of a rudimentary political allegory, in the obvious representation of Cynthia as Queen Elizabeth, and a physical allegory, even if it does not extend beyond the first few scenes, is almost irresistably tempting to those with the research spirit. A second reason, less obvious, but possibly more fundamental, is that the artificial world of Iqlyan comedy is not capable of analysis by the same

(1) See below p. 257.

(2) Op. cit., p. 6.

tools as may be used on Shakespeare and his precursors in the popular drama. If we are confronted by a series of seemingly inconsistent actions in a play of Shakespeare - if Proteus changes from a faithful to a treacherous friend overnight, or if Valentine makes an absurdly extreme gesture of friendship by offering Sylvia to his treacherous friend - we look for an explanation in terms of character. Proteus is an embryonic villain, Valentine (like Emmeides) has read his Emmeides too well, and turns his other Christian or Platonic cheek. The perfidy of Proteus is easily explained, because he gives the working of his mind, and the motivation of his actions, in some detail by soliloquy. Valentine's action is less comprehensible and requires an explanation in terms of influence (as I have suggested) or by means of a conjectured quality of character which finds only one obvious manifestation. There can be no doubt that this is one of the weaker points of The Two Gentlemen of Verona. Critics have not looked for an explanation of Iqly's plays in terms of character because so much of the action seems to have little or no motivation, and to arrive at the abstraction of character we must be able to refer both to the action and its motivation. A single unmotivated action in a play of Shakespeare's proves a difficulty in the understanding of the play; no wonder then that a play with as many arbitrary actions as Edimion has sent critics chasing Iqly's charming red herrings in search of an explanation. We are given in great detail the story of Tellus's deception, and the growth of her jealousy, in the final scene, but we are given no reason for her seemingly willing acceptance of Coraites. Her acceptance must accordingly be explained as the marriage of Earthly Beauty and

Sensual Love (Long) or Earthly Passion and Physical Force (Bupé).

The progression from motivation to action defines character, and we do not find this movement in Iqly's plays. Complex character may be revealed by a complex reaction (or, as with Hamlet, non-action) to a complex motivation. In Iqly's plays we find complex motivation leading to no action at all (Sapho, Endimion) and action without apparent or adequate motivation (Cynthia's treatment of Tellus and Seneca). The answer to this odd situation, as I see it, is that Iqly was far more interested in the static situation of conflict than in the action resulting from it. Iqly explored the possibilities of varied emphasis within a static relationship; he was not really interested in resolving the relationship. Musical analogies are often drawn⁽¹⁾ to illustrate the difference between Iqly and his contemporaries; the point I am trying to make here is nicely illustrated by the difference between Debussy and, say, Brahms. To Brahms, a given chord was part of a logical harmonic progression, a discord was either resolved or further developed; Debussy employed the same chord as an end in itself, he left it unresolved, and explored the sonorities inherent in it by his characteristically lucid orchestration.⁽²⁾ The movement from one chord to another in Debussy's music is less important than the examination of the relationship between the notes in each

(1) See H. C. Bradbrook, op. cit., p.65; Hunter, op. cit., p.159.

(2) An equally valid comparison could be made with composers nearer Iqly's time; the contrapuntal logic of Byrd or Palestrina may be compared with the static use of modal harmony for effects of resonance by, for example, Clement Janequin - notably in La Bataille de Marignan, with its limited harmony and repetitive nonsense syllables.

chord; critical attention should be directed towards Iyly's exploration of each relationship he puts before us, rather than at the development of character or allegory.

In the discussion of Iyly's attitude to natural order in the previous chapter, I have suggested that to Iyly it was important that the status quo be preserved, that gods should not like gods, kings like kings, mortals like mortals and servants like servants. The inevitable result of the careful maintenance of order was that the plots of the plays under discussion tended to be static; conflict was not so much the result of disorder, as the result of a threat of disorder, and the resolution of the conflict came with the removal of the threat, either mechanically, as Cupid's arrow has its effect on Sappho, or by the strength of the central character, as Alexander throws off the effects of love and Hidas learns humility. Dramatic interest in these plays was obtained from a static situation of conflict, explored at length; a single chord, its resonances sensitively exploited. So it is with the loves of Gallathea and Phillida. There is no development of the relationship of these two during the play, as there is in the wooing of Campaspe by Apelles, for the girls simply get themselves more hopelessly in love and more hopelessly confused as time goes on. A critical approach which takes as its yardstick the appreciation of a treatment of static conflict, rather than looking for the dramatic revelation of character or the allegorical exposition of ideas, is particularly helpful in a study of Enidion.

We may notice that in Enidion Iyly returns to the same basic, triangular relationship that he used in Alexander and Campaspe, except

that in the later play the one-sided love is tactfully directed upward, from Endimion to Cynthia, instead of downward, as from Alexander to Campaspe. Ily avoids the dangerously two-sided love of Sappho and Phao. The relationship between Cynthia and Endimion has been discussed in the previous chapter, and little need be said of it here, except that Endimion, at the end of the play, is enabled by his unattainable love, in the true courtly tradition, ⁽¹⁾ and he is rewarded by the return of his youth when Cynthia perceives and acknowledges his love, and magnanimously allows him to continue to love her.

Endimion, this honourable respect of thine, shall be christned love in thee, & my reward for it favor... continue as thou hast begun, and thou shalt finde that Cynthia shyneth not on thee in vaine.
(V,iii,179-80,186-7)

Here interesting is the relation between Endimion and Tellus, and the implied relationship between Tellus and Cynthia. The opposition expressed in the probable stage-setting, with its separate doors indicating earth and moon, would tend to put Cynthia and Tellus on the same level of importance, as rivals. Tellus considers herself to be no less worthy of Endimion's love, in a passage that lays heavy stress on the physical relationship of earth and moon,

Flora. Madam, if you would compare the state of Cynthia with your own... you would rather yeeld then contend, being betwene you and her no comparism...

Tellus. No comparism Flora? and why so? is not my beauty divine, whose body is decked with faire flowers, and vaines are Vines, yeelding sweet liquor to the dullest spirits, whose eares are Corne, to bring strength, and whose heares are grasse, to bring abundance?... Infinite are my creatures, without which

(1) See Beabe's oration on love in Castiglione's The Book of the Courtier, Everyman ed. p. 308 ff.

neither thou, nor Endimion, nor any could love, or live.

(I,ii,13-26)

Floresca tries to put her in her place by pointing out that Cynthia comforts all things by her influence and commands all creatures by her authority. But there is no doubt that there is dramatically a triangle of conflict between Tellus, Cynthia and Endimion, with Cynthia's role, until her magnanimous gesture in stooping to kiss Endimion, a passive one, politically safe.

This triangle produces internal conflict in both Tellus and Endimion. Tellus is involved in the paradoxical situation of the jealous lover, a figure which is returned to in the almost tragic figure of Steeles, in The Women in the Moon. Cynthia, untying the threads, comments 'A strange effect of love, to worke such an extreme hate' (V, iii,95), and Tellus is aware of the love-hate contradiction,

Loth I see Endimion thou shouldst die, because I love thee well;
and that thou shouldst live it greiveth mee, because thou lovest
Cynthia too well. In these extremities what shall I doo?... He
shall neither live, nor die. (I,ii,35-9)

Her first thought is to force Endimion to love her by enchantment, but later finds that the best she can do is to send him into a deep sleep and arrange that Cynthia should be 'jealous of him without colour' (I,iv,41).

Floresca warns Tellus that

Affection that is bred by enchantment, is like a flower that is
wrought in silke, in colour and forme most like, but nothing at all
in substance or savour. (I,ii,70-2)

One of the less obvious touches of symmetry in the play is the fact that Tellus, while prisoner in the castle, wrought the picture of Endimion, and was granted by Cynthia 'so much of Endimion as his picture cometh

to'. Floscula's warning was nearer the mark than either of them realised. Tellus later incurs Cynthia's displeasure, as the result of what seems to be a fairly innocuous remark (III,1,36-9), and becomes involved with Corvites as a result. Her attitude to the soldier-lover is simple amusement, tempered with some tolerance. After she has presumably been imprisoned for some time she emerges from the castle to soliloquise. Her love for Endimion is still strong, but she does not want to get onto the wrong side of Corvites,

...if I be too flexible, I shall give him more hope than I mean;
if too forward, enjoy less liberty than I would; love him I cannot,
& therefore will practise that which is most customarie to our sex,
to dissemble. (IV,1,24-7)

More from pure mischief than any other reason, Tellus entreats Corvites to make trial of his boasted strength by moving Endimion, a labour she knows to be impossible. She maintains virtuously that such devices are necessary for women to keep men under control,

...but such shifts must women have to deceive men, and vnder colour
of things come, intreat that which is impossible; otherwise
we should be cūbred with importunities, oathes, sighes, letters,
and all implements of loue, which to one recoled to the contrary,
are most lothsome. (IV,1,74-8)

Despite her apparent dislike of Corvites, Tellus is finally persuaded, under pressure, to accept him. When Cynthia has heard the reason for the jealous actions of Tellus, and Endimion's youth has been as miraculously restored as the youth of the rest of the cast was miraculously preserved, she offers Tellus a pardon if she accept the love of the wronged Corvites. Tellus accepts 'most willingly' (V,111,245).

Tellus's misdemeanours are of three kinds. She is proud,

thinking herself to rival Cynthia, she is unkind to Corailes, using him as a willing dupe, and she revenges herself in an unpleasantly extreme way on Endimion. Cynthia, after her earlier displeasure, is disposed to look lightly on these offences, except for the malicious enchantment of Endimion. The apology that Tellus offers, at some length, for her actions, is based on the ^{extenuating} ~~attenuating~~ circumstances that Endimion deceived her by seemingly returning her love, when all the time hopelessly ~~enem-~~oured of Cynthia. In answer to this accusation, Endimion replies that her account was true '...in all things, but that she said I loved her, and swore to honour her' (V,iii,157-8). But we already know that Tellus's complaint was justified. As she comes on stage for their only meeting, Endimion, at the end of his long Cynthia-flattering soliloquy, utters 'But soft, here cometh Tellus, I must turne my other face to her like Janus, least she be as suspicious as Juno' (II,1,45-6), an admission of two-facedness less than flattering to the supposedly perfect courtier. In the following conversation, Endimion shamelessly continues the deception; ironically, the deception is pointless, since Tellus, aware of Endimion's duplicity, has already likened herself to Juno (I,ii,67). We may suspect that Ioly is more interested in the love-hate conflict in the mind of Tellus than he is in the courtly ~~consequences~~ of Endimion's passion, for he provides her with an adequate motive - Endimion's ~~deception~~ dissembling - at the expense of Endimion's perfection. Ioly did not bother to find a motive or an ~~excuse~~ excuse for this deception, it is simply a necessary note in the chord of Tellus's jealousy. It is not altogether surprising that the paradox of jealousy, which drives a man to kill the

thing he loves, should have appealed particularly to Igly. The theme returns to some extent in the action of the foresters in Loves Metamorphosis, and strongly in the near-tragic figure of Stecias. I do not wish to suggest that Tellus is the real centre of the play, a tragicomic heroine, but I do suggest that here is the most fully realized conflict, even though it ends with a rather surprising trigue de nicardie. She satisfies what we might call the equation of drama; a complex motivation leading to a conflict which resolves itself into action. The culminating action (her bewitching of Eudimion) however, is over too early in the play for us to consider her the central figure.

The only other character with a fully-realized dramatic equation is Eumenides. His big moment comes in the scene with Geron, where he is faced with a choice between his proud mistress and his faithful friend. It is, of course, a variation on the central theme of Eumenes, but on this occasion Eumenides does the right thing and chooses his friend before his mistress. Eumenides, even more than Eudimion, is the perfect courtly lover, keeping his love secret even from the loved one, receiving no encouragement, and being overcome at appropriate intervals by fits of sighing and weeping. I am not sure that Igly's treatment of Eumenides is altogether serious. There is surely some irony in the rhetorical request,

I pray thee, fortune, when I shall first meete with fayre Semele,
dash my delight with some light disgrace, least embracing sweetness
beyond measure, I take a surfit without recourse... (III,iv,96-9)

since it is hardly likely that he will escape without some dash to his delight with Semele, 'the very waspe of all women, whose tongue stingeth

as much as an Adders tooth' (V,iii,203-4). He makes a similar remark (V,iii,239-40) after Semele has capitulated, seemingly because she wants him to retain his tongue in order to continue flattering her. The whole business of Semele's punishment, committing her tongue close prisoner to her mouth, seems to be for the sake of an ambiguous end to the love of Eumenides, leaving us in some doubt as to whether he loved or - as Geron suggested (III,iv,62) - doted. It is almost as though Ioly were going out of his way in this play to avoid any suggestion of a straightforward love.

As we look at the superficially neat group assembled on stage for the final scene, we cannot help feeling that they are an extraordinary collection of couples. Semele, the waspish, is coupled with Eumenides, who seemed quite prepared to take her after a 'consenting' silence (and a good actor would have made it an eloquent silence). Tellus, having sent her love to sleep for forty years, and having shamefully tricked her lover, Corsites, is accepted lovingly by him, despite her earlier unwillingness, and her cruel treatment of him. If Eumenides is treated with a grain of salt, Corsites is seasoned with a spoonful, particularly since he has so much in common with Sir Tophas. Geron and Dipsas are certainly an odd pair, although we do not learn a great deal about them. Perhaps the most straightforward love of them all is that of Sir Tophas, who is quite happy to admit what it is he is after, 'Nay soft, I cannot handsomely goe to bed without Hegera... Turne her to a true love or false, so shes be a wench I care not' (V,iii,274, 279-80). Happiness is achieved by these couples only when, at Cynthia's persuasion, they

accept and forgive the imperfection of their partners.

The plot of Andrion, as I have established above, ⁽¹⁾ is much more highly unified than the plots of the earlier plays, but the debate-themes are more various. In Gallathea there is only the one debate, between love and chastity, although the love of the two girls silently argues that love and chastity are not necessarily mutually destructive in the way that is indicated by the reluctant state of peaceful coexistence achieved by Diana and Venus. In Andrion there are at least three debate-themes, the conflicts centred in Andrion, Tellus and Eumenides, although they are all concerned with different aspects of the question of perfection or imperfection in love. Andrion worships perfection, but is unable to enjoy his love; Eumenides worships Serale, who is manifestly imperfect, and it is only by accepting - or refusing to believe in - her imperfections that he attains happiness; Tellus is an example of that greatest of imperfections in love, jealousy, and must be content with the second best in love; Corites, Geron, and even Sir Tophan, all illustrate the necessity for tolerance in achieving happiness in love. The development between Gallathea and Andrion is such that Igly is able to explore more fully a wider range of ideas. This is probably both because the plot is technically more unified, making less necessary the 'unification round debate', ⁽²⁾ and because the structure of the compliment to the Queen, by virtue of its greater tactfulness, is less limiting.

(1) See pp.137 f., 220 f. above.

(2) Hunter's phrase (op. cit., p.160).

We might expect, in a play with virtually no conflict between different levels, and with no obvious figure designed to compliment Queen Elizabeth, that we would find a freer and more complete exploration of the ideas implicit in these earlier plays. This is, in fact, what we find in Love's Metamorphosis. It is unfortunate that in this, perhaps the most interesting and satisfying of all Lyly's plays, we have what we must consider an imperfect text on which to base our study of the play.⁽¹⁾ I do not think, however, that any revision which the play may have undergone for its later production by the children of the Chapel has materially altered it, for it remains as balanced and symmetrical as Mother Bombie, while possessing an intellectual tentness approached, I think, by none of Lyly's other plays.

One of the few articles to add significantly to our understanding of Lyly since the classical works of Bond and Feuillerat is 'Moral Allegory in Lyly's Love's Metamorphosis' by Paul E. Parnell.⁽²⁾ Parnell subjects the play to a detailed and thoughtful analysis, reaching the conclusion that the play is a moral allegory of an unusual kind dealing with Excess of Resistance to Love (Erisiothen, the three nymphs), Excess of Fidelity (Fidelis, the three foresters), and Excess of Responsiveness to Love (Protea and Petalins).⁽³⁾ It is perhaps unfair to summarize Parnell's work in these terms, for he is at his best when dealing with the play itself rather than when he is extracting capitalized abstrac-

(1) See p.6 f. above.

(2) Studies in Philology, LII (1955), pp.1-16.

(3) Parnell, op. cit., pp.14-15.

tions from the themes he has been discussing. The truth is that in a play that deals so patently with symbols (the rock, rose and bird, the Siren) it is misleading to think in terms of allegory at all. The fact that Parnell must call on such involved abstractions is an indication that the critical method is inadequate.

Love's Metamorphosis, in structure, is rather like Gallathea minus the sub-plot. There is one thread of the plot which deals with a debate theme concerning two gods - Diana and Venus, Ceres and Cupid - making use of pastoral figures to dramatise the debate, and there is a parallel thread which makes a non-explicit commentary on the other - Gallathea and Phillida, Protea and Petulus. The remarkable similarity in structure, however, serves only to emphasise how different the plays are in their basic assumptions about love. The choice of gods in Love's Metamorphosis is a clue to the change in tone. Gallathea opposes Diana and Cupid, a clear cut struggle between the virtue of chastity and the fecklessness of love; Love's Metamorphosis puts before us a much less obviously conflicting pair, Ceres the goddess of fruition, incidentally, and rather paradoxically, chaste, and Cupid, not the mischievous boy of Gallathea, but a mighty god who speaks only from his temple, and to whom Ceres and her nymphs must pay their respects.

The pastoral plot of Love's Metamorphosis is concerned with the selfish love of three foresters, and the equally selfish rejection of their love by the chaste nymphs of Diana. The love of the foresters is sterile: they are surprisingly cynical about love for three who profess themselves slaves to love.

Ramie. I cannot see, Montanus, why it is fain'd by the Poets,
that Loue sat vpon the Chaos and created the world; since in the
world there is so little loue....

Sil. I doe not thinke Loue hath any sparke of Diuinitie in him;
since the end of his being is earthly....

Ramie. ...since it will aske longer labour and studie to subdue the
powers of our blood to the rule of the soule, then to satisfie
them with the fruition of our loues, let vs bee constant in the
worlds errours, and seeke our owne torments. (I,i,1-3,9-10,17-20)

The foresters despise their own desires, but accept them because it would be harder to overcome them. After each has pursued his nymph and tried, without success, to persuade her to yield to love, the foresters go to Cupid to ask revenge on their mistresses. There is no differentiation between the three foresters - they are alike in the shallowness of their loves. Their revenge on the three nymphs, though superficially like Tellus's revenge on Endimion (Endimion and the three nymphs are all rendered inactive) is not motivated by the complex reaction we saw in Tellus, they are simply returning spite for spite.

The nymphs, similarly, are sterile; frigid, not chaste. The characteristics which lead to this sterility are clearly and appropriately differentiated. Eisa is stupid, Celia is proud and Niobe is inconstant. For their refusal to love, they are metamorphosed into a rock, rose and bird respectively, by Cupid, as a punishment. In one of those touches that stamp Iqly as a playwright of ideas not clichés, the nymphs, upon regaining their human shapes, decide that metamorphosis into objects so appropriate is easier to bear than the indignity of yielding to love. The stone was safe from 'the importunities of men, whose open flatteries make way to their secret lustes' (V,iv,69-70); the rose, which, 'distilled with fire yeeldeth sweete water' (V,iv,81-2), is better off than

love, which 'in extremities, kindles jealousies' (V,iv,82-3); the bird of paradise saw in the heavens 'an orderly course, in the earth nothing but disorderly love, and picquishness' (V,iv,97-8). It is only when Cupid threatens to turn them to monsters loathsome to others and themselves that they capitulate. Before they accept the foresters finally, the nymphs warn that their natures have not changed, and that their love will be imperfect. The foresters accept imperfection with the same cynicism that they showed towards love at the beginning of the play,

Amis. O, my sweets Hiss! be what thou wilt, and let all thy imperfections be excused by me, so thou but say thou louest me...

Non. Let me bleed curie minute with the prickles of the Rose, so I may enjoy but one hower the saucour...

Sil. My sweets Hiss! flie whither thou wilt all day, so I may find thee in my nest at night... (V,iv,136-7,144-5,154-5)

The conflict between the foresters and the nymphs is extended by the opposition of Ceres and Cupid. Ceres, supposedly the goddess of fructification, is as suspicious of the motives of love as her nymphs,

Ceres. ...sweets Cupid, let them not be deceived by flatterie, which taketh the shape of affection, nor by lust, which is clothed in the habit of love... (V,i,54-6)

and although she admits that 'to love it be no vice', she like Diana, believes that 'spotlesse virginittie is the onely vertue' (II,i,119). It is in answer to this that Cupid makes the memorable reply, which I have already quoted, that lovers are chaste. As Parnell has pointed out, Ceres remains querulous and timid in her attitude to love to the end of the play. (1)

The vices we see in the nymphs and the foresters are portrayed

(1) Parnell, op. cit., pp.12,14.

in extreme forms in Fidelia and Erisiothos. Fidelia was metamorphosed to a tree to avoid the sensual lust of a satyr; she represents the complete withdrawal from sex. Erisiothos, in his action of violence, can only represent the extreme of physical lust that culminates in rape. (1) The nymphs' rejection of love becomes complete in Fidelia; the foresters' cynically physical attitude to the fruits of love becomes the physical violence of Erisiothos. The already evocative symbolism of this episode becomes even more striking when the goddess of fruition sends Famine to gnaw at the vitals of Erisiothos - the inevitable increase of an appetite fed by violence. By contrast - and again we must acknowledge some poetical profundity - the fruits of the rape are fresh flowers (V.1,36-7). The fact that we can understand Fidelia and Erisiothos in terms of abstractions is an indication of their extreme position in the plan of the play, not an invitation to look for allegory in the more complex figures at the play's centre.

Parallel to the plot of the nymphs and foresters is the story of Petulius and Protea, filling the same dramatic purpose as the love of Calliope and Phillida in *Calliope*. Protea and Petulius are the only couple in all the plays, with the exception of Apelles and Campaspe, with whom one can feel in complete sympathy. Their love is far from perfect, but it is positive. Protea, at some time prior to the play, was seduced (willingly, one gathers) by Neptune, who, in gratitude, changes her first to a fisherman, to avoid the Merchant, and later to Ulysses to save Pet-

(1) The point is made by Parnell, *op. cit.*, p.6.

ulius from the clutches of the Siren. Both these metamorphoses are rich in symbolic overtones. The Merchant, it seems, is prepared to make commercial use of Protea, by prostitution I suppose, but he is foiled in his attempt (offstage) by Protea's metamorphosis into a fisherman. I do not think that it is reading too much into this to see it as an ironical double entendre; the merchant, desirous of becoming a fishmonger, speaks to a fisherman about the one that got away. Protea's pre-play lapse is duplicated by Petulius's onstage near-seduction by the Siren, another fish-figure, and probably a symbol for a prostitute.⁽¹⁾ These two, in contrast to the nymphs and foresters, are warm blooded. Again, however, and in this they are like the foresters, they achieve happiness only by accepting imperfection, this time the moral lapses suffered by each.

Petulius and Protea are at the centre of Iqly's paradoxical view of love. They are technically unfaithful to each other, and yet Cupid singles out their faithfulness for special comment; they are both imperfect in their love, yet, by the acceptance and forgiveness (a warmer word than tolerance is needed) of their imperfections, they achieve something closer to perfection in their love than any of Iqly's other couples. Perhaps the reason why critics have been unable to agree whether Iqly's plays represent an exposition of Christian or Platonic love is that in fact they are a remarkable fusion of the two. Acceptance, with Christian forgiveness and tolerance, of the imperfect nature of man, the shadow of a perfection, leads to human happiness. It may be

(1) See Bushman, Bond, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 189 and 255.

that Iyly's concept of the imperfection of man owes more to the Christian concept of the fallen state of mankind, ⁽¹⁾ but, as I have pointed out, it is a recurrent theme in his plays, and is often coupled with imagery that likens the imperfect object to a painting. In Love's Metamorphosis there is a particularly striking example. Montanus admonishes Celia that 'To be amiable and not to love, is like a painted Lady, to have colours and no life' (III,1,58-9). We think of Tellus weaving the picture of Endimion; of Diana warning her nymphs that in love they embrace 'the shadows of vertue in steede of the substance'; ⁽²⁾ of Trachinus comparing the university with the court, 'In vniuersities vertues and vices are but shadowed in colours, white and blacke, in courtes shewed to the life, good and bad'; ⁽³⁾ of Dipsas renouncing 'both substance and shade'; ⁽⁴⁾ (the phrase is becoming almost a Iylian cliché) of her art; even of Bromio comparing himself, the true image, with Halfpennie, the shadow,

DIP. ...I speake representing the person of a knife, as thou didst
that in shadow of a bodkin.(II, i, 113-5).

With this doctrine of love in mind, it is easier to understand the otherwise puzzling scene in Myther Boshis when Candidus wavers in his devotion to Idvia on seeing Silena, and is only prevented from changing his allegiance by the discovery that Silena is (like Hica?) stupid. It is not possible to trace this concept of love beyond Love's Metamorphosis with any confidence, for there is no extended treatment of love in either

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- (1) G. Wilson Knight, in a stimulating article on Iyly in R.E.S., XV (1939), p.146 ff., sees a good deal of Christian significance in the plays.
 - (2) Callithes III,iv,44.
 - (3) Sunho and Phao I,ii,12-14.
 - (4) Endimion V,iii,262.

Midas or Mother Bombie. One interesting point we may notice from these plays is that the sub-plots are noticeably more bawdy than in the earlier plays. Petulus and Iácio have a quiet snicker about Iácio's mistress, with a number of bawdy puns,⁽¹⁾ and they enjoy cuckold-humour at Motto's expense. In Mother Bombie the pages indulge in Iyly's most outspoken humour, to the disgust of Rixula. This change may have been due to changing tastes in Iyly's audience, but in The Woman in the Moon, even Gmophilus, apart from some horn-humour at Stecias's expense (III,ii,213-8), avoids obvious bawdry.

We are now perhaps in a position to understand more of the relationship between Stecias and Pandora. Pandora is not in control of her protean changes of temperament; under the influence of the malignant planets she is guilty of the faithlessness (as distinct from Protea's lapse into infidelity) which springs from frigidity. Stecias is unable to tolerate or forgive behaviour which has not the excuse of excessive wrath. Stecias remains the tragedy of the man who has momentarily experienced perfection, has seen it shattered, and, like Tellus, can achieve satisfaction only in killing the object of his earlier love. The play remains primarily a conflict between mortals and gods; it gives a strong impression of darkness by comparison with the earlier plays. It is as though Iyly found that man's (or woman's) imperfection was such that not even forgiveness and tolerance could produce happiness, and it was only by bitter rejection of the imperfect image that man could assert himself

(1) Midas I,ii,8,29-33; III,ii,14-6.

against the maliciousness of the gods that caused the imperfection.

These later plays do, to a certain extent, move more than the static presentation of relationships in Gallathea and Endimion. The loves of Gallathea and Phillida remain entirely static, except for a steadily increasing perplexity, throughout the play, but in Loves Metamorphosis there is some action, notably the near-seduction of Petulius, in the side-plot of Protea and Petulius. Similarly, the action of the foresters and their subsequent repentance forms a dramatic equation absent in the earlier play. Interestingly enough, the metamorphosis of the nymphs, though it represents action by the foresters, does not involve the nymphs themselves in any dramatic change. Their dramatic equation is not completed until the surprising rejection of the foresters in the last scene. Together with the increased movement in the relationships that he is concerned with, we notice that Lyly is less dependent on long soliloquy to reveal conflict; the conflict is to a larger extent made external between the different groups of characters, rather than centred in the mind of one. Similarly, despite the furious plotting of the third and fourth acts, the relationships in The Woman in the Moon progress in a series of static tableaux until the final rage of Stecias.

We can see, from Alexander and Campaspe and Gallathea to Endimion and Loves Metamorphosis, a strong development in the expression of Lyly's ideas on love. From the conventional ideas expected from the author of Euphues presenting a play before a virgin queen, we see a steady movement towards the expression of a philosophy of love which is both satisfying and profound, and which is associated with an increasing-

ly effective use of symbol, from the morality-play opposition of the shop of Apelles with the tub of Diogenes to the more complex but semi-serious opposition of earth and moon in Endimion, to the fully satisfying, constructive and poetically complex use of symbol in Love's Metamorphosis. With the evolution of this philosophy of love, there is a gradual darkening of tone, from the optimism of Alexander and Camargo to the irony of Endimion, the toughness of Love's Metamorphosis, and finally the pessimism of The Women in the Moon.

CONCLUSION

It has been my aim in this study to discover the nature and extent of the development in Iqly's dramatic art, and of the ideas expressed in his plays. It has not been my concern to place Iqly in the wider and more complex development of the period as a whole; he was an important figure in his time, although his star faded rapidly, but it has been my intention to turn inward to the plays themselves, discussing them as a coherent series of works from the mind of one man, such that they illuminate each other by the varied treatment of similar themes. I do not want to give the impression that Iqly was independent of external influence, or that his was an isolated effort influencing nobody; there are in fact obvious traces of his reading and of his education in his work, which 'the big three', Bond, Feuillerat and Hunter, have discussed in detail (although I feel that by the time the plays came to be written the chief influence on Iqly was Rushman), and there is no doubt that both as stylist and playwright he exerted a considerable, if brief, influence on his contemporaries. This was a period of intensive cross-fertilisation, and it seems almost as though every writer was influenced by every other writer. Shakespeare, in his courtly plays, Love's Labour's Lost and A Midsummer Night's Dream shows the influence of Iqly when he turns to a genre that had earlier been dominated by him, and Iqly in The Woman in the Moon, seems to have been influenced by Shakespeare, as he turned to a genre which the younger writer was beginning to dominate.

A cursory reading of the plays may give an impression of sameness, but this is the same kind of impression that the listener used to the wide colour range of orchestral music feels when he first turns to the limited sonorities of the string quartet. Within the seemingly monochromatic texture of the plays there is almost endless variety. To recognise this variety, it is necessary to establish what things do not vary. Only when we are aware of the ideas and techniques that do not change is it possible to appreciate those that do. It should be clear, for example, that Iqly's love of paradox and antithesis remained for the whole of his artistic output; it was in the means of expressing paradox, and in the ideas which found this expression that we can see a change. Finally, having documented the changes that take place in Iqly's attitudes, and his presentation of them, I have examined these changes to see, so far as is possible, whether they were the result of experiment, the pursuit of novelty for its own sake, or whether they represent a true development which is the result of self-criticism or the deeper exploration of themes already established.

There can be little doubt, I think, that Iqly's use of the medium of drama became more expert in his later plays. The plays became more unified, both as his control of plot and intrigue became more complete, and as the separate sub-plots and side-plots became more indispensable as commentaries on the central ideas of the plays. Some of the later plays, Love's Metamorphosis, Mother Zombie and The Women in the Moon, are experimental attempts to achieve a new kind of unity, but the end-products are evolutionary as well as experimental. Iqly's use of the

stage and of stage effects became more important to an appreciation of the plays as it became more subtle and more expert, culminating in the expressive symbolism of Love's Metamorphosis and the virtuous criss-crossing of intrigue in Mother Bombie. In the later plays the opposition implied by the stage houses and doors was exploited to suggest a similar opposition of ideas between the formally balanced groups which took the stage in turn.

Igley's love of word-castles, and jingling sentence-patterns never left him, but there is a consistent development towards a more metaphorical and concrete use of language. The similitude so beloved of the author of Enthusiasm is used less and less frequently, and when it was used in the later plays it tended to become less exotic, and more obviously appropriate, at times approaching the complexity of the conceit. By the time his contemporaries turned against the fashionable excesses of Enthusiasm, Igley had himself evolved a prose style which, while basically unchanged, was more flexible and expressive, and which avoided the absurdities with which the name of his first book became synonymous.

Throughout his career, Igley remained politically conservative. Five of the eight plays were constructed around a theme directly complimentary to the Virgin Queen, and the main interest in a consideration of this theme, since the nature of the compliment did not change, is in Igley's handling of it. In this we can say with some confidence that Igley's attitude was experimental; except for an increased tactfulness of presentation, and except for the distinct development in the handling of parallel situations in Sambo and Phao and Radisson, there is no real de-

velopment. Midas may well have been a fuller and more serious exploration of the dangers inherent in an inadequate monarch, and in this it may be considered a development of themes touched upon in Alexander and Campaspe and Sasbo and Phao. Again, in those plays which involve conflict between gods and mortals, Iqly is anxious to ensure that order is preserved, with the possible exception of The Woman in the Moon, where the malicious interference of the gods is counterbalanced by the elevation of Pandora and the embittered Stenias - the reverse of the magnanimous stooping of an earlier Gynthia.

The development of Iqly's dramatic technique, and the relative stasis of his views on the relationship between those at different levels of the Chain of Being are a background to the thread which connects all the plays; the nature of human love. It is here that we find a development profound enough, I think, to justify the study of Iqly as a writer of sufficient importance to be considered on his own merit, not a figure of purely historical importance, of interest only to the erudite (page Feuillerat - Iqly, p.409). From the charming, but simple and uncomplicated love of Apelles and Campaspe, we move to the simple but thoroughly complicated love of Gallathea and Phillida, set in a debate, otherwise unresolved, between love and chastity. Already it seems that Iqly has progressed to the exposition of a fairly subtle view of love, that married fidelity is a possible fusion of the pleasures of love with the virtues of chastity. With Radinica a new theme is introduced, the impossibility of enjoying perfection in love; Radinica loves perfection, but he is unable to enjoy her, and the happiness of the various ill-assorted couples

assembled onstage at the end of the play is achieved only by the acceptance of imperfection. The jealousy of Tellus is the result of a refusal to countenance imperfection. The Spenserian resolution of love and chastity in Gallathea is contradicted by Loves Metamorphosis. The inevitability of imperfection is the major theme of this play, in which Iqly has achieved the expression of an attitude to human love which is both profound and, I think, unique. Human love, the shadow of a substance, is imperfect, and happiness is attainable only by blindness, if the love is selfish or shallow, or by forgiveness, if the love is warm and positive. Sexual violence, and the complete withdrawal from sex are equally to be avoided. Stecias, in The Woman in the Moone, is unable to accept the imperfection of love imposed wilfully by the gods, and, like Tellus, he seeks to destroy the object of his love. Unlike Tellus, however, he refuses to accept a second-best, and, in his striving for perfection, bitter though it is, he achieves immortality in a way that none of the other shepherds - or, indeed, any of Iqly's mortals - could.

This is a view of life which I find strongly at variance with the accepted image of Iqly as a gentle and rather effete dramatist. In these plays I find a darkening of tone, and an intensification of intellectual impact which puts Iqly above all of the early Elizabethan dramatists except Marlowe. There is a sensitivity, and particularly in the later plays, an integrity and a sincerity in his work which I find impressive when contrasted with the sensationalism and hack-work of Peele and Greene, for example.

Iqly's vision of life centred on paradox, and paradox is of

necessity, static. This, I think is why his dramatis personae embody situations of static conflict, rather than character or allegory, and why, possibly even in his own time, his plays acquired their image of effete gentility, although the affectations of his style must have contributed. It is a happy paradox that this very stasis produces Iqly's most effective moments; Alexander indicates that the conflict between love and war is not really resolved; the nymphs prefer their metamorphosed states, perpetuating their attitudes, to union with the foresters; and Steias rejects a repentant Pandora, to immortalize the conflict between them. It is no accident, I think that these are Iqly's most intellectually satisfying plays.

In the epilogue to the only play which allows the static nature of his vision of life to become a vice, Iqly makes an apology to the audience, in a passage that may speak as clearly to the modern reader:

Wee feare we haue lead you all this while in a labyrinth of conceites, diuerse times hearing one deuice, & haue now brought you to an end, where we first beganne.... There is nothing cometh such giddines, as going in a wheele, neither can there any thing breede such tediousnesse, as hearing manie words vttered in a small compass.... And so we wish every one of you a thread to leade you out of the doubts, wherwith we lesse you intangled:... (*Sapho and Pheo*)

By arming ourselves with the clue that Iqly's strength lies in his appreciation of the complexities inherent in an apparently static situation, we can penetrate to the centre of his labyrinth of conceits, finding a paradox no less unusual, though rather more rewarding, than the *Minotaur*; a writer whose drama is static but full of life, and whose works, under a surface of grace and elegance, achieve intellectual toughness and maturity.

APPENDIX A

The only surviving play that the Paul's boys acted between their dissolution in 1591 and their re-opening, in c. 1599 is Sumner's Last Will and Testament, by Thomas Nashe, published in 1600, when both the children of the Chapel and the Paul's boys published a number of their 'mustie fopperies of antiquitie'.⁽¹⁾ We might expect that Igly's influence would be strong in any production put on by the Paul's boys in 1592, only a year or two after his plays had played such a prominent part in their repertoire, particularly since we know that Nashe was working to some extent with Igly not long before, in the Marprelate controversy. But I wonder if this is sufficient to account for what we find. Will Summers enters, and after some fine flowing Nashe 'extempore', recollects himself, and says, 'He shewe you what a scurvy Prologue (the Idiot our Playmaker) had made me, in an old wayne of similitudes...' (ll.26-7). The Prologue (it may be Will Summers himself reading it, or a little boy, like the Epilogue) which follows is worth quoting in full.

At a sole~~me~~ feast of the Trinmiri in Rome, it was scene and observed that the birds ceased to sing, & sate solitarie on the house tops, by reason of the sight of a paynted Serpēt set openly to view. So fares it with vs nouices, that here betray our imperfections: we, afraid to looke on the imaginary serpent of Envy, paynted in mans affections, have ceased to tune any musike of mirth to your eares this twelmonth, thinking that, as it is the nature of the serpent to hisse, so childhood and ignorance would play the goalinge, contemning and condemning what they vnderstood not. Their censures we

(1) The phrase is from Jack Drum's Entertainment (act V, see The Plays of John Marston, ed. H. Harvey Wood Edinburgh, 1939), vol.III, p.254. Loves Metamorphosis was printed at about the same time as Sumner's Last Will.

wey not, whose senses are not yet unswayed. The little minutes will be continually striking, though no man regard them. Whelpes will bark before they can see, and strins to byte before they haue teeth. Politicians speaketh of a beast who, while hee is cut on the table, drinketh, and represents the notions & voyces of a liuing creature. Such like foolish beasts are we, who, whilst we are out, mocked, & flouted at, in euery mans common talke, will notwithstanding proceed to shame our selues, to make sport. No man pleaseth all; we seeke to please one. Dionysius wrote foure thousand booke, or, as some say, six thousand, of the arte of Grammar. Our Authour hopes it may be as lawfull for him to write a thousand lines of as light a subject. Socrates (whom the Oracle pronounced the wisest man of Greece) sometimes daunced. Scipio and Laelius by the seaside played at pebble-stone. Samuel inuentionis comes. Euery man cannot, with Archimedes, make a heauen of brasse; or dig gold out of the iron mines of the lawe. Such odds trifles as Mathematicians experiments be, Artificiall flyes to hang in the ayre by themselves, dauncing balles, an egg-shell that shall elyue vp to the top of a speare, fiery breathing goares, Poeta noster professeth not to make. Pleasant sibi quisq; licet. What's a foole but his bable? Deepe reaching wits, heere is no deepe streame for you to angle in. Modernisars, you that wrest a neuer meant meaning out of euery thing, applying all things to the present time, keepe your attention for the common Stage: for here are no quips in Characters for you to reade. Vayne glossers, gather what you will. Spite, spell backwards what thou canst. As the Parthians fight, flying away, so will wee prate and talke, but stand to nothing that we say.

It is obvious that we are in the presence of Igly; either Nashe is working from something that Igly wrote, or he is parodying him in order to make fun of the 'old wayne of similitudes'. The appeal to style as evidence of authorship is too often the last resort of those who have a hunch and nothing to back it up with, but the point here is that this is unlike Nashe's usual style, and that Nashe is undoubtedly making fun of it. In fact the most interesting thing about the Prologue is that it obviously differs from Igly's style in some important ways. An instructive comparison may be made between the first sentence, and the very similar opening to 'The Prologue at the Black Fryers' in Alexander and Cassius.

...And Lepidas, which could not sleepe for the chatting^e of birdes, set vp a beaste, whose head was like a Dragon: and we which stande in awe of reports, are compelled to sette beefore our owle Pallas shield, thinking by her vertue to couer the others deformitie.

(11.2-6)

The earlier version is derived directly from Pliny,⁽¹⁾ but the 'similitude' used by Nashe seems to come from Cornelius Agrippa De Incertitudine et Varietate Umnium Scientiarum, translated in 1569 by James Sandford.⁽²⁾ The striking difference between the two images is that Igly, in Alexander and Campaspe, leaves it to his audience to discover the similitude, whereas Nashe carefully explains 'the imaginary serpent of Emu, paynted in men's affectiōns...'. In the same way Igly never gives the authority for his fabulous beasts, whereas Nashe glosses his carefully, 'Politianus speaketh of a beast...', and, in a later speech by Ver 'that young man of Athens (Aelianus makes mention of)...'. Again the applicability of the beast that Politian (or, more probably, Agrippa again) speaks of, is carefully explained. All this could be watered-down Igly, or, more probably, a parody of Igly. There is, however, an entirely different sound (to my ears) in the passage beginning 'Their censures we wey not, whose senses are not yet unswaddled': these sentences have the true Iglyan epigrammatic ring. Similarly the passage beginning 'No man pleaseth all; we seeke to please one', particularly the opposition of 'gold' with 'iron' sounds more like Igly than Igly-parody. The 'odd trifles' appear also in Nashe's Strange News,⁽³⁾ written soon after Shewer's Last Will and

(1) Naturalis Historiae, xxv, 38.

(2) Quoted by McKerrow, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 420.

(3) C.f. McKerrow, op. cit., vol. I, p. 331, ll. 19-22.

Testament, but whether Nashe was simply repeating himself, or borrowing from Iyly twice we cannot tell.

From the evidence of the Prologue, we can say at least that Iyly's ghost is present in the play, possibly some of Iyly's bones draped by Nashe with a sheet. The play, or show, continues, apart from the interjections from Will Summers, in blank verse, a medium which Iyly used in The Woman in the Moone, written not long after Summer's Last Will and Testament was performed. The characteristics of Iyly's blank verse are harder to determine or recognize than the characteristics of his prose. It is regular, smooth-flowing and end-stopped, which certainly is also true of the verse which follows in Summer's Last Will and Testament. Summer's first speech, after a panegyric on Elizabeth, reads

In presence of this Honourable trayne,
 Who love me (for I patronise their sports),
 Hence I to make my finall Testament:
 But first Ile call my officers to count,
 And of the wealth I gave them to dispose,
 Known what is left, I may know what to give.
 Fortranne then, that burst the yere about,
 Summon them one by one to answer me;
 First, For, the spring, into whose custody
 I have committed more then to the rest:
 The choyce of all my fragrant meades and flowres,
 And what delights see're nature affords. (p.238, ll.147-158)

In this whole passage there are only six irregular feet, and this regularity is typical of the blank verse of the first half of the play. A later speech by Solstitium combines this regularity with some rather Iylyan appreciation of antithesis,

Such is the state of men in honour plac'd;
 They are gold vessels made for servile uses,
 High trees that keep the weather from low houses,
 But cannot shield the tempest from themselves.

I lone to dwell betwixt the hilles and dales;
 Nayther to be so great to be envied;
 Nor yet so poore the world should pitie me. (p.245, ll.374-380)

By itself, of course, this proves nothing, but the interesting point is that the style of the blank verse changes as the play proceeds. Compare the quoted verses - or any others from the early part of the play - with some of the invective of Autumn or Winter towards the end, or even with the still relatively placid Summer's pronouncements - for example,

Winter, with patience unto my grieffe,
 I haue attended thy inuective tale:
 So much untraeth wit neuer shadowed:
 Gainst her owne bowels thou Arts weapons turn'st:
 Let none beleaue thee that will euer thrine:
 Words haue their courses, the wind blowes where it lists;
 He erres alone, in error that persists. (p.280, ll.1484-1490)

An examination of any of the speeches in the second half of the play will show the same increased tendency to colloquialism and strong lines, and, possibly, as in the last two lines quoted above, a greater number of lines which are memorable. McKerrow, in his discussion of the play,⁽¹⁾ comes to the conclusion that it must be in a revised state as we have it, in order to reconcile self-contradictory evidence concerning the date of performance, and I suggest that we could explain both the unusual nature of the play, and the rather scrambled state it is in, as a 'show' written by Nashe, using a half-finished play or show by Ioly. Further analysis of the play supports this view.

Will Summers continues his slighting references to the 'baggerly Poet' (l.348) that wrote the play. He refers scornfully to

(1) Op. cit., vol.IV, pp.416-419.

Ver's speech in praise of beggary. Again, as in the Prologue, Ver's speech sounds rather like Igly explained and expanded,

Tell me, I pray, wherefore was gold layd vnder our feete in the
 reynes of the earth, but that wee should contemne it and treade
 vpon it, and so consequently treade thrift vnder our feete? It
 was not knowen till the Iron age, domus facinus inuenit mortales,
 as the Poet sayes; and the Scythians alwayes detested it.

(11.278-285)

Igly would never have written the redundant 'and so consequently', and I doubt if he would attribute his quotation to 'the Poet'. But the association of gold and iron, ⁽¹⁾ and the conceit disparaging gold by association with its source, ⁽²⁾ are both characteristic of Igly. The tag appears also in Pierce Penniless, ⁽³⁾ a pamphlet which was written also at about the same time as Summers Last Will, in the summer of 1592. Perhaps Igly was Nashe's source for this otherwise untraced tag. With the fate of Midas looming largely in the minds of those associated with the Paul's boys, it is perhaps not surprising to find Nashe, in the person of Will Summers, describing this rather odd play as a 'gally-manfrey'. ⁽⁴⁾ As we read on, we find that the play continues to abound in Iglyan contrarities,

One that will shine on friend and foe alike,
 That vnder brightest smiles hideth blacke showers... (11.477-8)

and

Foorth purest mines he smacks a gainefull dross... (1.484)

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- (1) C.f. for example, Midas I,1,47-48; I,1,85-86 and III,1,4-5.
 (2) C.f. Midas I,1,87; III,1,10 and even in the sub-plot II,11,5.
 (3) McKerrow, op. cit., vol.I, p.191, l.24.
 (4) McKerrow, op. cit., vol.III, p.246, l.422.

so Autumn and Winter speaking of Sol. Sol is an interesting character. Principally, as the quotation above might suggest, he is the summer sun, drying up springs and lakes, burning grass, and making the Thames bare. But he is also Apollo, turning himself the god of poetry, setting wanton songs to the lute, wronging Daphne, and descending each evening to Thetis's lap. This last is unusual, for there is no classical precedent for linking Apollo and Thetis. It is, I think, more than simply a coincidence that in the only play of Iyly's written after 1592, The Woman in the Moon, a similarly composite Sol, again so termed in the text, and this time mingling the astrological characteristics of the sun with the attributes of Apollo, is a second time linked with both Daphne and Thetis. Sol, on descending, and yielding his benificent influence over Pandora to Venus, says

For though at first Phoebus envied her lockes,
 Yet now doth he admire her glorious hew,
 And swears that neyther Dawn in the spring,
 Nor glistering Thetis in her orient robe,
 Nor shawefact morning gert in silver cloudes,
 Are halfe so lovely as this earthly sainte. (III,ii,6-11)

Dodd, in a note on this passage, remarks

There seems to be no classical warrant for these two latter loves of Sol. Iyly is thinking of the natural connexion between the sun and water (through evaporation), and the sun and the dawn.

-- a natural connection which might be more obvious in the context of Summer's Last Will and Testament. It is after Sol's exit that Will Summers makes his last disparaging comment on the author (after this his comments are directed at the actors in the play),

Out of doubt, the Poet is bribde of some that have a messe of creame to eat, before my Lord goe to bed yet, to hold him half the night

with riffe raffie of the running of Elmor. If I can tell what it means, pray god I may neuer get breakfast nere, when I am hungry. Troth, I am of opinion he is one of those Hieroglyphicall writers, that, by the figures of beasts, planets, and of stones, expresse the mind, as we doe in A.B.C. (ll. 585-93)

This sounds remarkably like the kind of criticism that contemporary writers, Nashe included, were levelling against Lyly.⁽¹⁾ The introductory matter to Greene's Mammoth (1589) includes a poem by Thomas Brabine which refers, doubtless, to Lyly as one who 'stands on terms of trees and stones', and in Nashe's preface to the same work we find this passage,

Let other men (as they please) praise the Mountaine that in women yeeres bringeth forth a Mouse, or the Italianate pease that, of a packet of pilferies, affords the pease a pamphlet or two in an age, and then in disguised array vante Quids and Phytaraha plumes as theyr owne... (2)

which has an obvious relevance to the writings of Lyly, and is probably directed specifically against him.⁽³⁾ Nashe goes on to praise Greene for his 'extemporall veine'. The most obviously absurd aspect of Euphuism was, and is, its

Talking of Stones, Stars, Plants, of fishes, Flyes,
Playing with words, and idle Similes. (4)

as Drayton describes it, and it was this aspect which came in for rid-

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- (1) See Hunter, op. cit., chapter on Lyly as 'The victim of fashion'. The reference to Skelton is explained by McKerrow (op. cit., vol. IV, p. 427) as a criticism of excessive alliteration.
- (2) McKerrow, op. cit., vol. III, p. 312.
- (3) See Hunter, op. cit., p. 283.
- (4) Epistle to Henry Reynolds, ll. 91-2, see The Works of Michael Drayton, ed. J. W. Nibel (Shakespeare Head Press, 1931-41), vol. III.

icule as soon as its initial attraction wore off. The fact that Iqly himself uses such artificial imagery less and less in the plays shows that he was as aware of its absurdity as his critics; hence in the later plays, Midas, Mother Bombie and Love's Metamorphosis the images, or analogies, drawn from fabulous natural history are few and far between.⁽¹⁾ If Nashe were working from a sketch of Iqly's, written after Midas, and if he wanted to make fun of the style associated with Iqly, he would probably have had to bolster the text before him with more obvious exphu-isms than the author of Euphues would have provided.

The evidence for Iqly's involvement in Spaner's Last Will and Testament is internal, and must be gleaned from the text of the play itself. There is, as far as I know, no external reason for linking Iqly with Nashe in the play, except for the obvious association of the two through the medium of the Paul's boys, and the known fact that they were engaged together in the Harprelate controversy. At about the same time as Spaner's Last Will would have been written, Nashe, in Pierce Penniless, threatens Richard Harvey that 'hee also whom thou tearrest the vaine Parhatchet, will haue a flart at thee one day',⁽²⁾ and, although Iqly does not seem to have contributed further to the controversy, Nashe is still confident in Have with you to Saffron Walden (1596) that the Harveys have not heard the last from Iqly.

For Master Lillie (who is halnes with me in this indignitie that is offred) I will not take the tale out of his mouth, for that he is better able to defend himselfe than I am able to say he is able to

(1) See above, ch.V, p.177 ff.

(2) McKerrow, op. cit., vol.I, p.198.

defend himself, and in as much time as hee spends taking Tobacco one weeke, he can compile that which would make Gabriell repent himselfe all his life after. With a blacke sent he menues shortly to be at his chamber window for calling him the Fiddlesticks of Oxford.
(1)

Judging from the number of references to Igly in Have with you, Nashe seems 'rather anxious to insist on the partnership',⁽²⁾ though, by the reference quoted above, we may be sure that he was no great admirer of Igly's style. In Strange News (1592), Nashe speaks of it directly,

Business I readd when I was a little ope in Cambridge, and then I thought it was Ipse ille: it may be excellent good still, for ought I know, for I lookt not on it this ten years: but to imitate it I abhorre, otherwise than it imitates Plutarch, Quid, and the choicest Latine Authore.
(3)

Since Igly's known association with Nashe was in the Marprelate controversy, on the side of the bishops, it is worth noting that Summer's Last Will and Testament was probably performed before the Archbishop of Canterbury in his palace at Groydon.⁽⁴⁾ The audience which saw the play performed before the Archbishop would have had ample reason for associating it with both Igly and Nashe; as suggested earlier, the reputation of the Paul's boys would have been very much bound up with the reputation of Igly as a dramatist, and, in addition, such an audience would have been very much aware of Nashe as pamphleteer, and would have associated him with that sphere of his activity which connected him with Igly, particu-

(1) McKerrow, op. cit., vol.III, pp.137-8.

(2) Bond, op. cit., vol.I, p.59.

(3) McKerrow, op. cit., vol.I, p.319.

(4) B. Nicholson's arguments in The Works of Thomas Nashe ed. Groomart, (London, 1883-5), vol.VI, pp.xxviii - xxx have been accepted by Chambers (op. cit., vol.III, p.451) and McKerrow (op. cit., vol.IV, pp.416-9).

larly since the Paul's boys also were probably involved in the anti-Marpregate war.

I suggest, then, that there are strong reasons for believing that Igly was associated with Sumner's Last Will and Testament at least by implication. There remains the possibility that the play simply involved some parody of Igly by Mashe, and that Igly was not directly involved at all. Mashe was given to parody, and if, as seems likely, the images borrowed from Cornelius Agrippa are Mashe's, not Igly's, there must be some element of parody present in the play. But there are two reasons why I believe that Igly's contribution was actual, not passive. There are, as I have tried to show, consistent differences between the earlier part of the play and the latter half or two-thirds. As well as the change in the nature of the blank verse which I have tried to illustrate above, it is noticeable that the dramatic function of Will Summers changes from his role of ironical commentator, making satirical remarks about the Igly-type author of the play (though Mashe, of course, would not have been above including himself in the joke) and making references to the nature of the child-actors, to a more subdued role, except for the incident where he becomes involved in the action with Macchus, who, like Harvest, must certainly be pure Mashe.

The various confusing indications as to the date of the play's performance, and the interesting suggestions in the play that the Queen may have been at the performance, despite Will Summers's references to 'My Lord' only, ⁽¹⁾ reinforce the feeling that more than one hand has been involved in the play. One set of indications of date may belong to Igly.

(1) See B. Nicholson in Grosart, op. cit., vol.VI, pp.xxxiv - xxxvi and McKerrow, op. cit., vol.IV, p.419.

the others to Nashe; the panegyrics to the Queen, set in the 'show' itself, could have been written by Iyly, in expectation of a Court performance, while the references to Whitgift in Will Summers's speeches would naturally have been added by Nashe. While this is certainly oversimplifying, particularly where the references to date are concerned, it does provide an acceptable explanation of the contradictions within the play. The other reason why I believe we may claim for Iyly a share in the actual writing of Summers's Last Will and Testament is that the blank verse in the earlier part of the play may be associated with Iyly as well as the prose, and Will Summers's most revealing remarks about the author ('one of these Hieroglyphicall writers...') comes after a section of blank verse. It is extremely unlikely that Nashe would have parodied Iyly in blank verse, as Iyly is not known to have used the medium until The Women in the Moone, which was probably not written until well after Summers's Last Will. Hence, since the blank verse seems to be included in the Iyly-satire of the play, a more reasonable assumption might be that Iyly wrote the early sections of blank verse in the play, and that these are, perhaps, his first experiments in the medium. The only other play associated with Nashe, The Isle of Dogs, is known to have been a collaboration,⁽¹⁾ so we may assume that he would not have regarded collaboration with Iyly as beneath his dignity.

This, then, is the theory that I put forward as an explanation of the unusual nature of Summers's Last Will and Testament: Iyly began a

(1) See Kellerman, op. cit., vol.III, p.154, marginal note to The Prayers of the Red Herring.

sketch of a 'show', to be presented before the Queen by the Paul's boys, using both prose and blank verse when appropriate, as he does in The Women in the Woods. For some reason, probably connected with the suppression of the Paul's boys, the sketch was never completed, and remained in the library of the company, doubtless as 'foul papers'.

Hashe, perhaps because of his activity on the bishops' behalf in the Harprelate controversy, was given the opportunity for producing a play with the Paul's boys before the Archbishop of Canterbury, after the boys had been silent 'a twelmonth'. He used the unfinished sketch as a basis for his play, introducing an otherwise irrelevant figure in Will Summers to make ironical comments on a style he did not greatly admire. Finding that Igly did not oblige by providing obvious emphases, Hashe added a few of his own to make the point clearer. Hashe completed the story in his own way. (1) The conclusion of the plot (such as it is) would have been fairly obvious even if the foul papers did not give any indication of the way in which Igly had intended to end the play.

Sumner's Last Will and Testament, considered in relation to the canon of Igly's works, must remain apocryphal, and its usefulness in a literary assessment of Igly's work is strictly limited. But the play does provide a number of important links, particularly when we consider the apparent gap both in time and in style, between Mother Bonbie and The Women in the Woods. Of more relevance here is the fact that, if we admit Igly's involvement in Sumner's Last Will, the likelihood of his in-

(1) 'Solstitium' sounds like an invention of Igly's, 'Backwinter' like an invention of Hashe's.

volvement in the various entertainments ascribed to him increases, as we have evidence that Igly did not consider the writing of 'shows' beneath him. The nature of the entertainments that have been ascribed to Igly is such, again, that they would not form an important part in the discussion of his literary merit, but this does not mean that they can be overlooked entirely. In particular, the entertainments of 1592, roughly contemporary with Summer's Last Will, at Quarrendon, Miskin, Sudeley and Rycote, ⁽¹⁾ seem to have some claim to be accepted as Igly's, at least in part. ⁽²⁾

(1) Published by Bond, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 453-490.

(2) But see above, note on pp. 26-7.

APPENDIX B

Table A. (after G. G. Child.)

	No. of pages	Alliteration (1)	Frequency per 50 pp.
<u>Alexander and Campagna</u>	46	99	108
<u>Sarbo and Phee</u>	46	84	92
<u>Rudimon</u>	61	88	72
<u>Gallathea</u>	50	55	55
<u>Hidas</u>	46	24	26
<u>Mother Bonbie</u>	56	21	19
<u>Love's Metemorphosis</u>	32	31	48

(1) Recorded separately as 'Single Balance', 'Balanced Sequence' and 'Transverse'.

Table B.

	No. of lines counted	Total alliteration	Frequency per 50 lines
<u>Epithema</u>	102	54	26
<u>Epithema and his England</u>	114	30	13
<u>Alexander and Campagna</u>	96	40	21
<u>Sarbo and Phee</u>	74	36	24
<u>Gallathea</u>	96	48	25
<u>Rudimon</u>	92	40	22
<u>Love's Metemorphosis</u>	82	36	22
<u>Hidas</u>	118	45	18
<u>Mother Bonbie</u>	56	9	9
<u>(Women in the Moon)</u>	(Roughly the equivalent of 50 lines.)	(28)	(28)

The passages analysed were those detailed on pp.161-162 above, with the addition of other long passages taken, so far as possible, at random.

Table C.

	No. of lines	No. of 'parallels'	Frequency per 50 lines
<u>Burton</u>	102	40	19
<u>Burton and his England</u>	114	40	18
<u>Alexander and Campagna</u>	96	36	19
<u>Suebe and Phao</u>	74	20	14
<u>Calliope</u>	96	35	19
<u>Edinon</u>	92	22	12
<u>Loves Metamorphosis</u>	82	33	20
<u>Hidas</u>	118	31	14
<u>Mother Bombie</u>	56	12	13

Table D.

	<u>Brief Samples</u>		<u>Larger random samples</u>	
	Words of Romance origin	Words of Anglo-Saxon origin	Words of Romance origin	Words of Anglo-Saxon origin
<u>Burton</u>	40 (67%)	20 (33%)		
<u>Alexander and Campagna</u>	34 (57%)	26 (43%)	54 (47%)	59 (53%)
<u>Suebe and Phao</u>	27 (45%)	33 (55%)	77 (42%)	109 (58%)
<u>Calliope</u>	37 (62%)	23 (38%)	68 (48%)	71 (52%)
<u>Edinon</u>	35 (58%)	25 (42%)	124 (46%)	140 (54%)
<u>Loves Metamorphosis</u>	31 (52%)	29 (48%)		
<u>Hidas</u>	22 (38%)	36 (62%)	59 (41%)	83 (59%)
<u>Mother Bombie</u>	20 (36%)	35 (64%)		
<u>Woman in the Moon</u>	36 (60%)	24 (40%)		

Table II.

	<u>Frequency per 50 lines</u>		<u>Over whole play</u>	
	<u>Similitudes</u>	<u>Metaphors</u>	<u>Similitudes</u>	<u>Metaphors</u>
<u>Antony</u>	17 (89%)	2 (11%)	198 (78%) ⁽¹⁾	54 (22%)
<u>Antony and his England</u>	16 (70%)	7 (30%)		
<u>Alexander and Cassius</u>	11 (53%)	9 (47%)	71 (40%)	108 (60%)
<u>Antony and Phoe</u>	8 (40%)	12 (60%)		
<u>Calliope</u>	4 (43%)	6 (69%)		
<u>Edimion</u>	5 (26%)	14 (74%)		
<u>Love's Metamorphosis</u>	2 (18%)	9 (82%)	34 (30%)	75 (70%)
<u>Hilda</u>	3 (14%)	18 (86%)	36 (25%)	106 (75%)
<u>Mother Justice</u>	0 -	18 -		
<u>Women in the Moon</u>	3 (27%)	10 (77%)		

(1) Thirty three pages were analysed.

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