

The Ethics of *Otium*: Pastoral, Privacy and the Passions 1559-1647.

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis studies the literary genre of pastoral between 1559 and 1647. The first of these dates is that of a work that changed the course of early modern pastoral, Montemayor's *Diana*; and the second marks the English translation of Gomberville's *Polexandre*, a pastoral romance which exemplifies the shifts in cultural values that re-shaped Montemayor's model over the century that followed its publication.

My study focusses on the significance for this genre of the ethical quality known to classical moral philosophy as *otium*, and translated in early modern English by words such as peace, leisure, retirement, ease and idleness. *Otium* has strong historical associations with the tradition of Virgilian pastoral. Its significance in early modern pastorals, however, has been largely overlooked, despite the fact that early modern interest in *otium* had been revitalised by the rediscovery of some of its most important classical discussions. This renewed interest in *otium*, I argue, was essential to the development of early modern pastoral.

My argument challenges both old and new critical perspectives on pastoral, and engages with key issues in early modern culture which literary scholars have neglected. Older studies understood pastoral *otium* simply as idyllic retreat; newer ones accept this view, but argue against its privileged and quietist political implications, preferring to concentrate on the tradition of interpreting pastoral as political allegory. *Otium*'s principal connotations, however, were neither quiet nor idyllic. Though its restorative qualities were sometimes cautiously acknowledged, *otium*'s potential to corrupt was ever-present, and affected a range of areas including privacy, politics,

moral psychology and medicine. When people wanted to imaginatively explore those effects, I argue, pastoral was the genre to which they were most likely to turn. Listening to what pastorals say about *otium* can play an important role in reconstructing this crucial and misunderstood aspect of early modern culture.

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There are 99169 words in this thesis, and every one of them is dedicated to Pauline. Writing it took me away from her a lot. This is my way – the only way – of giving some of that back. It's for you.

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Abbreviations and conventions.

PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
OED	Oxford English Dictionary online

Italics in quotations are original unless otherwise stated; u/v and i/j have been modernised throughout.

Introduction.

This study examines early modern pastoral from the standpoint of one of the qualities that defined it. That quality is *otium*. Using the Latin term is worthwhile, because its English translations are so various. *Otium* can mean leisure, peace or idleness, and it brings a cluster of related words – ease, solitariness, recreation, pastime, privacy, contemplation – in its wake.¹ *Otium*'s importance in pastoral has been explored by scholars such as Thomas Rosenmeyer, Alastair Fowler, and John Bernard.² Though it has a Greek predecessor in Theocritus's *hasychia*,³ its real significance begins with Virgil's first Eclogue, whose sixth line, *deus nobis haec otia fecit* ('a god grants us this peace'), identifies *otium* as the pre-eminent quality of the pastoral world which Tityrus can continue to enjoy.⁴ Following Virgil, *otium* appeared with what Rosenmeyer terms 'remarkable' frequency in Latin pastorals, establishing itself as a 'keyword' of the genre.⁵ This centrality remained evident twelve centuries later, when John of Garland's *rota Vergiliana* defined pastoral by the figure of *otiosus pastor*.⁶

Alastair Fowler's study of the formation of early modern genres describes the *rota Vergiliana* as 'enormously influential',⁷ but critical accounts of early modern pastoral have given *otium* surprisingly little attention. This study will attempt to make up that deficit by arguing that

¹ Brian Vickers, 'Leisure and Idleness in the Renaissance: the Ambivalence of *Otium*', *Renaissance Studies* 4 (1990), 1-37, 107-54 (1-6). This study is indebted to Vickers' article throughout.

² Thomas Rosenmeyer, *The Green Cabinet: Theocritus and the European Pastoral Lyric* (Berkeley, 1969), 65-97; Alastair Fowler, 'The Formation of Genres in the Renaissance and after', *New Literary History* 34 (2003), 185-200 (192, 194-5); John D. Bernard, *Ceremonies of Innocence: Pastoralism in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser* (Cambridge, 1989), 15-7, 25-8, 36-41. See also Helen Cooper, *Pastoral: Medieval into Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1977), 30, 40-1; Michael McKeon, 'The Pastoral Revolution', in Kevin Sharpe and Steven Zwicker, eds, *Refiguring Revolutions: Aesthetics and Politics from the English Revolution to the Romantic Revolution* (Berkeley, 1998), 267-90 (268); Renato Poggioli, *The Oaten Flute: Essays on Pastoral Poetry and the Pastoral Ideal* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), 6-7, 186; Sukanta Chaudhuri, *Renaissance Pastoral and its English Developments* (Oxford, 1989), 42, 290, 420.

³ Rosenmeyer, *Cabinet*, 42, 67, 70-2, 85, 92, 97.

⁴ I cite the translation by Paul Alpers: *The Singer of the Eclogues: a Study of Virgilian Pastoral, with a New Translation of the Eclogues* (Berkeley, 1979), 11.

⁵ Rosenmeyer, *Cabinet*, 67.

⁶ Cooper, *Pastoral*, 30; Fowler, 'Genres', 192.

⁷ Fowler, 'Genres', 192. David Scott Wilson-Okamura disagrees, but not with the *rota*'s identification of pastoral with *otium*; his point is that the wheel has been 'misconstrued' as a progression of genres rather than a spectrum of styles. He also asserts that the wheel itself is never mentioned in the early modern period, but that the stylistic conception of Virgil's career which it expresses remains influential. Neither argument seems incompatible with Fowler's. *Virgil in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 2010), 90-1.

otium is the ethical problem with which much early modern pastoral is concerned. *Otium* is to pastoral what madness, revenge or the Boethian wheel are to tragedy; not the sole marker of the genre or the only issue it explores, but one of the most important and definitive. Despite this centrality, however, its failure to attract the attention of scholars is not difficult to explain. Idleness seems inherently uninteresting. When it has been thought of, accounts such as Rosenmeyer's, who associates *otium* with 'stasis',⁸ have tended to dominate; and this peaceful sense of *otium* is, moreover, that which best fits Virgil's uses of the term. Outside pastoral, however, in Roman moral philosophy, *otium*'s connotations were much less comfortable. Aulus Gellius, Cicero, Livy, Ovid, Seneca, Plutarch and Tacitus all described the problems of *otium*: it rendered people lustfully effeminate, corroded them like rust, or made them seethe like stagnant water with toxic passions. On the political level, it caused riots and destroyed morale.⁹

These were writers with whom the early modern period was intimately familiar, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the critique of *otium* carried just as much urgency as it did in Classical Rome. If using the Latin term has the advantage of keeping *otium*'s various English translations in play, it has the disadvantage of suggesting a distanced serenity which early modern discussions such as William Baldwin's, who called idleness a stinking poisonous sewer of vice, do not possess.¹⁰ Baldwin's sensitivity to *otium* was not unusual. People wrote poems about it, imagined diseases based on it, and inscribed warnings in places where its temptations were likely to be felt.¹¹

In Roman culture, the peacefulness of pastoral *otium* and the ethically hazardous version known to moral philosophy were mostly kept apart. The latter had been defined by an elite for whom the ascetic toughness embodied by Cato the Censor and Scipio Africanus was a definitive Roman virtue:¹² people who might appreciate the poetry of Virgil's pastorals, but were unlikely to share the ideals of the pacific shepherds who populated them. But when early modern writers re-

⁸ Rosenmeyer, *Cabinet*, 70.

⁹ For specific discussion see below, pp.25-9 (Plutarch), 31-2 (Ovid), 52-61 (Gellius, Cicero, Seneca), 132-3 (Seneca), 129 (Tacitus).

¹⁰ *A Treatyce of Moral Philosophy* (1564), f.208v.

¹¹ See below, pp.107 (poem), 110-1 and note (warning), 255-6 (disease).

¹² Vickers, '*Otium*', 6-8.

imagined *otiosus pastor*, this study will argue, they had more than Virgil in mind. Instead, they re-invested pastoral with new ethical complexities by writing *otium*'s fascinatingly dangerous side back into the genre.

In doing so, they were aided by the Spanish author Jorge de Montemayor's invention of pastoral romance. Montemayor's *Diana*, the earliest example of this literary kind, suggested a way in which intersecting narratives about chivalric and pastoral characters could be used to explore the relationship between *otium* and duty. Pastoral romance allowed *otium* to be considered not simply in itself, but in relation to the ethical imperatives it could destructively impede, or, on occasion, facilitate. This, of course, was also how moral philosophers had viewed it. By placing pastoral *otium* within a wider scheme of things, pastoral romance encouraged authors to examine it from an ethical rather than a purely literary perspective. And because that ethical perspective dealt with matters of such omnipresent and wide-ranging importance, the poetic apprentice-work of pastoral could become a vehicle for unexpectedly complex and serious questions.

One aim of this study is thus to uncover early modern pastoral's ethical substance, in the face of critical trends that tend to view pastoral as interesting only insofar as, in Annabel Patterson's words, it speaks of 'something other than itself'.¹³ Studies of a more traditional kind have sometimes viewed political significances in pastoral as detrimental,¹⁴ but in modern criticism the pendulum has tended to swing the other way. Scholars as diverse as Patterson, Louis Adrian Montrose, Michelle O'Callaghan and Blair Worden are united in viewing pastoral from George Puttenham's perspective, in order 'to glaunc[e] at greater matters'.¹⁵ Establishing the validity of this kind of pastoral was an important step, and the arguments presented here often balance and complement these allegorical readings rather than arguing against them. To take one example, reading pastoral for *otium* only strengthens much of Blair Worden's interpretation of Sidney's

¹³ *Pastoral and Ideology: Virgil to Valéry* (Oxford, 1988), 3, 34.

¹⁴ E.g. S.K. Heninger, 'The Renaissance Perversion of Pastoral', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 22 (1961), 254-61 (257-9); Chaudhuri, *Pastoral*, 30, 32, 38, 41, 57, 132-6, 221-3.

¹⁵ Patterson, *Ideology*; Louis Montrose, 'Of Gentlemen and Shepherds: the Politics of Elizabethan Pastoral Form', *English Literary History* 50 (1983), 415-59; Michelle O'Callaghan, *The 'Shepherds Nation': Jacobean Spenserians and Early Stuart Political Culture, 1612-1625* (Oxford, 2000); Blair Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven, 1996); George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), 31.

Arcadias as political counsels cloaked in pastoral fiction. My differences with Worden's study are centred not on his account of these works as political allegories, but on the moments when he descends from that standpoint to deal with their broader ethical implications.¹⁶

But there can be conflicts. This study implicitly queries Montrose's assertion that in Elizabethan pastorals 'amorous motives' serve only to 'displace or subsume forms of desire . . . other than the merely sexual', Patterson's insistence that Spenser's green cabinet must be more like a council than a closet, or Michelle O'Callaghan's acclamation of Jacobean poets' abandonment of a 'pastoral of aristocratic leisure and retirement' in favour of the engagement with the public sphere that pastoral political allegory affords.¹⁷ These critics seem wrong to imagine that questions of privacy or leisure, and the 'amorous motives' with which they often coincide, must be trivial. This is partly because *otium*'s implications could reach into the politics of state, but also because (at the risk of sounding obvious) what happens outside the politics of state can have an equal or greater impact on people's lives. The discourse of *otium* is a particularly revealing way into this question, since it was a way of trying to regulate what happened when people were at their most free.

The concept of *otium* influenced a variety of aspects of early modern culture; it opened the way for pastoral to address issues of gender, medicine, social space, and the uses of the passions. I begin, however, with *otium*'s simplest meaning, that of leisure. My first chapter discusses the original pastoral romance, and one of the most successful, Montemayor's *Diana* (1559). I approach the *Diana* via the figure of its English translator Bartholomew Yong. Yong translated just two other works, both of which draw prominently on classical texts which have a central place in the discourse of *otium*. Boccaccio's *Amorous Fiammetta* (1587) weaves references to Ovid's *Remedia Amoris* and Statius's *Silvae* into its exploration of the emotionally destructive effects of idleness and privacy. Guazzo's *Civile Conversation* (1586) goes back to *otium*'s earliest recorded appearance, preserved in Aulus Gellius's *Attic Nights*, to establish its central theme of

¹⁶ See below, pp.129-34.

¹⁷ Montrose, 'Shepherds', 440; Patterson, *Ideology*, 108; O'Callaghan, *Nation*, 23.

how leisure should be used. Translating Montemayor's pastoral alongside Guazzo's treatise and Boccaccio's *novella* makes sense in terms of a shared concern with *otium*, and reading the *Diana* in this light reveals its theme of *otium*'s disorienting social and psychological effects.

This chapter challenges critical dismissals of the *Diana*, but it also suggests how pastoral could be used to address the questions of privacy which *otium* also engaged. Where Montemayor uses the generic space of pastoral to represent *otium*, the *Civile Conversation* and *Amorous Fiammetta* locate it within the closet and bedchamber to which their respective protagonists retreat. Yong's portfolio of translations thus links pastoral landscapes with private rooms via their shared associations with leisure. He was not, however, the first to do so. Plutarch's *On Tranquillity*, which has a good claim to be his best-known work in early modern England, linked rural retreats and ladies' chambers as the two locations where idleness and its accompanying 'diseases of the mynde' were typically encountered.¹⁸ Private spaces were available in ever-greater numbers as early modern architecture developed; though this was driven by demand,¹⁹ their existence also gave rise to considerable anxiety, some of which derived from critiques such as Plutarch's. Using pastoral to explore the problem of *otium* thus also offered a way of thinking through these related kinds of anxiety, and hence of negotiating the hazards of a kind of space with which early moderns were increasingly surrounded.

Private spaces and pastoral ones appear separately in Yong's trio of works, but Chapter 2 investigates their convergence in Sidney's two *Arcadias* (?1577-84). Drawing on recent studies of early modern garden design, I argue that Sidney envisages Arcadia as a garden, filled, as was typical, with outdoor rooms. Lodges, banqueting-houses, grottoes, arbours, and the early modern garden feature known as a 'wilderness' or 'desert', all play key roles in the action. Sidney is likely to have been influenced by Yong's translations, as other accounts have speculated, and combines pastoral and private spaces to intensify his theme of *otium*'s inescapably debilitating effects.

Placing the *Arcadias* in this tradition provides some measure of how difficult *otium*'s ethical

¹⁸ Plutarch, *Of the Quiete of Mynde*, trans. Thomas Wyatt (1528), *iviv*; discussed below, pp.25-9.

¹⁹ W.G. Hoskins, 'The Rebuilding of Rural England, 1570-1640', *Past and Present* 4 (1953), 44-59 (54-5). For recent counter-arguments, see Lena Cowen Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Elizabethan London* (Oxford, 2007), *passim*, especially 5-7.

challenges could seem: Sidney's attempts at solving them eventually issue in the *New Arcadia's* extraordinary plot twist, and the irreconcilable emotional tensions it implies. But the *Arcadias* also link *otium* to Pyrocles' transvestite disguise. In doing so they look backward to Seneca, who linked leisure and effeminacy with obsessive persistence; but also forward, to the developing early modern link between idleness, privacy, and dangerously attractive feminine potential.

Chapter 3, which examines two works by the seventeenth-century pastoral poet William Browne, examines how *otium* challenges current critical perspectives on the Spenserian poets' political significances. The first eclogue from Browne's *The Shepherds Pipe* (1614), which addresses the circumstances of his friend and fellow-poet George Wither's politically-motivated imprisonment, has been seen as a key example of these poets' abandonment of pastoral kinds associated with retirement and leisure in favour of a more public, politically-engaged version. Rather than abandoning *otium*, however, Browne takes his cues from it, modelling his eclogue on a medieval source-poem, Hoccleve's *Series* (c.1420), which centres around *otium's* characteristic combination of mental disturbance and private retreat. These, in turn, take on a political edge, as Browne, less supportive to his colleague than critics have assumed, draws an unflattering parallel between these qualities and the satirical excesses which landed Wither in prison. This parallel is less implausible than it might seem, since Wither's own poems associate his pastoral style with a tendency to let his passions run away with him, which, he implies, sometimes verges on madness. It is just this *otium*-like quality, he thinks, that guarantees his poetry's pastoral and political integrity. *Otium* turns out to be more central to these Spenserians' purposes than has been thought.

The second part of Chapter 3 explores *The History of Polexander* (1647), Browne's translation of Gomberville's prose romance. This has been considered an unlikely project for the author of *Britannia's Pastorals* (1613-?1625) to undertake, but I argue that, in choosing it, Browne was continuing the interest in the politics of *otium* that his exchanges with Wither had begun. *Polexander* centres around Alcidiana, the queen of a pastoral island who takes what Gomberville insists to be the unusual step of dividing her court into public and private apartments. But

historical change is apparent in the way that this convergence of pastoral and private space is configured differently to Sidney's. Rather than opposing duty to desire, Gomberville uses pastoral retreat as part of a larger argument for the importance of passionate attachments as a crucial element of social and political cohesion. In a reversal similar to that which Plutarch used to criticise Stoic *apatheia*, Gomberville identifies the antisocial "idleness" of *otium*, not with subjection to the passions, but with 'impassible' failure to form such interpersonal bonds; a failure embodied in the sexual and political independence which Alcadiana's pastoral privacy preserves. The discomfiting forcefulness with which Gomberville brings that and other privacies in his narrative to an end offers a further demonstration that arguments against *otium* can seem less politically attractive than recent studies have assumed.

Having taken in the uses of pastoral to address *otium's* implications for privacy, gender, and the politics of the passions, my final chapter adds the discourse of medicine to this list. The focus here is on Milton's *Maske* (1634). This work's pastoral stylings can seem superficial, but I argue that *A Maske* owes more to pastoral than has been appreciated, drawing on previously unnoticed evidence to establish a line of descent that stretches back through Fletcher and Shakespeare to Montemayor. Milton turned to this pastoral model, I argue, because *A Maske* centres around the seventeenth century's medical version of *otium*, suffocation of the mother. This mysterious gynaecological ailment emanated from the "privities" of women who were 'solitary and idle', and 'live[d] at ease';²⁰ like *otium*, it was associated with stagnancy, in this case the toxic build-up of the substance known as 'female seed'.

Vernacular descriptions of this disease proliferate in the years shortly before and after *A Maske*; Robert Burton's classic account of 1628, in particular, shows several parallels with Plutarch's description of the kind of *otium* that haunts ladies' chambers. Suffocation of the mother, I argue, shows moral-philosophical commonplaces in the process of translation into the physiological realities of medical discourse. This was an event of some importance, since commentators agree that suffocation of the mother evolved over the centuries into the ailment

²⁰ Robert Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 3rd edn (1628), 195.

recognised by psychiatrists up until comparatively recent times as hysteria. Its best-known symptoms and means of cure also offer striking parallels with *A Maske's* key events. This is likely to relate to the fact that, as new manuscript evidence presented here shows, Milton's leading actress Alice Egerton was suspected of suffering from this disease, and had been receiving treatment from September 1632 at least until May 1633, the year before *A Maske's* first performance. In Milton's drama, pastoral *otium* has become biologically threatening stagnation.

Like Gomberville's near-contemporary romance, however, suffocation of the mother marks a shift in *otium's* significance, since the inactivity which caused it was sexual rather than, in the first instance, political. It struck women who, like Alcidiana and Milton's Lady, preferred to remain independently chaste, a fact which seems to testify to a growing emphasis on the social utility of erotic desire. Over the period with which this study is concerned, the literary genre most associated with *otium* thus reflects and contributes to important changes in its conception, changes which support the increasingly positive revaluation of the passions that scholars such as Christopher Tilmouth and Anthony Levi have suggested.²¹ Rather than a fall from rational activity into passionate subjection, between 1559 and 1647 the pastoral works examined here show how *otium* was being gradually reconstituted, as a fall from passionate activity into a culpable failure to feel.

²¹ Anthony Levi, *French Moralists: the Theory of the Passions, 1585 to 1649* (Oxford, 1964), *passim*, especially 192, 335; Christopher Tilmouth, *Passion's Triumph over Reason: A History of the Moral Imagination from Spenser to Rochester* (Oxford, 2007), *passim*, but for a summary see p.1: 'the decline . . . of an austere rationalist model of self-governance'; and a 'revaluation of] the affections as controlled but morally constructive forces'.

1. The Use of Leisure: Montemayor's *Diana* and the Work of Bartholomew Yong.

Los Siete Libros de la Diana is a neglected work. During the period covered by the present study, which begins with its initial publication in 1559,¹ Jorge de Montemayor's pastoral romance went through sixty-five editions in the original Spanish.² Twenty of these were published outside Spain; as well as the Lisbon editions of 1565 and 1624 – unsurprising for an author who was Portuguese by birth, and recalled his home country in the *Diana*'s closing scenes³ – Montemayor was printed and reprinted in Milan, Venice, Antwerp, Basel, and Paris. There were also twenty-six editions in other languages: twenty-three in French (including six different translations), two in German and one in English. At least two other English translations of parts of the *Diana* are known to have circulated in manuscript.⁴ In addition to these versions of the original, there were over forty attempts at a sequel.⁵ Montemayor died in 1561, leaving the *Diana* to enjoy nearly a century of pan-European success that its author barely glimpsed.⁶

¹ There is some uncertainty about this date. See H.D. Purcell, 'The Date of First Publication of Montemayor's *Diana*', *Hispanic Review* 35 (1967), 364-5, *passim*; and Dominick Finello, review of Eugenia Fosalba, *La Diana en Europa: Ediciones, Traducciones e Influencias* (Barcelona, 1994), *Hispanic Review* 66 (1998), 93-5 (94).

² I follow the list of editions appended to RoseAnna Mueller's translation: *Montemayor's Diana* (Lewiston, N.Y., 1989), 225-8. On the *Diana*'s popularity, see also Judith Kennedy, *A Critical Edition of Yong's Translation of George of Montemayor's Diana and Gil Polo's Enamoured Diana* (Oxford, 1968), vii, xv; Regina Schneider, 'Of Oaten Flutes and Magic Potions: Montemayor's *Diana* as Pastoral Romance', *Narrative* 10 (2002), 262-76 (262); Finello, Fosalba review, *passim*; Claudia Krülls-Hepermann, 'Spanish Pastoral Novels of the Sixteenth Century: in Search of a Vanished Fascination', trans. James Stack, *New Literary History* 19 (1988), 581-95 (586-7).

³ For Montemayor's life, see Elizabeth Rhodes, *The Unrecognized Precursors of Montemayor's Diana* (Columbia and London, 1992), 20-44; Bruno Damiani, *Jorge de Montemayor* (1984), 15-24; Kennedy, *Diana*, xv-xvii.

⁴ Thomas Wilson claimed to have translated the entire work, but only Book 1 remains (BL MS Add.18638; edited, with introduction, by H. Thomas, as *Diana de Montemayor Done Out of Spanish by Thomas Wilson (1596)* (New York and Paris, 1921)). Bartholomew Yong, translator of the only full version of the *Diana* which survives, mentioned Edward Paston's translation of 'some leaves'; Yong felt the standard of these was the best 'of all others, that ever yet I heard translate these books' (*Diana of George of Montemayor* (1598), a3v). Paston's leaves are lost, but Philip Brett discusses a poem that may be a remnant: 'Edward Paston (1550-1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and His Musical Collection', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4 (1964), 51-69 (54-5). Thomas (*Diana de Montemayor*, 7) suggests Yong's 'others' may have been intended to include Sidney's translations of two poems from the *Diana*. These are discussed, and compared with those by Yong and Wilson, by J. de Oliveira e Silva: 'Sir Philip Sidney and the Castilian Tongue', *Comparative Literature* 34 (1982), 130-45 (134-45). See also D. M. Anderson, 'Sir Thomas Wilson's Translation of Montemayor's *Diana*', *Review of English Studies* NS 7 (1956), 176-81. This Wilson (?1560-1629) is not to be confused with the author of *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553), although he may have been a relation: see A. F. Pollard, 'Wilson, Sir Thomas (d. 1629)', rev. Sean Kelsey, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004) [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/29690>, accessed 27 April 2012].

⁵ José Siles Artés, *El Arte de la Novela Pastoril* (Valencia, 1972), 8; cited in Barbara Mujica, 'Anti-Utopian Elements in the Spanish Pastoral Novel', *Kentucky Romance Quarterly* 26 (1979), 263-82 (280). On the sequels, see also Kennedy, *Diana*, xvii-xix.

⁶ Mueller, *Diana*, 4-5; she suggests it 'became so popular that soon "Diana" became a generic term . . . mean[ing] any pastoral romance of this kind'.

Its influence on Sidney and Shakespeare is acknowledged; to contemporaries, this was a work of more than merely popular appeal. One described Sidney's *Arcadia* as 'Phoebus' to the *Diana*, its divine twin, praising these 'two starres of such high and eminent witt', which 'resemble one another as the Sonne and the moone'.⁷ Another compared Sidney's use of Montemayor to Spenser's use of Chaucer.⁸ Modern editors agree that the *Diana* furnished the model for Julia's cross-dressed pursuit of Proteus in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.⁹ Since there is similar consensus that Shakespeare had these scenes of his own in mind while writing *Twelfth Night* – 'the most important source for *Twelfth Night* . . . is *The Two Gentlemen*', as Harold Jenkins put it – lack of reference to Montemayor in editions of that play seems hard to explain; particularly since, as Jenkins observed, Olivia's attraction to Viola parallels an element of the *Diana*'s plot that the earlier comedy lacks.¹⁰ Thomas Harrison argued long ago that *A Midsummer Night's Dream* made up a third Shakespearean offshoot; few have agreed with this theory, but the closing chapter of this study offers new evidence to support it.¹¹ Beyond these questions of influence, however, the *Diana* is also a work of unsettling brilliance in its own right, particularly in its pastoral frame-narrative: an entirely original story in which shifting identities and failing magic set up a palimpsest of attractions, with new relationships resting uncertainly on the traces of older ones.

On the relatively few occasions when modern studies have taken note of the *Diana*, however, they have usually done so only to dismiss it.¹² What attention there has been has focussed on the episode that Shakespeare most noticeably used, in which the character Felismena

⁷ Wilson, *Diana de Montemayor* ed. Thomas, 11-2. Discussions of Sidney's debts to Montemayor are numerous: J. de Oliveira e Silva provides a useful list ('Castilian tongue', 130-1n).

⁸ Gervase Markham, *The English Arcadia* (1607), A1r; cited by A.C. Hamilton 'Sidney's Arcadia as Prose Fiction: its Relation to its Sources', *English Literary Renaissance* 2 (1972), 29-60 (30). As Hamilton notes, not everyone agreed, and Markham was forced to defend his point.

⁹ *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, ed. William C. Carroll (London, 2004), 41-2; *ibid.*, ed. Kurt Schluetter (Cambridge, 1990), 6-7.

¹⁰ The significance of this part of *The Two Gentlemen* is noted in *Twelfth Night* editions by Keir Elam for Arden ((London, 2008), 67), and Elizabeth Story Donno ((Cambridge, 1985), 7), but only Roger Warren and Stanley Wells ((Oxford, 1994), 19-20) cite Jenkins' point. Jenkins himself refuses to spell out what might be thought the most logical conclusion, that *Twelfth Night* is reverting independently to the Spanish source: 'Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*', in *Twelfth Night: Critical Essays*, ed. Stanley Wells (London, 1986), 171-90 (180). This was the argument of T.P. Harrison, which deserves to be better-known: 'Shakespeare and Montemayor's *Diana*', *Texas Studies in English* 6 (1926), 72-120 (109-15).

¹¹ Harrison, 'Shakespeare', 94-103. See also Kennedy, *Diana*, xlvii-l, and the discussion in Chapter 4 below, pp.196-205.

¹² See Chapter 4 below, pp.197-200.

disguises herself as a page. Over-emphasis on these scenes has distorted perceptions of the *Diana* and Montemayor's principal achievement in it, the innovative pastoral narrative at its centre. In its proper context, Felismena's story gains much of its significance through its intersection and contrast with this pastoral strand, a point which becomes particularly evident in the juxtaposition of their strikingly different endings.

Critics have missed the point of the *Diana*, partly because they have found its portrayal of unstable attractions and identities disconcerting, and partly because they have not fully appreciated the ethical issues that inform the influential conflation of genres that it did more than any other work to establish. *Otium*'s twin possibilities, therapeutic leisure and toxic idleness, are at the centre of those issues. Montemayor uses genre to delineate them, contrasting pastoral characters, generically fated to an *otium* that traps them in cycles of frustrated desire, with the difficult but ultimately successful love-quest of a romance protagonist, for whom pastoral idleness represents a needed but finite period of recuperation.

That may seem overly schematic, and it necessarily abstracts from the *Diana*'s eventfulness and subtlety. But evidence that this is how contemporaries understood it can be found in the circumstances of its principal English translation, by Bartholomew Yong.¹³ Yong produced just two other works, translations of Boccaccio's *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta* (1343-5)¹⁴ and the fourth Book of Guazzo's *La Civil Conversatione* (1574), the latter appended to George Pettie's rendition of the first three sections of Guazzo's treatise. Though one is a kind of conduct-book, and the other a fictional narrative of a love-affair and its aftermath, both Guazzo's

¹³ *The Diana of George of Montemayor* (1598). Further references are to this edition, cited hereafter as *Diana*, unless otherwise stated, and appear in text or footnotes as appropriate. Yong (also spelt Young and Yonge) includes the sequels by Perez and Gil Polo that usually accompanied Montemayor's work. His modern editor, Judith Kennedy, omits Perez. On his life and work, of which relatively little is known, see T.P. Harrison, 'Bartholomew Yong, Translator', *Modern Language Review* 21 (1926), 129-39; Gustav Ungerer, 'Bartholomew Yong, Mannerist Translator of Spanish Pastoral Romances', *English Studies (The Netherlands)* 54 (1973), 439-46; H.R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558-1640* (Oxford, 1996) 243-5, 251-4, 329, 371 (though Woudhuysen misses the gap between the *Diana*'s translation and publication (243)); Michael Haldane, "'Doubling" in Bartholomew Yong's *Diana*', *Translation and Literature* 14 (2005), 1-20 (and see also further materials on his website, www.michaelhaldane.com); Kennedy, *Diana*, lviii-lxxii; and L. G. Kelly, 'Yong, Bartholomew (bap. 1560, d. 1612)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/30257>, accessed 27 April 2012]. Warren Boutcher, "'Who Taught Thee Rhetoricke to Deceive a Maid?": Christopher Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, Juan Boscán's *Leandro*, and Renaissance Vernacular Humanism', *Comparative Literature* 52 (2000), 11-52, discusses marginalia in two books owned by Yong (15-18, 37-9).

¹⁴ *Fiammetta*'s date of composition is discussed in Causa-Steindler's introduction to Boccaccio, *The Elegy of Lady Fiammetta*, trans. Mariangela Causa-Steindler and Thomas Mauch (Chicago, 1990), xi-xxvi (xvii).

and Boccaccio's texts centre around *otium* and its psychological effects. Alienated from courtly society and cooped up in unexpectedly oppressive conditions of endless leisure, their melancholy protagonists indulge in pastoral fantasies that exacerbate the problems from which they are conceived to be an escape.

These three translations – Book 4 of *The Civile Conversation of M. Stephen Guazzo* (1586), Boccaccio's *Amorous Fiammetta* (1587),¹⁵ and *The Diana of George of Montemayor* (1598) – are more closely grouped than their publication dates imply, since the *Diana* was apparently completed in 1582.¹⁶ Yet they have rarely been considered as a whole, and attempts to explain Yong's choices of text have been contradictory. His *Fiammetta* has received almost no attention, but the *Diana* has been linked to its translator's recusancy, although Montemayor's own religious works were banned by the Inquisition in the same year that his pastoral romance was published;¹⁷ rather differently, John Lievsay argues that the Guazzo translation sprang from patriotic impulses.¹⁸ Considering all three together, however, offers a more consistent rationale. It suggests that Yong's interest in these works stemmed from their shared concern with what Guazzo calls 'knowing how to use leasure',¹⁹ a concern whose changing contours the remainder of this chapter will attempt to describe.

¹⁵ Yong called himself 'B. Giovano' on the title-page, but he is identified within by his publisher (*iiv), as Harrison notes ('Young', 135).

¹⁶ Yong's preface claims it was completed 'ten and six yeeres' previously (a3r).

¹⁷ Jeremy L. Smith: 'Music and Late Elizabethan Politics: The Identities of Oriana and Diana', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 58 (2005), 507-58 (520-1, 527, 532-5, 537, 549). On Montemayor's own unorthodox religious sympathies – he was associated with the Spanish movement known as Catholic reform and may have come from a family of converted Jews – see Rhodes, *Precursors*, 22 (Jewish heritage), 32 (banning), 27-33, 45-50, 89-107 (religious works). There are other counter-arguments. Thomas Wilson, the *Diana*'s other translator, risked his life as a 'foreign intelligencer' reporting on Catholic exiles, and the work of early modern English literature on which Montemayor exerted the greatest influence, Sidney's *Arcadia*, has been interpreted as an expression of militant political Protestantism. See Pollard, 'Thomas Wilson', and Blair Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven, 1996), *passim*.

¹⁸ John Lievsay, *Stefano Guazzo and the English Renaissance, 1575-1675* (Chapel Hill, 1961), 54.

¹⁹ Stefano Guazzo, *The Civile Conversation*, trans. George Pettie and Bartholomew Young [Yong] (1586), f.117r. Further references are to this edition, and will appear in the text.

THE *DIANA* AND PASTORAL

The *Diana* has three principal narrative strands.²⁰ The first of these is the pastoral frame-narrative set out in Book 1, which leads three lovesick shepherds, Syrenus, Sylvanus and Selvagia, to journey to Felicia's temple in search of a cure. On the way they meet first Felismena (Book 2), then Belisa (Book 3), who each recount their own stories of unhappy love before accompanying the shepherds to the temple. The fourth Book sees them arrive: Felicia uses magic to redirect the shepherds' desires, and reassures the other two that they will achieve their goals without supernatural help. On leaving the temple, first Belisa, in Book 5, and then Felismena, in the seventh and final Book, are reunited with their lost loves; between these events, in Book 6, the shepherds end with the less happy discovery that the magic doesn't quite work. The eponymous shepherdess Diana, beloved of both Syrenus and Sylvanus, does not appear directly until this second half of the work, after the scenes in the temple – which, confusingly and essentially unrelatedly, is dedicated to the goddess of the same name. Of these three interlaced narratives, the most structurally important are those of the shepherds and Felismena. Representing pastoral and romance respectively, they form the poles between which Montemayor's work is constructed.

While attention has focussed on Felismena's anticipations of Shakespeare, however, the emotional complexity that powers the *Diana* is generated by its pastoral sections. These are themselves subdivided into two interwoven plots. In the first, Syrenus and Sylvanus both love Diana, though this does not affect their friendship. She initially returns Syrenus's affection, but marries another shepherd, Delius, when he is 'constrained to be out of the kingdome' for a time (1), events which have already taken place before the *Diana* begins.

²⁰ Studies of the *Diana* are numerous, though frequently dismissive. The key accounts are those of Bruno Damiani, (*La Diana of Montemayor as Social and Religious Teaching* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1983)) and Elizabeth Rhodes (*Precursors*). In addition to discussions referenced elsewhere in the present study, see also Thomas Perry, 'Ideal Love and Human Reality in Montemayor's *La Diana*', *PMLA* 84 (1969), 227-34; Bruce Wardropper, 'The Diana of Montemayor: Reevaluation and Interpretation', *Studies in Philology* 48 (1951), 126-44; Ruth El Saffar, 'Structural and Thematic Discontinuity in Montemayor's *Diana*', *Modern Language Notes* 86 (1971), 182-98; Amadeu Solé-Leris, 'The Theory of Love in the Two *Dianas*: A Contrast', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 36 (1959), 65-79; Carroll B. Johnson, 'Montemayor's *Diana*: A Novel Pastoral', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 48 (1971), 20-35.

The second pastoral subplot is more complex (17-28). Syrenus and Sylvanus meet a new character, Selvagia, who tells a story which begins in the temple of her village, on a feast day on which it is reserved for women (17). She meets a veiled stranger there, apparently a woman, with whom she experiences an instant mutual attraction. The “woman” then reveals she is really a man in disguise, named Alanius (18-9). They spend the night talking together, and on parting the next morning agree to meet again. But it turns out that “Alanius” is really a woman after all, Ismenia. The real Alanius is her identical cousin and lover, whom she ‘resembled . . . so much, that if they had not bene of different sexe, none could have judged one from the other’. Confusion mounts when Ismenia tells Alanius about the joke she has played on Selvagia, and a possibly jealous Alanius secretly goes to meet Selvagia in her place. With Selvagia initially unaware that this is not the person she met in the temple, they begin an affair, which continues after Alanius reveals the truth (20-1).

Montemayor now widens the triangle of Selvagia, Alanius and Ismenia, by introducing a fourth character, Montanus, who falls in love with Selvagia and is pursued by Ismenia. This makes Alanius jealous, and he goes back to wooing Ismenia, bringing things into a circle of unrequited attractions: ‘it was not possible for me to beare greater affection to Alanius, nor Alanius to Ismenia, nor Ismenia to Montanus, nor Montanus to love me more, than in very truth he did’ (23). The symmetry is emblematised by a scene in which all four find themselves assembled by chance in a nearby forest, and each sings in turn to their uninterested beloved (24-7). This looks like a self-sustaining balance of frustrated desires, but Selvagia is ejected: ‘the next day my father (without telling me the cause why) caried me out of our towne and into yours’. The gap is filled by Ismenia’s sister Sylvia, to whom Alanius becomes betrothed (28). Recalling the earlier inclusion of Montanus, by which three became four, this also mirrors Selvagia’s new situation as she enters the orbit of Syrenus, Sylvanus and Diana. Montemayor’s pastoral love-affairs are self-frustrating and self-replicating. Wanting what you can’t have sets up patterns that draw people in, then fling them out to be gathered into the next cycle.

These patterns prove persistent. In the central scene in the temple, Felicia tries to resolve things by pairing Sylvanus and Selvagia, and making Syrenus invulnerable to love (124-6). But the remainder of the pastoral narrative shows fissures in this new group as well, and ends, like Selvagia's inset story, with an unhappy departure. Felicia's magic is tested when the three shepherds meet Diana on their return (132).²¹ This is Diana's first direct appearance in the story, and Montemayor throws his readers' sympathies off balance: far from heartless, she is as anguished as Syrenus and Sylvanus used to be. Her marriage, which has made her 'so sorrowful as one may imagine' (147), was enforced by her parents. Syrenus finds this excuse inadequate (147-8), but it is lent weight by Selvagia's independent endorsement (134). Though Montemayor doesn't mention it directly, readers can recall here Syrenus's own part in their break-up, the 'constrained' departure whose reasons, unlike those for Diana's marriage, have never become clear. Things have suddenly got complicated.

This intensifies when, under pressure from the past, the attractions masked by Felicia's drugs resurface. Syrenus has 'a touch of Dianas love in his memorie' (146), 'relickes thereof that remaine in my soule' (134), a 'forcible . . . motion in his minde', and only the spell prevents him from 'renewing it againe' (146). Sylvanus, to Selvagia's discomfort, also affirms the traces of earlier feelings, using language that Yong, responding to the scene's prevailing tension, rendered more emphatic: his Sylvanus declaims that 'Time and the revolutions of the heavens shall first cease (faire Diana) before I will forget thee' (145), a sentence with no parallel in Montemayor.²² Things come to a head with Sylvanus's suggestion that he and Syrenus act out a scene from their former infatuation, for old times' sake: 'let us imagine that we are both in the same case, as this shepherdess [Diana] made us live, when we filled the hills with amorous complaint' (148). Accordingly, they sing a love-song to Diana in the form of a duet (148-[51])²³.

A notable feature of this song is its overt refusal of a *venit hesperus* conclusion. When Sylvanus sings of night drawing in, Syrenus demurs: 'go not yet awaie / . . . / . . . we have

²¹ There are two separate scenes in which the three shepherds meet Diana, at 132-5 and 144-9; for simplicity, I discuss them together.

²² Cf. *Los Siete Libros de la Diana*, ed. Francisco Lopez Estrada and Teresa Lopez Garcia-Berdoy (Madrid, 1993), 335.

²³ Pagination is duplicated here, so that numbers 148 and 149 are repeated in place of 150 and 151.

sufficient of the day / There's time for us'. As a result, the words with which he does then close the poem – 'let my song be ended here' – occur in a context of continuance rather than closure: nothing has changed, and night remains unfallen (149 [151])²⁴. Appropriately to its expression of desires that unexpectedly persist, the song ends, but the scene it remembers carries on. In the narrative present, however, the opposite occurs: a tearful Diana wordlessly rises and leaves the group. Although the conclusion of the work as a whole comes only in the following chapter, with Felismena's unexpectedly happy conclusion, this echo of Selvagia's earlier expulsion marks the close of the *Diana's* pastoral sections.

THE *DIANA* AND PASTORAL CRITICISM

These repeated expulsions suggest a reason for the *Diana's* critical neglect. The two principal general studies of pastoral of recent times have little time for either the *Diana* or its closest English descendant, Sidney's *Arcadia*. This may be because, by exploring the negative effects of *otium*, both these works pose problems for studies which treat genre in isolation. *Otium* in Virgil's Eclogues is usually a good, but the moral-philosophical tradition of Cato, Seneca and Plutarch viewed it with suspicion. For these and similar moralists, *otium* was associated with social disruption and debilitating subjection to the passions. Early modern familiarity with this critique was widespread, as this chapter will show, and readers would thus have been unlikely to be surprised to find these qualities exemplified by the figure of *otiosus pastor*.²⁵ But modern studies that take their bearings from within literary tradition alone have difficulty explaining what happens when early modern authors read *otium's* negative associations back into the genre it helps to define. From their standpoint, these works are simply culpably unpastoral.

²⁴ See note above.

²⁵ See Introduction above, p.1.

This doesn't always stand in the way of these critics' frequently perceptive readings, but it does lead to dismissals on grounds of a spurious atypicality, and impatience with characteristics that might otherwise seem intriguing. Thus Sukanta Chaudhuri observes that both Montemayor's and Sidney's pastorals lack what he sees as this genre's distinctive 'regenerative' function; instead, Sidneian pastoral has become 'sterile' and 'self-destructive', an accurate though accidental summary of *otium's* downside.²⁶ Because the relationship between the pastoral and romance elements in pastoral romances often hinges on the contrast of leisure and duty, a reading unequipped with the tradition of *otium*-critique can also miss the significance of their interplay, and see the romance sections as simply a further symptom of this invidious lack of genuine pastoral character. Viewed from this angle, the *Diana* merely looks 'largely non-pastoral', and in Sidney the pastoral setting has lost its 'primacy' and has little bearing on the action, resulting in a work which shows 'little that is even remotely pastoral'.²⁷ Paul Alpers agrees: the English *Arcadia* is noteworthy only for being 'utterly untypical of the genre', while '[t]he "action" of the *Diana*' is 'nonsense' that 'one can hardly believe . . . carries conviction'.²⁸

Alpers' readings are often brilliant, and many arguments in this study support them. There are also moments when his assessment of Montemayor is more generous. But the *Diana* poses challenges to his theory which his description of its final pastoral song hints at, but then shies away from:

To recall the past in this way is precisely to have gone beyond pastoral narration. For Silvano and Sireno are now play-acting what was, rather than recalling it in order to make manifest their present condition (359-60).

The scene would lose its force, however, if playacting was what Syrenus and Sylvanus were doing, rather than the opposite: real feeling is resurfacing after its artificial suppression. Alpers has already acknowledged both the 'troubling undercurrents of feeling' which Montemayor 'wonderfully observe[s]' and the unusual 'differences' they create within the group (359), which

²⁶ Sukanta Chaudhuri, *Renaissance Pastoral and its English Developments* (Oxford, 1989), 255, 259, 281, 283.

²⁷ Chaudhuri, *Pastoral*, 253, 281, 300, 303.

²⁸ *What is Pastoral?* (Chicago, 1996), 122-3, 348. Further references are given in the text.

makes this uncharacteristic oversight at the moment which crystallises these qualities revealing. Lightening it to ‘play-acting’ makes it easier to shift to the margins, however, and doing so preserves his argument that recalling the past through inset pastoral song has a unifying effect. Lamenting Daphnis, in Virgil’s fifth Eclogue, ‘conven[es]’ Mopsus’s fellow shepherds at the same time as it ‘brings into their presence the[ir] dead companion’ (85). It can do this because ‘a pastoral convention is a poetic practice that makes up for a loss, a separation or an absence’ (89), In doing so, it facilitates the cultural ‘continuity’ that ‘the world of pastoral song’ represents (91), which is why, in Alpers’ view, the elegy for the dead is so characteristic of the genre. As he writes of the best-known early modern example, *Lycidas*, ‘it sustains the human world, enabling it to continue despite and in the light of what it has lost’ (112), a quality it seems fair to read as indicative of his view of pastoral as whole.

Much of this reading springs from Alpers’ attention to the sense of ‘coming together’ imparted to ‘convention’ by its Latin root, *convenire* (80-1). This allows him to turn Johnson-ish disdain for Miltonic pastoral artifice on its head; conventionality becomes a social virtue, and pastoral, one of the most conventional of literary forms (93), acquires a special association with ‘the social cohesion that underlies poetic practices’ (82). Accordingly, he discovers a pastoral which ‘stabilise[s] . . . loss’ (118), ‘attune[s] what is discordant’ (132), and ‘unites’ the shepherds it depicts (171). The close of Virgil’s first Eclogue provides the key example, with Tityrus’s invitation to spend the night (l.79) provisionally overcoming frictions: ‘differences and distress [are] suspended and human fellowship sustained. . . by pastoral representations’ (173).²⁹

The term he uses to describe this distinctively temporary kind of closure, ‘suspension’, becomes important in Alpers’ argument. It suggests

a way of bringing matters to a close without resolving issues – very much a pastoral way of ending, since it suggests the necessity of limits but an inability to impose or determine them (173).

²⁹ This interpretation may also be optimistic, however. Alpers translates Tityrus’s words as ‘Still, you could take your rest with me tonight’ (*The Singer of the Eclogues: a Study of Virgilian Pastoral, with a New Translation of the Eclogues* (California, 1989), 15). But the most recent Loeb translator thinks the moment has passed (or that Tityrus is quietly revelling in his advantage): ‘Yet this night you might have rested here with me . . .’ (*Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I-VI*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, rev. edn (London, 1999), 31).

This is in many respects a suggestive reading to bring to the unresolved close of the *Diana's* pastoral narrative. But what happens there is different: Tityrus's hospitality is replaced by Diana's departure. This points to a wider problem, because it exemplifies the fact that in the *Diana*, pastoral social groups are characterised not by solidarity, but by repeated rupture. This development is more emphatic and defining than Alpers' passing observation of 'differences' suggests. It begins on the first page, with the mysterious departure that leads to the rift between Syrenus and Diana. Selvagia's story opens with the apparent breaking of the rules of an institution central to her community, as "Alanius" gains entry to the temple. Her account finishes with a departure as inexplicable as Syrenus's ('my father (without telling me the cause why) caried me out of our towne . . .' (28)), and Diana's silent exit offers a third such event. Selvagia's story also contains moments in which sociability is less dramatically avoided: in the temple, she and the disguised Ismenia find a 'secret place where none might heare' (18) in which to talk, and all four lovers leave the village to meet in the woods for their closing scene.

By refusing the commonplace sunset conclusion in the final poem of his pastoral strand, Montemayor may be drawing attention to these larger-scale departures from expectations generated not only by classical pastoral, but by his predecessor in pastoral narrative, Sannazaro. Chaudhuri sees this as a fall from the Italian *Arcadia's* 'delicate balance' into the 'self-defeating expansion' that culminates in Sidney, but it seems a conscious change of theme. For Sannazaro's exclusively male company of shepherds, problems of desire provide common ground rather than conflict; a pastoral society bonded by festivals, games and rituals of remembrance offers this author's Sincero-persona refuge from a city characterised by political turmoil and unhappy love.³⁰ But the *Diana*, rather than suspending social conflicts, shows them in destructive, self-perpetuating action, their repeating cycles opening and closing with abrogations of interpersonal bonds. In this respect, the closing duet takes on added significance in its relations with pastoral

³⁰ Jacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia and Piscatorial Eclogues*, trans. Ralph Nash (Detroit, 1966), 42-6 (festival of Pales), 58-61 (Androgeo's tomb), 69-72 (contrast with Naples), 120-8 (games). These sections occur in *prose* 3, 5, 7 and 11.

and the past. Rather than sustaining continuity by making up for loss, the presence of the past in Montemayor's poem splits its audience, sending Diana away in tears, and predicting future problems between Sylvanus and Selvagia.

A similar point can be made in relation to Andrew Ettin's discussion of the 'mutual friends' – characters mentioned in passing whom the reader is assumed to know – whom he suggests contribute to reader's impressions of the 'tightly knit' societies of classical pastoral, 'imply[ing] a larger network of friendships and acquaintances'.³¹ Montemayor reworks this pastoral trope to show friendship networks fracturing, not under pressure from forces outside pastoral society, but under the weight of internal tensions. His 'mutual friends' are antagonists: Delius (1) and Sylvia (28) are Syrenus and Selvagia's victorious love-rivals, and Selvagia's unnamed father has made her an unwilling exile in her aunt Albania's house (28). The acquaintance network they complete is linked together by more-or-less submerged hostilities. As a result, Montemayor's pastoral groupings rarely seem expansive. Ismenia and Alanius's impersonations suggest the opposite tendency: identities collapse into each other, and the resultant patterns of desire seem more significant than the individuals who happen to fill up a place in them.

Identity also seems threatened from another direction, by the emotional discontinuities witnessed by the *Diana's* debates on memory and inconstancy.³² '[T]hou shouldest not be the man (me thinkes) that thou wert wont to be', Sylvanus tells the newly-charmed Syrenus, 'but that jointly with thy former thoughts and affection, thou art thy selfe also chaunged' (132). But this applies to him as well; to Diana, they both seem 'so much altered from that they were wont to be' (134). Testing this change, Book 6's close suggests unsteadiness rather than achievement. Pastoral characters and communities are characteristically vulnerable – their 'strength relative to world', as Alpers puts it, is distinctively low –³³ but the threats, as in Virgil's first and ninth Eclogues, usually come from outside. Montemayor's vision of an instability inherent within both pastoral selves

³¹ *Literature and the Pastoral* (New Haven, 1984), 152-7.

³² E.g. 15-6, 106-7.

³³ *Pastoral*, 82, 50. Alpers borrows this term from Angus Fletcher: 'Utopian History and the *Anatomy of Criticism*', in *Northrop Frye in Modern Criticism*, ed. Murray Krieger (New York, 1966), 31-73 (34-5).

and social groups is new. Both of the other works which Yong translated, however, display a similar focus. Their unstable protagonists become alienated from social groups, suffer from disordered emotions, and associate themselves with pastoral.

FIAMMETTA'S CHAMBER

In Boccaccio's *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta*, which Yong translates as *Amorous Fiammetta* (1587),³⁴ an unnamed Neapolitan lady tells the story of her brief extramarital affair and its aftermath.³⁵ She and her lover, a foreign visitor who also remains unnamed, playfully refer to themselves as Fiammetta and Panfilo ('Pamphilus' in Yong's translation). This enables them to discuss their affair in public, under the pretence of discussing a fictional story of 'Grecian love' (f.16*v*), and Boccaccio uses these names to refer to them throughout the narrative. After a time "Pamphilus" announces he has to return to his home, where his father is dangerously ill (f.21*v*); he promises to return, but fails to do so. As "Fiammetta" waits for him, she suffers from worsening 'melancholike fittes' (f.36*r*). She hears a rumour that he has married (f.43*v*); her concerned husband brings her on a holiday (ff.53*v*-57*v*); she tries and fails to commit suicide (ff.95*v*-96*r*), then resolves to journey to her lover's homeland disguised as a pilgrim (f.98*v*). At the work's close, she is still waiting for an opportune moment to put this plan into effect (f.109*r*).

Fiammetta is thus a work in which almost nothing occurs; it ends before what might be expected to form the body of the narrative, the projected journey to find Pamphilus,³⁶ can take place. This creates space, however, for an unusually intense focus on psychology. Like

³⁴ The new title is not Yong's invention; sixteenth-century editions were titled *L'Amorosa Fiammetta*. Yong probably used that of either 1558 or 1565: see Herbert G. Wright, 'The Italian Edition of Boccaccio's *Fiammetta* Used by Bartholomew Young', *Modern Language Review* 38 (1943), 339-40.

³⁵ For commentary, see Tom Hollander, *Boccaccio's Two Venuses* (New York, 1977), 40-9; Janet Levarie Smarr, *Boccaccio and Fiammetta: the Narrator as Lover* (Chicago, 1996), 129-48; Suzanne Hagedorn, *Abandoned Women: Rewriting the Classics in Dante, Boccaccio and Chaucer* (Ann Arbor, 2004), 122-9; Pamela Waley, 'Fiammetta and Panfilo Continued', *Italian Studies* 24 (1969), 15-31; Waley, 'The Nurse in Boccaccio's *Fiammetta*: Source and Invention', *Neophilologus* 56 (1972), 164-74; Michael A. Calabrese, 'Feminism and the Packaging of Boccaccio's *Fiammetta*', *Italica* 74 (1997), 20-42; Causa-Steindler, *Fiammetta*, xi-xxvi; Victoria Kirkham, 'Maria a.k.a. Fiammetta: the Men Behind the Woman', in Thomas C. Stillinger and F. Regina Psaki, eds, *Boccaccio and Feminist Criticism* (Chapel Hill, 2006), 13-27.

³⁶ For ease of reading I omit the quotation marks from this point.

Montemayor's shepherds, Fiammetta is a character who suffers from, and to a large extent wallows in, unrequited love, and most of the text in which she appears is devoted to chronicling the symptoms of her condition: a series of complaints, delivered in the privacy of her bedchamber, describe her changing emotional states. Though critics have warned against over-emphasising these psychological aspects,³⁷ they were clearly expected to form the main interest of the work for Yong's readers, since *Amorous Fiammetta* carries a new subtitle describing it as 'a catalogue of all and singuler passions of love and jealousie'. Unlike this subtitle, the marginal notes which appear throughout the narrative, and which tend to similar effect, were present in Yong's source text. These were added to sixteenth-century Italian editions of *Fiammetta* by an unknown commentator.³⁸ The majority frame the text in terms of emotional issues. They draw attention to the 'manner', 'signs', or 'effects' by which emotions find bodily expression,³⁹ or highlight such matters as '[h]owe love is enge[n]dered in divers parts and soules of the body successively' (f.6v), 'how contrarie sensualitie is to reason' (f.11r), 'passions of jelosie' (f.44r), and so on.

The passages to which these headings refer often portray emotions as strongly embodied. Sighs are 'amassed together in the concavitie of my braine', instead of following their 'naturall issue . . . to have beene breathed forth'; as a result they condense into tears which flow from the eyes' 'conduits' (f.65r). The marginal note, 'Fiammetta her sighes turned into teares issued out of her eyes', highlights the interest of this kind of description for Boccaccio's readers.⁴⁰ When Pamphilus tells her he plans to depart, Fiammetta finds that 'my eies, whose conduites [were] stopped by the violence of this unexpected accident, did now burst out into great plenty of teares, and the stringes of my tongue contracted together with sharpe sorrowe, were now

³⁷ Smarr, *Narrator*, 132; Victoria Kirkham, 'Two New Translations: The Early Boccaccio in English Dress', *Italica* 70 (1993), 79-89 (84).

³⁸ Wright, 'Edition', *passim*; Wright notes that Yong sometimes varies these notes. Those variations have not been comprehensively assessed here, though some are noted in the discussion.

³⁹ See, for example, ff.27r ('The maner of those that love'), 106v ('Signes of one that bringeth ill newes', 'Effects of a suddaine passion').

⁴⁰ In assessing Yong's changes to his source-text, I have relied on the translation of Causa-Steindler and Mauch. Given her withering assessment of Causa-Steindler's introduction, Victoria Kirkham's praise of its accuracy seems all the more persuasive ('Translations', 84-7).

dissolved to utter . . . my minde' (ff.22r-v). When she sees him for the first time, his eyes emit a light which penetrates her heart, 'elementarie coruscations shooting themselves from one parte of the ayre to another' (f.5r), making it first contract in fear, then dilate with desire, a process Boccaccio describes in detail.

These references situate emotion within physiological processes, but Fiammetta's passions are also situated in physical space in a different way, through association with the location that dominates the narrative, her bedchamber. Critical accounts testify to its symbolic importance. Pamela Waley describes an 'enclosed, intense atmosphere', in which 'the action seems all to converge upon the solitary room'; Robert Hollander describes 'a lover shut up in [her] room'; Janet Levarie Smarr finds a parallel with the *Decameron* in that work's address to 'female readers . . . alone in their rooms, brooding on love'.⁴¹ Like Selvagia's meeting with "Alanus", Fiammetta's first glimpse of Pamphilus comes in the temple; but it is only 'afterwardes, that I was nowe come into my Chamber all alone' (f.8r), that the effects make themselves fully felt. A clinching moment is the vision of Venus that she experiences while 'lying all alone in my secrete Cha[m]ber' (f.11r); later, 'finding my selfe alone in my Chamber', she again prays to 'Venus, who . . . diddest appeare unto mee in this Chamber' (f.50v).

As well providing a hospitable setting for these visions, the chamber has more immediate associations with Fiammetta herself. With the affair consummated, it becomes a metonym for Boccaccio's heroine, engaging Pamphilus's affections as her proxy: 'how deere was my Chamber unto him, and with what joye, and how willingly did it evermore receive him, whom I did also know to use more reverence in the same, than in any holie Temple' (f.18r).⁴² His departure requires an address to the room as well as to its owner: 'most stately Chamber . . . as thou hast beene a secret wytnes of our desires, so likewise keepe these wordes enclosed in thy Walles' (f.28r). In similar fashion, when Fiammetta goes to attempt suicide, she offers a farewell to her bed (ff.94v-95r).

⁴¹ Waley, 'Fiammetta', 21-2; Hollander, *Venuses*, 48; Smarr, *Narrator*, 134n.

⁴² For similar identifications in Shakespeare, see Georgianna Ziegler, 'My Lady's Chamber: Female Space, Female Chastity in Shakespeare', *Textual Practice* 4 (1990), 73-90 (*passim*).

Pamphilus stubs his toe on the door as he departs (ff.29*v*, 31*v*), a bad omen that also initiates a new emphasis on the chamber's limits. Agonising over his departure, he crosses from door to bed and back again (f.29*v*). Later, an abandoned Fiammetta similarly finds herself 'walking sometimes uppe and downe in my solitarie chamber, sitting downe now in this place, and now standing in a muse in that' (ff.31*r-v*), or running to door and window to see if he has returned (ff.52*r*, 106*r*). In addition to this boundary pacing, the chamber's contours are mapped with an equally restless eye. 'There was no parte of my chamber, which I did not with a most desirous eye beholde', she informs the reader, drawing on a topos that a marginal note later refers to Petrarch, but whose ultimate source is Ovid's *Remedia Amoris*: 'here did my Pamphilus sit, heere did he lye, heere did I kisse him' (f.30*v*).⁴³ The suicide bid is preceded by her 'eies rolling about y[e] chamber, the which I never thought to have seene any more'; she 'leap[s] out' of it, but this attempt at the ultimate escape ends with her being 'carryed back againe to my Chamber, which once I thought never to have seene againe' (ff.95*r*, 96*r*).

The sense of confinement translates to other enclosures, real and metaphorical. Pamphilus has shown Fiammetta that 'hidden delights and privy pleasures, were as much worth againe as hoorded Jewels and secrete treasures' (f.18*v*), anticipating the real-life 'casket' in which she keeps his letters and favours (f.34*r*).⁴⁴ Yong extends these tendencies into two closet metaphors of his own devising: his Pamphilus vows never to let 'any other woman into the closett of his constant heart' (f.27*r*), and Fiammetta laments at having to hide her grief in 'the secret closet of an impatient & painfull hart' (f.88*r*). Lena Cowen Orlin has suggested that closets were associated as much with the storage of valuables as with private feelings,⁴⁵ but these passages suggest that storage and privacy need not contradict each other: feelings can be represented as a kind of possession, whose value increases the more they have to be hidden.

⁴³ Cf. the similar passage at f.55*r*, discussed below, p.33.

⁴⁴ On love-tokens and their storage, see Orest Ranum, 'The Refuges of Intimacy', in Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, eds, *A History of Private Life*, 5 vols (London, 1987-91), vol. 3: *Passions of the Renaissance*, 207-64 (246-8); the fact that this appears in Boccaccio, however, suggests it may be less typical of the early modern than Ranum suggests.

⁴⁵ Lena Cowen Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford, 2007), 299, 301-6.

Fiammetta's language captures this masochistic pride: no love was more 'tormented wyth so fervent passions . . . nor contrived with such secrecy, as mine was' (f.60r).

These architectural implications influence Yong more overtly during a scene at the beach, when he furnishes Fiammetta with a substitute "chamber" in which to express her anguish. Where Boccaccio merely has her withdraw from dancing to 's[i]t on the spread mats with the other women',⁴⁶ Yong turns these fabrics into 'cloathes of Tapistrie and Arras that were spreade abroade, and hung up'; the rugs are raised to become a windbreak of sorts, providing his Fiammetta, 'with drawing my selfe behynd all y[e] rest', with somewhere private in which to 'secretly' utter a brief lament for Pamphilus, before returning to 's[i]t me downe againe amongst the other Gentlewomen (f.56r)'. Less clumsily, Yong also extends Boccaccio's sentiment that contained fires burn more fiercely (f.88r) into a series of references to smothered hearts and choked sighs.⁴⁷ These are presumably still in his mind when he translates the advice of Fiammetta's nurse, that there may still be a way out of her troubles which fortune has not yet 'covered and choaked uppe' (f.84r-v).

PLUTARCH: *OTIUM*, CHAMBERS AND WOMEN

While this interest in what the *Diana* refers to as love's 'excessive and strange effects' (105) may suggest some common ground between Boccaccio and Montemayor, then, the settings in which they explore these phenomena seem disparate: the outdoor spaces of pastoral on the one hand, and the claustrophobia of chambers, closets and caskets on the other. That such locations might be linked by a shared association with emotional disorder, however, had been suggested by Plutarch. The essay *On Tranquillity of Mind*⁴⁸ was the first of Plutarch's works to be printed in English, in Wyatt's 1528 translation (*Of the Quyetete of Mynde*). Three others followed.

⁴⁶ Causa-Steindler, *Fiammetta*, 74.

⁴⁷ Ff.15v, 42r, 57v, 109r.

⁴⁸ This is the title as rendered by the Loeb translator: *Moralia*, trans. Frank Cole Babbitt *et al*, 15 vols (London, 1962), 6.161-241 (161).

Thomas Blundeville included it (as ‘The Porte of Rest’) in his 1561 selection of *Three Morall Treatises* by Plutarch. It was published on its own a second time, in a new version by John Clapham, in 1589 (*A Philosophicall Treatise Concerning the Quietnes of the Mind*),⁴⁹ before its inclusion in Philemon Holland’s 1603 edition of the *Morals*.⁵⁰ These four translations, two of them published as standalone editions, give *On Tranquillity* a unique prominence in the early modern reception of the *Moralia* in England.⁵¹ Plutarch is unlikely to have been known to Boccaccio.⁵² Yong, however, could have acquired an interest in Plutarchan moral philosophy through his work on the *Civile Conversation*, published the year before *Fiammetta*; Guazzo’s principal modern commentator describes Plutarch as this work’s ‘pervading influence’.⁵³ *On Tranquillity* may not have been on Boccaccio’s mind, but it might have been on Yong’s when he chose *Fiammetta* as the next project in his portfolio of translations.

The progress of the relevant passage of *On Tranquillity* through its four translations is suggestive. Plutarch’s essay discusses what Wyatt translates as ‘sickenesse and trouble of the mynde’, caused when the ‘apasionate parte’ of it ‘stray[s]’, breaking into ‘wood [mad] affections’ (αἰῖν-αἰν). Plutarch’s target here is the notion that therapeutic rest – ‘lye still wretch in thy bed’ (αἰνν) – might help in such cases. This, Plutarch thinks, is ‘hurtfull medicin’ (αἰνν), since in fact ‘that same nothyng to do’ (αἰν) is more likely to make this kind of mental distress even worse. To demonstrate this, he takes two examples of habitats stereotypically removed from the active life: ‘the lyfe of women’, which is ‘more quietous than that of men’; and rural seclusion, exemplified by Laertes’ retreat to the country during Odysseus’s absence.⁵⁴ Instead of the desired tranquillity, both the rural and the female examples of retirement breed similar kinds of discontent. In the case of women, despite this characteristic remove, ‘diseases of the mynde . . . crepe neverthesse

⁴⁹ Though likely to be a coincidence, Woudhuysen’s observation that this work shared its publisher, Thomas Newman, with *Fiammetta* seems worth noting: *Manuscripts*, 371.

⁵⁰ *Of the Tranquillity and Contentment of Minde*, in Plutarch, *The Philosophie, Commonlie Called, the Morals*, trans. Philemon Holland (1603), 144-62.

⁵¹ For more on the English reception of this essay, see Gilles Monsarrat, *Light from the Porch: Stoicism and English Renaissance Literature* (Paris, 1984), 43-4.

⁵² Anthony Grafton, ‘The Availability of Ancient Works’, in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. Quentin Skinner, Eckhard Kessler and Charles B. Schmitt (Cambridge, 1988), 767-91 (788).

⁵³ Lievsay, *Guazzo*, 42.

⁵⁴ *Odyssey*, 1.185-95, 15.350-60, 24.200-400 (ed. cit. trans. A.T. Murray, rev. edn, 2 vols (London, 1995), 1.27, 2.103, 427-41).

in to the house of their occupacion'. For Laertes, twenty years away from his 'princely paleys' only leave him with 'sadnesse and frownyng' (aivv).

On Tranquillity links women's 'house[s] of . . . occupation' with rural retreat as places where the kind of *otium* that leads to emotional problems is particularly likely to be found. This raises a number of points to consider in Wyatt and his successors. They include the causal link between *otium* – 'that same nothyng to do' – and 'diseses of the mynde'; the description of *otium* itself; the kinds of space associated with women; and the question of solitude. Though their descriptions vary, on some of these points the translators show little substantive change. All preserve the pastoral contrast that defines Laertes' situation, 'fled from . . . princely paleys' (Wyatt, aivv), having 'forsoke . . . the Court it selfe' (Blundeville, Biiiiv),⁵⁵ 'far from . . . [his] kingdome' (Clapham, Aviii), or from 'court and kingdome' (Holland, 146). Further emphasising that what matters it is not so much where one retreats to as what one retreats from, the *Odyssey* example is followed by its epic equivalent, Achilles' decision to 'wyther i[n] ydelnesse' (Wyatt, avv) by his ships. He is avoiding, like Laertes, politics, as well as war: 'flyeng from the fight / & the worthy counsayls of the nobles and the people' (avv).⁵⁶

This sense of *otium* as negatively defined provides further common ground between Plutarch's translators. Wyatt's 'unactyfe men' (aivv) become Blundeville's who 'least laboure and seldomist travell abrode' (Biiiiv). For the later translators, these are people who 'entermeddle not with manie matters' (Clapham, Aviiir) or 'intermeddle not in much businessse' (Holland, 146). This is behaviour that damages social bonds: none of Wyatt's successors significantly changed his description of such persons as 'forsaker[s] of frendes kyn and countrey' (aivv). Idleness, however, increases its profile. Though Wyatt's Achilles is idle, he does not emphasise this word. Instead, in the passage that begins this part of the argument, it is 'sluggardy and slouthfulnesse' which are too high a price to pay for tranquillity (aivv-v). In Blundeville, however, this unacceptable cost becomes 'slouth and ydlenes' (Biiiv). Clapham reduces the dyad to 'idleness' alone, and repeats this

⁵⁵ It should be noted that the alphabetic sequence of signatures re-starts at the beginning of 'Porte of Rest', so that signatures from the previous treatises in Blundeville's volume are repeated.

⁵⁶ *Iliad*, 1.488-92 (ed. cit. trans. A.T. Murray, rev. edn, 2 vols (London, 1999), 1.49-50).

word as a marginal heading (*Avii*); Holland has ‘idleness and doing nothing’ (146). The ‘slouth and tendernes’ of Wyatt’s friend-forsakers (*aiv*) is reflected in Blundeville’s ‘sluggishness, delicatenes’ (*Biii*), but gives way to Clapham’s ‘idle, effeminate’ (*avii*), and Holland’s comprehensive ‘idle, sluggish, soft and tender’ (146).

The Laertes example unites this discovery of idleness with a new suspicion of solitude. Wyatt’s Laertes is barely solitary at all. Wyatt merely has him ‘living . . . only with an old woman’; he suffers from ‘sadnesse and frownyng debate *in company*’,⁵⁷ possibly suggesting a misreading of Plutarch, who means that grief was his only companion (*aiv*). Later translators realise this, and the solitude it implies. Aside from the old woman, Blundeville’s Laertes is ‘all alone by him selfe, having none other compaignie’, but ‘sorrowfulnesse . . . and heavinesse’ become substitute ‘compaignions’ who ironically defeat his antisocial purpose, ‘mawgre his head’ (*Biii*). For Clapham, Laertes has decided to live ‘solitarilie . . . Alone with one old woman’, and reaps not only ‘griefe, and sadnes’, but also ‘idle discontentment’ (*Avii-v*). Holland’s Laertes lives ‘apart’, which causes ‘sadnesse . . . languishing, idleness’ (146).

This variance is subtle, but evolution is more apparent in the causal link between inactivity and mental disorder, whose strength markedly increases. For both earlier translators, this is just a hypothesis: ‘What if that same nothyng to do hath troubled many from the ryght order of the mynde?’ (Wyatt, *aiv-v*); ‘what wyll you saye if this doying of nothing, hath oft times disturbed manye mens wits’ (Blundeville, *Biii*). But Clapham removes the implicit question mark (‘Moreover, there are some which say, that not to bee employed in affaires is oft times cause of displeasure, and the disquiet of a mans minde’ (*Avii*)); and Holland makes it a well-proved certainty (‘And more than that, this non-imploiment in affaires is that which many times hath cast some men into a dumpish melancholie’ (146)).

The most noticeable change, however, lies in the kind of space associated with women. In the earlier period, this is relatively unimportant. Wyatt pictures them in the ‘house of their occupation’ (*aiv*); Blundeville imagines them ‘at home . . . syttyng on theyr stooles’ (*Biii*). But

⁵⁷ Emphasis mine.

for the later translators, setting becomes key. The unspecific house, home and stool are replaced by ‘Ladies closets, and bedchambers’ (Avii), which Holland further elaborates to ‘the secret chambers and cabinets of our fine and daintie dames’ (146). As their locations gain significance, however, women also become more idle. In Wyatt they are ‘syt[ting] watchyng at home occupied i[n] huswifely occupatio[n]s’ (aivv). Blundeville is more grudging: women ‘tarye at home doinge lyttle, and what they do, they do it syttyng’ (Biii). But in his successors, even this dwindling glimpse of alternative modes of productivity is extinguished. For Clapham, the point is just that women ‘stirre not out of the house’ (Avii); for Holland they ‘keepe home and sit stil within doores . . . and seldom go abroad’ (146).

Clapham and Holland’s emphases on solitude and types of room are likely to reflect what W.G. Hoskins called ‘the great rebuilding’, that multiplication of domestic spaces in the later sixteenth century which many scholars have suggested gave rise to a new awareness of privacy. This argument has recently been challenged by Lena Cowen Orlin.⁵⁸ But Orlin’s thesis is more concerned with the original motivations behind the subdivision of rooms, and their real-life uses.⁵⁹ The evidence provided by Plutarch’s changing translations doesn’t necessarily dispute this side of the argument. But it does suggest that, once created, privacy is what those spaces become imaginatively associated with, making them as interesting and worrying as other people’s minds. William Baldwin’s *Moral Philosophy* exemplifies this kind of suspicion, in which the problems of *otium* and privacy coincide in their antipathy to engagement in public ‘affaires’, though the private rooms described by this plain-speaking moralist seem filled with something distinctly less ‘daintie’: ‘The filth of secrete chaumbers . . . do[es] not corrupt and infecte the aire so much as ydle folke . . .’⁶⁰

⁵⁸ W.G. Hoskins, ‘The Rebuilding of Rural England, 1570-1640’, *Past and Present* 4 (1953), 44-59; discussed in Orlin, *Privacy*, 66-111 (66-7n has a useful list of studies of this topic).

⁵⁹ Orlin’s discussion of ‘the Tudor closet’ is indicative: it ‘had its *genesis* in the accumulation of valuable goods rather than an aspiration for personal privacy’ (*Privacy*, 299, my emphasis). Once closets became common, however, the latter association might still arise, and even come to dominate.

⁶⁰ *A Treatyse of Moral Philosophy* (1564), f.209r; further references are to this edition and will appear in the text. There were numerous others, the first of which appeared in 1547. For discussion, see Monsarrat, *Porch*, 81-2, and John N. King, *English Reformation Literature* (Princeton, 1982), 358-71.

If the translators' increasing focus on the architecture of privacy reflects contemporary building practices, however, their visions of 'daintie dames' who 'seldom go abroad' may have less to do with social developments. As scholars such as Orlin and Phyllis Rackin have shown, descriptions of this kind do little justice to the range of activities in which early modern women participated.⁶¹ Instead, the later translators' intensification of the link between women and inactivity may reflect the increasing influence of Stoicism.⁶² Despite Plutarch's reputation as an opponent of the Stoics,⁶³ his critique of *otium* accords with that of Seneca. Clapham and Holland's pictures of stilled, unstimulating women literalise Seneca's repeated descriptions of idleness as effeminate and activity as masculine, as in the Epistle '[a]gainst delicacie and effeminate life, and sluggish idlenesse':

He liveth effeminately. This they say, he is evill. For by little and little the minde is made effeminate, and growth remisse and negligent, and undertaketh the similitude of that idlenesse and sloth wherein he is buried. What then? is it not more befitting a man to bee more sterne and rigid.⁶⁴

NAPLES AND OTIUM

Much unlike its real-life counterpart, literary *otium* can thus unite both ends of the social scale. Pastoral differs from georgic in its absence of labour: literary shepherds are typically depicted in repose, and in this sense they can be seen to resemble the leisured rich, especially women, with their particular associations with *otium*.⁶⁵ Fiammetta's difficulties are linked to these

⁶¹ Orlin, *Privacy*, 136-41, 286-95; Rackin, 'Misogyny is Everywhere', in *A Feminist Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. Dympna Callaghan (Oxford, 2000), 42-58 (*passim*).

⁶² Monsarrat notes two main periods in which translations of classical Stoic texts flourished, one beginning in 1560 and the other in 1610 (*Porch*, 45). For a general account of the influence of Stoic ethics in early modern England, see Christopher Tilmouth, *Passion's Triumph over Reason: a History of the Moral Imagination from Spenser to Rochester* (Oxford, 2007), 16-21.

⁶³ On Plutarch's relationship to Stoicism, see Monsarrat, *Porch*, 43-5. He notes that Plutarch is described in Holland's translation as 'directly contrary to the Stoicks' (43, citing *Morals*, 1057).

⁶⁴ *Workes*, trans. Thomas Lodge (1614), 340 (Epistle 82). As Alessandro Arcangeli notes, classical associations between idleness and effeminacy was common: *Recreation in the Renaissance: Attitudes towards Leisure and Pastimes in European Culture, c.1425-1675* (New York, 2003), 15. Seneca, however, laid particular stress on this side of *otium*: see Chapter 2 below, pp.132-3.

⁶⁵ Thomas Rosenmeyer suggests that in early Greek poetry *basychia*, the equivalent of *otium*, is often 'aristocratic . . . the refinement of a chosen few'. *The Green Cabinet: Theocritus and the European Pastoral Lyric* (Berkeley, 1969), 70.

aspects of her social condition by the nurse, who attributes them to the ‘thought of idle love’ (f.9*v*), ‘too much wealth, ease and idle pleasure (f.10*r*)’, ‘vagrant witt, and idle thoughts’ (f.89*r*). As Smarr notes, it is her ‘dangerous state of idleness’ that ‘breeds an obsessive love’.⁶⁶

Evidence that Boccaccio is thinking specifically about the classical discourse of *otium* comes in the shape of cleverly worked references to its literature. Michael Calabrese has noted *Fiammetta*’s references to the *Remedia Amoris*.⁶⁷ These tend to strengthen Boccaccio’s themes of idleness and privacy. *Fiammetta*’s reading of ‘Ovide his verses’ supports her worries that the ‘troubles, cares, and painefull affaires’ of Pamphilus’s journey home may prove dangerously therapeutic, since this is just what Ovid advises: ‘make a lengthy voyage . . . once you have gone forth, a hundred cares will bring you solace’ (ll.214, 241). *Fiammetta* soothes her anxiety by twisting these ominously curative properties into an unconvincing comfort: ‘beeing troubled about manie affaires of his father, and occupied with his proper busines, he could not nowe bee at vacant leysure to acquaint himselfe with other newe women’ (ff.33*r-v*). The thing that this ‘busines’ is more likely to dampen, however, is his love for *Fiammetta*, and the Ovidian parallel is close enough to sharpen the pain of misinterpretation: ‘Venus delight[s] in leisure [*otia*] . . . love yields to business . . . give the empty [*vacuae*] mind some business to occupy it’ (ll.143-4, 150).

This, of course, is Ovid’s first prescription – ‘first of all shun leisure’ (l.136) – making his poem, as Vickers observes, one of the more significant contributions to the critique of *otium*.⁶⁸ But the *Remedia* also suggests that privacy is another love-promoting factor to avoid. ‘Solitary places are dangerous’ (l.579); solitude and secrecy both increase passion (ll.579-82), so Ovid advises to ‘fly not conversation, nor let your door be closed’ (l.587).⁶⁹ He also forbids looking over letters and pictures. *Fiammetta*, of course, does all these things, immersing herself in the privacy of her bedchamber and poring over the casket of love-tokens within it. Her visual

⁶⁶ *Narrator*, 134. Smarr also notes (137) that Boccaccio observes the connection between love and leisure elsewhere, in *Genealogia* 9.4.

⁶⁷ ‘Feminism’, (26-7); *Remedia Amoris*, ll.717-20, 725-8; ed. cit. *The Art of Love, and Other Poems*, trans. J.H. Mozley, 2nd edn (London, 1985), 227. Further references are to this edition, by line-number.

⁶⁸ ‘*Otium*’, 23.

⁶⁹ I have altered Mozley’s slightly unfortunate ‘intercourse’ (*conloquium*) to ‘conversation’.

recollections of her lover – ‘here did my Pamphilus sit . . .’ (f.30v) – ⁷⁰ are particularly significant in this respect, since they perform the dual function of closely imitating *Remedia* 727-8 and linking this damaging style of remembrance to private space, the bedchamber which provides the necessary landmarks.

These references to Ovid’s poem of love and idleness are provided with an overarching context in the shape of *Fiammetta*’s Neapolitan setting. Naples, and particularly the resort towns strung out along its bay, was the location with which *otium* was most strongly associated in Roman thought, as Catherine Connors notes.⁷¹ Yong added three new marginal notes consisting simply of the word ‘Naples’, set next to descriptions of life in *Fiammetta*’s home city (ff.5v, 24v, 65v). Like his new notes on Spanish and Italian ladies’ fashions (ff.74r-v), these probably suggest contemporary cultural interest rather than classical associations, but they respond to the the importance of location in the narrative.⁷² At the centre of *Fiammetta* lies the holiday on which her husband brings her in a futile attempt to relieve her melancholy. The location to which they journey is on the Bay of Naples: ‘the rocky coast of Baia high above the seashore’.⁷³ More even than the city itself, the resort town of Baiae was the quintessential setting for *otium*. As *Fiammetta*’s husband observes, it is full of ‘delightes’ that ‘greatly recreate men’s mindes’ (f.54r).

Since Boccaccio has already suggested that too much *otium* lies at the root of *Fiammetta*’s problems, of whose immediate cause her husband remains unaware, this plan seems unlikely to work. Yong’s *Fiammetta* describes it in terms similar to those that Wyatt’s Plutarch uses for bed-rest: ‘Oh what contrarie medicines . . .’ (f.54r).⁷⁴ Baiae is psychologically toxic rather than curative: far from healing the sick, it wounds the well, so that ‘sildome or never dyd any goe thether with a whole and sound mind, that dyd returne with the same agayne’. Seneca’s Epistle 51, which

⁷⁰ See above, p.24 and note.

⁷¹ Catherine Connors, ‘Imperial Space and Time: the Literature of Leisure’, in *Literature in the Greek and Roman Worlds: a New Perspective*, ed. Oliver Taplin (Oxford, 2000), 492-518 (499-504).

⁷² Cf. *L’Amorosa Fiammetta* (Venice, 1565), ff.8v-9r, 25v, 58v, 66v.

⁷³ This is Causa-Steindler’s translation (72). Yong omits direct mention of Baiae, replacing this part of the sentence with ‘delectable Ilandes upon the Sea Coastes’, in what appears to be a misreading. But he repeats the preceding mentions of ‘the pleasaunt hill of Falernus’ and ‘olde Cuma’, another popular resort, which help to locate Baiae in the original (f.53v). Causa-Steindler notes the centrality of the Baiae scenes (xxv). Yong’s omission is not what my argument would expect, but he may be attempting to make the universality of Boccaccio’s critique more explicit, avoiding any sense of limitation to the historical Baiae.

⁷⁴ ‘[H]urtfull medicin’ (*Quyete* trans. Wyatt, aivv); see above, p.26.

describes how Baiae's 'effeminate' climate of luxury and vice makes it an excellent place to watch the adulterers sail past, suggests just how unwise a holiday destination Fiammetta's husband has unwittingly chosen.⁷⁵ It offers, Boccaccio notes, an environment of sensual license capable of undoing even the most modest and shamefast gentlewomen, a quality closely associated with the fact that '[t]he greatest part of the time there was spent in ease' (f.54 v). Yong's additions respond to this theme: Cupid rules Baiae's 'enticing pleasures . . . without any paine or labor . . . [and] with great ease' (ff.54 v -55 r).

Later, when the cure has obviously failed, the continuity of experience that doomed it from the start is made subtly apparent, as Fiammetta's experiences at Baiae are linked back to the city and her bedchamber. Time at the bay only leaves her 'cloyed . . . with superfluities of feasts', and so 'we returned again to the Cittie' (f.57 v). But urban life in Naples, a city which 'surpass[es] all other . . . for noble feasts' (f.65 r), offers no relief from *otium*: there too, 'many and divers feastes' are underway (f.57 v). The fact that she has also previously visited Baiae with Pamphilus allows her to fill up her time with the same Ovidian memory game that she plays in her room, mapping beach to bedchamber via the *Remedia*: 'I did not see any rocke shore or Ilande there, but I sayd, heere was I with my Pamphilus, this did he speake unto me here, & this did we here. Likewise there could be nothing else seene there, which was not first an especiall occasion to me, with great efficacy to remember him' (f.55 r). These understated connections between Baiae and the urban locations from which it is supposed to provide relief suggest that the problem lies not in the contrast between urban and rural lifestyles, but in the privileged leisure that can take in both, and of which the Neapolitan area as a whole functions as a symbol.

One of the principal sources for this association, as Connors notes, is Statius's *Silvae* 3.5.⁷⁶ Separately to this, *Silvae* 5.4 has been proposed as a source for Fiammetta's prayer to sleep (ff.52 r - v).⁷⁷ Though it has been doubted whether Boccaccio could have known a complete version of the

⁷⁵ *Workes*, 243-5.

⁷⁶ Connors, 'Imperial Space', 501.

⁷⁷ Cornelia C. Coulter, 'Statius, *Silvae* 5.4 and Fiammetta's Prayer to Sleep', *American Journal of Philology* 80 (1959), 390-5.

Silvae,⁷⁸ the links here seem suggestive, since the prayer to sleep immediately precedes the proposal of the holiday by Fiammetta's husband, in which he describes Baiae's attractions (ff.53v-54r). While there is no direct borrowing, the situation here is very close to that of *Silvae* 3.5, 'in which I urge my [wife] Claudia to retire with me to Naples'.⁷⁹ Like Fiammetta's over-trusting husband, Statius enquires after his wife's mysterious insomnia and depression without suspecting infidelity:

Why, my wife, do you sorrow by day and fetch painful sighs in the nights we share, in sleepless worry? I have no fear lest faith be broken or another love be in your heart . . . why do I see your brow changed, your face in a cloud? (ll.1-4, 11).

He begs her to join him on this 'short journey . . . to the delightful bay' (l.43), and, like his counterpart in Boccaccio, describes some of its 'thousand joys' (l.105).⁸⁰ Their speeches, though varied, have a number of points in common: both list vineyards, baths, theatres and the Cumaean Sybil.⁸¹ The husband in Boccaccio omits the praise of *otium* that precedes Statius's description, in which even the sea is 'lazy' and 'unwarlike', and *negotium* seems far away: 'Peace secure is there, the leisure of a quiet life, tranquillity undisturbed, sleep that runs its course . . . No madness in the forum, no laws unsheathed . . .' (ll.84-7). But the omission seems acute, since it points to the failure of Fiammetta's husband to understand the true nature of Baiae, and hence the 'contrarie' effects of the 'medicine' he is proposing. It is left to Fiammetta herself to fill in the blank by elaborating, from a less illusioned viewpoint, on Statius's theme of leisure (ff.54r-55r).

The combined prominence of the *Remedia* and Neapolitan Baiae in Boccaccio's narrative suggests that *Fiammetta* was intended, at least in part, as a contribution to the literature of *otium*.

⁷⁸ Coulter, 'Statius', 394: 'all the available evidence indicates that the complete text of this work [*Silvae*] was introduced into Italy by Poggio, who found it north of the Alps in 1416 or 1417. It is possible, however, that some poems of this collection may have circulated separately'.

⁷⁹ *Silvae*, Book 3, 'To His Friend Pollius', ll.21-2; ed. cit. trans. D. Shackleton Bailey (London, 2003), 175. Further references, by line-number, are to this edition; they appear in text or footnotes as appropriate.

⁸⁰ [*M*]ille . . . *amores*; Shackleton Bailey translates this as 'thousand darlings'.

⁸¹ *Fiammetta*, ff.53v-54r; *Silvae* 3.5.91, 97, 99, 104. It should be noted that Statius is talking up the Naples area in general, where Fiammetta's husband is specifically praising Baiae. Both seem consistent with Boccaccio's point: Fiammetta is inescapably surrounded by leisure. Baiae may intensify it, but Naples provides no relief. Statius also compares Naples (Parthenope) to Capua (Capys) (ll.77-80), another place famous for the corruptions of *otium*. See Brian Vickers, 'Leisure and Idleness in the Renaissance: the Ambivalence of *Otium*', *Renaissance Studies* 4 (1990), 1-37, 107-54 (17-19).

FIAMMETTA AND PASTORAL

While Fiammetta seems more knowledgeable about what really goes on at Baiae than her naive husband, however, in a broader sense she seems subject to a similar misrecognition, since shortly after her return to the city she fantasises about a different and more overtly pastoral escape. Here Boccaccio, like Plutarch – though independently – links feminised privacy to rural solitude and *otium*. As will shortly be seen, the *Civile Conversation* also contains a similar passage, suggesting that fantasies of pastoral retreat may have been considered typical of melancholic disorders. Armed with what she thinks to be a new perceptiveness about the moral hazards attendant upon Naples' characteristically abundant festivities, Fiammetta launches into a Horatian attack on 'vayne shadowes' and 'wordly showes': 'O howe happy is that innocent man, who dwelleth in the sollitarie village, enjoying onely the open ayre . . .' (ff.68 ν -69 r). As in Plutarch, this is a vision of rural life as fundamentally solitary – 'simple and solitarie woodes and feelds' (f.70 ν) – as the marginal note to this section, 'prayse of a solitary life', observes.⁸² As Calabrese note, the golden age *topoi* which follow also recall Ovid. But the wider point, in this context, is not the specificity of these influences but the discourse of *otium* which links them.

This kind of life contrasts with that of the 'sundrie hatreds' and 'abhominable sinnes' of the 'opulent and vicious cities' (ff.70 r - ν). Instead of the 'carelesse coyle of the tumultuous familie' (f.69 r) – Fiammetta's modern translator, Causa-Steindler, reads 'the pressing tension of city living' (90) – this is an existence characterised by an absence of labour which, as in Horace, leads easily to sleep.⁸³ The countryman's 'sole care and labour' is to assemble snares for animals, allowing him to sleep when ('if perhappes he suffer any great wearines') and where ('chaunging his place sometimes in the freshe river bankes . . . [or the] great woode') he feels like it (f.69 r). The affinity between rural leisure and sleep is indicated by Yong's substitution of the former for the latter: he writes that 'These *eases* are . . . graunted to the poor inhabitaunt of the countrie village freely to

⁸² For a discussion of connections between pastoral and solitude in a different context, see Thomas M. Greene, 'Scève's "Saulsaye": The Life and Death of Solitude', *Studies in Philology* 70 (1973), 123-40.

⁸³ Cf. Epode 2 ('*Beatus Ille*'), 23-8: 'to lie beneath some ancient ilex tree . . . [or] on the matted turf . . . invite[s] soft slumbers'. *The Odes and Epodes*, trans. C.E. Bennett, rev. edn (London, 1978), 367.

enjoye' (f.69r), a phrase whose opening Causa-Steindler translates as 'this kind of *sleep*' (90).⁸⁴ As Peter Burke observes, 'ease' was one of early modern English's closest equivalents to *otium*.⁸⁵

Commentators have differed, often with some heat, as to whether Boccaccio's portrait of Fiammetta is intended to be sympathetic or satirical,⁸⁶ but proponents of the latter view have sometimes failed to make clear how they consider the supposed irony to be signalled in the text. Like her misuse of the *Remedia*, however, the passages above do contain indications – though perhaps more rueful than caustic – of Fiammetta's fundamental lack of awareness of the roots of her plight, one which also seems implied, on a broader scale, by her inability throughout the narrative to free herself from her emotional cul-de-sac. While in a general sense the speech's contrast of 'private and peacable woodes' (f.70r) with urban life seems undercut by the recent, similarly-motivated trip to Baiae, in a more specific one the word 'private', together with the emphasis on sleep, also recalls the bedchamber. Fiammetta's dream of escape from the claustrophobic passions that that chamber symbolises is destabilised by the fact that this drowsy, private, solitary countryside seems like one vast bedroom.

Her description closes with another recollection that undermines the opposition it tries to construct. 'Would the gods had given mee to such a world', she wishes, 'the people whereof content with a little, and fearing nothing, followed onely their wilde and savadge appetites' (f.71r). This uninhibited primal existence is meant to contrast with the corrupted passions of the present, but it recalls her description of the moment at which she fell in love with Pamphilus, *seguitai l'appetito* ('I followed my sensual appetite' (f.5r)), a line whose framing significance is noted by Smarr.⁸⁷ Pastoral fantasy thus becomes, like Baiae, another kind of 'contrarie medicine'. Attempting to dream up a cure for her complaint, Fiammetta, unbeknownst to herself, recalls its cause.

⁸⁴ Both emphases mine.

⁸⁵ 'The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe', *Past and Present* 146 (1995), 136-150 (141).

⁸⁶ See, for example, Hollander, *Venuses*, 40-9; Causa-Steindler, *Fiammetta*, xxi; Calabrese, 'Feminism', *passim*; Hagedorn, *Women*, 128.

⁸⁷ *Narrator*, 129, 137.

This pastoral section is far from being the only generic signal that *Fiammetta* offers. Romance is evoked by Fiammetta's plan to journey in search of Pamphilus in disguise, 'with some faithfull companion and secrete freende' (f.98v). The beginning and closing sections, as will shortly be discussed, draw parallels with 'Grecian fables', 'Trojan warres', and Ulysses (*ivr; ff.118r-v); the 'fables' may be recalled in the 'Grecian loove' of "Fiammetta and Pamphilus" which the lovers concoct to mask their affair (f.16v). A number of passages also point towards tragedy. Fiammetta explains her sleeplessness to her husband by claiming to be haunted by the bloody ghost of her brother, who wants revenge for his violent death (ff.81v-82r). Contradicting her own accounts, but positioning herself closer to the Ovidian heroines to whom she sometimes compares herself,⁸⁸ she suggests Pamphilus raped her (f.46v). Her visions of Venus are replace by ones of the fury Tisiphone, who encourages her towards her suicide attempt (f.94v). But the point of all these signals is that Fiammetta's situation falls short of them. As Yong observes in one of his own additions, the romance of Fiammetta and Pamphilus is a mere 'forged novell' (f.16v). The ghost and rape are cynical and, in the latter case, self-deluding fictions.⁸⁹ The suicide attempt ends bathetically: as she rushes to throw herself from the roof her dress catches on the stair, allowing the nurse to catch up with her and restrain her (ff.95v-96r).

Alpers suggests that classical pastoral springs from a comparable sense that grander genres are out of reach. He argues that Theocritus takes his cue from broader contemporary reactions against epic, and notes, like David Halperin and Kathryn Gutzwiller, that the ekphrasis of the cup in Theocritus's first Idyll offers a kind of domesticated version of the *Iliad's* famous description of Achilles' shield.⁹⁰ Virgil's sixth Eclogue imitates Callimachus to depict the shepherd-poet straining towards 'a song of kings and battles', and being gently rebuked: Apollo

⁸⁸ E.g. ff.90v, 110r-112v, 118v-119r; Venus makes similar comparisons (f.14r). See also Hagedorn, *Women*, 122-8.

⁸⁹ Calabrese, 'Feminism', takes a stern view of the latter (23, 30-8).

⁹⁰ Alpers, *Pastoral*, 139-44; David Halperin, *Before Pastoral: Theocritus and the Ancient Tradition of Bucolic Poetry* (London, 1983), 176-85; Kathryn J. Gutzwiller, *Theocritus' Pastoral Analogies: the Formation of Genre* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1991), 90-2. All note that the similar pseudo-Hesiodic fragment which describes the shield of Herakles offers another possible reference point.

‘plucked my ear’, advising him to sing something smaller and closer to home.⁹¹ These examples, Alpers suggests, betray a generic impulse to ‘scale down’, ‘reducing . . . heroic dimensions’ to fit ‘the quotidian sense of reality’ of a ‘post-heroic world’ (51, 140).

A similar impulse is apparent on the first page of *Fiammetta*, where its author-heroine warns her readers that they should expect no ‘Grecian fables . . . with plausible lies, nor Trojan warres foul and lothsome with deadly gore, but Amorous battailes . . . maintained by innumerable pricking desires’ (*ivṛ). Tempting as it might be to trace this passage directly to Homer’s poems, Boccaccio’s good fortune in becoming one of the first people in early modern western Europe to read these did not befall him for at least fifteen years after *Fiammetta*.⁹² The general sense, however, remains; generic reduction entails an exchange of physical conflicts for psychological ones. The next words flesh out this substitution of epic conflict with ‘Amorous battailes’ by fulfilling the title page’s promise of a ‘catalogue of passions’. ‘[P]resented before your eyes’, they promise, will be tears, sighs, complaints, thoughts, and the anorexia, insomnia, depression and physical deterioration that commonly accompany them (*ivṛ). *Otium*’s skirmishes take place within.

This way of describing *otium*, as what the Trojan war was not, was not uncommon. Ovid claimed Aegisthus’s lust for Clytemnestra was a product of the same idleness that kept him at home while ‘others’ – who conveniently included her husband – ‘were fighting . . . by Ilium’ (ll.161-3). Plutarch, as mentioned, employs a similar contrast when he cites Achilles, ‘flyeng from the fight . . . unactyfe . . . to wyther in ydelnesse’. Achilles’ withdrawal was prompted, though Plutarch does not say this directly, by jealousy over Briseis.⁹³ Like his posture, ‘sat among the shippes’, this further identifies him with the earlier example of idle women who ‘synt watchyng at home’ and suffer ‘diseses of the mynde’, including ‘jelousy’, as a consequence.⁹⁴

⁹¹ *Pastoral*, 50-1 (Virgil 6 and Callimachus), 139-44 (Theocritus 1 and the *Iliad*). See also 150 (‘diminished . . . version of epic predecessors’), and 159 (further discussion of Callimachus).

⁹² James Bruce Ross, ‘On the Early History of Leontius’ Translation of Homer’, *Classical Philology* 22 (1927), 341-55 (341-6).

⁹³ *Iliad* 1.180-5, 315-50 (ed. cit., 1.27, 37-9).

⁹⁴ *Quyete* trans. Wyatt, *aivṛ-v*.

As well as identifying love with *otium*, however, Ovid contrasted it with travel. In addition to spurring her fears for Pamphilus's affections, this part of the *Remedia* may inform Fiammetta's comparison of her sufferings with those of Homer's other hero. In her narrative's closing sections she contrasts Ulysses' 'long travelles', the 'wandering and weary perigrinations' that 'transported [him] into divers parts . . . of [the] world', with her own existence 'continually in my bedchamber'. In a further signal of irony, she concludes that she comes off worse. Ulysses, she imagines, would have become so used to hardship that 'travail[s] and turmoyl[s]' (Causa-Steindler reads 'labour' (153)) would have seemed like 'ordinary repose, nay his greatest ease and pleasure'; a notion that may suggest Fiammetta's inability to envisage a life, anyone's life, without *otium* at its centre (f.118r). Ulysses, in any case, went looking for trouble: he deliberately sought out 'eternal glorie and never dying fame', 'but I (seely wretche) would faine live in quiet if I could, and would willingly fly from woes and greefes'. But her story at least has the virtue of fidelity to its own familiar, unheroic field of experience. The *Odyssey*'s events are 'fabulated to be greater than ever they were indeede. But mine (alas) are to[o] true' (f.118v).

The coordinates of that field of experience, and hence of *Fiammetta*'s genre, correlate with those of the bedchamber, from which the suicide attempt is cast as an escape. Leaving the bedroom sounds as challenging as jumping off the roof: 'violently . . . as the sturdy Bull', she 'in a trice leap[s] out of the Chamber' (for Causa-Steindler, she has 'broken out' (124)), before her failure and ignominious return at the hands of her own servants (f.95r). In this case it is the dress rather than the ears that receives a restraining, undignified tug (f.95v), as this effort to associate herself with more exalted material, to act like a figure from the *Heroides*, is brought back down to earth in a manner ridiculous rather than fatal.

Rather than providing a turning-point, however, this failure gives onto other unfulfilled plans. When Fiammetta resolves to disguise herself and journey in search of Pamphilus, she is first too afraid to do so, then unable to get her husband's permission (ff.98v-99r). When she consults the sorcerers, they 'promis[e] to performe and bring to passe what I would': to transport her to Pamphilus, make him love her again, or make her stop loving him. She would be happy if

‘the least of these might come to passe’, but they all prove ‘vain promises . . . unperformed’, leaving her ‘flattering hope . . . many times confused, and in suspence’ (f.99r).

This is not the end of *Fiammetta*, but it is the last suggestion of action on the part of its heroine. The hope of the pilgrimage journey remains suspended over the remainder of the narrative, and beyond; as Pamela Waley notes, ‘The outcome of the story . . . is left uncertain, poised between . . . alternatives’.⁹⁵ The failed spells seem echoed in the *Diana*’s tenuous love-magic, and the assonance of ‘come to passe’ and ‘bring . . . to pass’ suggests Yong may be recalling the frustrations of Montemayor’s shepherds at this point: as Sylvanus complains on meeting Selvagia, they ‘can never conclude and bring any thing to passe, that in our loves we desire to have’ (15). Those sentiments anticipate another similarity between *Fiammetta* and Montemayor’s pastoral narrative: their irresolute conclusions. These seem different to Alpers’ notion of pastoral ‘suspension’, in that they lack a sense of relief, however provisional: these are characters left hanging in difficult situations which seem likely to persist. In Montemayor, the resolution that does occur happens just beyond the shepherds’ reach, in a final chapter which turns away from pastoral to complete the romance story of Felismena. Undertaking a journey of the kind that *Fiammetta* only contemplates, she achieves the decisive happy ending of which neither Boccaccio’s heroine nor Montemayor’s shepherds, in their different ways, prove capable. The last of Yong’s translations to be discussed here, his work on Guazzo’s *Civile Conversation*, suggests that the ambivalent status of *otium* in early modern thought may underpin these different generic outcomes.

⁹⁵ Waley, ‘Nurse’, 173. Cf. ff.108r, 109r, where only ‘the hope of my intended voyage . . . my assured hope . . . in my pretended voyage’ staves off another suicide attempt.

YONG AND GUAZZO

Unlike Yong's other translations, his *Civile Conversation* is incomplete, at least in the form in which it has survived: Yong's rendering of the fourth and final Book of Guazzo's treatise was appended to the 1586 republication of George Pettie's translation of the first three. Pettie's work had been published on its own in 1581, with the claim that Book 4 was too 'triflyng' to be worth including,⁹⁶ an excuse which suggests that Pettie was not Guazzo's most appreciative reader, since one of the *Conversation's* central arguments is the psychological value of trivial activities. Nothing is known of the circumstances which led to Yong's work being used to complete Pettie's, but it seems probable that there was more to this than simply a publisher's need for a competent translator to finish off what Pettie had begun.

Yong's translation of the *Diana's* popular sequels as well as the original suggests an aptitude for completing things; it contrasts with the piecemeal results produced by others who began work on this sizable task.⁹⁷ His literary activities do not appear to have been motivated by money.⁹⁸ Translating the *Diana* was a friend's suggestion rather than a commercial venture: 'intent I had never . . . to put it in Print', Yong advised his readers when he eventually got round to publishing it, 'in prooffe whereof it hath lyen by me finished Horaces ten and sixe yeeres more'.⁹⁹ These circumstances do not suggest that Yong would have been an obvious person for a stationer to commission to finish off someone else's work. It seems possible, instead, that Yong might have had his own complete translation of *La Civil Conversatione* to hand in manuscript when Thomas East was looking for a version of Guazzo's fourth book with which to complete his re-issue of Pettie's popular work.

⁹⁶ Guazzo, *The Civile Conversation*, trans. George Pettie (1581), iii*v*. Lievsay conjectures that the real reason may have been Pettie's discomfort with the translation of verse, of which the fourth book contains a higher proportion (*Guazzo*, 55).

⁹⁷ See note 4 above. Edward Paston apparently got as far as 'some leaves' (*Diana*, a3*r*); D.M. Anderson doubts Thomas Wilson's claim to have completed more than his surviving manuscript of Book 1 ('Wilson's Translation', 177).

⁹⁸ For what little is known of Yong's financial situation, see Harrison, 'Bartholomew Yong', 136-9.

⁹⁹ *Diana*, a3*r*.

This possibility is strengthened by the different texts from which Yong and Pettie worked. Guazzo had issued a revised version of *La Civil Conversatione* in 1580. Yong's section of the 1586 *Conversation* ignores this, working solely from the original, unrevised text. Though Pettie's principal source was Chappuys' French translation of the pre-1580 text, however, he also consulted this newer Italian edition, and included many of its additional passages.¹⁰⁰ The fact that Pettie, published in 1581, still found time to consult the 1580 text, while Yong, published in 1586, did not, would be simply explained if Yong's translation was in fact completed much earlier, as an independent project, perhaps before the 1580 edition of the *Conversatione* had appeared. Like the *Diana*, it may have 'lyen . . . finished' for some time before it, or part of it, found its way into print.

The hypothesis of a pre-existing interest in Guazzo's work on Yong's part can also draw support from its subject-matter. Like *Amorous Fiammetta*, published the following year, *The Civile Conversation* makes *otium* central to its argument. The closing book, which Yong added to Pettie's efforts, dramatises what Guazzo sees as *otium*'s positive side in the shape of a healthily sociable dinner party. But this attractive scene marks the triumph of Guazzo's protagonist over the less desirable kinds of leisure depicted in the earlier parts of the work; the journey from self-destructive to life-enhancing varieties of *otium* provides the underlying structure that unifies *The Civile Conversation*'s varied discussions.

In what follows I will cite those earlier parts of the work in Pettie's version; it should be borne in mind that these – Books 1-3, finishing on f.175v – are not Yong's words. But the purpose of this discussion is not to explore the differences between the approaches of Guazzo's two translators, work which John Lievsay has already undertaken.¹⁰¹ Instead, the following pages examine *The Civile Conversation* as a whole, in order to reveal the extent to which, in his work on Guazzo's treatise, Yong was associating himself with another text steeped in the moral-philosophical critique of *otium*.

¹⁰⁰ *The Civile Conversation* (1581), f.iii^r; Lievsay, *Guazzo*, 55-7, 74. It should be noted that some editions of *La Civil Conversatione* published before 1580 also contained revisions, though less substantial ones (Lievsay, *Guazzo*, 309n).

¹⁰¹ *Guazzo*, 54-77.

WILLIAM'S SOLITUDE

The Civile Conversation, a conduct-book often compared to Castiglione's, seems at first sight to have little in common with *Fiammetta* other than its Italian origin. But Guazzo, like Boccaccio, has a story to tell, and his frame-narrative of melancholy and retirement has several things in common with Boccaccio's catalogue of chambered passions. Private space is one of these: Fiammetta's chamber has an equivalent in the carefully-described closet in which the discussions which make up the body of Guazzo's treatise take place. Another is melancholy. Fiammetta identifies her worsening despair as melancholic on a number of occasions. The reason for her obsessive love's persistence is 'the melancolie . . . which now continually I had' (f.98r); she suffers from 'deepe and melancolie passions', and needs to 'purge . . . this melancholick humour' (f.53v), and heal a mind 'infested' by 'melancholy fits' (f.57v).¹⁰² Melancholy is also the problem from which Guazzo's protagonist, his brother William, suffers, and whose remedies *The Civile Conversation* sets out to describe.

A third common thread between these works is the question of *otium*. *Otium* in *Fiammetta* was suggested by locations (Naples, Baiae, the chamber), sources (Ovid, Statius), and by the pastoral fantasy at the centre of Boccaccio's narrative. All have Guazzian equivalents. Fiammetta's retreats to bedchamber or Baiae are matched by William's transition from a career as a prince's secretary to his mysterious 'retirement' to his family home. Guazzo, like Boccaccio, affirms his theme by reverting to its classical sources, quoting archetypal definitions of *otium* from Aulus Gellius and Plutarch, alongside less direct references to Seneca. And one sign of William's melancholy is his wistful vision of life in the golden age, when people lived in forests and followed nature, far from cities, politics and law. The similarity here to Fiammetta's escapist reverie – both speeches are described as 'praise[s] of solitary life' – may suggest that indulgence in pastoral daydreaming was considered one of melancholy's more recognisable symptoms.

¹⁰² See also ff.36r, 56r-57r, 100v.

The argument here will not be that Boccaccio influenced Guazzo. Instead, the similarities result from the fact that both are writing about *otium*, discussions of which were inherently likely to include the related issues of pastoral, privacy, and emotional disturbance. For both these writers the most important and damaging consequence of *otium* is the last of these, in its distinctive early modern shape of melancholy. As well as the erotic melancholy from which Fiammetta suffers,¹⁰³ early moderns recognised another variant of this disease which resulted from something like the opposite: too much ascetic scholarship or contemplation. Bright's *Treatise of Melancholy* noted how 'studies have great force to procure melancholie'; the solution was to 'abandon . . . studie', and 'give your mind to libertie of recreation'.¹⁰⁴ This kind of diligently studious, high-minded retreat from the world is the origin of William Guazzo's problems. By including both Boccaccio's Fiammetta and Guazzo's William in his portfolio, Yong was prompting his readers to consider the relationship between the two faces of early modern melancholy, its amorous and contemplative variants, and to identify *otium* as the common thread between them. He was also helping, with his fellow-translator Pettie, to provide an English platform for Guazzo's unusually progressive vision of this problem's solution.

Guazzo's preface, translated by Pettie, sets *The Civile Conversation's* scene. Guazzo explains how his brother William was granted leave from his post as secretary to the Duke of Nevers in order to recuperate from illness (f.1r). Having returned to the family home, however, he announces his intention to make this therapeutic retirement permanent, give up his career, and 'passe the rest of his life in quietnesse'. At this point a visitor arrives, Annibal Magnocavalli, a distinguished 'philosopher and phisition'(f.1v). William feels drawn to Annibal's company, and they spend four days talking together. William found these conversations so fruitful that he related them to Stefano, who wrote them down, and, so the conceit goes, is now publishing

¹⁰³ On which see Carol Thomas Neely, *Distracted Subjects: Madness and Gender in Shakespeare and Early Modern Culture* (Ithaca, 2004), 101-10; Mary Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages: the Viaticum and its Commentaries* (Philadelphia, 1990), *passim*; André Du Laurens, *A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight: of Melancholike Diseases; of Rheumes, and of Old Age*, trans. Richard Surphlet (1599), 117-24.

¹⁰⁴ Timothy Bright, *A Treatise of Melancholy*, 1st edn (1586), 236; see also 30, 120, 194, and Joannes de Mediolano, *Regimen Sanitatis Salerni*, trans. Thomas Paynell (1528): 'melancolye folkes . . . be studious / for they covet alway to be alone' (ciii^{r-v}).

them, so that a wider audience can benefit from Annibal's wisdom. (ff.1v-2r). Key to the discussion is William's projected retirement, from which Annibal dissuades him.

Though Guazzo frames the *Civile Conversation* as a portrait of his brother's difficulties, it seems likely to reflect his own. Guazzo is known to have suffered from bouts of depression from 1560; Lievsay suggests that these continued, exacerbated by the deaths of both his first and second wives, up until his own death in 1593.¹⁰⁵ Annibal quickly establishes that such 'maladie of y[e] mind' (f.2v) is William's most urgent problem: he 'feeles[s] oppressed with . . . great melancholie' (f.2v). Guazzo strengthens this theme by giving William a personal interest in medical theory: 'by reason of my continual sicknesse', he observes, 'I have ben driven to bestowe some time in the studie of Galen' (f.70v). The conclusion of William and Annibal's conversation at the end of Book 3 – the point at which Pettie's translation ended – affirms this medical context. Through Annibal's attitude-changing persuasions, William's 'superfluous humours' have been 'consumed quite, & spent in mee', so that he 'sensiblie feeles' himself to be 'a new healed patient' (f.176r).

The similarity between William's 'anguish of mind, or melancholie' (f.2v) and Fiammetta's distress emerges further in Annibal's warnings about the 'vehement and frantike fansies' and suicidal tendencies to which this condition gives rise (f.4v). Boccaccio's and Guazzo's protagonists also share a liking for solitude, though *The Civile Conversation* grants this side of *otium*'s argument more prominence. Fiammetta's isolation – in 'my Chamber all alone' (f.8r) – is important, but in Guazzo solitude takes centre stage. William's misconceptions are important here. He feels that 'the company of many is greevous unto me, and that contrariwise, solitarinesse is a great comfort and ease of my travels' (f.3r). But Annibal thinks this inability to see what's bad for him – 'the false imagination you have' (f.3v) – may be his most dangerous symptom. The fact that this patient 'thinke[s] to recover your health in continuing . . . that solitarie life' is the one thing that makes his physician-friend 'feare least this maladie be perchaunce incurable' (f.3r). To 'cut of the cause' of his problems, he must learn to 'know it' (f.3v). William's achievement of this

¹⁰⁵ Lievsay, *Guazzo*, 6-10.

insight is gratefully expressed at the close of Book 3. [I]n this my siknesse', he admits, 'I used solitarinesse in steede of a remedie'; but in doing so, he now realises, 'I went about to make my selfe a grave'. Instead, 'conversation is the right medicine' (ff.175r-v).

As this suggests, the *Civile Conversation* views a desire for solitude as a quintessential sign of melancholy; 'civil conversation' itself is defined throughout Guazzo's treatise by means of its opposition to solitude, and hence its therapeutic effect in such cases.¹⁰⁶ The text enacts the transition it recommends: beginning with the anecdote of William's withdrawal from society, it ends with Annibal's description of a banquet which features 'a pretie sporte of solitarinesse', in which each player must devise their own 'figure or shadow of a solitarie life', in the shape of a proverb which advocates it (f.180r). In this, the section which Yong contributed to the 1586 edition, the guests cover all William's reasons: religiosity, studiousness, dislike of vulgarity, the avoidance of 'concupiscence' (ff.180v-181r). '[W]ittie' and 'pleasaunt', the game laughs elegantly and sociably at the idea of 'solitarie and melancholie place(s)' (f.180r).

The importance of this theme to Guazzo was apparent to at least one contemporary, Lodowick Bryskett, much of whose *Discourse of Civill Life* (1606) was probably composed shortly after the initial publication of Pettie's translation in 1581.¹⁰⁷ Bryskett acknowledges Guazzo's influence and declares his intent to discuss 'civil conversation'.¹⁰⁸ Accordingly, his treatise is framed by its author's own retirement from the clerkship of the council of Dublin and retreat to his rural cottage. A guest defends him against the charge of 'solitarinesse, which commonly all melancholy men are much given unto', and this question of 'solitariness versus "conversation"' is developed along Guazzian lines.¹⁰⁹

Guazzo's influence is apparent not only in Bryskett's retirement, but in what he retires from. His 'clerkship' in the provincial government parallels William's courtly career as a secretary, from which solitude provides needed relief. In Pettie's rendition, William laments that

¹⁰⁶ Lievsay (*Guazzo*) notes this at a number of points. The 'Guazzian . . . solitude-society antithesis' is 'the dominant general theme of Book One' (101); elsewhere, he refers to Guazzo's 'advocacy of "conversation" in preference to solitude' (87), and describes sociability as 'Annibal's prescription for the melancholy William Guazzo' (102).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 49, 84.

¹⁰⁸ My discussion is based on Lievsay's account: *Guazzo*, 84-5.

¹⁰⁹ See note above. Lievsay is citing Bryskett, *A Discourse of Civill Life* (1606), 7.

for the service of my Prince, I must of force bee conversant not only with other Gentlemen his servants, but also in the Court, to discourse and deale with divers persons of divers countries & nations, yet I do it against the heart . . . nothing els but paine and subjection. But when I withdrawe my selfe into my lodging either to reade or write, or to repose my self: then I recover my libertie . . . (f.3r).

In response, however, Annibal is brutally clear that this hint of a political rationale – ‘subjection’ versus ‘libertie’ – is obscuring a medical problem. Solitude is ‘hurtfull to the health’ (f.19r), and ‘the solitarie man . . . is in very deede sicke’ (f.53r); like the melancholy that prompts it, ‘solitarinesse putteth many evill thinges into our heads, and maketh us beleeve that which is not. Neither hath it anie thing in it but horror & terror . . .’ (f.17v).

The physical effects are just as pronounced. Solitary people become ‘ill favoured, leane, forlorne, and filled full of putrified blood, by meanes whereof, their life and manners come to corruption’ (f.4v). William’s desire to be alone is both a symptom and a cause of his illness. His new taste for solitude is making him poison himself:

thinking to receive solace by meanes of a solitarie life, you fill your self full of ill humors, which take roote in you, and there lie in waite readie to search out secrete and solitarie places conformable to their nature, & to flie all mirth and company . . . these corrupt humours, covertly lurking, with more force consume, and destroy the faire pallace of your minde. . . . leaving that wrong opinio[n], wherby hitherunto you went about, cleane contrarie, to redresse your evil, you should change your order of proceeding, & . . . account solitarinesse for poyson, and companie, for an Antidote . . . (f.3v)

Annibal’s words here are significant, because they help to show the connection between Guazzo’s major theme of solitude and what appears a relatively minor episode, the discussion of leisure that closes Book 2 (ff.116v-118v). The ‘putrified blood’ and rooted, lurking humours that characterise solitude in this passage draw on a stagnancy topos whose application to *otium* was longstanding; it appears in both Ovid and Plutarch,¹¹⁰ the latter of whom Guazzo may be recalling here. In the section of the *Moralia* whose title considers *Whether This Common Mot be Well Said: . . . So Live, As No Man May Know Thou Livest* – Plutarch, unsurprisingly, thinks it isn’t – he describes how

¹¹⁰ Vickers, ‘*Otium*’, 31, 109, 126-8, 142.

a sedentarie life, retired a part in idlenesse, causeth not onely the bodie, but the mind also of man to languish & grow feeble: & like as dormant, or close & standing waters, for that they be covered, overshadowed, & not running, grow to putrifie; even so, they that never stirre, nor be employed . . . corrupt quickly.¹¹¹

William Baldwin pungently developed this image, emphasising its contrast with gainful employment. Under the heading ‘what idlenes is’, he replied: ‘Idlenes (that is to saye) the ceasing from necessarye occupacion or study, is y[e] sinke which receiveth al the stinking canelles of vice: whiche once being brimfull, suddenly runneth over . . . and poysoneth a greate multytude . . .’ (f.208 ν). Similar images of pooling were used to describe melancholy, as Annibal implies: it was caused when ‘lees’ of blood settled out from the main volume and ceased to flow.¹¹² In 1584 Thomas Cogan made the link between moral-philosophical metaphor and Galenic physiology explicit. Under the heading of ‘Labour’, or exercise, he observed that ‘flowing water doeth not lightly corrupt, but that which standeth still: Even so . . . such as bee idle [are] more subject to sickenes’.¹¹³ A later passage in Pettie’s sections of the *Conversation* suggests a similar convergence:

some choose solitarinesse through lazinesse of mind, and lazinesse of bodie, to the intent to ridde their handes of the travayles, affaires, and workes which they ought to undertake . . . these lurke loyteringlie . . . I have knowen some of these idle merchaunts to withdrawe them selves from companie most parte of the daie, taking pleasure to doe nothing, unlesse it were to presse down their beds with the peise of their unwildie bodies . . . he, which being in the active life refuseth companie . . . through lazy slouthfulnessse . . . [and] shrinketh aside into solitarinesse is greatly to be reprehended . . . (ff.19 r - ν).

The tendency of idle loners to ‘lurke loyteringlie’, like the ‘covert . . . lurking’ of melancholy humours themselves, shows the ease with which terms in the relationship between idleness, solitude and melancholy can interchange.

¹¹¹ *Morals*, 608.

¹¹² See, e.g., Levinus Lemnius, *The Touchstone of Complexions* (1576) f.136 r (‘Melancholike juyce is nothinge els then the dryer and thicker parte of bloud, altogether lyke unto dregges and Lees, [tha]t settleth in the bottom of the vessel’); William Vaughan, *Approved Directions for Health* (1612), 122 (‘The Melancholick humour is black, earthly, resembling the lees of bloud’); Thomas Walkington, *The Optick Glasse of Humors* (1607), f.25 ν (‘purges out the feculent lees of melancholy . . . opens the obstructions of the veines’).

¹¹³ *The Haven of Health* (1584), 2.

WILLIAM AND ANNIBAL'S CLOSET

William's emotional condition, like Fiammetta's, is also expressed in spatial terms. William thinks God wants him to 'withdrawe him selfe to his chamber' (f.6*v*), and that true learning is to be found not in 'publike places', amidst 'affaires of the world', but rather 'studies & privie chambers' (f.13*r*). Annibal rebutts him by comparing the seclusion of melancholics to 'voluntarie prisons' (f.4*v*), noting that this type of person often 'durst not come forth of his chamber' (f.4*v*), and pointing out that no one can do good works if they 'remain alwaies mewed up' (f.8*r*). The closing banquet defuses such tendencies, as it does with the idea of solitude in general, by turning them to play: it begins with the surprise emergence of its guest of honour, Lord Vespasian, from a 'secret chamber' to which he 'withdrew himselfe' before the others' arrival. But the most prominent of these locations is that in which the dialogues take place: anticipating Vespasian's trick, William and Annibal begin their discussions only after 'withdrawing themselves into a little closet' (f.1*v*). Annibal later emphasises the importance of this setting to their subject-matter: 'we can choose no fitter place for our purpose then this same' (f.22*r*).

That purpose, however, is not solitude, but conversation. This closet is importantly differentiated, accordingly, from the 'studies' and 'chambers' in which the melancholy mew themselves up. Alan Stewart has observed that the early modern closet does not suggest the absolute privacy of a single individual, but rather a place where two, typically 'ye Prince and ye Secretary', can discuss those intimate matters that the title 'secretary' itself implies.¹¹⁴ In its literary versions, that suggests, the level of privacy implied by a closet might depend on who it is being imagined by, and who is being imagined to use it. William Guazzo is himself a secretary to a prince, but his disaffection with this occupation is one of the work's central themes: as a result,

¹¹⁴ Robert Cecil, *State and Dignitie of a Secretarie of Estates Place* (1642), A4*r*; cited in Stewart, *Close Readers: Humanism and Sodomy in Early Modern England* (Princeton, 1997), 184.

any associations of privacy and leisure are likely to be balanced by reminiscences of the professional pressures from which he is attempting to escape.

If this suggests tension, however, it is balanced by lighter touches. As Stewart suggests, this closet is not ‘a place of individual withdrawal’ in any simple sense; but it also seems a more easygoing environment than his description of ‘a secret nonpublic transactive space between two men behind a locked door’ seems to imply.¹¹⁵ Nor – unlike other such spaces that this study will examine – does it seem to participate in the ‘perpetual regress’ and its accompanying self-division that Patricia Fumerton finds characteristic of such “‘secret” room[s]’.¹¹⁶ The setting for William and Annibal’s conversation seems, instead, a deliberately sociable place. hung with ‘diverse pleasant pictures’ that ‘mervailously recreate our mindes, and ministreth occasion of witty talke’ (f.22r); disarming melancholic tendencies to intellectual over-exertion, the ‘few smal bookes’ it contains are ‘rather for a shew then for studie’ (f.1v).

Yet at the same time, contrary to Orlin’s descriptions of early modern closets, it *is* distinctively intimate.¹¹⁷ They retire there after Annibal has ‘stirred up in [William’s] heart . . . an extreame desire’ to continue their chat, a feeling Annibal reciprocates. Pettie seems alert to the connection here between spatial and emotional movements: in his text the ‘withdrawing’ takes place after they find themselves ‘*drawinge* by a sodaine and mutual affection’, an echo that strengthens the affinity between these events (f.1v).¹¹⁸ Like, as will shortly be discussed, Annibal’s sketch of ‘honest leasure’, the *Civile Conversation*’s closet thus seems intended as a middle ground. Suggesting courtly labour as well as private retirement, conversation as well as retreat, it offers a kind of halfway house in which William’s social and professional rehabilitation can proceed.

If William’s preference for ‘withdraw[ing] him selfe to his chamber’ suggests his affinities with Fiammetta, then, Guazzo’s cheerful and sociable closet marks a difference in his articulation of *otium*’s possibilities. One closer parallel, however, lies in William’s equivalent of Fiammetta’s golden age speech, which he similarly describes as a ‘praise of the solitary life’ (f.7v). Though

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 171.

¹¹⁶ Patricia Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament* (Chicago, 1991), 69.

¹¹⁷ See note 45 above.

¹¹⁸ Both emphases mine.

pastoral tropes are less prominent, like Fiammetta he associates this kind of life with golden age *topoi*, when ‘the people [were] scattered abroad in Forrests and Mountaines, where they followed nature in stead of lawe’, free from ‘the contagion of vices, which began to growe hot in the Cities and assemblies of men’ (f.7r). This remains the best course, so that even today one ought still to ‘flie . . . the Conversation of men’ and ‘prease of people . . . refusing the government of common weales, and [their] chief honours and offices’ (f.7r). And, again as in Fiammetta’s speech, there is an implicit comparison between outdoor and indoor spaces, on the grounds that both can function as havens from *negotium*. The ‘chamber’ where one ought to pray (f.6v) is linked to the ‘Forrests and Mountaines’ which offer a refuge from urban vice, by the fact that both exemplify the virtues of withdrawal.

The wish-fulfilling landscape thus looks similar to Boccaccio’s, although its co-ordinates are Edenic rather than Horatian. ‘[T]he solitarie’ is able to ‘climbe to the true service of god’ through being ‘whollye raised up to the contemplation of his originall and happie state’ (f.6v), and William closes with an impassioned, proto-Marvellian combination of religious and pastoral idealism: ‘The Citie is to me a prison, and solitarinesse a Paradise’ (f.8r). Annibal argues the reverse, but his doing so re-emphasises the centrality of this pastoral opposition to their argument. These ‘scattered people’, innocent but ignorant, were like ‘savage beasts’, because

who so leaveth the civile societie to place himselfe in some solitarie desert, taketh as it were the forme of a beast . . . seasing and possessing himselfe of forrests, of tops of mountaines . . . Not seeing that the citie and assemblies of people are made to founde the temple of justice, and to appoint a law and forme to mans life, which before was disordered, and imperfect (f.9v).

Yong did not translate this passage himself, but readers following in his literary footsteps might have heard this lawless, formless existence echoed in *Fiammetta*, a narrative whose shapelessness seems conditioned by ‘idle thoughts’, pastoral daydreams, and the Neapolitan climate of leisure.

THE USE OF LEISURE

Leisure is Guazzo's theme as well as Boccaccio's, however, and the stagnancy that links it to the solitude corrupting William's humours is not the only way it makes its presence felt. Guazzo discusses leisure more directly elsewhere in Pettie's portion of the text, at the close of Book 2. This passage is thus located at the centre of the treatise; though brief, its importance is also signalled by its sources. Annibal's speeches on leisure are based on passages from Aulus Gellius's *Attic Nights*, a collection which preserves the earliest recorded use of the word *otium*, and one of its most enduring commonplace descriptions, the comparison of idleness to rust.¹¹⁹ The rust metaphor is significant not only on its own account, but because of the person to whom it was attributed: Cato the Censor, 'embodiment of the old Roman virtues', as Brian Vickers describes him, and archetypal enemy of idleness.¹²⁰ Annibal names Cato directly, attributing to him the proverb 'that those which did nothing, learned to doe ill' (f.117r); but he also incorporates the image of rust into his speech without ascription, perhaps in order to show that he has not simply learnt Cato's words, but also absorbed what they mean. This demonstration of his credibility, as one steeped in *otium*'s philosophical origins, is not, however, aimed simply at re-asserting the old wisdom. Annibal shows his mastery of the discourse in order to argue, albeit cautiously, beyond it.

Annibal sets out by announcing his intention to describe what Pettie renders as 'two sortes of leasure, the one evill, the other honest' (f.116v); the Italian equivalents are *ozio onesto* and *ozio vile*.¹²¹ He begins with *ozio vile*. This undesirable kind of leisure 'proceedeth of a base mind, and . . . withdraweth a man from watching, from studie, from travaile, and from all commendable actions' (f.116v). Annibal warns that 'the plesure of being idle' in this way can seem superficially attractive:

¹¹⁹ *Attic Nights*, 11.2.6 (rust), 19.10.12 (earliest use); ed. cit. trans. J.C. Rolfe, rev. edn, 3 vols (London, 1946-52), 2.305, 3.389. On the significance of *otium* throughout this work, see Amiel Vardi, 'Genre, Conventions, and Cultural Programme in Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*', in *The Worlds of Aulus Gellius*, ed. Leofranc Holford-Strevens and Amiel Vardi (Oxford, 2004), 159-86 (181-3).

¹²⁰ '*Otium*', 6. On Cato, see also Connors, 'Imperial Space', 494-5.

¹²¹ On the wider influence of these terms, see Burke, 'Leisure', 143-4.

But think not yet, that though their bodies be at ease, that their mindes are at quiet: for they are thereby the more occupied, yea, and eaten as it were with the rust of idlenesse: and not knowing how to use leasure as they ought to doe, they are more greeved with doing nothing, then others with labouring harde. . . . Whereupon *Cato* used to saye, *That those whiche did nothing, learned to doe ill* . . . nothing procureth more infamie to a man, then idlenesse and effeminateenesse (f.117r).

The direct quotation establishes Cato as an appropriately stern figure presiding over this section of Guzzo's treatise. Above that figure, however, Annibal has quietly woven together two of *otium's* most influential commonplaces.

Medieval awareness of the *Attic Nights* was fragmentary, but in the sixteenth century Aulus Gellius was a familiar figure; his philological collection contained one of the most frequently-cited definitions of *humanitas*.¹²² It also preserves the chorus of soldiers from Ennius's *Iphigeneia* which comprises *otium's* earliest use. The fact that this is spoken by soldiers is appropriate, since *otium* is thought originally to have originally been a term describing the condition of armies outside fighting season. These soldiers, in Brian Vickers' words, are 'unoccupied, resting and bored',¹²³ feelings they express in lines whose opening Annibal closely follows:

That man in truth who knows not leisure's use
More trouble has than one by tasks pursued
For he who has a task must be performed
Devotes himself to that with heart and soul
The idle mind knows not what 'tis it wants . . .¹²⁴

Not knowing how to use it makes leisure worse than work: this sentiment places Annibal's thoughts at the centre of the Roman discourse of *otium*. And the words that precede it – 'eaten . . . with the rust of idlenesse' – belong to that discourse's most famous spokesperson, the elder Cato. *Attic Nights* records the words of Cato that would become one of *otium's* most enduring *topoi*: 'Human life is very like iron. If you use it, it wears out; if you do not, it is

¹²² *Attic Nights*, 13.17 (ed. cit., 2.456-9); see Hans Baron, 'Aulus Gellius in the Renaissance and a Manuscript from the School of Guarino', *Studies in Philology* 48 (1951), 107-25 (108-10 and notes).

¹²³ Vickers, 'Otium', 6.

¹²⁴ *Attic Nights*, 19.10.12 (ed. cit., 3.389).

nevertheless consumed by rust . . . sluggishness and torpor are more injurious than toil'.¹²⁵ Along with stagnancy, rust was the other common image of *otium*. Francis Bacon's Neostoic father, Nicholas, began his poem 'Agaynste Idleness' with both: 'What bringethe ruste to Iron smothe? / Whye stynkethe water that dothe not move? / . . . / Noe canker can Iron eate soe sore / But Idlenes healthe hurtes muche more'.¹²⁶ William Baldwin made a similar link: his advice to 'flye ydlenes, the whiche is a thinge both to the bodye and to the soule like to a kankering rustines, and as an eatinge consumption' (f.208^v), appears just below his description of Plutarchan putrefaction. The special antipathy to idleness that Baldwin displayed in these passages may have been what prompted John Bale's assertion that he 'shined forth in the same manner as Cato himself'.¹²⁷

Annibal finishes his speech with words that sound close to a later Roman moralist, Seneca: linking idleness, effeminacy and ill repute, Annibal may be paraphrasing the Epistle 'against effeminate life and . . . idleness' ('He liveth effeminately . . . they say, he is evill').¹²⁸ Not all *otium*, however, was of this kind. People like Seneca did know how to use leisure: the way to use it was to turn it into work. Another Roman culture-hero, Scipio Africanus, summed this approach in parallel *sententiae* that, like *The Civile Conversation*, link leisure and solitude: Scipio was never less idle than when he had nothing to do, and never less solitary than when he was alone. As Cicero, who reported these sayings, observed, they showed Scipio's mastery of 'the two conditions that prompt others to idleness – leisure and solitude'.¹²⁹

Seneca enthusiastically adopts Scipio's approach. The 8th Epistle offers Lucilius the kind of reassurance that someone caught indulging in *otium* evidently needs to provide:

¹²⁵ Ibid., 11.2.6 (ed. cit., 2.305). Vickers, 'Otium', 7.

¹²⁶ Nicholas Bacon, *The Recreations of His Age*, ed. Charles Daniel (Oxford, 1919), 3-4: discussed in Chapter 2 below, p.107.

¹²⁷ Cited in King, *Reformation*, 358, and discussed, 361-2. For idleness as putrefaction, see note 111 above.

¹²⁸ See above, p.30 and note.

¹²⁹ Cicero, *De Officiis* 3.1.1-4, cited and translated by Vickers, 'Otium', 7. Connors, 'Imperial Space', also discusses this passage, and notes the general Roman distinction between 'productive elite *otium* and wasteful popular *otium*' ('Imperial Space', 493-4).

What, seeme I then in this interim to intertaine idlennesse? To this end have I withdrawne my selfe, to this intent have I shut up my doores, that I might profit many men. I spend not a day in idlennesse; yea, and for the most part of the nights, I spend them in studie, maintayning and forcing mine eyes against sleepe.¹³⁰

Seneca gives solitude and leisure a location: ‘withdrawne’ and ‘shut up’ behind doors. The only excuse for placing oneself in this kind of situation is scholarly labour.

But Senecan *otium* is a kind of politics as well as a kind of work. In *De Otio*, framed by the question ‘[w]hether it were lawfull for a Wise-man to live privately and retired from the Common-weale?’, he describes the retreat to privacy as a last resort when state corruption makes involvement in public life futile.¹³¹ *Otium* ought to enlarge political reach rather than restrict it:

Zeno and Chrisippus have done more in their solitude, then if they had conducted Armies, exercised publique charges, established lawes: for they have proposed worthy lessons, not only to a Common-weale, but to all mankinde.¹³²

Epistle 73 uses pastoral to connect these twin aspects of the right use of *otium*, politics and productivity. Granted the time he needs for his studies, the philosopher ought never to forget

by whose means the publique necessitie constraineth him no more . . . and giveth thanks unto his Prince . . . by whose wise government and providence this great and happie repose is befallne him, to be able to passe the terme of his life in such tranquillitie and quiet, which is not interrupted by any publique occupations.¹³³

Seneca cites Virgil’s first Eclogue to confirm this: “Tis [a] God O Melibe that gave this peace, / Him as my God Ile honour without cease . . . He (as thou seest) my yoaked teame permits / To plow the earth . . .”. This shows, he thinks, that ‘these calmes and contentments are . . . principally

¹³⁰ *Workes*, 172. See also Vickers, ‘*Otium*’, 31-2: ‘Seneca . . . although sometimes taken as an apologist for retirement, expresses forcibly and frequently a morality of striving . . . From this perspective *otium* must be condemned . . . The connection between *otium* and degeneration, both physical and moral, is as real for Seneca as for Cicero and Livy’.

¹³¹ *Workes*, 905 (*Of the Rest and Retirement of the Wise-Man*); this is Lipsius’s introductory comment. The modern translation of this essay is clearer than Lodge: ‘Zeno says: “He [the wise man] will engage in public affairs unless something prevents him” . . . If the state is too corrupt to be helped . . . the wise man will not struggle to no purpose’, though a disillusioned Seneca adds that this is likely to be the case (‘if that state which we dream of can nowhere be found, leisure begins to be a necessity for all of us . . .’). *Moral Essays*, trans. J.W. Basore, 3 vols (London, 1928-35), 2.185-7, 201.

¹³² *Workes*, 910.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 298-9 (Epistle 73).

to be ascribed to him that hath procured them for us'; the last two lines, with their yoked and ploughing team, affirm the imperative for this overtly subjected *otium* to be productive.¹³⁴

This pastoral allusion has significance elsewhere, in Seneca's comments on *hasychia*, the Greek equivalent to *otium*: 'quiet . . . which the Grecians call *hasychian*, or pleasure . . . is the good of a beast'.¹³⁵ *Hasychia*, the word found in Theocritus, is tainted with hedonism; its Roman equivalent is very different. In this way, as well as articulating the political contexts of *otium*, pastoral, re-fashioned by Virgil from Theocritus, contributes to Seneca's differentiation of good (Roman) from bad (Greek) kinds of leisure.¹³⁶ Pleasurable Theocritean *hasychia* gives way to a Virgilian *otium* that is essentially a continuation of *officium* by other means: a version of free time that is both laborious and political.

De Otio could have been modelled on Cicero, who was forced to retire from politics and occupied himself during this unwanted *otium* – 'forced upon me by want of public business, not prompted by any desire for repose' – with writing. Cicero coined the phrase *otium honestum* for this kind of endeavour.¹³⁷ *Otium honestum* is, evidently enough, the kind of thing on which one might expect Annibal's *ozjo onesto* to be modelled. But the problem with this is that *otium honestum* seems exactly what William is currently aiming at, and hence exactly what is making him ill. His reason for retirement – seeking 'libertie' away from 'subjection' at court – hints at a Senecan political rationale ('if a man have small authoritie and favour . . .'). Like Seneca's, his 'honest repose' is devoted to 'studies . . . and contemplation'.¹³⁸ But there is an element of straightforward misanthropy as well, and this also recalls Seneca:

what pleasure . . . may [I] looke for by Co[n]versation, seeing y^t for one man which I meet with to my minde, I light upon more then a hundred, which . . . doe so vexe and trouble mee, that my minde & bodie both receive great hurt thereby (f.5r).

¹³⁴ Ibid., 299. Lodge's omission of the indefinite article makes Seneca sound Christian, which is presumably the intention.

¹³⁵ *Workes*, 384-5 (Epistle 92). On *hasychia* in Theocritus, see Rosenmeyer, *Cabinet*, 42, 67, 70-2, 85, 92, 97. Rosenmeyer notes that *hasychia* is used much more rarely in Theocritus than *otium* in Virgil (67), but puts this down to Theocritus's comparative dislike of abstractions. But his assertion that '[h]asychia . . . [or] ease (*otium*) . . . is the same stillness and leisure that constitutes the central hope of Stoicism, and especially of Epicureanism' (42), might be queried. *Otium* could also translate Greek *scholé* (Vickers, 'Otium', 5-6).

¹³⁶ Cf. Vickers, 'Otium', 7: 'For Cato, as for many Romans, this 'easy life' was the *otium Graecum*, Roman prejudice against the Greeks ascribing to them the antithesis of their own *virtus*'.

¹³⁷ *De Officiis*, 3.1.2; cited and translated by Vickers, 'Otium', 11.

¹³⁸ *Workes*, 905 (Lipsius's introduction to *De Otio*).

Seneca's own essay *On Tranquillity* takes a similar attitude:

wee ought to retire our selves very inwardly within our selves for the conversation of those men that are of different humor from us, disturbeth . . . and exulcerateth whatsoever is either weake or uncured in the mind.¹³⁹

In these ways William's 'leisure for . . . goodly and laudable contemplations' sounds comparable to *otium honestum*. He furthers this impression by condemning those who in their solitary withdrawals are 'not willing to put in practise their vertue . . . nor to teache it to others' (f.12v). This echoes Cicero's determination to have 'something to show for his leisure . . . something that will benefit his fellow men . . . this is an *otium honestum*'.¹⁴⁰ John Bernard defines Ciceronian *otium honestum* as 'any retirement . . . not spent in idleness'.¹⁴¹ William, unlike Fiammetta, is not 'withdraw[n] . . . from all commendable actions', or given over to what Annibal goes on to call 'vaine devises, & . . . the sacrifice and service of *Venus*' (f.116v). But he still suffers from the same affliction as Venus-worshipping Fiammetta: melancholy. Annibal may denounce rusty idlers, but *otium honestum* already stands silently condemned by the example of William's situation. When Annibal goes on to 'speake of honest leasure, which belongeth to honest men' (f.117r), he needs to say something different.

What he does say, *ozio onesto* as opposed to *otium honestum*, marks an important difference from his Roman models. Guazzo shifts the weight of the critique from idleness to solitude.¹⁴² For Seneca, being shut up behind doors was justifiable, so long as what you were doing was work. But Annibal thinks leisure is fine, and even necessary, so long as it's sociable. This is the vision brought to life in Yong's contribution to the 1586 text, the account of the banquet. Here both extremes of the inflexible binary in which William has fixed himself are mocked. Solitude, melancholy and secret chambers become occasions for sociable laughter, but so too do courtly

¹³⁹ Ibid., 652 (*Of the Tranquillitie of the Mind*, Ch.15).

¹⁴⁰ This is Vickers' paraphrase, summed from a number of works: '*Otium*', 11.

¹⁴¹ *Ceremonies of Innocence: Pastoralism in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser* (Cambridge, 1989), 16; italics mine.

¹⁴² Seneca elsewhere suggests balancing solitude and '[c]onversation': 'the one will comfort the other, solitude will heale the discontent . . . against the presse', while conversation 'remedieth that discontent which solitude breedeth': *Workes*, 652 (*Of the Tranquillitie of the Mind*, Ch.15). Seneca rarely treats idleness as an equal partner with activity in this way (see below); and Guazzo's attitude to solitude, crystallised in William's predicament and Annibal's language, seems more hostile.

hierarchy, ‘subjection’ and ‘service to my Prince’. When Vespasian Gonzaga emerges from his hiding place, the other guests, stunned to find themselves in the company of such a powerful figure, leap to their feet, but he tells them to sit, and puts them at ease by joking that their muteness makes him imagine he has arrived in ‘a solitarie and silent place’ (f.178r). Prompted by this phrase, the later ‘pretie sport of solitarinesse’ (f.180r) works to dispell deference as well as melancholy.¹⁴³ It is preceded by another game that works more directly to this effect, in which lots are drawn ‘to create a Sovereigne Prince among us’, who will choose what to play next. Excluding himself, the real prince, Vespasian, tells the others to ‘imagine that all my titles are left at home, and that amongst you here, Seignior Vespasian is but a private man, like any other’ (f.179r). For William, having to ‘bee conversant . . . with other Gentlemen . . . in the Court’ feels ‘force[d]’ (f.3r). But turning titles into games shows that this kind of sociability need not entail subjection; it can even laugh at it.

Ozjo onesto – what Pettie called the ‘triflyng matter’ of Book 4 –¹⁴⁴ sounds too frivolous for the Catonian tradition to approve, but this did not mean stepping outside the Roman discourse of leisure altogether. There was also a tradition of thought that allowed *otium* to be more itself. As with the rust and stagancy of *ozjo vile*, this positive counterpart had two central *topoi*: Socrates playing with his children, and the unbent bow.¹⁴⁵ Both suggest the need for combative tensions, physical or intellectual, to be interspersed with periods of genuine relaxation. It was standard for even the sternest critics of idleness to include reference to this counter-argument. In Epistle 15, Seneca admits it grudgingly:

yet will I not alwayes that thou hang over thy booke, or that thy hand be continually labouring on thy tables. There must some intermission be granted to the minde; yet so, that it be not given over altogether, but remitted onely.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ See above, p.46.

¹⁴⁴ See note 96 above.

¹⁴⁵ Arcangeli, *Recreation*, 12-3, 114 (bow), 76 (playing with children); Connors, ‘Imperial Space’, 495. Arcangeli traces the bow topos to John of Cassian (fl. 400), but Connors cites Phaedrus (?15 B.C.-50 A.D.), who attributes it to Aesop. Vickers mentions the bow: ‘*Otium*’, 17, 144-5 (and see also the discussion of Tacitus: ‘a controlled dose of *otium* can be salutary . . .’ (36)). Despite the ‘ambivalence’ referred to in his title, however, Vickers’ admirable focus on correcting assumptions that *otium* must be a good thing leads him to neglect the specifics of this positive side to the tradition.

¹⁴⁶ *Workes*, 188.

There is a fuller statement, however, in Seneca's *On Tranquillity*:

Socrates was not ashamed to play with children . . . There must some remission bee given to our minds; for after a little repose they will become more better and active . . . continuall labour ruinateth mens minds, if you suffer them to expatiate and delight themselves a while, they will recover new forces. . . great personages allowed themselves certaine play-dayes in every moneth, and some other never passed day which was not as it were divided betwixt travell and repose . . . It is a necessary thing to give liberty to the mind, & to grant him intermission, which may serve to nourish, and reinforce the same.¹⁴⁷

As well as Socrates, Seneca mentions Roman examples: 'Cato made him merry with wine when publique affaires had tyred him, and Scipio exercised his warlike and triumphant body in dauncing'.¹⁴⁸ Plutarch's similar caveats in the *Moralia* further demonstrate this flexibility in the commonplaces. Socrates and his children are replaced by 'a man of State and government', who ought now and then to 'disport, play, and solace himselfe in repose' with 'trifling things', 'if he would not have his bodie over-spent, dull, or lazie, against the time that he should emploie it in great and important causes'.¹⁴⁹ The image drawn from weaponry is extended to music: 'we unbend our bowes, and let slacke the strings of Lutes, Harpes, and such musicall instruments, to the end that we may bend and stretch the same againe'.¹⁵⁰ But the overall sentiment is the same:

as the bodie is preserved and maintained by repletion and evacuation successively; so the minde likewise by repose and travell in their turnes . . . the bodie upon repose and ease, whensoever the soule shall put it to any affaires, will be ready to follow.¹⁵¹

Preparing the ground for the dinner party which shows them in action, Guazzo's discussion of leisure sets out both these *topoi*. Perhaps motivated by his stronger commitment to relaxation, Guazzo uses only the musical and not the martial image of useful slackening: 'our lyfe is like to instruments of musicke, which sometime wresting up the strings, and sometime by

¹⁴⁷ *Workes*, 652-3 (*Of the Tranquillitie of the Mind*, Ch. 15).

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 652.

¹⁴⁹ Plutarch, *Morals*, 625 (*Rules and Precepts of Health*).

¹⁵⁰ Plutarch, *Morals*, 11 (*The Education of Children*).

¹⁵¹ See note above.

loosing them, become more melodious' (f.117r). He also varies the tradition by choosing Hercules, the archetypal figure of labour,¹⁵² as his relaxing hero:

it is both reasonable and necessary for a man, sometimes to repose himselfe, and withdrawe his minde from waightie and earnest cogitations, by the example of the invincible Hercules, who for recreatio[n] sake used sometime to play with his little children (f.117r).

It would be wrong, then, to imagine that *ozio onesto* departs sharply from its sources, but Guazzo differentiates it in quietly significant ways. Even Seneca's fullest endorsements of relaxation tend to be hedged. Scipio may have danced occasionally, but he did so 'not foolishly . . . with . . . trickes that are more then effeminate' but in such a way that 'no dishonour or reproch might ensue, though he had beene observed by his verie enemies'.¹⁵³ *Otium* has to keep its guard up against enemies without, and effeminacy within. 'There is a great difference', he goes on to caution, 'betwixt giving some liberty to a thing, and leaving it wholly at random'.¹⁵⁴

This attitude is particularly apparent in Seneca's views on exercise. This might seem like the perfect means of infusing leisure with labour, but for Seneca, ethically valid activity needs larger and more refined aims than mere physical exertion for its own sake. He recommends exercises that are 'easie and short . . . without great losse of time', not to avoid strain, but to get back to intellectual work as quickly as possible. Walking, or even 'carriage . . . in a Litter', are good choices, since they 'stirreth the bodie, but hindereth not the studie. Thou mayest reade, dictate . . .'.¹⁵⁵

Annibal's discussion of leisure shows him to be aware of these strictures, but also willing to cautiously dispute them. '[T]here is no honest leasure', he reassuringly asserts, 'but hath some exercise of the minde or of the bodie joyned unto it' (f.118r). But the same passage goes on to make a different point to Seneca's relentless mix of study and exertion. It is the leisure

¹⁵² As Connors notes, discussing Statius's description of a temple of Hercules on the bay of Naples (*Silvae* 3.1.28-36): 'Like Cato, Hercules is a figure so associated with labour that it is exceptional when he does relax and embrace *otium*' ('Imperial Space', 500). See Chapter 2 below, pp.115-20.

¹⁵³ *Workes*, 652-3 (*Of the Tranquillitie of the Mind*, Ch.15).

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 653.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 187-8 (Epistle 15).

component that matters: what ‘ought to go under the name of leasure’ is ‘time which is chieflie spent for pleasure . . . though there bee in it some exercise either of minde or bodie . . . leasure looseth it[s] name, when it is turned into continuall exercise, without doing ought else’ (f.118 ν).

Leisure needs to be oriented, convincingly, toward pleasure, or it stops being leisure at all.

Exercise of the physical kind, for Guazzo, thus has the opposite purpose to Seneca’s, since the point of the physical effort is mental relief: ‘though we exercise the bodie . . . yet all that time is attributed to leasure and recreation’, because it ‘withdrawe[s] the minde from waightie affaires, and carefull thoughts’ (f.118 ν). Annibal’s favoured means to achieve this is a vigorous walk in the country:

in the evening, in waie of pastime and recreation, I often walke with your brother, or others, almost halfe a mile out of the towne: & in this paine I finde great ease & refreshing to my minde that is wearied with the travaile of the daie (f.118 ν).

Seneca also disliked excessive physical exertion because he thought it promoted drunkenness. He condemned the ‘drinke and sweat’ of wrestlers, ‘whose . . . day is happily passed, if they have sweat well’, and who then get drunk to replenish ‘that which is exhaled by sweat’.¹⁵⁶ William’s unenthusiastic reaction to Annibal’s endorsement of exercise recalls this Senecan disdain for sweat:

You make me heere remember our peasants of the Countrie, who having laboured sore all the weeke, spende the sunday in dancing out of all crie . . . [so that] they stinke of sweat . . . And yet according to your opinion it must bee called leasure or passetyme (f.117 r - ν).

But Annibal again takes the opportunity, more emphatically this time, to argue beyond Seneca. Neither mental nor physical effort is relevant here, but rather the ‘great pleasure’ of dancing, which ‘maketh them the next daie after goe to their worke a great deale more lustilie’. Annibal’s country walks allow him to take a personal stake in this point, ‘confess[ing]’ that ‘I my selfe am in

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 187. Seneca refers to ‘men, occupied betweene the wine and the oyle’; presumably Gummere means wrestling when he refers this passage to contestants in the ‘prize-ring’ (*Epistulae Morales*, trans. Richard M. Gummere, 3 vols (London, 1917), 1.96n).

that respect of the nature of those Countrie fellowes': he too enjoys the sweaty pains of rural exercise, and the unintellectual pleasures to which they give rise. The commonplaces of *otium* are far from having been abandoned, but Senecan guardedness is being set on its way towards less inhibited modes of leisure.

At these points, as William morphs into a Seneca for Annibal to argue with, we can see a re-evaluation of the discourse of *otium* warily in process. If Seneca is Guazzo's opponent, however, it might be tempting to imagine that he is simply drawing on the philosopher 'directly contrary to the Stoics', Plutarch; particularly since, as John Lievsay notes, Plutarch is Guazzo's most important influence throughout the *Conversation*.¹⁵⁷ But – as his own essay *On Tranquillity* shows – despite Plutarch's differences with Stoicism, he shared Seneca's views on idleness. Guazzo's differences with those views are highlighted by his treatment of the relationship between *otium* and gender, which seems close to reversing Plutarch. *On Tranquillity* associates female privacy with *otium*'s passion-disordering effects, a link his later English translators were keen to talk up. Annibal asserts something like the opposite, placing women at the centre of *ozio onesto*: 'in the conversation with women is chiefly found this honest leasure, which serveth to comfort, yea, and to take from us the grievous passions which oppresse our heartes' (ff.117v-118r). Here, rather than standing for undesirable kinds of privacy linked to melancholy, women represent a sociable, passion-relieving antidote, and Annibal accordingly 'set[s] downe orders to the Conversation of women' for his patient (f.116v).

Reading the *Civile Conversation* in the light of the Plutarch who has been assumed to dominate it highlights the significance of this move. But it would be wrong to think that Guazzo shakes off Plutarch, and the tradition of *otium*-critique in which he stands, altogether. The discussion here remains deeply anxious about effeminacy. This is partly because, as Annibal seems to realise, the quantitative definition of honest leisure that he endorses may preserve *otium*'s identity as a genuine alternative to work, but it does so at the cost of leaving *ozio onesto* distinguishable from its evil counterpart only by duration. Honest and evil leisure are essentially

¹⁵⁷ See notes 53 and 63 above.

the same thing in different amounts. And because that thing is pleasurable – Annibal later describes it as ‘honie’ – it possesses an addictive quality that makes honest leisure predisposed to shade into its opposite.

This gives rise to dangers that Guazzo, despite his arguments with Plutarch and Seneca, continues to envision as feminine. What sets out as a valorisation of the ‘conversation of women’ ends up, almost before it has begun, as a warning about containing feminising potential. The definition of honest leisure depends on this containment, since it is prompted by the need to reassure William that Annibal’s enthusiasm for female company doesn’t go too far:

I am partlie in doubt whether it be good for men continuallie to use this Conversation, and therefore I thinke good you limit in what manner, and to what ende we ought to use it.
Annib. With all my heart, for by that meanes you give me occasion to set convenient bounds to the Conversation of women. I saie then that there are two sortes of leasure, the one evill, the other honest (f.116*v*).

Though this leasure be honest, profitable, and necessarie, yet there is a certaine measure to be kept in it, which wee must not exceede: For that nature hath not made us for play and pleasure, but rather to spend our time in the studie and execution of grave matters (f.117*v*).

Honest leisure is defined by the bounds and limits that prevent it from becoming, as William fears, continual. The Catonian passage that links ‘idlenesse and effeminate nesse’, and which precedes the positive examples of music and Hercules, is one example of the limits which Annibal posts (f.117*r*). But he is also more explicit, offering an eloquent warning which his author expanded in the revised text of 1580. Pettie marked the 1580 additions with asterisks,¹⁵⁸ which lend his version of this passage an appropriate suggestion of emphasis:

Seeing then that in the conversation with women is chiefly found this honest leasure . . . wee must take heede that we be not so wrapped in it, that wee never come out of it, least thereby we distemper the minde, and effeminate it in suche sorte, that it loose that courage which is proper to man. And therefore we must use that pleasure and recreation not for ordinarie foode, but for some extraordinarie preservative, or some exquisite restorative, remembering that olde saying, that we must taste honie but with our fingers end: *yea, we must deale so warilie in the matter, that it may be said, that we have bene in the verie jawes of Scilla, and drunke of Circes cup, & yet have escaped both drowning and transforming* (f.118*r*).

¹⁵⁸ See note 100 above.

In following Annibal's prescribed dosage of honest leisure – keeping its 'honie' at arm's length – William has to remember that over-indulgence will simply set him on an alternative, Fiammetta-like route back to the melancholic symptoms he is currently experiencing. But the added words also show Annibal, like Plutarch, drawing on the *Odyssey* to convey the persistent dangers of idle retreat.¹⁵⁹ This passage, juxtaposing cup and ocean, conveys potential disorientation while continuing the appetitive theme of taste and limit: we need, he doesn't quite say, to be able to drink from 'Circes cup' without drowning in it. Putting a cautiously positive spin on a type of example discussed earlier in this study, this replaces Achilles' withering idleness¹⁶⁰ with Ulysses' restorative delay. The unrevised text from which Yong worked is unlikely to have included Annibal's *Odyssey* comparison,¹⁶¹ but it provides further evidence of the tendency to understand *otium*, like pastoral itself, antithetically, as the opposite pole to the violent actions and goal-directed journeys that characterise epic and romance.

Pastoral's association with *otium* also underpins Annibal's fondness for country walks and dances. The idea of the countryside as an appropriate place for relaxation was longstanding. Even Seneca recommended 'walk[ing] here and there amidst the fields, to the end that having free and open aire, [one] may bee the more comforted and lightned'.¹⁶² In the early modern period, this became the exercise of choice for learned men, perhaps because of its special virtues in combatting the depression to which they were considered especially prone. Location was as significant as effort. Arcangeli notes suggestions in early modern treatises on exercise that such walks should be taken somewhere 'well equipped with singing birds, flowing streams, trees and flowers'; dancing could also be effective, provided it was practiced somewhere 'green, shaded and quiet'.¹⁶³ Robert Burton particularly commended '*deambulatio per loca amoena*', among 'pleasant

¹⁵⁹ See note 54 above.

¹⁶⁰ See p.27 above.

¹⁶¹ See note 100 above.

¹⁶² *Workes*, 653 (*Of the Tranquillitie of the Mind*, Ch.15).

¹⁶³ Arcangeli, *Recreation*, 22, 36-7; he is paraphrasing arguments from Hollyngus, *De Salubri Studiosorum Victu* (Ingolstadt, 1602), and Bicals, *La Manière de Regler la Santé* (Aix, 1669).

fields . . . Christall fountaines’, and gentle mountain air, as a moderate ‘Antidote’ to the extremes of overwork on the one hand and ‘too much solitarinesse and idlenesse’ on the other.¹⁶⁴

If the discussion of ‘conversation with women’ follows a trajectory from daring endorsement to prudent limitation, however, that of the therapeutic uses of *loci amoeni* traces a similar path. Annibal’s readiness to identify with ‘those countrie fellowes’ expressed a willingness to push the limits of *ozio onesto*, but his description of his own strolls tends to re-assert them. Its specifications of time and distance – ‘in the evening . . . almost halfe a mile out of the towne’ – suggest a further example of setting bounds to leisure. The spatial proximity of urban *negotium*, combined with its temporal location outside working hours, firmly situates this type of *ozio* in relation to the ‘continuall exercise, I use all the day . . . to see my patients’. From examples of this kind, he remarks in closing, ‘we may gather . . . that we ought not in passing the time to loose the time: but to limit this leasure in such sort, that we take no more of it then is necessarie for the recreation of our mindes’ (f.118v).

These echoes of pastoral and romance are faint, but they are amplified by Guazzo’s ethical concerns. Annibal’s argument advocates the benefits of a limited amount of *otium*, but warns against the dangers of over-exposure, dangers to which *otium*’s addictive nature is always likely to give rise. Like Ulysses, we can allow ourselves a finite sojourn in territories of eroticised leisure, as long as we avoid going native and forgetting about larger quests. We can visit the countryside, as long as we don’t do it when we’re supposed to be working, and stay close to town. Going to the forest is fine, as long as you keep one eye on the clock.

FELISMENA AND ROMANCE

The *Diana* is informed by a structure of values comparable to Guazzo’s quantitative distinction between *ozio onesto* and *ozio vile*. This is unlikely to be a result of influence, but it may

¹⁶⁴ *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), 338, 342-3; cited in Arcangeli, *Recreation*, 40.

point to shared concerns approached through different genres – Socratic dialogue and pastoral romance – and to Yong’s awareness of, and interest in, those concerns. Guazzo and Montemayor are both concerned with the use of *otium*, and in particular how to distinguish healthy, limited doses from those which are harmfully self-indulgent. Yong’s *Diana* may have been prompted, at least in part, by this coincidence of views.

From a Guazzian perspective, Montemayor’s shepherds are suffering from *ozio vile*. Their disabling distance from the active life is emphasised in their initial exchange with Selvagia. To her greeting, ‘What doe you in this greene and pleasant medow[?]’, Sylvanus replies,

Thou saist not amisse . . . by asking us what we doe . . . for we doe so little in respect of that we shoulde doe that we can never conclude and bring any thing to passe, that in our loves we desire to have (15).

The rendition of this passage by the author of the other surviving early modern translation of the *Diana*, Thomas Wilson, ignores Montemayor’s anticipatory *concluir*.¹⁶⁵ Yet it seems in its own way thuddingly apt, its repeated, frustrated ‘doe’s amplifying its original’s claustrophobic intimations of *otium*: ‘yow saie not amiss . . . in asking what wee doe, for so litle doe wee of that wee shold doe, that wee can never fully doe, that w^{ch} Love makes us desire to do’.¹⁶⁶ The parallel here with Yong’s *Fiammetta* has been discussed: like that of Boccaccio’s heroine, the defining inactivity to which the shepherds admit makes itself felt in a lack of narrative resolution. The interestingly imperfect closures of both works elicited sequels.¹⁶⁷

But this exchange also has something in common with the *Civile Conversation*. Like the victims of *ozio vile* instanced by Guazzo’s Annibal – those ‘not knowing how to use leasure as they ought to doe’, in Pettie’s pithy rendition – the shepherds are ‘greeved with doing nothing’, with their failure to accomplish the ‘workes which they ought to undertake’.¹⁶⁸ They also resemble the *Iphigeneia*’s unoccupied soldiers, whose words stand behind Annibal’s. Ennius’s

¹⁶⁵ Cf. *Diana* ed. Lopez Estrada, 105.

¹⁶⁶ *Diana de Montemayor* ed. Thomas, 35.

¹⁶⁷ On the numerous continuations of the *Diana*, see note 5 above. Waley, ‘Fiammetta’, discusses an early Spanish continuation of *Fiammetta*. She also notes a number of late fifteenth-century Spanish translations of Boccaccio’s original (16n); there is no suggestion in the present argument of a direct influence of *Fiammetta* on the *Diana*, though Kennedy thinks this may have occurred (Kennedy, *Diana*, xxii).

¹⁶⁸ *Civile Conversation*, ff.19r, 117r.

chorus contrast themselves with ‘he who has a task must be performed’, and so ‘[d]evotes himself to that with heart and soul’. Their condition is different:

The idle mind knows not what ’tis it wants
 With us it is the same; for not at home
 Are we nor in the field; from place to place
 We haste and once arrived we would be gone
 Aimless we drift, we live but more or less.¹⁶⁹

Vickers suggests an underlying contrast of city and country: the soldiers ‘distinguish between . . . leisure with a satisfying occupation, which takes place in the city’ and ‘*otium otiosum*, unoccupied and pointless leisure, such as their prolonged stay in the countryside, which they find disorientating’.¹⁷⁰ Montemayor may or may not have had Ennius in mind, but to someone familiar with the verses from *Attic Nights* his pastoral narrative would look like it was describing something very similar: characters drift restlessly through the countryside, disoriented by the unreliability of their own desires.

The *Diana* also contains a story that does resolve, that of Felismena. In Ennius’s formulation, she has a task to perform, and devotes herself to it. This aligns her narrative with romance rather than pastoral, a contrast that Montemayor signals in a number of ways. She is associated with urban environments, from her birth in ‘a citie called Soldina’ (31), to her story’s closing sequence in the final Book, which begins with her sight of ‘a great and fair Citie . . . full of fair houses and stately buildings . . . high, and wrought with as great arte, as humaine industrie could devise’ (152). Repetition emphasises this return to the urban. ‘[E]xcelling in stately structure and even proportion’, this ‘great and auncient Citie’, ‘fair Citie’, ‘populous Citie’ – which turns out to be the great Portuguese centre of learning, Coimbra (155) – reminds her of ‘great Soldina her native Citie’; it also renews the memory of her lover Don Felix, shortly to be recaptured in a more literal sense (152).

¹⁶⁹ See note 124 above.

¹⁷⁰ ‘*Otium*’, 6.

Between these start and endpoints, in the sequence that inspired Julia's pursuit of Proteus in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, she journeys in male disguise to 'the great Princesse Augusta Casarinas court' (56). Her arrival is characterised by urban bustle: though she finds an 'Inne in a streete lest frequented with concurse of people' (57), it turns out that 'in that streete dwelled manie noble and faire Ladies' (58), one of whom prompts a midnight serenade. Urban proximity enables her to overhear this, and sadly recognise Don Felix, by 'open[ing] a window towards the street' (57). The host's inability to say which of the 'manie . . . Ladies' is being serenaded (58), and his diplomatic suggestion through her 'chamber door' that she should wake up and enjoy it (57), indicates that the street-music, which continues until daybreak, is a regular occurrence; she has inadvertently chosen the early modern equivalent of a hotel next to a nightclub.

As well as these links to cities, Felismena's chivalric associations are also prominent.¹⁷¹ Most obvious is the description of Augusta Casarina's court, with its 'gallant Ladies . . . and brave gentlemen . . . mounted upon proud jennets' (59). This has been prepared for earlier, when Don Felix initially courts her 'by Tylt and Tourneyes, and by prauncing up and downe upon his proude jennet' (54), and steps it up when she gives him cause to hope ('[t]he Tourneies were now renewed . . .' (56)). These actions are recalled at the close, when she reminds him of how she was once 'served of thee in the citie with Tilt and Tourneyes' (158). She also has the mobility that typifies romance. Even before embarking on the long search for Don Felix, her upbringing has seen her sent first to a nunnery, and then to her grandmother's house (54), from which she travels to the court (57), before 'wandr[ing] up and downe, seeking him in manie countries' for 'more then two yeeres' (67). At least part of this travelling is undertaken on horseback, the '[t]wenty daies' in which she went 'out of my cuntrye' and 'trotted directly to the Court, passing by the way many accidents'. Though she declines to recount these, presumably they might, like Pyrocles' adventures before Arcadia, have provided materials for a *Diana* prequel weighted more heavily towards romance.

¹⁷¹ This may be further indicated by the fact that when an early reader of the *Diana* inserted into it a version of the pre-existing romance *Abencerraje*, he made Felismena its narrator (107-23). For a detailed account, see Keith Whinnom, "The Relationship of the Three Texts of "El Abencerraje"", *Modern Language Review* 54 (1959), 507-17 (515).

She is nobly born, to a family who ‘for lineage and possessions are chief of all that province’. Accordingly, she retains a keen awareness of behavioural codes, in contrast to the pastoral characters: Selvagia, who breaks the Temple rules and swaps love-objects without forethought; Diana, who freely laments to her former lover the enforced marriage that parted them; and Syrenus, who refuses to stop loving Diana after her marriage, a wish Felicia gently interprets as entailing Delius’s death (124). Felismena, on the other hand, agonises over consequences. When her maid delivers a first love-letter from Don Felix, leaving Felismena enraged at being placed in a potentially compromising position, only ‘regard of mine own estate, and what heereafter might be said’, prevents her from striking her (55). Even after succumbing to passion, she remains ruefully conscious of the ethical degradation it entails, lamenting to the nymphs at having ‘bene forced . . . to leave my naturall habit . . . and the due respect of mine honour, to follow him, who thinkes (perhaps) that I doe but leese it by loving him’ (54).

Montemayor’s *hábito natural*¹⁷² may have seemed expressive to his translator, for whom ‘naturall habit’ would have combined references to location (as in modern ‘habitat’) and behaviour as well as clothing. *OED* records ‘To dwell, abide, reside’ from 1366, and ‘The way in which a person is mentally or morally constituted’ from 1385. The related modern sense of ‘tendency to act in a certain way’ was very new: its earliest citation is Pettie’s *Guazzo*, describing how ‘long studie’ can produce a ‘habite and custome to be melancholike’. While the lexicographers’ choice of this particular work is a coincidence, it might suggest the persistence of an association with the emotional states with which this chapter is concerned. Felismena’s discomfort with her disguise signifies pastoral’s distance, in a figurative as well as a literal sense, from her native urban and courtly landscapes, and the kinds of action and emotion associated with them. It expresses the resistance of her romance identity to absorption into the shepherds’ world. Her first description, as a ‘strange Shepherdesse’ (50), taking ‘strange’ in its original sense (‘Of persons, language, customs . . . Of or belonging to another country’),¹⁷³ works to similar

¹⁷² *Diana* ed. Lopez Estrada, 172.

¹⁷³ *OED* I.1.a, first citation 1297.

effect. Despite her clothes, and the attraction that carries her there, Felismena is recognisably foreign to pastoral. For her, unlike the real shepherds, it is not her ‘naturall habit’.

Paradoxically, the concern for appearances that expresses her romance origins also makes her uncomfortable about her own martial ability: ‘Behold how bootelesse and unseemely it is’, she complains, ‘for a woman to be so dextrous in armes, as if it were her proper nature and kind’ (54). Unseemly as it may be, however, in a pastoral context this attribute further distances her from *otium*’s feminine (and feminising) qualities. The fact that she and her twin brother are ‘the most fortunate in armes that have bene to their times’ (53) also enables her to save the nymphs from attack by three ‘savages’, a feat the shepherds are unable to accomplish (50).¹⁷⁴ The attack takes place at ‘the heate of the noone day’, which Rosenmeyer describes as the quintessential moment of pastoral *otium*,¹⁷⁵ and the amorous savages, as one of their intended victims observes, represent love brought to violent extremes (49). This episode thus seems designed to show a key difference between pastoral and romance characters: Felismena, though lovesick, retains some capacity to fight off the worst effects of erotic passion. This is indicated again later, when she leaves Felicia’s temple with ‘contrarities of thoughts . . . warring in her minde’ which leave her ‘wearie’, a psychomachia which displays her capacity for ethical labour.

Labour characterises Felismena’s quest. Felicia greets her with an acknowledgement of her ‘great adventure’ and ‘paine and travell’, without which ‘there is nothing . . . obtained nor gotten’ (86), and promises her happiness awaits after ‘some fewe travels and troubles more’ (90). Later she leaves the temple on her ‘painefull way’ (126), and tells Don Felix how he has made her life ‘bitter and painefull’ (158), and of her ‘great paines and so many wearie journeys to seeke him out’ (160). It is this sense of mental and physical effort, rather than simply the hope of a magically effortless resolution, that justifies her acceptance of pastoral hospitality. Her initial wary insistence that her purpose is ‘not so much to ease my wearied body as to talke of other matters,

¹⁷⁴ A similar scene is depicted on the temple walls in the third *prosa* of Sannazaro’s *Arcadia* (*Arcadia* trans. Nash, 43).

¹⁷⁵ *Cabinet*, 67, 76, 88-91.

wherin my soules health . . . doth chiefly consist' (51), gives way to prudent admission that 'it were a fond part to reject that comfort whereof at this time I stande in such great neede' (68).

This commitment to the virtues of activity later leaves her 'standing' – possibly in significant contrast to the others' prone position – 'halfe amazed at the deepe sleepe of the shepherdes' into which Felicia's potion has cast them. Felismena associates pastoral ease and sleep, perhaps prompting Yong's conflation of the two in *Fiammetta*:¹⁷⁶ '[i]f the ease of these shepherds . . . consisteth in sleeping . . . they have it in so ample sort, that they may live the most quiet life in the world'. Felicia amuses herself by having her try, unsuccessfully, to wake them, pulling their arms and shouting their names, actions which stage a tableau of the *Diana's* presiding ethical conflict (124). Constant herself, when they do awake Felismena is 'amazed' and 'astonished' at the 'alteration' of their attractions, though Felicia has already explained that for them this is the only solution (125).

Unlike the pastoral characters, however, Felismena doesn't need the drugs; her desire can still achieve a real-world 'happie end' (123).¹⁷⁷ In fact they are there to administer to Don Felix at the appropriate moment, magically delivered by Felicia's nymph Doria (159). But they are necessitated only by the shock of guilt he feels at Felismena's eloquent reproaches, which opens his wounds and brings him close to death; revived by the potion, he still requires her forgiveness in order to be 'confirmed in his former love' (159-60). The magic simply reinforces the effects of her own actions.

Her success suggests that, like Annibal, Felismena uses her pastoral sojourn to pass the time without wasting it. In Guazzo's terms, by not allowing pastoral 'pleasure and recreation' to become her 'ordinary food', as it inevitably is for the shepherds, she has enabled it to function as an 'exquisite restoritie', a kind of magic potion in itself. Timekeeping is one of the things that helps her to do this. Scholars such as Burke and Arcangeli have noted the importance of concepts of time in discussions of leisure, for which one possible term was 'pastime'; 'loss of

¹⁷⁶ F.69r; see above, pp.35-6.

¹⁷⁷ See also 90, 125.

time' was a phrase that could serve to condemn leisure activities.¹⁷⁸ Burton was writing in this tradition when he described 'labor and exercise', of which his prime example was that ambling through pleasant places he was about to discuss, as a way in which people could 'give an accompt of their time, to prevent those grievous mischiefes that come by Idlenes' (338). It seems significant, then, that on the morning of their last day in the temple, just before Felicia puts the shepherds magically to sleep, she finds Felismena already dressed, 'thinking every hower she staid there a thousand yeeres'. As Felicia sympathetically observes, 'there is not an hower that seemes not . . . long' to her while her quest is deferred, because she knows 'the howers of her life' are 'short and speedie'. Her 'departure . . . must be presently', in order to achieve the 'sweet content and rest' that her laborious love, unlike the shepherds' idle ones, has earned (123).

CONCLUSION: *OTIUM*, GENRE AND TRANSLATION

Yong's activities as a translator linked him to three works that have a number of things in common. Though different in genre, all deal with the topic of *otium*. *Otium* is already written into pastoral, but Montemayor's innovative combination of pastoral and romance allows him to explore both sides of its ethical potential. The very different setting of *Fiammetta* helps to isolate *otium* as Yong's topic of interest, showing that it can flourish in urban bedchambers as well as pastoral meadows, as well as highlighting its special association with women and femininity – an association that other works examined in this study tend to strengthen. Guazzo moves to redefine *otium*, as William's Senecan ideal of productive leisure is seen to produce the same emotional problems as its idle, eroticised counterpart. William and *Fiammetta* are ethical opposites, but they end up in similar situations because neither has grasped the importance of Annibal's proposed solution: neither turning leisure into work, nor letting it run riot, but allowing oneself limited doses of genuine relief.

¹⁷⁸ Burke, 'Leisure', 142-3; Arcangeli, *Recreation*, 16, 50, 68-71.

Though the idea is longstanding, both Seneca and Plutarch employ it only as a counterweight to larger suspicions about leisure's ethical effects. By using William as a negative example of Senecan *otium*, someone who never really allows himself to relax, and whose commitment to an active life has thus paradoxically removed him from that life by burning him out, Annibal shifts things decisively towards genuine, pleasure-oriented *otium* contained in time rather than reformed through work. By using William as a negative example of Plutarchan suspicion of women, and making women central to the positive term of his argument, 'conversation', Guazzo shows he is also prepared to disagree with the moralist who has generally been considered to dominate his treatise. But this disagreement, like *otium* itself, takes place within limits that show the weight of the misogynistic traditions that characterise the suspicion of leisure voiced by both Seneca and Plutarch. Valorising the conversation of women immediately evokes the prospect of drowning in effeminacy.

In drawing on Homer here to clinch his argument, Guazzo offers a parallel to both Plutarch and Fiammetta. *Otium* is contrasted with the ethos of dutiful labour that epic romance articulates through the overcoming of such distractions: Ulysses leaves Circe behind to get back to Penelope; Achilles casts aside 'wythering ydelnesse' and returns to the fray. But Guazzo's point is that episodes of idleness are not mere impediments. They can have positive, re-invigorating effects, as they do for Montemayor's Felismena, so long as they are kept within bounds. The problem is that those bounds are always likely to be exceeded, because idleness is addictive.

Looking at the *Diana* as a part of Yong's portfolio of translations shows that Montemayor's pastoral romance, like those of Spenser and Sidney that followed it, articulates serious ethical questions. The original of this dichotomous genre, the *Diana* revises pastoral and contrasts it with romance to explore the ambivalence of *otium* with an inventive subtlety and lightness that has not received its due.

Looking at that portfolio as a whole raises other questions. The inclusion of Fiammetta's seclusion alongside William Guazzo's, like the Hoccleve poem whose re-publication by William Browne is discussed in Chapter 3 of this study, complicates the notion of a "birth of privacy" in

the early modern period, but need not invalidate more nuanced formulations of similar ideas. In turning to these rather than other medieval works alongside contemporary descriptions of privacy and *otium*, early moderns like Browne and Yong may simply have been engaged in the familiar practice of editing the past to reflect present concerns.

This leads to a second point that has to do with the significance of translation, along with less marked forms of literary borrowing that will be encountered later on, in Browne's work. Translating can be as arduous as composition, and translators have an infinity of works to choose from; even where financial pressures are a factor, the need to please a public need not necessarily influence the choice of source-text any more than it is likely to shape an original work. In the case of the three very different texts on which Yong worked as a translator, the theme of *otium* emerges from the as clearly and interestingly as it might have from ones that he himself had composed. From another angle, his choice of works can be seen as interpretive. The grouping of these disparate texts suggests reading each in the light of the other, something their authors could not have intended, but which reveals how each participates in a changing historical conversation about how leisure ought to be used.

2. Making up for *Otium*: Sidney's *Arcadias* and Private Space.

This chapter reconstructs the contexts of early modern garden design that inform Sidney's two *Arcadias*. In the previous chapter, I suggested that pastoral in Montemayor and private space in Guazzo had similar associations with *otium*, and that this was why Bartholomew Yong was interested in both of them. In the *Arcadias*, likely to have been influenced by Guazzo as well as Montemayor,¹ pastoral and private space converge in Sidney's depictions of garden buildings. Many of these are likely to go unnoticed by modern readers, but recent work by scholars such as Paula Henderson² offers an opportunity to reassess the nature of, and links between, structures such as Kerxenus's gallery, Basilius's lodges, Cleophila's cave and Zelmane's arbour. The suggestion will be that these and other spaces in both *Arcadias* play an important role in articulating the ethical issues behind Sidney's narratives. Descriptions of these places are often slender, but this is likely to be a token of their fashionable significance; Sidney could count on his readers to supply a wealth of details that a brief mention would evoke.

Gardens were an important location in the early modern discourse of privacy. Roy Strong, taking his cues from W.G. Hoskins,³ has suggested that

gardens . . . share the development of rooms. The combination of a desire for privacy and the increasing formality of aristocratic life led to a multiplication of rooms and a division between the state as against the private apartments. It could also lead to a multiplication of gardens.⁴

Strong is discussing divisions between public and 'privy' gardens, a distinction in which Sidney seems uninterested. As Strong suggests elsewhere, however, gardens could themselves be viewed as 'open-air rooms'.⁵ In this chapter I argue that, consonant with his own interests in the problem of *otium*, Sidney conceives of Arcadia, and especially *The New Arcadia*, as a garden. The suggestion

¹ See below, pp.95-8.

² *The Tudor House and Garden: Architecture and Landscape in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries* (London, 2005).

³ W.G. Hoskins, 'The Rebuilding of Rural England, 1570-1640', *Past and Present* 4 (1953), 44-59 (54-5).

⁴ *The Renaissance Garden in England*, 2nd edn (London, 1998), 49-50.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 30.

will be that even its apparently wildest reaches correspond to the early modern garden feature known as the ‘wilderness’ or ‘desert’. As a result, Arcadia as a whole can represent, like Guazzo’s closet, the peculiar dangers and pleasures of private space.

It also, however, contains a number of more and less obviously private spaces, such as Kalander’s banqueting house and Pyrocles’ arbour. In this sense, Sidney’s Arcadian garden participates, as Strong suggests, in the well-known early modern multiplication of rooms, but in a sense that is still more direct. Early modern gardens were not just similar to rooms; they also contained their own distinctive kinds of room, as Henderson, in particular, has shown. These differed widely in construction, shape and size, but they had in common the ambivalent potentials of privacy and *otium*. This is why they catch Sidney’s attention; as a result, despite their differences, this chapter is mostly concerned with uncovering the unapparent similarities between Sidney’s garden locations. The differences can usually be read off the surface – the terms lodge, gallery and summer-house, or arbour and cave, immediately suggest dissimilar kinds of structure – but the use of techniques of arbour construction in the Italian garden buildings known as grottoes, or the English use of ‘cave’ to describe such buildings, are less obvious features that contextual research can usefully uncover.

Suggesting that Sidney’s Arcadian desert is modelled on an Elizabethan country estate, or that his lion and bear may have their originals in topiary, inevitably sounds tame. But moving the *Arcadias*’ drama into private space need not lessen its turbulence or lower its stakes. The larger argument here centres not around the influence of the *Civile Conversation* on the *Arcadias*, but on what Sidney fails to take from Guazzo’s work: the concept of a relieving *ozio onesto* that can be safely indulged. Sidney’s rewriting of William and Annibal as Pyrocles and Musidorus shows him either failing to appreciate, or consciously excluding, this Guazzian middle ground; and it is the strain of this lack that lends Pyrocles’ adventures in *otium* their increasing tensions, and ultimately drives the *New Arcadia*’s extraordinary psychological complexity.

GALLERIES AND BANQUETING HOUSES

One of the most prominent changes that Sidney made to his first version of the *Arcadia* was his alteration of the scene in which Pyrocles sees Philoclea's portrait. In the *Old Arcadia*, this moment is compact: Pyrocles sees the picture at the house of Kerxenus, while 'walking with his host in a fair gallery'.⁶ In the *New*, things are less simple. The 'fair gallery' – the only mention of any part of Kerxenus's residence – is replaced by a banqueting house, and forms part of the simple but stately house and elaborate gardens of the re-named Kalander, which are extensively described.⁷ Other paintings and a statue are also present, and the extended stay of first Musidorus and then both the princes allows for a sense of the different uses and significances of different spaces within Kalander's estate. These include 'the parler, where they used to suppe', the 'chamber' to which Kalander withdraws in grief when he hears of Clitophon's capture (f.8r), and, of course, the summer-house with its pictures, where a noble guest such as Musidorus might be brought to become better acquainted with his host, or where close friends might shrink aside during festivities for a more intimate discussion, as the princes do during the celebrations of Argalus and Parthenia's reunion (f.33r). This expanded sense of location extends to the situation of the house itself, on Arcadia's border with 'the wasted soile' of Laconia, with its '*Spartane* discipline' (ff.7r, 30r). Kalander resides just within the borders of Arcadia's 'sweete life', but close enough to Laconia's 'unpleasant and dangerous realm', laid waste by civil war (ff.7r-v), for him to have some influence in this neighbouring state's affairs.⁸ This complex of differentiated spaces seems much altered from its Old Arcadian equivalent, in which Philoclea's portrait looms unchallenged from a setting in which almost nothing else is described.

⁶ *The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia (the Old Arcadia)*, ed. Jean Robertson (Oxford, 1973), 11; further *Old Arcadia* references are to this edition, cited hereafter as *OA*.

⁷ *The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia* (1590), ff.8r, 9v-10v, 33r. Further *New Arcadia* references are to this edition, cited hereafter as *NA*, since one of its chapter headings is relevant to my argument. Since slightly more of the following discussion concerns the *New Arcadia* than the *Old*, where material is duplicated between both references are given to *NA* in the text, with equivalent passages in *OA* cited in footnotes.

⁸ This seems implied by his role in persuading the Lacedaemonians to banish Demagoras (f.21v).

This difference might have been less apparent, however, to the select band of early modern readers who encountered both of Sidney's versions, since galleries were a distinctive type of room that had become extremely fashionable by the 1570s.⁹ Although the description of Kerxenus's gallery may seem sparse, for contemporaries, just mentioning a gallery in which a picture was displayed may have been enough to suggest a range of features and associations that such a room was likely to possess. The later sixteenth century saw what has been described as an 'explosion' of long gallery construction.¹⁰ Long galleries were the most distinctive feature of the Elizabethan great house. They were considered essential. When in 1572 Elizabeth criticised Nicholas Bacon's house at Gorhambury for being too small, his response was to add a long gallery.¹¹ Following her own advice, between 1582 and 1583 the Queen added a new long gallery at Windsor, the only major building project she ever undertook.¹² At Cecil's Theobalds, several elaborate galleries were constructed during the years 1567-85.¹³

Sidney was thus writing when the popularity of long galleries was at its height. Two of their most characteristic uses were exercise – their length facilitated walking when the weather was poor – and the display of artworks. These were typically, though not exclusively, portrait

⁹ My discussion of long galleries is based principally on the following: Eric Mercer, 'The Houses of the Gentry', *Past and Present* 5 (1954), 11-32 (15-28); Mercer, *English Art 1553-1625* (Oxford, 1962), 18-23, 31, 110-1, 151-2; John Buxton, *Elizabethan Taste* (London, 1963), 45, 80-1, 95-6; Howard Colvin and John Summerson, 'The King's Houses, 1485-1660', in *The History of the King's Works, Vol. 4: 1485-1660 (Part II)*, ed. Howard Colvin (London, 1982), 1-366 (17-21); Rosalys Coope, 'The Gallery in England: Names and Meanings', *Architectural History* 27 (1984), 446-55 (446-50); Coope, 'The "Long Gallery": Its Origins, Development, Use and Decoration', *Architectural History* 29 (1986), 43-84, *passim*; Maurice Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House: Architecture and Politics 1490-1550* (London, 1987), 88, 116-8; Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life, 1460-1547* (London, 1993), 141-3; Colin Platt, *The Great Rebuildings of Tudor and Stuart England: Revolutions in Architectural Taste* (London, 1994), 75-80, 100, 105-12; Michael Bath, 'Alexander Seton's Painted Gallery', in *Albion's Classicism: the Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. Lucy Gent (London, 1995), 79-108 *passim*; Paula Henderson, 'The Loggia in Tudor and Early Stuart England: the Adaptation and Function of Classical Form', in Gent, *Classicism*, 109-46 *passim*; Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry 1480-1680* (London, 1999), 301-5, 320-1; Lena Cowen Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Elizabethan London* (Oxford, 2007), 227-61; Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: a Social and Architectural History* (London, 1978), 100-2; Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture: its Rise and Fall, 1540-1640* (London, 2009), 69-72, 290-2.

¹⁰ Coope, 'Long Gallery', 51, 59. See also Girouard, *Architecture*: 'from the 1570s till the 1620s every new house of any importance had to have a gallery no less than 100 feet in length . . .' (71).

¹¹ The story is often told; see, for example, Elizabeth McCutcheon, 'Sir Nicholas Bacon's Great House *Sententiae*', *English Literary Renaissance Supplements* 3 (Amherst, 1977), 15-7.

¹² Coope, 'Long Gallery', 60; Colvin, *King's Works*, 30.

¹³ On the various long galleries at Theobalds, see especially Coope, 'Long Gallery', 52-3, 56-8, 65-6, and John Summerson, 'The Building of Theobalds, 1564-85', *Archaeologia* 97 (1959), 107-26 *passim*. Other accounts include Martin Andrews, 'Theobalds Palace: the Gardens and Park', *Garden History* 21 (1993), 129-49 (130, 138); Henderson, *Tudor House*, 85; Girouard, *Architecture*, 229; Platt, *Rebuildings*, 106.

paintings of statesmen, friends and family.¹⁴ Kerxenus is the ‘chief man’ in Mantinea, where the *Old Arcadia*’s Basilius apparently has his main residence of state (*OA*, 178, 239), so a family portrait of the Arcadian royal family, with whom its owner must presumably have a close working relationship, is something this gallery would be very likely to contain, and ‘walking with his host’ is what Pyrocles would be most likely to be doing when he encountered it. Mentioning a ‘fair gallery’ used for walking and portrait-display may have been enough for Sidney’s readers to fill in the rest of the details.

In the *New Arcadia*, however, the scene has changed. The portrait of Philoclea and her family is now kept in a ‘house of pleasure builte for a Sommer retiring place’, later referred to as a ‘banqueting house’; the chapter-heading provided by the 1590 editors calls it a ‘dainty garden-house’ (ff.9v, 10r, 33r). This banqueting house, arrived at in the course of a tour of Kalanders’ garden, also contains other pictures. Unlike the original portrait, however, they depict Ovidian scenes: Diana and Actaeon, Atalanta, and ‘many mo, as of Helena, Omphale, Iole’ (f.10r). This kind of art was more typical of banqueting houses, which were as popular with Elizabethan builders as long galleries.¹⁵ The term was flexible, covering a variety of garden (or rooftop) structures, and the alternative labels offered in the *New Arcadia* – garden-house, summer-house – were roughly synonymous.¹⁶

Ovidian artworks were less usual than portraits in long galleries. Three were listed in the possession of Sidney’s uncle, the Earl of Leicester, at the time of his death. Of these only one, ‘Penelope’, was among the twenty-eight pictures in the ‘greate’ or ‘High’ gallery at his London residence, the great majority of which depicted family, friends and statesmen. Instead, ‘Diana bathyng herselfe with hir Nymphes’ was hung in the ‘withdrawing chamber’, and ‘Venus and

¹⁴ Girouard, *Architecture*, 71; Girouard, *House*, 100-2; Coope, ‘Long Gallery’, 46-8, 51, 61-3; Coope, ‘Gallery in England’, 450; Buxton, *Taste*, 80-1; Platt, *Rebuildings*, 106-12. On long gallery artworks, see also Thurley, *Palaces*, 217-20; Susan Foister, ‘Paintings and Other Works of Art in Sixteenth-Century English Inventories’, *The Burlington Magazine* 123 (1981), 273-82 *passim*; Cooper, *Gentry*, 320-1.

¹⁵ On banqueting houses, see Henderson, *Tudor House*, 155-64; Girouard, *Architecture*, 104-7; Girouard, *House*, 106; Cooper, *Gentry*, 115; Patricia Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament* (Chicago, 1991), 114-22, 127-31.

¹⁶ On the flexible nomenclature of early modern garden buildings, see Henderson, *Tudor House*, 95, 157, and ‘Loggia’, 133-4.

Cupid maneing her wth his darte’, was in ‘Mr Garnett’s chamber’.¹⁷ If the ‘square table’ found in Leicester’s banqueting house was an artwork, its contents – ‘layd in wth marbell stone, standing uppon a frame, broke and defaced’ – have not been recorded,¹⁸ but figurative art in garden buildings was likely to be Ovidian. The banqueting house at Theobalds was ‘excellently well painted, all ye seeling over with naked men & woomen’,¹⁹ probably Ovidian scenes similar to those later depicted on the ceiling of the Elysium room at William Cavendish’s lodge, the ‘Little Castle’ at Bolsover;²⁰ as will shortly be discussed, lodges and banqueting houses were closely related structures.²¹ Ovid’s Diana may have been particularly associated with this type of building. The surviving banqueting house at Amesbury Abbey displays the inscription ‘Diana her hous 1600’ over the door,²² and Sidney might have been specifically influenced by the banqueting house at Nonsuch. This was set in an elaborate ‘grove of Diana’, or ‘Diana her woodde’,²³ which became one of Nonsuch’s best-known features, and whose centrepiece was a scene of Diana and Actaeon. The grove was probably begun in 1580, and at least semi-completed by 1582, when it was celebrated in Anthony Watson’s *Brevis et Vera Descriptio*; just the right time for it to intervene in Sidney’s revisions.²⁴ Sidney’s change of room, from gallery to garden building, is thus likely to be related to the kinds of picture his revised *Arcadia* displays.

¹⁷ Charles Kingsford, ‘Essex House, Formerly Leicester House and Exeter Inn’, *Archaeologia* 73 (1922-3), 1-54 (30, 32, 49). Three other similar pictures at Leicester House are listed in the sources presented by William Thoms in 1862: ‘Cupid and Venus’, ‘Another Picture of Venus and Cupid’, and ‘Diana and Actaeon’. Rooms are not specified, and some duplication seems likely. ‘Pictures of the Great Earl of Leicester’, *Notes and Queries* 3 (1862), 224-6 (224-5).

¹⁸ As Susan Foister notes, ‘Table’ could imply works in stone, as well as paintings on both canvas and wood panels: ‘Paintings’, 275.

¹⁹ Parliamentary survey of 1650, cited in Henderson, *Tudor House*, 86. An earlier (Latin) account describes ‘The roof painted . . . with appropriate episodes from history’ (*The Diary of Baron Waldstein: a Traveller in Elizabethan England*, trans. G.W. Groos (London, 1981), 87). If these are the same images, confusion may have arisen through the use of the terms ‘history’ and ‘story’ to describe artworks, such as scenes from Ovid, with narrative content (Foister, ‘Paintings’, 275; Buxton, *Taste*, 93; Mercer, *Art*, 112; Richard L. Williams, ‘Collecting and Religion in Late Sixteenth-Century England’, in *The Evolution of English Collecting: Receptions of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, ed. Edward Chaney (London, 2003), 159-200 (163). Henderson interprets this more literally, however (*Tudor House*, 207).

²⁰ The Little Castle was complete by 1620, and the paintings probably executed the following year. See Timothy Raylor, ‘Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue’: William Cavendish, Ben Jonson, and the Decorative Scheme of Bolsover Castle’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 52 (1999), 402-39 (403, 404n, 425-32); Mark Girouard, *Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House* (London, 1983), 260; Cooper, *Gentry*, 124; Henderson, *Tudor House*, 170, 207-8.

²¹ See pp.91-3 below.

²² Girouard, *Architecture*, 252; Henderson, *Tudor House*, 2.

²³ This title, given in English, is found in Anthony Watson’s *Brevis et Vera Descriptio* of Nonsuch, reprinted and translated by Martin Biddle: ‘The Gardens of Nonsuch: Sources and Dating’, *Garden History* 27 (1999), 145-83 (176).

²⁴ Detailed accounts of the grove are given in Kathryn Barron, ‘The Collecting and Patronage of John, Lord Lumley (c.1535-1609)’, in *Collecting* ed. Chaney, 125-58 (145-51); Strong, *Garden*, 66-8; Biddle, ‘Nonsuch’, *passim*. I follow Biddle’s dating (‘Nonsuch’, 166); Barron suggests an earlier start (‘Lumley’, 145). Contemporary descriptions include

But the long gallery has not completely gone away. When Pyrocles later relates the onset of his passion to Musidorus, he describes it as having occurred ‘when walking among the pictures in Kalanders house’ (f.57r). Walking was one of the activities for which long galleries were designed;²⁵ banqueting houses were usually more compact. They were also less likely to contain portraits of distinguished acquaintances, like that of Basilius’s family. Together, portrait and walking suggest recollections of Kerxenus’s gallery in the midst of Kalander’s summer-house.

These spaces may not, however, be as distinct as they seem. Although a garden attached to Kerxenus’s house is never mentioned, it too may be evoked via the gallery. As well as displaying artworks, long galleries typically overlooked gardens, with large windows to facilitate the view: ‘fronting the garden and viewing it in the best place’, as Roger North observed.²⁶ The earliest known use of the term, in 1509, includes both these functions: it describes a ‘long galerre agayn the gardynne’ which contained ‘stayned cloths of ymagerie’.²⁷ Banqueting houses could serve a similar purpose, since as well as being constructed as independent buildings in the grounds they were also often situated on the roof of the main house, with a commanding view over the grounds. Combined with rooftop walks, this offered an alternative way of connecting the banqueting house with the *locus amoenus* of the gardens.²⁸

If banqueting houses could be attached to the main building in this way, however, galleries could also be independent and/or open-air structures. The term ‘gallery’ also served as the early modern equivalent of ‘loggia’, and the long gallery was itself a kind of English loggia, closed in as a concession to the climate: as Simon Thurley notes, it functioned as ‘a garden for wintertime’.²⁹ But a gallery, like the stone gallery at Theobalds, could also simply be a loggia.³⁰

those of Baron Waldstein (*Diary*, 159-63) and Thomas Platter (*Thomas Platter’s Travels in England 1599*, trans. Clare Williams (London, 1937), 195-7). On Watson, see note above.

²⁵ See note 14 above.

²⁶ *Of Building: Roger North’s Writings on Architecture*, ed. H. Colvin and J. Newman (Oxford, 1981), 136; North’s treatise was composed in 1698 (*ibid.*, xxiii). This passage is cited in Coope, ‘Long Gallery’, 59. See also *ibid.*, 44-8, 52; Cooper, *Gentry*, 301-2; Thurley, *Palaces* 143; Colvin, *King’s Works*, 20.

²⁷ Inventory of the goods of Edmond Dudley, transcribed in Charles Kingsford, ‘On some London Houses of the Early Tudor Period’, *Archaeologia* 71 (1921), 17-54 (39); cited in Howard, *Country House*, 118.

²⁸ Paula Henderson, ‘The Architecture of the Tudor Garden’, *Garden History* 27 (1999), 54-72 (54-5). See also Girouard, *Architecture*, 105-6, 292-5; Girouard, *Smythson*, 107; Girouard, *House*, 106; Henderson, *Tudor House*, 157-9, 213-4.

²⁹ Thurley, *Palaces*, 143; see also Girouard, *House*, 100.

The closeness between the two was emphasised by the fact that galleries were often constructed over loggias, a combination that one study calls ‘the English loggia-gallery’.³¹ The function of a loggia was to link interior and exterior space;³² in keeping with this function, long galleries, like Nicholas Bacon’s at Gorhambury, could project out into gardens, forming semi-independent structures.³³ A loggia could also, however, stand independently of the main house, becoming a banqueting house in loggia form; the Horton Court ‘ambulatory’, an example of this form, dates from the 1520s.³⁴

Kalander’s banqueting house and Kerxenus’s gallery might thus both be independent loggias in gardens. This need not necessarily be the case, but the larger point is that the underlying similarities between these spaces are as important, or more so, than their apparent differences. Both kinds of room share what one study describes as a ‘context of . . . recreation’ – a context which has led some historians to adopt the label ‘recreative gallery’ – or, more simply, pleasure.³⁵ Kalander’s banqueting house is also described as a ‘house of pleasure’ (f.10r). Henry VIII was noted for building ‘galaryes of grete pleasure’,³⁶ and his father’s palace at Richmond was commended for its ‘pleasaunt galerys, and housis of pleasure’, possibly a hendiadys describing a single kind of building.³⁷ As Roger North noted, the loggia, the long gallery’s Italian original, was itself a kind of space designed for ‘pass[ing] time in . . . idleness’.³⁸ The link was also expressed in the building. William Sharrington’s rooftop banqueting house at Lacock Abbey, constructed around 1550, was arrived at by a stairs leading up from a long gallery; the arrangement at

³⁰ Summerson, ‘Theobalds’, 110. On galleries and loggias, see Henderson, ‘Loggia’, *passim*; Coope, ‘Long Gallery’, 43-9; Cooper, *Gentry*, 301; Girouard, *Architecture*, 71; Henderson, *Tudor House*, 153-5.

³¹ Coope, ‘Long Gallery’, 57-9.

³² Strong, *Garden*, 15; Henderson, ‘Loggia’, 133; David Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome* (Princeton, 1979), 12; John Dixon Hunt, *Garden and Grove: the Italian Renaissance Garden and the English Imagination 1600-1750* (London, 1986), 50.

³³ Coope, ‘Long Gallery’, 56-7.

³⁴ Henderson, ‘Loggia’, 111, and *Tudor House*, 155.

³⁵ Coope, ‘Long Gallery’, 50-1; Colvin, *King’s Works*, 17. Colin Platt amends this to ‘closed recreational gallery’: *Rebuildings*, 100.

³⁶ John Fisher, *English Works, Part 1*, ed. J.E.B. Mayor (London, 1876), 278; cited in Colvin, *King’s Works*, 17.

³⁷ Thurley, *Palaces*, 179; the hendiadys is my hypothesis, not Thurley’s.

³⁸ North, *Building*, 130; cited in Platt, *Rebuildings*, 80.

Hardwick Hall, built between 1587 and 1599, was similar.³⁹ Along with her new gallery at Windsor, Elizabeth commissioned a banqueting house to bring her palace truly up to date.⁴⁰

LODGES AND WILDERNESSES

Banqueting houses and long galleries both typically stand in relation to a garden. They are far from the only such spaces to be found in Sidney's pastoral romance: between them, the two versions of the *Arcadia* contain a virtual roll-call of Elizabethan garden buildings and ornaments, one which extends well beyond the precincts of Kalander's estate. Basilius's lodges are an obvious example. Scholars have focussed on their architectural eccentricity –⁴¹ Henry Wotton noted how their 'incommodious *Figure*' corresponded to Basilius's frivolous mind – but eccentricity was the norm for lodge design, which was frequently experimental.⁴² Similarly, while the duration of Basilius's stay may be extravagant and its motivation unusual, family retreat from the formalities and pressing affairs of the main house was normal; it was what lodges were for. Dametas may be an unsatisfactory choice as 'principall heardman' (f.13r),⁴³ but the presence of a park-keeper and his family, replacing the omnipresent servants of the principal residence, was a typical arrangement. These were sometimes the full-time residents of the lodge, with separate rooms for the family's stays, but housing them apart preserves the relieving privacy which lodges were supposed to provide; sometimes younger members of the family took on the servants'

³⁹ Coope, 'Long Gallery', 51, 54; Henderson, *Tudor House*, 157-8; Fumerton, *Aesthetics*, 114.

⁴⁰ Henderson, *Tudor House*, 79-82, 159.

⁴¹ Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney, Courtier Poet* (London, 1991), 129; Victor Skretkowicz 'Symbolic Architecture in Sidney's *New Arcadia*', *Review of English Studies* NS 33 (1982), 175-80 *passim*; see also Girouard, *Architecture*, 252-4.

⁴² Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture* (1624), 120. On the innovative and occasionally bizarre conceits of lodge design, see Cooper, *Gentry*, 109-11, 122, Girouard, *House*, 108, and Girouard, *Architecture*: '[lodges] set out to be different; what they have in common is their variety' (108). The *Arcadia*'s lodges probably had a role in stimulating this trend as well as exemplifying it. For discussion of the lodge built by Mary Sidney in 1615, which apparently set out to imitate her brother's Arcadian design, see Platt, *Rebuildings*, 83.

⁴³ *OA*, 6.

roles.⁴⁴ Nor is Basilius's length of stay unheard-of; exemplifying what one commentator describes as the 'recession of privacy' in this period, families sometimes enjoyed its freedoms so much that the lodge was developed into a new main house.⁴⁵

Lodges, such as the *Hvězda* at Liboc on which Sidney's was modelled, were usually set in hunting parks.⁴⁶ Just as lodges came to have more to do with pleasure than hunting, so too the parks in which they were set were increasingly viewed in aesthetic terms, as a "wild" counterpart to the garden's formal beauty, rather than as working game reserves. Beginning in Italy – the *barco* of the Villa Lante at Bagnaia was the most famous example –⁴⁷ this trend was followed in England, where the usual terms were 'wildernesse', as Anthony Watson described the park at Nonsuch, or 'desert', as the similar area at Nicholas Bacon's Gorhambury was called on a 1634 estate map.⁴⁸ Bacon's son Francis thought a '*Heath, or Desert*' should be one of a garden's three principal sections, and Robert Burton meant something similar when he praised 'walk[ing] amongst Orchards, Gardens, Bowers, & Arbors, arteficiall Wildernesses' as 'delectable recreation'.⁴⁹

Demonstrating the closeness of these terms, the word Watson employs in his Latin text to describe the area indicated by his English section title is *desertum*. Watson uses this several times to describe Lumley's wilderness, and draws attention to it with nervous irony: this particular *desertum* is, of course, 'deserted neither by monarchs, nor by great men' (*nec a principibus*,

⁴⁴ Cooper, *Gentry*, 110-3; Girouard, *Architecture*, 107-9; Girouard, *Smythson*, 107; Henderson, *Tudor House*, 138, 170-2, 177. Both *Arcadias* (NA, ff.12r, 80r; OA, 215) note other servants lodged separately nearby. They come only when called, reflecting the importance of privacy around the lodges.

⁴⁵ Fumerton, *Aesthetics*, 129; Girouard, *Smythson*, 107.

⁴⁶ Luigi Zangheri, 'Curiosities and Marvels of the Sixteenth-Century Garden', in Monique Mosser and Georges Teyssot, eds, *The History of Garden Design: the Western Tradition from the Renaissance to the Present Day* (London, 1991), 59-68 (59); Skretkowicz, 'Architecture', 177-9.

⁴⁷ Coffin, *Rome*, 111-45, 356-8; Claudia Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden: from the Conventions of Planting, Design, and Ornament to the Grand Gardens of Sixteenth-Century Central Italy* (New Haven, 1990), 110-30, 245, 248, 266-9; Bruno Adorni, 'The Villa Lante at Bagnaia', in Mosser, *Design*, 91-5 (91-2).

⁴⁸ Biddle, 'Nonsuch', 169-71, 174-6. The parliamentary survey of 1650, which Biddle also transcribes, similarly lists 'Wilderness' as one of the garden's former features: 'on the west side of the said Privie Garden there hath been a Wilderness . . .' (179). Henderson, *Tudor House*, 137-41 (the Gorhambury map is reproduced on p.132 and discussed on p.139). On the Gorhambury desert, see also Smith, 'Gardens', 135-8.

⁴⁹ Francis Bacon, *Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* (1625), 271; Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), 342; both cited in Henderson, *Tudor House* (141, 143). For further discussion of this passage in the *Anatomy*, see Chapter 1 above, pp.64-5.

nec a magnis viris . . . deseratur).⁵⁰ This is the kind of space to which the *New Arcadia*'s Basilius retreats: 'within short space hee brake up his court, and retired himselfe, his wife, and children into a certaine Forrest hereby, which hee calleth his desert, where in . . . hee hath builded two fine lodges' (f.12r). Pyrocles approaches it on his morning walks, passing through other features typical of the grounds of the early modern country house on the way: 'everie morning earlie going abroad, either to the garden, or to some woods towards the desert' (f.35v). Its limited, domestic nature is indicated when Philanax rides to the rescue, 'having by chaunce rid not farre of the little desert' (f.225r). Bacon wanted his desert 'framed, as much as may be, to a *Naturall wildnesse*' (276). As Musidorus discovers as he approaches its border, the 'wildness' that Arcadia presents is similarly 'civil' (f.7r).⁵¹

The lion and bear who attack near the lodges may further the impression that Basilius's desert is this kind of artificial wilderness.⁵² Fynes Moryson described how Rudolf II kept leopards at the *Hvězda*,⁵³ but exotic beasts in wildernesses usually came in the form of statues or topiary.⁵⁴ The wilderness known as the *Sacro Bosco* at Bomarzo, constructed between 1560 and 1585, contained numerous lifesize statues of wild beasts, including bears and lions, as did other Italian *barci*.⁵⁵ Watson described similar presences at Nonsuch: 'For indeed the wilderness is from time to time shattered by the terrifying roar of lions . . . Here a bear falls killed by a shot from a gun . . .'.⁵⁶ This kind of idea was part of a wilderness's pleasant thrill. An account of Elizabeth's 1577 visit to Gorhambury records a verse inscribed on the wilderness's gate: 'Of yore how frightful did

⁵⁰ Biddle, 'Nonsuch', 169, 174; the translation is Biddle's.

⁵¹ The sense may be different in the *Old Arcadia*, where the whole of Arcadia seems included when Pyrocles asks what 'goddess this desert belongs unto' (15); Sidney revised this to 'Region' (*NA*, f.37v). Conversely, Basilius's 'solitary place' (*OA*, 6) becomes his 'desert' (*NA*, f.12r). In the *Old Arcadia*, as Katherine Duncan-Jones suggests, 'desert' is likely simply to refer to 'uninhabited countryside' (*The Old Arcadia*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford, 1985), 369n).

⁵² *NA*, f.81v; *OA*, 46-52.

⁵³ The encounter took place in 1591: Moryson, *Itinerary* (1617), 14-5. It is discussed in Henderson, *Tudor House*, 148, and Skretkiewicz, 'Architecture', 177.

⁵⁴ On topiary, see Lazzaro, *Renaissance Garden*, 49; and Michael Leslie, 'Spenser, Sidney, and the Renaissance Garden', *English Literary Renaissance* 22 (1992), 3-36 (12), who notes Thomas Platter's description of topiary animals at Nonsuch (*Travels*, 197).

⁵⁵ Lazzaro, *Renaissance Garden*, 138.

⁵⁶ Biddle, 'Nonsuch', 175.

this place appear / Here howl'd wild beasts, and satyrs frolick'd . . .'.⁵⁷ These contexts suggest that the beast attack may be less of an unexpected intrusion than it appears. Like the water-powered birds of Basilius's banqueting house,⁵⁸ Cecropia's savage pets may possess a touch of artifice. Rather than simply diminishing their threat, this changes it, shifting their dangers towards the inward, private ones that gardens were more likely to contain. As Gynecia laments in 'the solitary places those deserts were full of, consumed by her own 'unquiet motions': 'O deserts, deserts, how fit a guest am I for you, since my hart can people you with wild ravenous beastes, which in you are wanting?' (ff.98r-v).⁵⁹

CAVES AND ARBOURS

If the desert and its animals may be less wild than they look, a number of other apparently natural structures in both *Arcadius* contain hints of human design. The 'cave' which plays a key role in the action of the *Old Arcadia* may be at least partly man-made. Grottoes had been an essential element of Italian gardens throughout the second half of the sixteenth century.⁶⁰ Though their heyday in England did not arrive until the 1600s, scholars are increasingly willing to identify them in English great houses before the turn of the century.⁶¹ In 1594 Fynes Moryson's description of Italian grottoes suggested that the English term for these structures was 'cave': 'little houses, which house is vulgarly called *grotta*, that is, Cave (or Den), yet are they not built under the earth, but above in the manner of a Cave'.⁶² Early English examples were to be found

⁵⁷ John Nichols, *The Progresses, and Public Processions, of Queen Elizabeth*, 2 vols (1788), 2.3; cited in Henderson, *Tudor House*, 139.

⁵⁸ *NA*, f.62v.

⁵⁹ *OA*, 91.

⁶⁰ Lazzaro, *Renaissance Garden*, 57-62; Naomi Miller, *Heavenly Caves: Reflections on the Garden Grotto* (New York, 1982), 35-58. For examples, see Lazzaro, *Renaissance Garden*, 200-8, 257, 265-6; Coffin, *Rome*, 97, 156-8, 197, 206, 252, 287, 304-5, 309, 348-9. On the classical origins of this fashion, see Hunt, *Grove*, 12-3, 21, 42; Miller, *Caves*, 7-28.

⁶¹ Henderson, *Tudor House*, 164-5. For the earlier view, limiting grottoes to the Jacobean period, see Strong, *Garden*, 10, 71, 112.

⁶² Moryson, *Itinerary*, 152; cited in Henderson, *Tudor House*, 165.

at Theobalds, Beddington, and the grove at Nonsuch, which one visitor described as a ‘grove and grotto of Diana’; it seems likely to have been modelled on the Diana grotto at the Villa d’Este.⁶³

In Sidney’s cave, ‘made as it should seem by nature in despite of art’, ‘rich . . . marble serve[s] to beautify the vault of the first entry’, while ‘[u]nderfoot the ground seemed mineral’, with ‘glistening show of gold’ and ‘a little sweet river’ running through it (*OA*, 179). Water features, marble, and precious metals were common in grottoes; Waldstein described the Theobalds grotto as ‘roofed over with . . . all kinds of metallic ore’, and those at Pratolino were painted with ‘the mining of silver, and every sort of metal imaginable’.⁶⁴ They often similarly contained a number of ‘goodly spacious rooms’ (*OA*, 179).⁶⁵ Understanding the cave as this sophisticated kind of building helps to explain the plausibility of Cleophila’s request to take up residence there, a move which involves transferring the ‘bed and furniture of her chamber into this pleasant cave’, and ‘deck[ing] it up . . . finely’ (*OA*, 215-6): it makes sense because the cave is already a kind of ‘chamber’. Located ‘near’ the second lodge (*OA*, 179), Sidney’s cave might be part of it, suitably disguised; early English grottoes, like that at Theobalds, were often incorporated within the house.⁶⁶

Cleophila gets a grotto, but the *New Arcadia* awards Zelmane a ‘little arbour, only reserved for her’ (f.155v), possibly the same ‘fine close arbour’ in which Musidorus first discovers Pyrocles in female disguise (f.50v). But Zelmane’s arbour may be closer to Cleophila’s grotto than it seems. Grottoes could be roofed by arbours. The Cupid grotto at Pratolino was covered by a metal frame over which dense layers of greenery were trailed; using what sounds like a different but related technique, the Theobalds grotto was ‘thatched with green grass’. Both kinds of structure

⁶³ Theobalds: *Diary of Baron Waldstein*, 83. Beddington: Roy Strong, ‘Sir Francis Carew’s Garden at Beddington’, in *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy: Pageantry, Painting, Iconography* (Woodbridge, 1995), 325-36 (330-1, 333-6), and John Phillips and Nicholas Burnett, ‘The Chronology and Layout of Francis Carew’s Garden at Beddington, Surrey’, *Garden History* 33 (2005), 155-88, *passim*. Nonsuch: William Benchley Rye, *England as Seen by Foreigners* (London, 1865), 243; Rye is reporting the comments of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar in 1613 (cited in Strong, *Garden*, 66). Villa d’Este: David Coffin, *The Villa d’Este at Tivoli* (Princeton, 1960), 35, 82-3; Lazzaro, *Renaissance Garden*, 239.

⁶⁴ Henderson, *Tudor House*, 165; Lazzaro, *Renaissance Garden*, 60-2; *Diary of Baron Waldstein*, 83; Anne-Marie Lecoq, ‘The Garden Wisdom of Bernard Palissy’, in Mosser, *Design*, 69-80 (75); Zangheri, ‘Curiosities’, 59; Miller, *Caves*, 49.

⁶⁵ Examples of multi-roomed grottoes are discussed in Luigi Zangheri, ‘The Gardens of Buontalenti’, in Mosser, *Design*, 96-9 (96); Lazzaro, *Renaissance Garden*, 206-7; Coffin, *Rome*, 156-8, 348-9; Miller, *Caves*, 37.

⁶⁶ Henderson, *Tudor House*, 165-6.

combined living plants with architecture.⁶⁷ Even when the ceiling was continuous stone, there was likely to be a need for greenery over it to complete the effect: Bernard Palissy's influential grotto designs called for a brick frame with herbs and shrubs planted over it. Palissy also described a 'green cabinet' of interwoven trees housing a grotto-like fountain. Perhaps nodding to this approach, vegetation could also be painted on within: the ceilings of the first and third rooms in the Boboli *Grotta Grande* were frescoed to resemble arbours, and that of the Diana grotto at the Villa d'Este displayed lilies, apples and roses.⁶⁸ Nonsuch's 'grove and grotto', which probably centred around a similar structure, was described as 'arched over by the skill of topiary'; Paul Hentzner saw it as 'ornamented with trellis-work'.⁶⁹

Diana's encounter with Actaeon may have been seen as particularly well-suited to this combination. Ovid describes the woods concealing Diana's cave, which is so beautiful that it seems artificial;⁷⁰ early modern translators variously assumed an arbour or grotto. Golding (1565) finds Diana in 'a pleasant Bowre, / . . . vaulted with . . . leavy trees' (Aiii); Sandys (1621) simply presents 'A shady Cave' (66), with the artifice perhaps furnished by Moryson's contemporaneous use of 'cave' for artificial grottoes. By 1717, however, when such structures had become well-established in England, Diana's bathing-place had become 'a spacious grotto'.⁷¹

The *Old Arcadia* makes brief reference to Kala and Lalus's 'bower . . . made of boughs', but in the revisions arbours proliferate. In one section of Kalander's garden, Musidorus finds 'newe beddes of flowers, which being under the trees, the trees were to them a Pavilion, and they to the trees a mosaical floore' (f.9v). 'Pavilion' implies a tent, but the comparison is not just poetic, since temporary structures combining arbours and tents were not uncommon. The Whitehall 'banqueting house' erected in 1572 to entertain the Duc de Montmorency was of this

⁶⁷ Miller, *Caves*, 37.

⁶⁸ Pratolino: Lazzaro, *Renaissance Garden*, 60. Theobalds: *Diary of Baron Waldstein*, 83. Palissy: Lecoq, 'Palissy', 72, 74-5. Boboli: Lazzaro, *Renaissance Garden*, 205-6. Villa d'Este: Coffin, *Villa d'Este*, 35.

⁶⁹ Biddle, 'Nonsuch', 176; Paul Hentzner, *A Journey into England in the Year 1608*, (London, 1757), 83. Watson's structural use of 'topiary' was not unusual: *The Strife of Love in a Dream*, Robert Dallington's 1592 translation of Colonna's influential *Hypnerotomachia*, defines topiary as 'making Images or Arbours in Trees' (f.51r).

⁷⁰ On the possible influence of this passage on garden design, see Hunt, *Grove*, 53; Lazzaro, *Renaissance Garden*, 61; Strong, *Garden*, 68; Miller, *Caves*, 36. Sannazaro also copied it in his description of Enareto's cave: *Arcadia and Piscatorial Eclogues*, trans. Ralph Nash (Detroit, 1966), 102 (tenth *prosa*).

⁷¹ *Ovid's Metamorphoses in Fifteen Books*, trans. Dryden *et al* (1717), 80.

type; it was constructed from canvas covered with ivy, birch and roses.⁷² A similar ‘withdrawing place’, its interior hung with arras, was provided for Elizabeth at the Elvetham entertainment of 1591.⁷³

Sidney is comparing the trees to a pavilion, rather than implying that a pavilion is actually present, which may suggest an arbour so closely constructed that the effect is similar to canvas. The description anticipates the cross-dressed Pyrocles’ ‘fine close arbour . . . of trees whose branches so lovingly interlaced one the other; that it could resist the strongest violence of eyesight’ (ff.50v-51r). Philoclea’s altar, sheltered by ‘trees, so closed in the toppes together, as they might seeme a little chappell’ (f.118r), suggests a similar if more loosely-woven structure.⁷⁴ The ‘marble stone’ furthers this impression, since marble tables were a common feature of garden banqueting houses.⁷⁵ The subject of Philoclea’s vow makes this ‘tuft of trees’ consecrated to ‘*Silvan* gods’ (f.117r-v) sound particularly close to Nonsuch’s grove of Diana, where Waldstein saw a ‘summerhouse’ – Thomas Platter called it a ‘temple’ – with dedications to chastity written in gold lettering on its walls; it also contained a marble table.⁷⁶ But the ‘chapell’ has a nearer parallel in Basilius’s banqueting house, set amongst trees ‘whose heads seemed curled with the wrappings about of Vine branches’ (f.62v), implying that part of the construction is in the form of, or contained within, an arbour.

ARBOURS AND OTHER BUILDINGS

Sidney’s wilderness, cave and arbour thus have a touch of artifice in common, but as the last example suggests, they are also aligned with his more obviously built environments. The scene of Diana and Actaeon links Kalander’s summer-house to the grotto in which Ovid’s scene

⁷² Colvin, *King’s Works*, 319; for further examples see Henderson, *Tudor House*, 150-1.

⁷³ *The Honorable Entertainment Given to the Queenes Majestie in Progresse, at Elvetham* (1591), A2v.

⁷⁴ OA, 109-10.

⁷⁵ Paula Henderson, ‘Adorning the Arbour’, *Country Life* 184 (8th March, 1990), 104-6 (105).

⁷⁶ *Diary of Baron Waldstein*, 161; Platter, *Travels*, 196.

was often thought to be set, and the arbour elements in Basilius's banqueting house were not uncommon. Nonsuch, again, offers a parallel; though Waldstein referred to a 'small stone building', Watson called Lumley's gold-lettered summerhouse a 'bower', suggesting a similar mix of materials.⁷⁷ This was far from the only example: banqueting houses and arbours differed essentially only in the materials from which they were constructed, and the association between them was longstanding.⁷⁸ A number of Henry VIII's garden buildings at Hampton Court are referred to by both terms in contemporary accounts. Arbours, like banqueting houses, could be used for dining: Paula Henderson notes a sixteenth-century painting showing a servant laying the table for dinner in an arbour, and in 1515 Henry served breakfast to Venetian guests in 'bowers' in his gardens at Greenwich.⁷⁹

There could also be material as well as functional similarities, since though typically composed of plants trailed over trellis-work, arbours could also be more substantial. The three-storey 'great round arbour' at Hampton had numerous windows – reasonably common in arbours – and was made from brick.⁸⁰ The new banqueting house erected at Whitehall for Alençon in 1581 must have resembled Henry's arbour. It was constructed, like Montmorency's, from canvas, but was much more elaborate: painted to resemble stone, with an ivy-covered roof, it had 'two hundred ninety and two lights of glass', and later acquired a porch and battlements.⁸¹ *The Old Arcadia's* Musidorus is likely to have the pretensions of this kind of building in mind in his punning reference to 'marble bowers . . . the gay harbour[s] of anguish' (*OA*, 85). Although Zelmane's arbour is evidently constructed mostly from natural materials, descriptions such as these make more sense of Musidorus's 'boldly thrusting open the dore' to enter it, or Pyrocles' thoughtful offer to lend him his key (ff.51r, 64r). An arbour of this type, lockable and proof against the 'violence of eye-sight', could be very much an outdoor room.

⁷⁷ *Diary of Baron Waldstein*, 161; Strong, *Garden*, 68; Biddle, 'Nonsuch', 177. The 1650 survey refers to this 'Banqueting House' as a 'tymber building' (Biddle, 'Nonsuch', 179).

⁷⁸ One study describes the arbour as 'one of the most popular banqueting house forms . . . temporary banqueting houses' (Fumerton, *Aesthetics*, 131).

⁷⁹ Henderson, 'Loggia', 144n96, and *Tudor House*, 156-7.

⁸⁰ Henderson, *Tudor House*, 156; Strong, *Garden*, 28. On windows in arbours, see also Lazzaro, *Renaissance Garden*, 30, and the quotation from Thomas Hill below.

⁸¹ Colvin, *King's Works*, 320, citing Holinshed, *The Third Volume of Chronicles* (1587), 1315.

The long gallery, on the other hand, could be conceived of as an indoor arbour, as Rosalys Coope's authoritative study observes. The link between long galleries and tunnel arbours, or 'garden trellis-galleries', was often brought out by leaf-patterned 'verdure' decoration on gallery ceilings. This kind of 'greenery gallery' was taken to a height with the birds, beasts and flowers which filled the windows of Bacon's gallery at Gorhambury, or the artificial trees in the green gallery at Theobalds.⁸² Contemporaries recognised the link. Thomas Hill, in a 1577 treatise on gardens dedicated to the builder of Theobalds, Cecil, praised garden walkways

shadowed over with vawting or Archherbers [large arbours], having windowes properly made towards the Garden, whereby [one] might the more fully view, and have delight of the whole beautie of the Garden. But the strait walkes, the wealthe made like Galleries, being all open towards the Garden, and covered with the vine.⁸³

Sidney's cave and arbour thus resemble both each other and their built equivalents.

Galleries and banqueting houses, too, are less dissimilar than one might expect. Closing the circle of Arcadian garden buildings, John Florio's Italian-English dictionary, *A Worlde of Wordes* (1598), links both these rooms to lodges. Florio defines *Loggia* as 'a gallerie . . . [or] walking place . . . a lodge, a banqueting house' (206).⁸⁴ As Paula Henderson suggests, 'Lodge' seems motivated by the common etymology, and by a sense that both these structures have to do with gardens. But as Florio's inclusion of both lodges and banqueting houses in his definition implies, as lodges became more concerned with recreation than hunting, their differences from banqueting houses became harder to define. Like lodges, banqueting houses were often vehicles for architectural whimsy. Nicholas Cooper suggests that the popular "castle" style of lodge, such as Bolsover's Little Castle, owed something to similarly-designed banqueting houses at Hampton Court, and notes that more elaborate banqueting houses 'approach[ed] pretty closely to the functions of the

⁸² Coope, 'Long Gallery', 65-6; McCutcheon, 'Sententiae', 17, citing *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, ed. Oliver Lawson Dick (Ann Arbor, 1962), 14. See also Henderson, 'Loggia', 135.

⁸³ Dydimus Mountaine [Thomas Hill], *The Gardeners Labyrinth* (1577), 24.

⁸⁴ This passage is cited and discussed in Henderson, 'Loggia', 133-4.

lodge'. The substantial building at the edge of Christopher Hatton's gardens at Holdenby, known as the 'banqueting house', was essentially a lodge.⁸⁵

Lodges could also be used for dining, even in their earlier and more functional guise: a hunt might finish with a feast.⁸⁶ In the later period, feasting could take precedence. Timothy Raylor argues that banqueting was an important theme at William Cavendish's lodge at Bolsover, which had little to do with hunting: it was designed as 'a place for pleasurable retirement, a retreat'.⁸⁷ Banqueting houses, on the other hand, could share something of the lodge's utilitarian aspect. Leicester's London banqueting house and Thomas Tresham's ornate Warrener's Lodge both doubled as accommodation for a gardener, despite the latter's being essentially, as Girouard observes, 'an especially fanciful and beautiful banqueting house'.⁸⁸

To early modern readers, the Arcadian lodges might have been assumed to possess a comparable affinity with Kalander's 'house of pleasure builte for a Sommer retiring place'. Their real-life inspiration, the star-shaped building in Ferdinand II's game reserve, is likely to have been conceived along similar lines: its Czech title is *Letohrádek Hvězda*, or 'Star Summerhouse',⁸⁹ and though I have been unable to confirm with certainty that *letohrádek* is the word used in early modern sources, accounts of its construction by Czech scholars consistently refer to it by this name.⁹⁰ The artfulness this implies was not limited to the *Hvězda*'s eccentric exterior: like Kalander's garden-house, Ferdinand's hunting lodge was decorated within with mythological scenes.⁹¹

But the key similarity between lodges and banqueting houses lay in the fact that both were private satellites to a larger and more public building. Fumerton argues that banqueting

⁸⁵ Henderson, *Tudor House*, 172, 174, 177; Girouard, *Architecture*, 107; Cooper, *Gentry*, 115; Girouard, *Smythson*, 153; Fumerton, *Aesthetics*, 119; Girouard, *House*, 106-8.

⁸⁶ Coffin, *Rome*, 111. On the sociability of hunting and its architecture, see also Thurley, *Palaces*, 192.

⁸⁷ 'Bolsover', 402, 414-8, 430-5.

⁸⁸ Kingsford, 'Leicester House', 23-4; Girouard, *Architecture*, 107; Girouard, *House*, 108 (quotation).

⁸⁹ *Velký Česko-Anglický Slovník / Comprehensive Czech-English Dictionary*, 3rd edn (New York, 1986), s.v. 'Letohrádek' (322).

⁹⁰ Eliška Fučíková, 'Pražský Hrad za Rudolfa II, jeho Předchůdců a Následovníků (1530-1648)', in *Rudolf II a Praha*, ed. Eliška Fučíková *et al* (Prague and London, 1997), 2-71 (8) (translated as 'Prague Castle under Rudolf II, His Predecessors and Successors, 1530-1648', in *Rudolf II and Prague: the Court and the City*, ed. Eliška Fučíková *et al* (London, 1997), 2-71 (7)); Jan Morávek, 'Ke Vzniku Hvězdy', *Umění* 2 (1954), 199-211 *passim*.

⁹¹ Duncan-Jones, *Sidney*, 129.

houses were particularly associated with privacy, and the same could be true of lodges, which were sometimes known as ‘secret houses’.⁹² ‘Secret’ in architectural contexts could denote especially intense forms of privacy; Henry VIII’s ‘secret lodgings’ were the rooms he retreated to as the privy apartments took on increasingly public functions.⁹³ In a similar recession of privacy, as lodges became favoured residences, they could develop, like Basilius’s, satellite banqueting houses of their own.⁹⁴

GARDENS AND PRIVACY

When Bartholomew Yong translated Boccaccio’s *Fiammetta*, he evidently felt that the heroine’s seaside love-complaint ought to take place in an appropriately private setting, and transformed Boccaccio’s rugs into windbreak-style hangings in order to provide one.⁹⁵ The resultant structure, situated in an early modern garden and with greenery trailed over the fabric, would be something like an arbour. When Sidney decided the *Old Arcadia*’s ‘grove’ was an inadequate setting for Pyrocles’ transformation and upgraded it to an arbour complete with door and lock, he was doing something similar. This arbour has two of the key qualities of early modern private spaces such as closets and studies, visual privacy and secure storage; the ‘cabinets of verdure’ that Paul Hentzner saw at Nonsuch were probably similar.⁹⁶ Arcadia’s association with this kind of space is further suggested when Musidorus leaves Kalander’s house to search deeper into Basilius’s kingdom for the missing Pyrocles. To do so, he adopts ‘private guise’ (f.41*v*), an understated anticipation of Pyrocles’ female costume, itself necessitated by the fact that Basilius’s strictures prevent any more ‘publike dealing’ (f.58*r*).

⁹² Fumerton, *Aesthetics*, 113-36; Girouard, *House*, 76, 106; Henderson, *Tudor House*, 170; Girouard, *Architecture*, 110-2.

⁹³ Thurley, *Palaces*, 52, 137-43.

⁹⁴ Fumerton, *Aesthetics*, 129; Henderson, *Tudor House*, 57-9.

⁹⁵ See Chapter 1 above, p.25.

⁹⁶ Hentzner, *Journey*, 83.

Long galleries, modelled partly on arbours and loggias, shared some of the garden's connotations of privacy, despite their size and frequent deployment as status symbols. They could offer a kind of halfway space between public reception rooms and private apartments.⁹⁷ Henry VIII's royal galleries of the 1530s were splendidly ornate, but principally for the king's private use; they formed part of the privy lodgings, and he kept the keys himself.⁹⁸ As Lena Cowen Orlin has observed, these rooms were often used for private conversation; unlike a closet, the very extent of visually unimpeded open space made eavesdropping impossible. Window bays were often provided for this purpose; Roger North's discussion of galleries commended 'bow windoes . . . for select companys to converse in', areas of intensified privacy which acted in effect 'as small withdrawing rooms'.⁹⁹ When Wolsey needed to warn off Henry Percy from courting Ann Boleyn, he arranged for this uncomfortable interview to take place in his long gallery. Wolsey reduced his victim to tears, exploiting the gallery's spatial possibilities to do so, a convergence of political pressure and personal desire which seems emblematic of galleries' liminal status between publicness and privacy.¹⁰⁰

Individual galleries could, however, tend more towards one of these qualities than the other. North, writing at the end of the seventeenth century, differentiated 'parade' galleries from those for 'private use'.¹⁰¹ Henry's galleries at Hampton Court were this kind of 'privy' gallery, as was one of the many galleries at Theobalds.¹⁰² In George Whetstone's *Heptameron of Civill Discourses* (1582),¹⁰³ Philoxenus, whose name describes the role of host which he shares with Sidney's Kerxenus, shows Ismarito his 'very beautifull Gallerie', which contains pictures of 'Christian Princes', 'Heathen Rulers', and those of 'so many learned men and grave Magistrates, as he could through freendship or rewarde obtaine' (Mii*v*). After this, however, he leads this favoured guest 'into a moste curious privie Gallerie, where (drawing a faire Curtaine) . . . he

⁹⁷ Coope, 'Long Gallery', 45.

⁹⁸ Howard, *Country House*, 116; Thurley, *Royal Palaces*, 141-3.

⁹⁹ Orlin, *Privacy*, 236-8, 260-1; North, *Building*, 136, cited in Coope, 'Long Gallery', 59.

¹⁰⁰ Orlin, *Privacy*, 241-2; Coope, 'Long Gallery', 60.

¹⁰¹ *Building*, 135-7; cited in Coope, 'Long Gallery', 59.

¹⁰² Thurley, *Palaces*, 136, 141-2; Summerson, 'Theobalds', 121.

¹⁰³ John Lievsay suggests Guazzo's *Civile Conversation* may also have influenced Whetstone's *Civill Discourses*, but suggests no specific parallels (*Stefano Guazzo and the English Renaissance* (Chapel Hill, 1961), 82).

shewed Ismarito the Picture of a Royall Princesse, moste richly and lively set fourth . . . which Ismarito beheld, with . . . zealous affection of his heart' (Miii).

The corresponding scene in the *Old Arcadia* is followed by conversation, as Kerxenus explains to Pyrocles the picture's significance (*OA*, 11); in Whetstone's gallery, Philoxenus and Ismarito similarly go on to have 'some . . . private conference' (Miii). Unlike in Sidney, however, there is no narrative follow-up; Ismarito, though he clearly responds with passion to the princess's portrait, does not set off in pursuit. Whetstone's interest, as his careful descriptions of 'chamber[s] of pleasure' and banqueting houses make clear, is in spaces rather than stories.¹⁰⁴ Whetstone was the author of an early verse elegy for Sidney,¹⁰⁵ and the date of his work makes it possible that it may be responding to the *Old Arcadia*; Sidney could also have been responding to Whetstone's spatial interests in giving the *New Arcadia*'s architecture of privacy more attention. Regardless of either possibility, however, Whetstone's scene implies that the kind of amorous viewing that occurs at the start of the *Old Arcadia* could suggest to contemporary readers that Kerxenus's gallery is of the more private kind, bringing it closer again to the *New Arcadia*'s banqueting house and arbour.

PRIVATE SPACE IN SIDNEY AND GUAZZO

Wendy Olmsted has argued that Musidorus's early remonstrations with Pyrocles are influenced by Annibal's discussions with William in Guazzo's *Civile Conversation*.¹⁰⁶ This seems plausible, since one of Guazzo's translators, Bartholomew Yong, also produced the only early modern English version of the work that contemporaries considered the *Arcadia*'s principal influence, Montemayor's *Diana*. Yong's *Diana* translation was completed by 1582, so he may have been working on it at the same time as the *Old Arcadia* was being composed. His contribution to

¹⁰⁴ E.g. *Heptameron*, Miii.v-Mivv, Xiv.

¹⁰⁵ *Sir Phillip Sidney, His Honorable Life, His Valiant Death, and True Vertues* (1587).

¹⁰⁶ 'The Gentle Doctor: Renaissance/Reformation Friendship, Rhetoric, and Emotion in Sidney's *Old Arcadia*', *Modern Philology* 103 (2005), 156-86 (162, 165).

Pettie's Guazzo and his full translation of *Fiammetta* appeared in 1586 and 1587 respectively, but since Yong was evidently in no rush to publish his *Diana*, these other projects may also have been completed, or at least in process, in time to influence the *New Arcadia*.

The relationship of Pettie's incomplete version of Guazzo, published in 1581, to the completion Yong added to it in 1586, remains unclear,¹⁰⁷ but Yong's other links to Sidney make him the most likely conduit for Guazzian influences. When he did finally publish his translation of Montemayor in 1598, he dedicated it to Penelope Rich, and thanked his fellow Montemayor-enthusiasts Edward Paston and Edward Bannister, both of whom, as Woudhuysen notes, had tastes, friends and manuscripts in common with Sidney. The cumulative argument for Yong and Sidney's mutual awareness of each others' work is strong.¹⁰⁸

Olmsted focusses on what she argues is Sidney and Guazzo's shared theme of the necessity for Protestant friends to accept each others' imperfections, but the spaces in which the conversations take place are as significant as their content. In *The Old Arcadia*, they talk in the less defined vicinity of 'the desert of the two lodges' (*OA*, 12), but in the *New* the arbour, a 'cabinet of verdure' like those at Nonsuch, provides an equivalent to Guazzo's closet. Pyrocles seems to recognise this when he reflects on its suitability for the proposed 'open' conversation 'betweene frends'. Emphasising privacy, he suggests that 'here are we in as fitte a place for it as may be; for this arbor no body offers to come into but my selfe' (f.56*v*). This echoes Annibal's comment on the closet, which Pettie renders as 'we can choose no fitter place for our purpose then this same'.¹⁰⁹

The arbour's privacy facilitates Pyrocles' 'using it as my melancholy retiring place' (f.56*v*). Recalling Arcadia itself, which attracts those whose 'inwarde melancholies hav[e] made [them] weery of the worldes eyes' (f.17*v*), this phrase also advertises the arbour's similarity to Kalander's banqueting house or 'Sommer retiring-place' to which the princes have previously 'shruncke

¹⁰⁷ See pp.41-2 above.

¹⁰⁸ See Chapter 1 above, p.10 and notes; H.R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558–1640* (Oxford, 1996), 242-5, 251-4; Jeremy L. Smith, *Music and Late Elizabethan Politics: The Identities of Oriana and Diana*, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 58 (2005), 507-58 (532, 549).

¹⁰⁹ Stefano Guazzo, *The Civile Conversation*, trans. George Pettie and Bartholomew Young [Yong] (1586), f.22*r*. For discussion, see Chapter 1 above, pp.49-50.

aside' for what Whetstone might describe as 'private conference' (ff.33r-35r). As in Whetstone, Guazzo and *The Old Arcadia* itself, pictures act as a stimulus to this kind of conversation. Musidorus tells Pyrocles about Philoclea 'upon occasion of the pictures present' (f.38r), as Kalander had earlier told Musidorus while 'sometimes casting his eye to the picture' (ff.11r). Both scenes recall the *Civile Conversation's* 'diverse pleasant pictures' that 'mervailously recreate our mindes, and ministreth occasion of witty talke'.¹¹⁰ This pictorial function resurfaces in the arbour, when Musidorus's astonishment at Pyrocles' transvestism recalls the banqueting house's Ovidian scenes, as he finds himself 'amazedly looking upon him (as Apollo is painted when he saw Daphne sodainly turned into a Laurell)' (f.51r).¹¹¹ The analogy re-establishes a trace of the earlier dynamic: reference to paintings is followed by friendly discussion. The link between pictures and conversations further suggests those between arbours, galleries and banqueting houses.

Like that of Guazzo's William, Pyrocles' distress has a medical aspect. Musidorus tells him to 'purge yourselfe of this vile infection', but Pyrocles accuses him of 'deall[ing] with me like a Phisition, that seeing his patient in a pestilent fever, should chide him, in steede of ministring helpe, and bid him be sick no more . . . I am sicke, & sicke to the death'. In response, Musidorus acknowledges the need for a more propitiatory approach to 'medicine' his friend's 'wound' (ff.55r-56v). This kind of Galenic psycho-physiology is linked, as in the *Civile Conversation*, to private space: the solitary and melancholy arbour. Guazzo differentiates, however, between the relatively sociable closet and the more intense kinds of seclusion that William pathologically prefers.¹¹² This anticipates Annibal's victory in the therapeutic argument; just by coaxing William out of his isolation and into this more sociable room, he already has him moving in the right direction. But in Sidney it is the victim of passionate disorder, Pyrocles, who wins the debate, so it makes sense to have the Annibal-figure, Musidorus, drawn into his patient's territory. This is strengthened by Sidney's description of how the princes get there. They have 'shruncke aside', a

¹¹⁰ Ibid., f.22r.

¹¹¹ *OA*, 18. The presence of this in the *Old Arcadia* shows that the painting reference is not prompted by the creation of the arbour. Inspiration may have worked in the opposite direction, with the thought of painting bringing the idea of a closet-like space into Sidney's mind.

¹¹² See note 109 above.

phrase Annibal uses, in Pettie's translation, to condemn those 'idle merchauntes' who 'shrinketh aside into solitarinesse' (ff.19r-v). Joining Pyrocles in this unpromising action may anticipate Musidorus's own susceptibility to the disease he initially offers to cure. Melancholy, again as in Guazzo, is also associated with another variety of confinement: Pyrocles feels 'condemned to perpetuall prison; and loaden with greevous fetters . . . I am a prisoner' (f.55v).¹¹³ Kalander's banqueting house and Zelmane's arbour both seem to offer ways into this kind of space rather than ways out.

OTIUM IN ARCADIA

Yong's portfolio of translations encompassed the melancholic consequences of both the hedonistic (*Fiammetta*) and the contemplative (*The Civile Conversation*) varieties of *otium*. Annibal's solution, in the latter work, is a middle way between these extremes, traditionally represented by the topos of the unbent bow.¹¹⁴ Sidney's world is tougher, and more cynical; there is no middle way, and even the well-meant, contemplative side of *otium* proves merely 'a glorious title to idleness' (f.70r),¹¹⁵ a cover for Pyrocles' true, Fiammetta-like motives. His garbled response to Musidorus's accusations betrays itself, struggling to invoke unbent bows and effortful contemplation at the same time:

the minde it selfe must (like other thinges) sometimes be unbent, or else it will be either weakned, or broken: And these [worldly] knowledges . . . are . . . not all the minde may stretch it selfe unto: who knowes whether I feede not my minde with higher thoughts? (f.37r).

¹¹³ OA, 24-5.

¹¹⁴ See Chapter 1 above, pp.21-74 *passim*.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 16. Sidney is likely to be drawing here on another Roman discussion of *otium*. Tacitus claimed to have devoted his time to study 'not as most youths do, in order to cloak a useless leisure with a pretentious name [*ut nomine magnifico segne otium velaret*] . . . ?' (*Histories*, 4.5, cited and translated by Brian Vickers, 'Leisure and Idleness in the Renaissance: the Ambivalence of *Otium*', *Renaissance Studies* 4 (1990), 1-37, 107-54 (36)).

Sidney neatly underscores Pyrocles' guilty incoherence by having him propose the difficult feat of unbending and stretching at the same time, but invoking two kinds of *otium* at once also signals that the use of leisure is central to the princes' argument.

'Solitariness' plays an important role in this; it helps to articulate *otium*'s connotations of privacy. The sense of isolation caused by Fiammetta's secret affair emerges strongly from the narrative, which places her pastoral 'praise of a solitary life' at its centre. But the chaste contemplations of William Guazzo are also characterised by what both his English translators repeatedly name as 'solitariness'.¹¹⁶ Within the discourse of leisure, 'solitariness' participates in *otium*'s ambivalence; it can suggest both antisocial desires and more philosophical kinds of retreat. Pyrocles' use of contemplation as a cover for less reputable motives combines both, which helps to explain why the princes' argument turns so specifically into a debate about solitude.¹¹⁷ Musidorus accuses Pyrocles of 'subject[ing] your selfe to solitarines, the slye enimie, that doth most separate a man from well doing' (f.36*v*), but Pyrocles, like William, 'defend[s] his solitarines' (f.38*v*) as a commitment to higher kinds of knowledge:

the workings of the minde I finde much more infinite, then can be led unto by the eye, or imagined by any, that distract their thoughts without themselves. And in such contemplation, or as I thinke more excellent, I enjoye my solitarines; and my solitarines perchaunce is the nurse of these contemplations (f.37*r*).

This discussion offers a further link between Pyrocles' 'melancholy retiring place', the arbour, and its precedent, Cleophila's cave, a suitable place 'for the performance of certain her country devotions which only were to be exercised in solitariness' (*OA*, 215); since the real purpose of this is the bed-trick which gets Basilius and Gynecia out of the way (*OA*, 224-7), it forms another example of Pyrocles' cynical use of the better kind of *otium* to conceal the worse.

In the princes' argument, Musidorus responds, like Annibal, with subtly expressed persuasions to 'companie' (f.70*v*), the *Arcadia*'s equivalent of 'conversation'. The *New Arcadia*'s special alertness to this theme is indicated by its additional charge of unsociably 'breaking lawes

¹¹⁶ See pp.45-7 above.

¹¹⁷ In the *New Arcadia* Musidorus's added complaint of Pyrocles' 'breaking lawes of hospitality with Kalander' (f.52*v*) emphasises this theme of antisocialness.

of hospitality with Kalander' (f.52v). As well as these spoken reproaches, the words Musidorus tactfully keeps to himself further suggest the proximity of *otium* to solitariness, by finding opposites to both in action, doing and employment:

in the beginning of Pyrocles speech which defended his solitarines, [he had] framed in his minde a replie against it, in the praise of honourable action, in shewing that such a kind of contemplation is but a glorious title to idlenes; that in action a man did not onely better himself, but benefit others; that the gods would not have delivered a soule into the body, which hath armes & legges, only instruments of doing, but that it wer intended the mind should imploy them (f.70r).¹¹⁸

Musidorus's reference to benefitting others as well as oneself through action suggests the civic-political side of *otium* as a dereliction of social duty. This is present in Pyrocles' failure to commit to his journey home, commanded by his father, where he will presumably take up the position of heir apparent. But *otium's* political aspect plays a much greater role in characterising the 'solitariness' of Basilius. Recognising the links between 'solitariness' and *otium*, and *otium* and political negligence, helps explain why Basilius is so regularly described by this word, despite the company of his own family, Dametas's family, one priest, two foreign guests, twenty shepherds, and an unspecified number of attendants discreetly on call.¹¹⁹ It lends a new complexion to the reassuring impression of 'acco[m]panable solitarines' that Musidorus takes from his first sight of *Arcadia* (f.7r); even accompanied by this retinue, Basilius is invidiously solitary in the sense of having removed himself from his proper civic role. Though it apparently bears little relation to the actual number of people who happen to be present, however, 'solitariness' can indicate (pastoral) location as well as attitude. The problem is not with the shepherds' eclogues as such, Kalander laments, but rather that 'to heare them, [Basilius] rather goes to solitarinesse, then makes them come to companie' (f.17v).

Basilius's new activity is watching eclogue performances. Facilitated by the Arcadian shepherds' possession of an abundance of 'ease, the Nurse of Poetrie' (f.17r), these are referred

¹¹⁸ This and the preceding exchanges in *OA* take place on pp.14-6.

¹¹⁹ Priest and shepherds: *NA*, f.16r. Other servants: see note 44 above. Mentions of Basilius's solitariness (here referenced to *NA*), often connected with the lodge, include ff.13v ('strange solitarines'), 16r (keeping his daughters 'thus solitary with him'), 62r (the lodge is 'not unfitte to flatter solitarinesse'), 65v ('that solitarie dwelling'), 76r ('his solitary course'), 99r ('this straunge resolutio[n] to live so solitarily'), 214r ('her solitarie father'), 224r ('his solitary lodge').

to by leisure words: recreations, sports and pastimes.¹²⁰ As seen in the last chapter, this last term indicates the importance of time in defining the use of leisure.¹²¹ ‘In these pastorall pastimes’, as the second Books of both *Arcadias* describe the first eclogues, ‘a great number of dayes were sent to follow their flying predecessours’ (f.98r),¹²² suggesting that rather than being put to good, restorative use, the conditions of Arcadian leisure are making time vanish at an alarming rate. In the *Old Arcadia*, the princes’ response to the story of Erona, delivered during the timewasting eclogues, shows this contagious process in action. Histor describes how Erona has been placed under a decree of execution within two years if the princes fail to present themselves to fight for her, one of which has already elapsed (*OA*, 70). Though only recently arrived in Arcadia, the princes register their absorption of its values by responding with a resolute commitment to not do anything for a bit:

considering they had almost a year of time to succour her, they resolved as soon as this their present action (which had taken full possession of all their desires) were brought to any good point they would forthwith take in hand that journey; neither should they need in the meantime anything reveal themselves . . . (*OA*, 71).

Pyrocles’ adoption of Arcadian timekeeping marks his difference from his predecessor, Montemayor’s Felismena. Like Musidorus, from the moment she enters pastoral territory, Felismena keeps one eye on the clock.¹²³ Pyrocles, however, is less cautious. ‘[C]ondemne not therefore my minde sometime to enjoy it selfe’, he asks his friend, ‘nor blame not the taking of such times as serve most fitte for it’ (f.37r).¹²⁴ Pyrocles and Felismena have many similarities – each is a warrior aristocrat with opposite-sex characteristics who takes a pastoral detour from a romance journey – but Pyrocles’ greater vulnerability to this distraction brings him closer to the *Diana*’s shepherd characters, and allows him to get caught up in a similar love-chain plot.

¹²⁰ Recreation: f.16r. Sports: ff.72v, 76v, 79v, 85r, 120v. Pastimes: ff.81r, 85r, 89r, 227r. (References are to *NA*).

¹²¹ See Chapter 1 above, pp.71-2.

¹²² *OA*, 91.

¹²³ See note 121 above.

¹²⁴ *OA*, 15.

Sidney stresses the extent to which Pyrocles has immersed himself in pastoral at this point by describing his situation in words that offer one of the *New Arcadia's* closest parallels to the *Diana*:

Zelmane sought occasion to speake with Philoclea; Basilius with Zelmane; and Gynecia hindered them all. If Philoclea hapned to sigh . . . Zelmane sighed also; whereto Basilius and Gynecia soone made up foure parts of sorow (f.65r).

These 'foure parts of sorrow' strongly recall the woodland close of Selvagia's story in Montemayor.¹²⁵ At this point of pastoral convergence, however, Sidney may again be thinking of gardens. A maze is the one garden structure missing from both *Arcadias*.¹²⁶ This might seem odd, since descriptions such as Watson's, which weaves Virgil's 3rd Eclogue into its warning, suggest easy relevance to Sidney's theme:

The labirinthe
 . . . 'stay your step; there is a snake in the grass'. If you veer to the right, you will enter upon a tortuous path and fall into the hazardous wiles of the labyrinth . . .¹²⁷

But the maze may be comprised of Sidney's principal inheritance from Montemayor, the nature of the pastoral action itself: what the *Old Arcadia's* Cleophila describes as 'the daily changing labyrinth' of the love-chain plot (*OA*, 178), and the 1590 editors promote to the chapter-heading 'The Labyrinth of Zelmanes love' (f.64v). *Otium's* disorienting restlessness¹²⁸ takes on one of early modern gardens' most characteristic shapes.

Pyrocles' willingness to get lost in this 'tortuous path', showing his transition from Felismena's position to Selvagia's, suggests a fatal lack of resistance which Sidney also finds other ways to explore. Montemayor subtly outlines the irreducible foreignness of Felismena's character

¹²⁵ Cf. Montemayor, *Diana*, trans. Bartholomew Yong (1598), 23: 'If Ismenia went by chaunce to the fiede, Alanius went after her; if Montanus went to his flockes, Ismenia after him; if I went to the hils with my sheepe, Montanus after me . . . And it was the strangest thing in the world to hear how Alanius sighing saide, Ah my Ismenia; and how Ismenia saide, Ah my Montanus; and how Montanus said, Ah my Selvagia; and how Selvagia saide, Ah my Alanius'. See Chapter 1 above, p.14.

¹²⁶ Henderson, *Tudor House*, 85, 122.

¹²⁷ Biddle, 'Nonsuch', 174, 183n.

¹²⁸ See Chapter 1 above, p.67 and note.

to the pastoral terrain in which she finds herself, but for Sidney's protagonist, carelessness of time is matched by susceptibility to landscape: 'doth not the pleasauntnes of this place carry in itselfe sufficient reward for any time lost in it?', he asks, opening a *locus amoenus* description (ff.37 v -38 r).¹²⁹ He has succumbed to what he later calls 'the nature of this clime' with its propensity 'to stir up . . . Love' (f.58 v). Musidorus agrees: 'since our late comming into this country', Pyrocles has begun to 'leave . . . things undone', and 'let your minde fal a sleepe' (f.36 r).¹³⁰ This infectious side of Arcadia is confirmed by Kalander, who laments its changes since his youth, a time when he 'disdained all chamber delights'; now, however, 'activitie & good felowship' are no longer valued (ff.71 r - v). Kalander's wording suggests that their opposites, idleness and solitariness, have taken over.

Pyrocles' aptness for Arcadian absorption provides him with an unlikely mirror character in Basilius. Lodge and banqueting house, as has been seen, were related and occasionally interchangeable terms. When Pyrocles shrinks aside to the banqueting house with his friend, away from the socialising going on in the main rooms of Kalander's house, and later withdraws himself more completely to the banqueting house-like arbour, early modern readers could read a parallel with Basilius's remove to the desert and its lodge. Both are moves towards solitariness and all that it implies. This seems reflected in these characters' first meeting, unaltered in the revisions, when solitude flickers between them:

Faire Lady (saide he) it is nothing strange, that such a solitary place as this should receive solitary persons; but much do I marvaile, how such a beauty as yours is, should be suffered to be thus alone . . . They are never alone (saide I) that are accompanied with noble thoughts. But those thoughts (replied Basilius) ca[n]not in this your lonelines neither warrant you from suspition in others, nor defend you from melancholy in your selfe (f.59 v).¹³¹

In *The Old Arcadia* Pyrocles' desire for Philoclea prompts him, in Neoplatonic fashion, to become as similar to her as possible. This exchange shows the reverse process at work, as Basilius's desire for Cleophila/Zelmane begins with a distant recognition of likeness.

¹²⁹ *OA*, 15; cf. Chapter 1 above, pp.69-72.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 35.

As well as re-arranging the terms of Guazzo's argument, Sidney swaps his characters' viewpoints. In the *Civile Conversation* it is the "patient", William, who exhibits Stoic traits, his Senecan commitment to productive *otium* making him unhealthily unable to relax. In the *Arcadia* it is the 'Phisition' Musidorus who takes the Stoic position, against his distressed patient's pleading for the 'minde sometime to enjoy it selfe' (f.37r).¹³² Musidorus's willingness to allow positive roles for passions other than love (ff.52r-v) derives from Aristotle, but this is purely theoretical, since love and *otium* are the only live issues in the discussion. It was in any case common for Neostoics to moderate the views of their classical predecessors on the passions; early modern versions of Stoicism were eclectic, and reversion to Aristotle at such points was not uncommon.¹³³ On the things that matter, his arguments and severity of tone are Stoic:

the reasonable parte of our soule, is to have absolute commaundement; against which if any sensuall weaknes arise, we are to yeelde all our sounde forces to the overthrowing of so unnaturall a rebellion, wherein how can we wante courage, since we are to deale against so weake an adversary, that in it selfe is nothinge but weakenesse? (f.52r).¹³⁴

The characterisation of the passions as weakness personified derives from Seneca's *On Anger*, where it rebuts the Aristotelian argument that the passions can usefully add force to actions commanded by reason:

I aske this question, whether shee [anger] be stronger or weaker then reason? If stronger, how may reason . . . restraine her . . . If weake, reason of her selfe is sufficient without her to effect things, neither desireth shee the helpe of so powerlesse a passion.¹³⁵

Seneca, of course, holds the second position, and his characterisation of anger is representative of his thought on the passions in general: '[i]n the beginning each affection is feeble'.¹³⁶ Similarly,

¹³² See note 124 above.

¹³³ Even Lipsius does this, as Giles Monsarrat notes: *Light from the Porch: Stoicism and English Renaissance Literature* (Paris, 1984), 54, 78-9. This may account for Blair Worden's impression that Musidorus has 'got his Aristotle wrong' (*The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven, 1996), 321); see discussion below, pp.129-30.

¹³⁴ *OA*, 19.

¹³⁵ Seneca, *Workes*, trans. Thomas Lodge (1614), 516 (*Of Anger*, 1.8).

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 466 (Epistle 16).

Musidorus's insistences that the only true good lies within, and that inward thought and outward behaviour should be consistent (f.36r), are Stoic commonplaces.¹³⁷

Stoicism plays an important role in articulating the princes' differences. Musidorus thinks that both 'countenance and behaviour' ought always to 'shew forth Images of the same constancy' (f.36r), but Pyrocles' countenance and behaviour – in Musidorus's eyes, as the text makes clear – are showing something like the opposite. Full of 'strange diversities', his complexion is 'oft changing', his body exhibits 'a kind of shaking unstayednes', and his frantic words are 'not knit together to one constant end, but rather dissolved in [them] sel[ves], as the vehemencie of the inwarde passion prevayled' (f.38r). These symptoms of inconstancy correlate with Pyrocles' deviation from their planned itinerary, since the virtuous mind 'findes nothing without . . . for which it should be altered'; it 'doth not easily chaunge any course it once undertakes', but sticks to its 'well chosen course in vertue' (f.36r).¹³⁸ Musidorus continues this argument from constancy in a speech which puns on the directional and recreational senses of 'divert'. Anticipating his friend's resemblance to Basilius, he opposes pastoral leisure to political duty: how can it be right for Pyrocles, 'borne so great a Prince . . . desired of your olde Father, and wanted of your native countrie, now so neere your home, to divert your thoughts from the way of goodnesse; to loose, nay to abuse your time' (f.51r).¹³⁹

THE PAINTED GALLERY

In the *Old Arcadia* Pyrocles and Musidorus have a single argument (*OA*, 12-3), but the *New* splits their confrontation into two parts. The first, similarly to its predecessor, takes place at

¹³⁷ See, for example, *The Mannell of Epictetus*, trans. James Sanford (1567): 'the things which are in us are free and franke by nature . . . But such things as are not in us, bee servile, feeble' (Aviii); 'constancie of maners . . . a rule and fashion, which from hence forth thou shalte observe when thou art alone and when thou art in companie' (f.24r). For discussion of the latter precept, see Chapter 3 below, pp.184-5.

¹³⁸ *OA*, 13, 15-6.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

an unspecified location during their stay with Kalander (ff.36r-[39]r),¹⁴⁰ but the second is relocated to the harbour (ff.51v-56v). It is as though, in the midst of rewriting this scene, Sidney began to feel that the princes' debate, like its Guazzian original, required a setting appropriate to its themes. But the Stoic arguments Musidorus expresses there also look back, towards Kerxenus's gallery. Though *stoa* usually reaches modern English as 'porch', the original *stoa* was imagined to have been a loggia or colonnade.¹⁴¹ In early modern English, this kind of structure was generally called a gallery.¹⁴² The idea of a gallery as a suitable place for paintings is also bound up with this philosophic origin, since the *stoa* of the first Stoics was the Athenian *stoa poikile*, or painted gallery, whose images – which may have been easel paintings or murals – were described by Pausanias and Pliny.¹⁴³ This was the location referred to in Cooper's *Thesaurus* (1565) as the 'Poecile': 'A place in Athens, where the Stoike philosophers dyd reade and teache'.¹⁴⁴ When Anthony Watson suggested that the long gallery at Nonsuch could compare with 'the best of the Greek Galleries', this is likely to have been the building he had in mind.¹⁴⁵ Philemon Holland, in the glossary appended to his 1603 edition of Plutarch's *Moralia*, began his definition of Stoicism with reference to it:

Stoicks, Certain Philosophers, whose first master was *Zeno*, who taught in a certaine spacious gallery at *Athens*, called *Poecile*, for the varietie of pictures wherewith *Polignotus* the excellent painter beautified it: And for that a gallery in Greeke is called *Stoa*, therefore those Philosophers who taught and disputed therein, tooke that name of *Stoicks*.¹⁴⁶

At least one prominent Elizabethan builder envisaged his long gallery as a *stoa poikile*. The gallery that Nicholas Bacon added at Gorhambury sometime between 1574 and 1577, in response

¹⁴⁰ The latter folio is misnumbered as '71'.

¹⁴¹ Bath, 'Seton', 98.

¹⁴² Coope, 'Gallery in England', 446-8.

¹⁴³ The *stoa poikile* has received relatively little attention in this context. The fullest discussion is Bath's ('Seton', 96-100, 106n16). See also Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, ed. and trans. J.G. Frazer, 2nd edn, 6 vols (London, 1913), 2.130-42nn; Coope, 'Long Gallery', 66; Cooper, *Gentry*, 302.

¹⁴⁴ Thomas Cooper, *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae & Britannicae* (1565), O4r.

¹⁴⁵ Cited in Coope, 'Long Gallery', 66.

¹⁴⁶ Plutarch, *The Philosophie, Commonlie Called, the Morals*, trans. Philemon Holland (1603), Aaaaaar.

to Elizabeth's slight, combined many of the themes with which this chapter is concerned.¹⁴⁷ The barrel-vaulted ceiling and windows decorated with birds and flowers recalled its relationship to the 'herber [arbour] or walk of arching trees' that enclosed three sides of the entrance court beyond it. Projecting deep into the garden, with its own separate entrance gate from the first court, it was close to being an independent garden building.¹⁴⁸ Its decor included 'heads and busts of Greek and Roman emperors and heroes', but as well as these typical gallery artworks Sir Nicholas ornamented its walls with Stoic *sententiae*, mostly drawn from Seneca.¹⁴⁹ Though similar inscriptions were to be found scattered throughout Gorhambury and its gardens, they were the gallery's most distinctive feature; Bacon gathered them in an illuminated manuscript at the request of his friend Lady Lumley, the wife of the builder of the Diana grove at Nonsuch.¹⁵⁰

Bacon's *sententiae* manuscript contains a heading marked *De Otio*, and his gallery apparently included three maxims on this topic. Two of these were from Seneca: 'Respite always ought to be given the mind, so that it may thus be restored, not enfeebled', and 'Shake off the defects of leisure by work'.¹⁵¹ The third – further demonstrating its familiarity in this period – was part of the Ennius aphorism preserved in Gellius's *Attic Nights*, discussed in the previous chapter, which constitutes the earliest recorded use of the word *otium*: 'He who does not know how to use leisure is busier than when he is busy with his business'.¹⁵² This theme was important to Bacon. His surviving verse includes lines 'Agaynste Idlenesse' which opened with the rust and stagnancy *topoi*: 'What bringethe ruste to Iron smothe? / Whye stynkethe water that dothe not move?'.¹⁵³ The answer, of course, was *otium*. But leisure was just what Elizabethan long galleries were

¹⁴⁷ On the Gorhambury gallery, see Smith, 'Gardens', 134; Coope, 'Long Gallery' 56-7, 65; McCutcheon, '*Sententiae*', *passim*.

¹⁴⁸ Smith, 'Gardens', 134; McCutcheon, '*Sententiae*', 17.

¹⁴⁹ Smith, 'Gardens', 148, 151-2; McCutcheon, '*Sententiae*', 5, 11-2, 17-8, 29-49. The latter contains a transcript and translation of the *sententiae* (59-91). The description of classical busts is Aubrey's (*Lives*, 14), cited in McCutcheon, '*Sententiae*', 17.

¹⁵⁰ McCutcheon, '*Sententiae*', 1-12, 18.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 77, 91 (from Epistles 15 and 56). All translations are McCutcheon's. It should be noted that the first of these maxims is more grudging than McCutcheon's reference to the unbent bow suggests (*Sententiae*, 77n). Cf. Lodge's translation: 'There must some intermission be granted to the minde; yet so, that it be not given over altogether, but remitted onely' (*Workes*, 188); discussed in Chapter 1 above, pp.58-9.

¹⁵² McCutcheon, '*Sententiae*', 90-1. *Noctes Atticae*, 19.10.12; trans. J.C. Rolfe, rev. edn, 3 vols (London, 1946-52), 3.389. See Chapter 1 above, p.53.

¹⁵³ Nicholas Bacon, *The Recreations of His Age*, ed. Charles Daniel (Oxford, 1919), 3. The title 'Recreations' appears to have originated with Bacon (preface, unpaginated).

designed for, which makes Bacon's choice of *sententiae* sound defensive. They show the tensions that could arise between the recreative functions of such galleries and their Stoic origins. The potential for *ozio onesto* to degenerate into *ozio vile* meant that long galleries were a place where Stoic doctrines might be tested as well as taught.

Bacon's gallery, completed before 1577, was a space Sidney could have known. Another Neostoic gallery that might have influenced him was that depicted in Lipsius's *De Constantia*. This was published in 1584, the year when Sidney's work on the *New Arcadia* probably finished, but Sidney had met Lipsius before that, in 1577, and they stayed in touch until Sidney's death:¹⁵⁴ their acquaintance covers the timespan in which the two *Arcadias* were composed.¹⁵⁵ Lipsius's interest in gardens 'appears again and again in his letters',¹⁵⁶ so it seems conceivable that Sidney might have had a foretaste of *De Constantia*'s garden scenes. Lipsius's garden buildings correlate with Sidney's. His dialogue with Langius begins with a stroll in a gallery, 'as we walked in the portch of his house'.¹⁵⁷ As in the *Arcadias*, however, the opening of *De Constantia*'s second Book replaces the 'portch' with an 'arbour' (66), 'summer-house' (70) or 'bower-house' (71), arrived at, like Kalander's, via a tour of its owner's gardens (59-60). Like Kalander's, this summer-house contains artworks. Rather than hung with painted tables Langius's arbour is 'curiously wrought with sundry pictures cut out of the greene boughes' (66), but the difference may not be absolute, since 'tables', as Susan Foister has shown, could be carved as well as painted.¹⁵⁸

The boughs, however, are a reminder that Langius's garden room anticipates Pyrocles' arbour as well as Kalander's summer-house. Like the Arcadian arbour, this is a space in which certain kinds of conversation seem particularly appropriate. As he and Langius agree to leave the

¹⁵⁴ Jan van Dorsten, 'The Final Year', in *Sir Philip Sidney: 1586 and the Creation of a Legend*, ed. Jan van Dorsten, Arthur Kinney and Dominic Baker-Smith (Leiden, 1986), 16-24 (22-3).

¹⁵⁵ According to the necessarily approximate dates of composition given by the Oxford editors: *Old Arcadia*, 1577-82 (*Old Arcadia* ed. Robertson, xv-xvii); *New Arcadia*, 1582-4 (*The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (the New Arcadia)*, ed. Victor Skretkovicz (Oxford, 1987), xvii).

¹⁵⁶ Mark Morford, 'The Stoic Garden', *Journal of Garden History* 7 (1987), 151-75 (163).

¹⁵⁷ Justus Lipsius, *Two Bookes of Constancie*, trans. John Stradling (1595), 1.

¹⁵⁸ 'Paintings', 275; "Table" was not applied exclusively to paintings on panel . . . and even when painting is referred to . . . the object could have been a piece of painted sculpture'. Kathryn Barron notes that paintings could be described as 'statuary' ('Lumley', 132).

garden and go there to continue their talk, Lipsius, like Pyrocles, acclaims its suitability for the matter at hand:

This is no place fit for our purpose . . . we will at some other time prosecute that argument. Nay, even now (quoth I) for what place is more meete for such wise communication, then that your schoole of wisdom? I mean your faire summer-house . . . (70).

When they arrive, Lipsius jokingly tells his friend to ‘lock fast the doore’ (71). It is tempting to imagine that Pyrocles’ generous offer to Musidorus – ‘you shal have my key to e[n]ter’ (*NA*, f.64r) – shows Sidney failing to get this joke.

Like Sidney, Lipsius describes this arbour in terms that echo Guazzo’s Annibal – and hence further the affinity of privacy between arbours and closets – as a place ‘fit for . . . [the] purpose’ of their intended conversation.¹⁵⁹ Other connections intersect Lipsius and Sidney’s works. Like Sidney’s two pastoral romances, the *Old* and *New Arcadias*, Lipsius’s *Two Bookes of Constance* move from gallery to garden building. In the *New Arcadia*, Kalander’s summer-house replaces Kerxenus’s gallery, but it also recalls it; when the *New Arcadia*’s Pyrocles remembers seeing a portrait of the Arcadian royal family while ‘walking among the pictures’ there (f.57r), he seems to be having a momentary flashback to Sidney’s original text. But Kerxenus’s may not be the only gallery that the Arcadian summer-house recollects. *De Constantia* opens with the conversational strolling for which galleries were designed, but it progresses to something more relaxed:

But tel me, whether had you rather walke or sit? Sitting would please mee best . . . Langius commaunded stooles to bee brought into the portch, and I sitting close by him, hee . . . began his talke in this maner . . . (15).

Musidorus and Kalander’s banqueting-house conversation revolves around a similar moment. In response to Musidorus’s inquiries about the painting, Kalander agrees to tell him the story behind it: ‘So then, sitting down in two chairs, and sometimes casting his eye to the picture, he thus

¹⁵⁹ See above, p.96 and note.

spake: . . .’ (f.11r). Kalander’s seating may have been borrowed from Langius, and it helps to furnish the *Arcadia* with similar concerns. The equivalent moment in *De Constantia* is followed by Langius’s outline of the ‘principall affections which doe greatly disquiet the life of man’ (15). Kalander offers the recent history of Arcadia instead. The parallel strengthens the sense that Basilius’s kingdom has a special connection with questions of emotional ‘disquiet’.

These were present in gardens themselves, as well as their buildings. Sidney’s praise of Kalander’s house has generally been taken at face value by critics,¹⁶⁰ but his garden is full of testing duplicity. ‘[N]eyther field, garden, nor orchard; or rather . . . both fielde, garden, and orcharde’, it is a place where error seems delightfully counterfeited, and where reflections in a ‘shaking’ pond suggest ‘two gardens; one in deede, the other in shaddowes’ (*NA*, ff.9v-10r). *De Constantia*’s second book opens similarly, with a tour of Langius’s gardens followed by a journey to his summer-house; and, like Kalander’s, Langius’s garden seems double-edged.¹⁶¹ On the one hand, he claims, gardens are ‘wholsome withdrawing place[s]’ (65) of ‘harmlesse . . . recreation’ (62) and refreshment (65), far from ‘cities and troublesom assemblies’ (61), or ‘tumults of townes’ (63). But these privileges are easily ‘abuse[d]’ by the ‘*Slouthfulness*’ of ‘idle persons’ (63), who do nothing but ‘sit, walk about the allies, stretch themselves like sluggards, and sleepe’, making their gardens ‘a nurserie of idlenesse . . . a verie sepulcher of their slothfulness’ (64). Langius guards against this possibility by keeping *otium*’s commonplaces in mind:

I find som busines even in the mids of my idlenes; my mind is there busied, without any labour, and exercised without paine. I am never lesse solitarie (said one) then when I am alone: nor never lesse idle, then when I am at leasure. A worthy saying, which I dare swears had his first beginning in these selfe same gardens that I speake of (65).

These Ciceronian inscriptions— unlesurely leisure, unsolitary solitariness —¹⁶² at the centre of Langius’s imagined garden suggest a defensive impulse comparable to that which prompted

¹⁶⁰ E.g. Leslie, ‘Spenser’, 33; J.S. Lawry, *Sidney’s Two Arcadias: Pattern and Proceeding* (London, 1972), 172.

¹⁶¹ On Stoic ambivalence towards gardens, see Morford, ‘Stoic Garden’, 161-3 (where this passage is discussed) and *passim*.

¹⁶² For discussion, see Vickers, ‘*Otium*’, 7, and Chapter 1 above, p.54. Scipio’s paradoxical solitude, as reported by Cicero, is also mentioned by Guazzo (*Conversation*, ff.18v-19r). Lena Cowen Orlin notes that this was also one of the

Bacon to write Ennius and Seneca on the walls of his principal recreative space.¹⁶³ But the tensions could be registered more subtly. When the two friends arrive at Langius's arbour – a 'schoole of wisdom' dedicated to 'diligent and earnest reading' and 'wholsome lessons' (66) – Lipsius's jokes about privacy have a similar effect:

I turning me to the boyes that were there, Hoe sirs (quoth I) stande you and keepe watch. And first of all, lock fast the doore. And heare yee mee? If anie bodie come in hither to us alive, you shall die for it. I will have neither man, nor dog nor woman to be let in . . . (71).

Lipsius is perhaps a little too anxious to establish the absurdity of imagining that Langius's arbour could be private. Like the wholesome lessons, jokes like this may comprise another of those 'weapons in an armorie', which Langius in his arbour keeps 'alwayes ready with me at hand' (66). The threat those weapons are aimed at seems partly sexual. Gardens are 'not for the body, but for the mind: and to recreate it, not to besot it with idlenesse' (65). In his friend's devotion to gardens, Langius fears, this sensual besotting has already occurred: 'I see you love this flourishing purple Nymph, but I feare mee you doate upon her' (63).

GARDEN-HOUSES AND IDLE WOMEN

Galleries and garden buildings were both places where pictures could be viewed and private conversations had, and where *otium's* worse and better sides might strive against each other. There was always the danger that 'wholsom lessons', as Lipsius calls them, might prove merely a 'glorious title to idlenes' of the kind that Pyrocles employs to mask his desire for

emblems written on the walls of Ann Drury's closet (c.1600), though Orlin, consistently with her argument, thinks this room must have been too ostentatious to have been private (*Privacy*, 316).

¹⁶³ The strategy may have been common: Isabella d'Este's *studiolo*, attached to her *giardino secreto* at Mantua, housed Mantegna's *Minerva* (1502). This features a personification of *otium*, wading in a stagnant pond, with nearby advice from Ovid's *Remedia*: 'take away idleness and Cupid's bow is broken'. See Egon Verheyen, *The Paintings in the Studiolo of Isabella d'Este at Mantua* (New York, 1971), 34-5; Vickers, 'Otium', 123-9; Miller, *Caves*, 44. For real-life garden inscriptions by Lipsius and his associates, see Morford, 'Stoic Garden', 151-3.

Philoclea (f.70r).¹⁶⁴ Galleries and banqueting houses shared these tensions, but moving from the former to the latter increased them. What a recent account calls the ‘risqué reputation’ of banqueting houses was emerging into print at the time the *New Arcadia* was being composed.¹⁶⁵ When Phillip Stubbes depicted this problem, he reflected the Plutarchan image of *otium* discussed in Chapter 1.¹⁶⁶ Stubbes’ attacks on maygaming have earned him a place in discussions of pastoral, but his critique of garden buildings has a relevance of its own to the *Arcadia*’s poetics of privacy.¹⁶⁷ One of several alterations to the second edition of *The Anatomie of Abuses* (1583), published only a few months after the first, was the inclusion of a new section denouncing women’s idleness; the 1595 edition awarded it the ironic title ‘The dayly exercises of the Women of England’.¹⁶⁸ Women slept late, took hours getting dressed, then spent the day in tipsy gossip. Stubbes was particularly worried by their habit of ‘sittyng at the doore . . . to make knowen their beauties . . . and to acquainte themselves with the basest fellowes’. Why else, he wondered, would they ‘sitt at their doores, from Mornyng til Noone . . . from Noone to Night, thus vainly spe[n]dyng their golden daies in filthie idlenesse and sinne’.¹⁶⁹

These worrying, erotically charged images of idle women seated in their houses, wasting time, look like exaggerated versions of the ‘fine and daintie dames’ of Plutarch’s *On Tranquillity*: ‘at home doing lyttle, and what they do, they do it syttyng’, yet somehow still managing to function as powerful symbols of passionate disorder.¹⁷⁰ Plutarch offered Laertes’ country retreat as an alternative locus for this kind of unhealthy privacy, and Stubbes similarly continues his diatribe from houses to gardens, and, in particular, the buildings they contain. The hasty addition of this passage suggests the issue was topical. By 1595 its significance had, if anything, increased,

¹⁶⁴ See note 115 above.

¹⁶⁵ Henderson, *Tudor House*, 143; see also Girouard, *Smythson*, 48-9. As well as that of Stubbes, discussed below, further early modern references are collected in Robert Nares, *A Glossary; or . . . the Works of English Authors*, rev. edn, 2 vols (London, 1888), 1.349 (s.v. ‘Garden-House’).

¹⁶⁶ For full discussion, see pp.25-9 above.

¹⁶⁷ E.g. Leah Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvell, and the Defense of Old Holiday Pastimes* (Chicago, 1986), 151, 162.

¹⁶⁸ *The Anatomie of Abuses* (1595), 56. For the editions, see Terry P. Pearson, ‘The Composition and Development of Phillip Stubbes’s *Anatomie of Abuses*’, *Modern Language Review* 56 (1961), 321-32 (321, 326-7, 329-30). The first edition is dated 1st May 1583, the second 16th August of the same year.

¹⁶⁹ *The Anatomie of Abuses*, 2nd edn (1583), ff.47v-48r. Further references are to this edition unless otherwise stated, and will be given in the text.

¹⁷⁰ Plutarch, *Three Morall Treatises*, trans. Thomas Blundeville (1561), Biiir.

since this section was also set off with its own title, ‘Gardens in Englande’.¹⁷¹ The sequence of headings – women’s (lack of) exercise followed by gardens – was suggestive of the ways in which feminine idleness in domestic interiors led naturally to discussion of its outdoor counterpart, the *locus amoenus*, with its similar ethical hazards. To further achieve their lecherous aims, Stubbes observed, these women

have Gardens, either palled or walled round about very high, with their Harbers and Bowers . . . and least they might bee espied in these open places, they have their banquetting houses with Galleries, Turrettes, and what not els . . . wherein they . . . plaie the filthie persons. And for that their Garde[n]s are locked . . . one [key] they keepe for themselves, the other their Paramours have . . . least happely they should be perceived, for then were all their sporte dasht (f.48v).

Lena Cowen Orlin suggests that evidence of multiple keyholders for early modern closets dilutes their privacy, but this passage shows how keysharing could be very intimate.¹⁷² For Stubbes, this kind of garden is the ultimate in privacy; ‘if they can speak with their dearilynges no where els, yet there they maie be sure to meete the[m]’ (f.48v). Its locks and high walls render it a kind of building in itself. But banquetting houses are even more dangerously discreet than the garden’s ‘open places’, its arbours, from which they seem differentiated mainly by opacity. Since the *New Arcadia*’s lockable ‘fine close’ arbour already possesses this quality itself, on Stubbes’ terms it might count as a banquetting house.

Stubbes did not ‘condemne the use of gardens and Garden houses altogether’. When not abused, they were ‘very healthful, comfortable and wholesome for a man’s body’, to the point of being indispensable (f.48v). Teetering between these possibilities, garden rooms recall the different kinds of *otium* exemplified in the work of Bartholomew Yong by contemplative William and amorous Fiammetta.¹⁷³ Arbours could provide an appropriate setting for Langius’s studies in masculinist Stoic rationalism, as well as Pyrocles’ effeminate subjection to his own passions. Lady Elizabeth Berkeley’s banquetting house, built in 1600, served as ‘the retired Cell of her soules Soliloquies to God’, and Thomas Tresham’s similarly-intended Warrener’s Lodge was designed to

¹⁷¹ *Anatomie* (1595), 57.

¹⁷² Orlin, *Privacy*, 306, 313.

¹⁷³ See Chapter 1 above, p.44.

symbolise the Trinity. The use of garden buildings for these contemplative purposes was well-established. Thomas More's chapel and library were situated in his garden, and the Italian villa gardens of the fifteenth century had been an important venue for humanism.¹⁷⁴ The iconographical scheme in the Cavendish lodge at Bolsover playfully combined both aspects, offering guests a choice between the erotic decor of the 'Elysium Room' and a 'Heaven Room' centred on the ascension of Christ.¹⁷⁵ A sense of this duality may also have prompted the creation of the *New Arcadia's* briefly-mentioned priest who accompanies Basilius's retreat, balancing the shepherds' garden sports with the more contemplative side of *otium* (f.16r).

But the more usual connotations of garden rooms were the debauched ones to which Stubbes paid prurient attention. Used wrongly, as it seemed they usually were, these buildings could be 'little better the[n] . . . brothell houses'(f.49r). Sidney anticipates this compromising potential in *The Old Arcadia*, which tells how Gynecia's grandmother once drugged the young nobleman she desired and had him carried to 'a pleasant chamber in the midst of a garden'. When he awoke she told him he had to marry her, 'or else she would presently cry out, and show in what place he was, with oath he was come thither to ravish her'. Garden buildings – 'in what place he was' – helped to make ravishing plausible (*OA*, 415).¹⁷⁶ Long galleries, as Orlin notes, were not exempt from such associations; in Gascoigne's *Discourse of the Adventures Passed by Master F.J.*, a gallery is the principal backdrop for a love affair consummated on its floor.¹⁷⁷ Stubbes' mention of galleries within banqueting houses themselves might suggest similar connotations. But most galleries by their nature offered aural privacy suited to conversation, rather than the visual kind required for sex. The gallery's Stoic origins, however, could lend it a different kind of affinity with questions of the passions. Sidney's revision, like a number of Elizabethan builders,¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁴ Henderson, *Tudor House*, 143, 173; Coffin, *Rome*, 10-1; Geoffrey Tyack, *The Making of the Warwickshire Country House, 1500-1650* (Stratford-upon-Avon, 1982), 38-9.

¹⁷⁵ Raylor, 'Bolsover', 424-30; Henderson, *Tudor House*, 207-8.

¹⁷⁶ A recent discussion is that of David Wood: "[A] Deathful Suck": Passions, Potions, and Poisons in Sidney's *Old Arcadia*, *Prose Studies: History, Theory, Criticism* 28 (2006), 150-67 (158-9).

¹⁷⁷ George Gascoigne, *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* (1577), 233-4; cited and discussed in Orlin, *Privacy*, 242-3.

¹⁷⁸ Examples include William Sharrington at Lacock Abbey (see note X above) and Bess of Hardwick at Hardwick Hall (Fumerton, *Aesthetics*, 114).

superimposes a banqueting house on a gallery. In doing so, it puts flesh on the bones of the gallery's philosophical associations.

HERCULES IN THE GARDEN

The paintings of Kalander's banqueting house, and the statue outside it, share a theme of desire leading people astray. The statue depicts Venus nursing Aeneas; rehearsing his future distraction at Carthage, the baby is absorbed in his mother's beauty, allowing her milk – the water in the fountain – to run to waste. Diana and Actaeon offers perhaps the pre-eminent instance of this theme, and Atalanta's susceptibility to the allure of the golden apples – which betrays her into the erotic subjection of marriage – is another.¹⁷⁹ These pictures anticipate, and help to interpret, what will happen to Pyrocles when he sees the portrait of Philoclea. They are not the only ones, however; there are also 'many mo, as of *Helena, Omphale, Iole . . .*' (f.10r). The last two of these may figure in the same painting – conceivably Sidney would have deleted one of the names in a final draft – since they both figure in episodes from the life of Hercules which were closely linked, and sometimes confused.¹⁸⁰ At their centre was the figure of the transvestite Hercules, a mode of dress he adopted for reasons variously described as penance, enslavement or desire.¹⁸¹ As has often been noted, this space in the descriptions of Kalander's paintings is in a sense filled by the emblem which Pyrocles later wears as part of his own transvestite costume, which depicts just this image of Hercules as 'distaff-spinner' (ff.50v, 52v).¹⁸² But it also shows the

¹⁷⁹ *Metamorphoses* 10.664-80 (ed. cit. trans. Frank Justus Miller, 3rd edn, 2 vols (London, 1977), 2.110-3).

¹⁸⁰ Victor Skretkovicz explores the background ('Hercules in Sidney and Spenser', *Notes and Queries* 27 (1980), 306-10, *passim*), though the distinction between Omphale and Iole here, if there is one, seems less obvious than he asserts (308).

¹⁸¹ See the discussions in John Kirkpatrick and Francis Dunn, 'Heracles, Cercopes, and Paracomedy' *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 32 (2002), 29-61 (36-42); Elmer G. Suhr, 'Herakles and Omphale', *American Journal of Archaeology* 57 (1953), 251-63; M. Davies, 'Lichas' Lying Tale: Sophocles, *Trachiniae* 260ff.', *Classical Quarterly* NS 34 (1984), 480-3 *passim* (especially 482n). Frances Huemer, 'A Dionysiac Connection in an Early Rubens', *Art Bulletin* 61 (1979), 562-74, traces the motif in visual art up to its numerous early modern expressions.

¹⁸² On Sidney's use of this emblem, see Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sidney's Pictorial Imagination*, unpublished B.Litt. thesis (University of Oxford, 1964), 27-31, 37; and Skretkovicz, 'Hercules', *passim*. It does not appear in the *Old*

continuity of the banqueting house's iconography, since this was another story, like Actaeon's, of desire's power to distract and transform.

Hercules was a popular figure in gardens. He dominated one of the most famous Italian examples, the Villa d'Este, where the Diana and Venus grottoes have been considered to represent the virtuous and sensual options which the 'choice of Hercules' offered.¹⁸³ A similar conjunction appears to have featured in the grounds of Nonsuch, where as well as the grove of Diana the accounts of Baron Waldstein and Anthony Watson both mention 'the Labours of Hercules . . . most beautifully portrayed';¹⁸⁴ Watson placed them in the 'Wildernesse'.¹⁸⁵ The Villa d'Este could have influenced the Italophile Lumley's gardens,¹⁸⁶ and Sidney's juxtaposition of Diana and Hercules might have been suggested by either or both examples. Villa d'Este was made famous by Dupérac's widely disseminated engraving of 1572; by the time of Montaigne's visit in 1581 he saw little point in describing it, since it was already so well-known.¹⁸⁷

Accounting for Hercules' prominence in these domestic settings, scholars have turned to the Protestant work ethic, or suggested that the underlying notion of the choice of Hercules praises the garden-owner's personal triumph of virtue.¹⁸⁸ But Hercules also offered a way of talking about rest and pleasure. As Catherine Connors puts it, 'Hercules is a figure so associated with labour that it is exceptional when he does relax and embrace *otium*'; but this makes him, like Socrates, a particularly persuasive example. As well as Baiae, Statius's poem of *otium*, the *Silvae*, describes a temple of Hercules which depicts him in just these terms, as a figure of leisure: 'put by your fierce bow . . . and your club . . . throw off the enemy spread over your stiff shoulders

Arcadia, where Cleophila's emblem is an eagle covered by a dove (27), but Musidorus still accuses his friend of becoming a 'distaff-spinner' (20).

¹⁸³ Coffin, *Villa d'Este*, 70-1, 78-85, 88-9, 94-5, 107; Lazzaro, *Renaissance Garden*, 217. Further Italian examples: Coffin, *Rome*, 98-9, 281, 291, 346; Coffin, *Villa d'Este*, 54, 91; Adorni, 'Bagnaia', 92; Strong, *Garden*, 82.

¹⁸⁴ *Diary of Baron Waldstein*, 159.

¹⁸⁵ Biddle, 'Nonsuch', 175. Further English examples: Howard, *Country House*, 132; Cooper, *Gentry*, 321; Girouard, *Architecture*, 232; Henderson, *Tudor House*, 154-5, 193-5, 197-8, 218.

¹⁸⁶ Edward Chaney, 'The Italianate Evolution of English Collecting', in *Collecting* ed. Chaney, 1-124 (24, 37); Barron, 'Lumley', 125.

¹⁸⁷ Coffin, *Villa d'Este*, 126-7. The Villa's resident humanist was Marc-Antoine Muret, who composed Latin verses that noted its dedication to Hercules. Muret became a close friend of Lipsius, who met him there in 1568; acquaintance with Lipsius might thus also have brought Hercules' garden significances to Sidney's attention. Coffin, *Rome*, 335-6; Morford, 'Stoic Garden', 164-5.

¹⁸⁸ Mercer, *Art*, 126; Coffin, *Villa d'Este*, 78-9, 84; Raylor, 'Bolsover', 410, 414-5.

[the skin of the Nemean lion]. Here are cushions piled high for you . . .¹⁸⁹ The change of dress signified by the removal of Hercules' lion-skin cloak is central here, since the association of Hercules with *otium* was often achieved via the anecdote of his transvestism.

This was well-known in early modern England. Nicolas Udall's 1534 selections from Terence, reprinted throughout the century, described how

Omphale was a mayden . . . whome Hercules dydde love, and to wynde her favour . . . served the same Omphale as hir womman servant, and as if he had bene her bonde mayden . . . she compelled hym . . . to spynne and carde . . .¹⁹⁰

There are numerous other descriptions, some of which, like Stubbes' polemic, recall Plutarch's idle women. Wyatt described them 'syt[ting] watchyng at home occupied i[n] huswifely occupatio[n]s'; Blundeville rendered the same passage as 'tary[ing] at home doinge lyttle, and what they do, they do it syttyng'.¹⁹¹ The 'huswifely occupation' that 'they do . . . syttyng', and which for later translators fails to register as labour at all (Philemon Holland simply has them 'sit[ting] stil within dores')¹⁹² might be spinning. The transvestite Hercules was similarly vulnerable to passions, similarly withdrawn from action, and similarly seated. Spinning might be left to imply this last feature, but some accounts spelt it out. Barnabe Riche (1574) pictured him 'sitt[ing] in womans attyre, at the wheele'.¹⁹³ The anonymous author of *The Deceyte of Women* (1557) recalled Statius as his Hercules 'la[id] a way his yron staffe, wherwith he was wont for to rule the stronge monsters . . . la[id] a way the Lyons skynne'. Suitably feminised by jewellery and hairstyling, Hercules

g[a]ve hym selfe to wome[n]s busynes and ydlenes, in so much that he went and sate among the wome[n] . . . and sate and spon yarne at the dystaffe as the women dyd. Now beholde how the worthy Hercules is brought to femynne workes . . . (Kiv-Kür).

¹⁸⁹ *Silvae*, trans. D. Shackleton Bailey (London, 203), 177 (3.1.34-9); discussed in Connors, 'Leisure', 500-1.

¹⁹⁰ *Floures for Latine Spekyng* (1534), ff.105r-v.

¹⁹¹ Plutarch, *Of the Quyetie of Mynde*, trans. Thomas Wyatt (1528), aivv; *Treatises* trans. Blundeville, Biiir.

¹⁹² *Morals* trans. Holland, 146.

¹⁹³ *A Right Excelent and Pleasaunt Dialogue, betwene Mercury and an English Souldier* (1574), Iir.

Sitting and spinning constitutes women's idle business. Musidorus fills out this Plutarchan picture when he tells Pyrocles his cross-dressed disguise shows how 'effeminate love' makes men 'lauder[s] . . . distaff-spinner[s]; or what so ever Other vile occupation their idle heads can imagin' (f.52*v*). Musidorus may also be recalling Plutarch's catalogue of perturbations – 'griefes, cares, vexations, and discontentments . . . jealousy, superstition, ambition . . . vaine opinions, and conceites, that are almost innumerable' –¹⁹⁴ when he warns the 'womanish' Pyrocles of the 'unquietnes, longings, fond comforts, faint discomforts, hopes, jealousies, ungrounded rages, causlesse yeeldings', to which love, 'engendered betwixt lust and idlenes' is likely to give rise (f.52*r*).¹⁹⁵

Other versions strengthen the connection with idleness. Jean de L'Espine's treatise on *The Tranquillitie and Contentation of the Minde*, translated in 1592, may have had Plutarch's essay on the same topic in mind. The figure of Hercules 'with the distaff in his hand in stead of his club' showed 'what force pleasure hath', but not only pleasure: it was his 'addict[ion]' to 'idlenes, delicacie and ease' which set the seal on Hercules' effeminacy.¹⁹⁶ Timewasting *otium* meant that Hercules' enslavement could also be characterised by carelessness. The 1567 Englishing of *Filocolo* suggested that the transvestism occurred because Hercules 'being enamoured became vile and forgetfull of his force'.¹⁹⁷ Readers of North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives* (1579) learned that it came about through 'negligence . . . delaying time to followe his owne pleasure'.¹⁹⁸ In this respect the most famous early modern reworking of the story, the enslavement of Spenser's Artegall by Radigund, is in fact unusual in its minimisation of the Hercules-figure's desiring complicity.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴ Plutarch, *A Philosophicall Treatise Concerning the Quietnes of the Mind*, trans. John Clapham (1589), Aviiir.

¹⁹⁵ *OA*, 20.

¹⁹⁶ Jean de L'Espine, *A Very Excellent and Learned Discourse, Touching the Tranquillitie and Contentation of the Minde*, trans. E. Smyth (1592), f.101*r*.

¹⁹⁷ *Philocolo* (1567), f.37*r*.

¹⁹⁸ Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes*, trans. Thomas North (1579), 1012.

¹⁹⁹ *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A.C. Hamilton, 2nd edn rev. (Harlow, 2007), Book 5, Cantos 5-8; Artegall's moment of 'pitifull regard' for Radigund's beauty (5.5.13.2) makes him responsible for his own defeat (5.5.20.2); but it remains just that, a moment, and he never actually betrays his Deianeira, Britomart. Spenser's treatment deserves more space than can be accommodated here, but it is worth noting that Britomart's unjustified suspicions of Talus's account of Artegall's plight (5.6.11-16) are likely to derive from Deianeira's wholly justified misgivings about Lichas's similar story in Sophocles' *Women of Trachis*. See notes 181 above (Davies article) and 208 below.

A century earlier, Caxton's version of Lefèvre's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* (1473) showed how the story could also be used to contrast romance scope with domestic confines. Previously Hercules had been 'knowen in ferre contrees and royames in shewyng your vertue'. Deianeira's list of 'the right hyghe and myghty men that thou hast vaynquysshid' noted their farflung locations: Thrace, Libya, Egypt and Spain. Brandishing a romance sword as well as his mythic club, Hercules had 'putte in fere alle the erthe'. But now – 'made a woman and lvy[ing] after the gyse and maner of a woman . . . spynn[ing] on the rocke' – these ranging 'hantysse of armes' had been exchanged for something more limited, 'the onely hauntyse of the cayttyf yole'. Hercules is not just unfaithful, but culpably stationary, 'hold[ing] hym alleway wyth a woman'. Instead of keeping Iole 'in pryson', as he ought, the situation is reversed: 'at her playsir in Chambre pared And in bedde courteyned and hangyd . . . she haldeth yow prysonner'. Iole's chamber of feminising *otium* has become Hercules' luxurious prison cell; the conqueror of the globe is now 'lyvyng in the lappe of a woman'.²⁰⁰ Pyrocles makes a comparable transition, as love for Philoclea leads him from the geographic scope of his romance adventures to the erotically charged precincts of Arcadia's garden buildings.

Hercules Furens, in 1561 one of the earliest of Seneca's tragedies to be published in translation, and placed first in the *Tenne Tragedies* twenty years later, strengthened Hercules' associations with the question of leisure. This was a drama of psychomachia, since Hercules' strength meant that his only worthy opponent was himself: 'seekst thou a matche t'Alcides yet? / Thers none, except hymselfe: let hym agaynst hym selfe rebell' (B8r). The story of Hercules' transvestism, with its temporary victory of the passions, was suited to this theme, but Seneca exploits it, counter-intuitively, to make *Hercules Furens* partly a tragedy of overwork.²⁰¹ Seneca associates the cross-dressing with *otium* early in the play, when Amphitryon uses a version of *ozio onesto* to rebut Lycus's jibes at his son's bout of effeminacy: 'Styll vertue after many woorkes is

²⁰⁰ Raoul Lefèvre, *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, trans. William Caxton (1473/4); ed. cit. ed. H. Oskar Summer (London, 1894), 491-3. Summer includes foliated references to the (unpaginated, unfoliated and unsigned) original as well as page numbers: this passage extends over ff.245r-246r.

²⁰¹ As G. Karl Galinsky notes: *The Herakles Theme: the Adaptations of the Hero in Literature from Homer to the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 1972), 170.

woont releaste to bee' (F2r). The temporary female identity merely signifies the restorative leisure of which Hercules, with his perennial labours, stands in particular need. But Amphytryon's defence prefigures what Seneca intimates, with dramatic irony, to be a cause of the tragedy. Hercules' first words on his return from Hades are to demand more labours: 'Appoynte, yf ought be more, doste thou my hands so long permyt / Juno to ceasse? what thing bydst thou to be subdued yet?' (Gr). Amphytryon again recommends rest: 'Desyre that nowe thy father [Jupiter] ende at laste / Thy labours all: lette quyetnesse [*otium*] At length yet gyven bee, / And rest to weery folke' (I5r). But Hercules succumbs, instead, to child-killing madness. For Hercules, as for Seneca, relaxation and effeminacy seem dangerously close.²⁰² In the less personally revealing form of drama, Seneca perhaps allows himself to imagine the costs of that perception. The bent bow has snapped.

Seneca makes Hercules, at different times in his career, a figure for the dangers of overwork as well as those of relaxation. Guazzo viewed him in a similar context. All three of the works that Bartholomew Yong translated contain references to the transvestite Hercules; this implies not that Yong had a special interest in this episode as such, but rather that the theme that did engage Yong's interest, *otium*, was likely to carry the cross-dressed Hercules in its wake. Venus describes the Hercules who 'spun on Iole her distaffe' to persuade Fiammetta that even the most virtuous had allowed themselves to be swayed by love (ff.12v-13r). In a slighter reference, Alonso Perez's scrappy continuation of the *Diana*, included in Yong's edition, retold the story from Ovid's *Fasti* of how Pan, attempting rape, had mistaken the sleeping cross-dressed Hercules for his lover Omphale; exemplifying the general confusion, Perez substituted Iole in this anecdote as well.²⁰³ The most significant use from a Sidneian perspective, however, is Guazzo's, which replaced the more usual Socrates with 'the invincible Hercules, who for recreatio[n] sake used

²⁰² See Chapter 1 above, p.30; and below, pp.132-3.

²⁰³ *Diana*, 250. *Fasti*, 2.303-58 (ed. cit. trans. James George Frazer (London, 1967), 78-83).

sometime to play with his little children' (f.117r), as his principal figure of *ozio onesto*. As Olmsted notes, this seems likely to have influenced Sidney's depiction of Pyrocles as a 'Hercules at play'.²⁰⁴

HERCULES, OTIUM AND DUTY

Echoes of Hercules are heard in both *Arcadias*. In the *Old*, Pyrocles' female emblem is different, but Basilius becomes associated with Herculean devices. The bed-trick in the cave (*OA*, 225) compares him to the *Fasti's* Pan, and the love-potion that proves deadly (*OA*, 278-9) recalls *The Women of Trachis* or its Senecan successor, *Hercules Oetaeus*.²⁰⁵ These relatively passive borrowings reinforce the link between Basilius and Pyrocles, as the revising Sidney transfers mythic attributes between them. They are overshadowed, however, by Hercules' crucial role in articulating the significances of the *New Arcadia's* plot; and the *Civile Conversation* again has a role to play in interpreting this change of emphasis, not, on this occasion, in terms of what Sidney takes from it, but in terms of what he leaves behind.

Guazzo distinguishes his intermediary closet from the 'privie chambers and studies' of melancholy retreat, but Sidney collapses this by making the arbour both the setting for the princes' conversation and the 'melancholy retiring place' that Pyrocles favours. Making the physician-figure rather than the patient the advocate of Stoic rigor is of a piece with this. So too is the fact that the argument for moderate relaxation – the unbent bow – is placed in the mouth of a less credible spokesperson, someone who is already suffering from passionate disturbance himself; and the fact that it is used merely tactically, as a 'glorious title' to mask Pyrocles' feminised, unheroic desire.²⁰⁶ These three changes conspire to remove the hopeful Guazzian

²⁰⁴ 'Doctor', 165.

²⁰⁵ Sophocles, *The Women of Trachis*, ll.565-85, 600-15, 670-700, 749-805; ed. cit. trans. Hugh Lloyd-Jones, rev. edn (London, 2002), 184-5, 186-9, 192-5, 200-5. Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus*, trans. John Studley, in *Tenne Tragedies* (1581), ff.187r-217v (ff.196v-197r, 199v-200r).

²⁰⁶ Skretkovicz argues that naming Omphale rather than Iole in the *New Arcadia* dignifies Pyrocles by making him a less willing victim of passion: 'Hercules', 309. The confusion between them seems too messy and widespread for this to be persuasive.

possibility of *ozio onesto*. In Guazzo, banqueting houses, long galleries, eclogue performances and the discussion of artworks might have been expected to provide just that, but in Sidney these too are all aligned with ‘solitariness’ and its compulsive perturbations. This lack is equally noticeable in Sidney’s use of Montemayor. Pyrocles’ equivalent in the *Diana*, Felismena, adopts a wary approach to pastoral that enables her to use it to restorative effect, helping her to achieve objectives that lie outside it. Sidney seems unable to imagine that possibility. In the *Arcadias*, it seems, there is no such thing as a safe dose of *otium*. A single taste and Pyrocles is hooked.

Without the recourse of ‘honest leasure’,²⁰⁷ Sidney needs a new solution to the problem of *otium*. The transvestite Hercules offered one possible answer, because Hercules’ effeminacy also had an aspect of duty. In some sources it was motivated by atonement rather than desire, because Hercules had killed Iole’s brother, Iphitus, in a particularly treacherous way, taking advantage of his momentary distraction.²⁰⁸ As North’s translation of Plutarch’s *Lives* put it, ‘after that [Hercules] . . . had slayne Iphitus with his owne handes . . . he served Queene Omphale a long time, condemning him selfe unto that voluntarie payne, for the murder he had committed’.²⁰⁹

In the *New Arcadia*, Sidney makes Pyrocles’ transvestite period a comparable act of atonement for the death of the original Zelmane, whose story is not revealed until the middle of the book, as he recounts his adventures before arriving in Arcadia. Zelmane falls in love with Pyrocles in Iberia, where she frees the princes from Andromana. She then falls ill and dies while serving Pyrocles disguised as a boy, Daiphantus; her dying wish is for Pyrocles to take this name in memory of her when he arrives in Greece (ff.198r-206r). Pyrocles does this, but he also seems to interpret this request in a broader sense. Calling himself Zelmane and taking transvestite disguise in his own love-pursuit seems an extension of it, and so does his love for Philoclea itself.

²⁰⁷ Guazzo, *Conversation*, f.118r.

²⁰⁸ *Women of Trachis*, ll.248-90 (ed. cit. trans. Lloyd-Jones, 154-9); Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.6 (ed. cit. trans. Robin Hard (Oxford, 1997), 84-6); see also *Odyssey*, 21.20-30 (ed. cit. trans. A.T. Murray, rev. edn, 2 vols (London, 1995), 2.310-3). Sidney could have known Apollodorus as well as Sophocles: the first printed edition of the *Bibliotheca* appeared in Rome in 1555 (Aubrey Diller, ‘The Text History of the *Bibliotheca* of Pseudo-Apollodorus’, *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 66 (1935), 296-313 (308-9)).

²⁰⁹ *Lives* trans. North, 4.

It seems difficult – though critics often achieve it –²¹⁰ to ignore the fact that in the *New Arcadia* the principal motivation for this is Philoclea’s resemblance to Zelmane. She ‘muche resembl[es] (though I must say much surpass[es]) the Ladie Zelmane, whom too well I loved’ (f.57r), notes Pyrocles as he retells the moment he fell in love with Philoclea to Musidorus, confirming his friend’s suspicion that ‘the picture of Philoclea (in resembling her he had once loved) . . . [has] aw[o]ke[n] againe that sleeping passion’ (f.50r).²¹¹

One effect of this is to relocate the reasons behind Pyrocles’ pastoral detour outside Arcadia, in the romance sections of Sidney’s work, indicating a new continuity between romance and pastoral. Though it still looks like an impediment to duty, Sidney’s plot twist reveals that this new Arcadia is really a part of it. But resolving the tensions between pastoral and romance creates new and stranger ones between Philoclea and Zelmane. These reach a height after Pyrocles has told Philoclea Zelmane’s story, when he offers a brilliantly misconceived reassurance: ‘somewhat shee did resemble you: though as farre short of your perfectio[n], as her selfe dying, was of her flourishing’. This comes close to saying that the ‘perfection’ which Philoclea possesses and Zelmane falls ‘farre short of’ is the simple fact of being alive. What follows seems similarly to skirt around the truth: ‘if my starres had not wholly reserved me for you, there els perhaps I might have loved, & (which had bene most strange) begun my love after death’ (f.206r). But loving Philoclea to keep faith with, and make up for, the original Zelmane and her death, seems exactly what Pyrocles is trying to do.

Pursuing Philoclea is as dangerous in the *New Arcadia* as in the *Old* – the bathing-place at Ladon is a particularly prohibited area, where trespassing carries an automatic death sentence (f.149r) – and dying for love as Daiphantus cross-dressed as Zelmane would effect a mirror-image of Zelmane’s own death. It would pay the debt of guilt. This guilt may also be related to *otium*. Brian Vickers observes that ‘a general sense of guilt . . . attended many manifestations of

²¹⁰ An exception is J.S. Lawry, but even he sees no tensions here (*Pattern*, 187-8).

²¹¹ *NA*, ff.50r, 57r, 71r.

otium in the Renaissance'.²¹² In this period, loss of time and loss of life could seem comparable. In the *Old Arcadia*, the princes' procrastination risks collateral damage as well as their own punishment – the death of Erona (*OA*, 70) – and this reflects a broader sense that idleness had mortal risks. Baldwin's *Moral Philosophy* called it an 'infectuous canker' which 'shortlye destroyeth both soule and bodye': '[i]dlenes is called the grave of living men: it is a thing, wherin life dieth. And thereby the soule of man is twice buried in him, once in his boddy, and next in his slouth'.²¹³ Like so many of *otium*'s commonplaces, this had a long history: Seneca's 82nd Epistle ('Against . . . effeminate life, and sluggish idlenesse') described idle retirement as 'a death, and the sepulchre of a living man'.²¹⁴ But descriptions like this cast idleness as more than just a death: it was an especially ignominious kind of suicide achieved through mere negligence, a self-murder that carried all the responsibility and none of the glory. Fulfilling Seneca's requirements, on the other hand, also required a kind of killing: the 'extirpation' of those potentially faithful servants, the passions.²¹⁵ This was an ethic that made some kind of culpability hard to avoid.

Pyrocles' responsibility for Zelmane's end seems uncertain, but her death is only the summation of a larger sequence which gives him a number of further reasons to feel guilty. This sequence begins when Pyrocles leaves Musidorus's side for the first time, in a deliberate effort to prove himself alone (f.181r). This leads him into the orbit of the seducer Pamphilus (f.181v), whom Pyrocles naturally despises, but with whom his interactions are oddly ineffectual. He frees him from his female victims (f.182r), enabling Pamphilus to kidnap and almost rape one of them; Pyrocles has shamefully to break off his fight with Anaxius to save her (ff.186r-187r). But success is temporary here as well, since she is killed while trying to save Pyrocles during an ambush

²¹² '*Otium*', 129. His example is Isabella d'Este's *studiolo*: see note 163 above.

²¹³ William Baldwin, *A Treatyce of Moral Philosophy* (1564), ff.55v, 208v. The first passage occurs in Thomas Paulfreyman's prologue to Baldwin's work.

²¹⁴ *Workes*, 340.

²¹⁵ 'Extirpate' carried murderous meanings: 'exterminate, or totally destroy (a class, sect or nation) . . . To do away with . . . (a specified class of persons)' (*OED* 3a, 3b). It was often used of the passions, frequently with a plea for mercy against the rigours of *apatheia*: e.g. Valerius, *The Casket of Jewels* (1571), *Avv* ('to extirpat incestuous concupiscence'); Plutarch, *Morals* trans. Holland, 76 ('passions . . . ought not to be extirped utterly, but hath neede onely of ordering and government'); Edward Reynolds, *A Treatise of the Passions* (1640), 48 (untamed *Affections* . . . requireth amendment, not extirpation). See also Henry More, *Conjectura Cabballistica* (1653), 206: 'how [can] . . . the Kingdome of Heaven . . . within us . . . be any Kingdome at all, if there be no Subjects at all there to be ruled over, and to obey. Wherefore the Passions of the Body are not to be quite extinguished, but regulated, that there may be the greater plenitude of life in the whole man'.

(f.190*v*), a condensed anticipation of what will happen to Zelmane, who saves Pyrocles from Andromana before dying in his service. Later, just before their encounter with the disguised Zelmane, the princes meet with another of Pamphilus's abandoned women. Pyrocles considers but abandons the idea of finding and fighting Pamphilus on her behalf, for the unconvincingly self-promoting reason that 'it shoulde be a gayne to him to lose his life, being so matched'. As a result, all the princes can do is tie up Pamphilus's loose ends, escorting Leucippe to a nunnery (ff.199*r*-200*r*). Between these events the princes are captured by the sexually rapacious Andromana, who tries to persuade them to a *menage a trois* (ff.192*r*-193*r*). Though unsuccessful, her proposal seems representative of this section's tone.

Critics have found that tone surprising;²¹⁶ like the affinity between Basilius's lodge and Pyrocles' harbour, it presents challenges to the widely-held view that the *New Arcadia* makes the princes more heroic. As this chapter has been arguing, however, disreputable eroticism is one of the things that a move towards solitariness, even when undertaken for such a heroic motive as proving one's abilities 'without . . . company' (f.181*r*), is likely to promote. Its importance is signalled by the name of Pamphilus's chief victim, Dido, who in Pamphilus, as she ironically observes, has found a 'false *Aeneas*' (f.184*v*). Glints of the original epic romance flicker through the low comedy of this part of Sidney's narrative. Like Zelmane's story, they send the reader back to the start; in this case, to the Aeneas fountain that marks Pyrocles' gateway into Arcadia (f.10*r*).²¹⁷ Shaming himself by quitting his duel with Anaxius to rescue her, Pyrocles becomes a truer Aeneas in two ways: truer in the sense of 'more honourable' in his behaviour towards Dido, but also truer to the model of the original Aeneas, postponing epic imperatives for the sake of a woman. Unfortunately for Sidney's Dido, this fidelity to the source also requires her to die in a way for which her new Aeneas, Pyrocles, seems ambiguously responsible.

²¹⁶ Nancy Lindheim, *The Structures of Sidney's Arcadia* (Toronto, 1982), 101-3; D.M. Anderson, 'The Dido Incident in Sidney's *Arcadia*', *Notes and Queries* NS 201 (1956), 417-9 (418-9). Anderson's conclusion revealingly flies in the face of his argument: 'To show us Pyrocles unremittingly noble and generous in a setting of passion and treachery, he could have found no better incidents than these . . .' (419).

²¹⁷ As Lindheim notes (*Structures*, 200n), the princes are also compared earlier to 'Ulysses and Aeneas' (f.141*v*). This passing reference is less relevant to the present argument.

Dido initially tells Pyrocles about Pamphilus as a warning not to follow his example, noting flirtatiously that Pyrocles is ‘like enough to have the power (if you would have the mind) to do much more mischief’ (f.182 ν). J.S. Lawry is right to note the significance of this, but too quick to assume that the aversion is successful.²¹⁸ As with Pyrocles’ awkward explanation of his feelings about Zelmane to Philoclea, the denied alternative story seems, instead, close to what actually happens. Pamphilus represents that unacknowledged aspect of Pyrocles’ own personality which propels him, first with Dido and then with Zelmane, to take over Pamphilus’s role.²¹⁹

Sidney’s Zelmane plot-twist has not received the attention it deserves. It makes the *Arcadia* another of those ‘exceptional’ romances described by Helen Cooper, which have the quality of changing completely between first and second reading.²²⁰ Reading about Zelmane in the middle of Sidney’s unfinished work sends his readers searching back to piece together the hints scattered through the preceding pages:²²¹ as Musidorus observes, ‘cleere understa[n]ding’ can fail when ‘those things we account small, as a speech, or a look are omitted’ (f.56 ν), and the *New Arcadia* may be unique for its time in demanding this kind of attention, and using what that attention discovers to express such complex psychological effects. Those effects become Sidney’s way of controlling *otium*. Pyrocles’ transvestite pastoral recreations may be an evasion of patriarchal and political duty, but they turn out to be performed in the service of a more pressing duty, a duty to the dead.

Strephon and Klaius’s opening scene works to establish this. Its significance can seem obscure,²²² but one of the functions of this passage is to prepare the ground for the revelation that will take place at the centre of the work. Focussing this event, it explains that doing justice to

²¹⁸ *Pattern*, 231.

²¹⁹ Similarly to the Spenserian antagonists described by William Oram: characters who represent the ‘irrational, appetitive part of [one]self’ (‘The Invocation of Sabrina’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 24 (1984), 121-39 (131)). Christopher Tilmouth’s account is closer again to mine: ‘an image and anticipation of one part of his fractured self, a figure which he duly becomes. In attempting to deny and escape his carnality, he has driven himself towards it all the more fully’ (*Passion’s Triumph over Reason: a History of the Moral Imagination from Spenser to Rochester* (Oxford, 2007), 39). Tilmouth is discussing Red Crosse and Sansfoy.

²²⁰ *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford, 2004), 47.

²²¹ One of the more subtle is Pyrocles’ early question to Musidorus, ‘who knowes better then you the just causes I have of sadnes?’ (f.37 ν), which must refer to Zelmane; the only line Sidney adds to his original in this passage.

²²² Katherine Duncan-Jones discusses the issues: ‘Sidney’s Urania’, *Review of English Studies* NS 17 (1966), 123-32 (*passim*).

the memory of an absent lover takes effort. This was an obvious opportunity for Sidney, like Sannazaro, to draw on the tradition of pastoral lament, but the task of remembering Urania makes Strephon and Klaius curiously unpastoral. Significantly, they have to leave Arcadia to perform that task, in the strife-torn terrain of Spartan Laconia. ‘Remembrance’ is hard work. An ‘over-busie’ and ‘restless’ practice, it ‘claymes . . . dutie’ from them which, far from representing an indulgence of personal desires, makes them ‘forget our selves’. Invoking two of the areas of experience traditionally opposed to *otium*, commerce and law,²²³ they describe Urania’s remembrance as a rent, in respect of which they are summonsed to ‘the court of affection’. Desire to make themselves worthy of Urania robs them of *otium*, rather than being a product of it; it forces them to study while other shepherds are sleeping or playing games; it leaves them without ‘holiday’, ‘pastime’ or ‘rest’ (f.1*v*). Their effortful remembrancing lends Pyrocles’ later rebuttal of his friend’s Stoic disapproval an unexpected cogency (f.54*r*).²²⁴ As he angrily observes, this kind of love has nothing to do with idleness.

OTIUM, EFFEMINACY AND GARDEN BUILDINGS.

Reading Sidney’s pastoral romance from the perspective of *otium* yields results which further the arguments of a number of recent studies of Arcadian emotions. Wendy Olmsted’s persuasive thesis is stronger than she realises; the textual connections between Yong and Sidney substantiate the Guazzian link that she intuits, completing a circle of texts that link both Sidney’s and Montemayor’s pastorals to Guazzo’s theme of leisure.²²⁵ Following that theme from the *Old Arcadia* to the *New*, however, allows a prominence to the spatial aspect of *The Civile Conversation’s*

²²³ Law: *Remedia Amoris*, ll.136, 150-1 (ed. cit. *The Art of Love, and Other Poems*, trans. J.H. Mozley, rev. edn (London, 1985), 188-9): ‘first of all, shun leisure . . . give the empty mind some business . . . There are the courts, there are the laws’. See also Statius, *Silvae*, 3.5.85, 87 (ed. cit. trans. D. Shackleton Bailey (London, 2003), 231): ‘the leisure of a quiet life . . . no laws unsheathed’. The great example of *otium’s* opposition to commercial activity is the money-lender who is revealed to be the speaker at the close of Horace’s 2nd Epode (‘Beatus Ille’).

²²⁴ *OA*, 22.

²²⁵ See pp.95-6 above.

discussions that matches that of the affective elements with which Olmsted is concerned. It also leads to less optimistic conclusions. From a modern standpoint Musidorus's readiness to tolerate, and then participate, in his friend's emotional turmoil is easy to applaud. But to early moderns it is likely to have made him seem a radically less effective therapist than his Guazzian predecessor, Annibal. It also, as Sidney writes his way further into the *New Arcadia's* complicated confines, leaves Pyrocles with no way out.

Other critics have noticed Sidney's interest in idleness. Garrett Sullivan's study of intensified idleness, sleep, asks how 'Sidney come[s] to associate sleep with love[,] . . . passions and transformation?', since it seems 'counterintuitive to link . . . bodily stasis with the kind of powerful changes undergone by Pyrocles'.²²⁶ The present argument differs from Sullivan's in stressing the differences between romance and pastoral elements rather than eliding them, but *otium* has the combination of stasis and perturbation that Sullivan's question looks for. Stagnant waters – and, for early moderns, stagnant humours – disquietingly seethe. Love, like rust, makes its home in the idle, and changes them.

The most important study of moral philosophy in the *Arcadias*, however, remains the closing chapters of Blair Worden's *The Sound of Virtue*.²²⁷ Since, although our readings have much in common, Worden's conclusions differ significantly from mine, testing our arguments against each other may help to sharpen both. Like Sullivan, Worden is an acute reader of Sidney's idleness, alert to the personal as well as the political dimensions of 'indolent ease' and 'sleep' (300). His closing arguments, drawing on the Languet correspondence, zero in on Languet's language of *otium*; wary of 'the sweetness of . . . retirements' and concerned by Sidney's endorsement of 'dignified ease', Languet accuses him of 'fly[ing] from the . . . court . . . to the privacy of secluded places to escape . . . affairs'. Wilton is 'that hiding place of yours'; can it be honourable, Languet asks, for Sidney to 'lurk' there? 'Lurk', of course, is Pears' translation, but Worden intuitively grants this word an Arcadian relevance – 'Musidorus lurks too . . . Pyrocles,

²²⁶ 'Romance, Sleep, and the Passions in Sir Philip Sidney's *The Old Arcadia*', *English Literary History* 74 (2007), 735-57 (736).

²²⁷ Worden, *Virtue*, 297-354.

lurking too' – which the *Civile Conversation* supports.²²⁸ 'Idle merchauntes', Annibal observes, 'lurke loyteringlie', 'covertly lurking'. Lurking, like solitariness, is another term in the early modern lexicon of 'evill leasure'.²²⁹

Otium also offers further support to the link between the *Arcadias*' public and private themes which Worden aims to establish. The Phagonian and Enispian rioters,²³⁰ for example, suggest Roman anxieties about idle mobs. Vickers cites Livy – 'inaction, as usual, stirred up talk among the common people' (*Otium, ut solet, excitavit plebis rumores* (26.26.10)) –²³¹ and Tacitus:

When a province, not properly ruled, is dominated by *segnitia* rather than *labor* and *virtus*, then 'mutiny and trouble' can be expected . . . 'bands of armed men, with nothing to do', Tacitus observes, 'easily become riotous' (*otiosae porro armatorum manus facile lasciviunt*).²³²

Tacitus is talking about soldiers – perhaps worrying that the restlessness of the *Iphigeneia*'s chorus might turn ugly –²³³ but he is reflecting more general concerns about popular unrest when people have too much leisure.²³⁴ Basiliius's abandonment of proper rule for *otium* makes riotous consequences predictable. Sidney's interest in this kind of question provides another reason for his choice of the genre characterised by *pastor otiosus* to set alongside what Worden calls the 'ageless tradition' (11) of pastoral political allegory, but these reasons are far from mutually exclusive. The critique of *otium* lends independent support to Worden's thesis from more than one angle.

Though Worden is alert to what idleness neglects, however, he does not discuss the discourse of *otium* that takes it as a phenomenon in its own right, with its own distinctive capacities to perturb, stagnate and corrode. This is because the critique of *otium* is a Roman phenomenon, and Worden assumes that Sidney must be taking his bearings from Aristotle. The justification for this seems broad: '[w]hen we want to understand a writer's thinking in the

²²⁸ *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet*, trans. Steuart Pears (London, 1845), 155, 184-5; cited and discussed in Worden, *Virtue*, 313-4.

²²⁹ Guazzo, *Conversation*, ff.3v, 19r.

²³⁰ *OA*, 123-32; *NA*, ff.214v-221v.

²³¹ 'Otium', 15.

²³² Vickers, 'Otium', 35; citing Tacitus, *Germania*, 49.

²³³ See Chapter 1 above, p.67.

²³⁴ As Vickers discusses: 'Otium', 15-6.

Renaissance we usually need to go back to Aristotle' (301); '[f]or Sidney, as for most writers of the Renaissance, the public world and the private world are to be interpreted within a common vocabulary: the Aristotelian vocabulary . . . ' (320). This version of Aristotle is inclusive, however. When Musidorus tells Pyrocles to command his passions absolutely,²³⁵ Worden thinks he has 'got his Aristotle wrong' (321), but he also describes Musidorus as an 'orthodox Ciceronian' (25), and claims that 'Sidney's ethical system is Ciceronian, sometimes sternly so' (315). This opens the possibility that, rather than misconstruing Aristotle, Musidorus is drawing on the Stoicism for which Cicero is an important source,²³⁶ but the split between these schools over the uses of the passions is not apparent from Worden's discussion: no reader of *The Sound of Virtue* would imagine that Seneca ever wrote to Lucilius 'Against the Peripatetickes . . . [whose] opinion proceedeth from effeminate-ness'.²³⁷

The failure to discuss this famous, foundational conflict seems odd, but it allows combinations of Aristotelian and Stoic thought that might otherwise feel less comfortable. Worden's idea of Stoicism tends to emphasise tranquillity and self-sufficiency – 'the pursuit of internal virtue' –²³⁸ at the expense of the ethos of public service and psychomachia stressed by scholars such as Brian Vickers and Gilles Monsarrat.²³⁹ This helps his study towards its conclusion that Sidney is teaching us to have 'the courage to "stand alone"' (354); a very different argument to that presented here, which aligns Sidney with Guazzo's critique of solitude. Worden acknowledges that Sidney does have 'much to say against solitariness', but he makes the interesting point that 'his most . . . public-spirited characters – Euarchus, Kalander, Philanax – are also solitary agents, leading, it seems, solitary lives, their solitariness marking their self-sufficiency' (334). This kind of solitariness is good: it 'casts us on our own resources and tests them. If those resources are infirm, sociability will not make up their deficiency' (335). Pyrocles'

²³⁵ *NA*, f.52r; *OA*, 19.

²³⁶ Monsarrat, *Porch*, 9-10, 25-30.

²³⁷ Workes, 466 (Epistle 116).

²³⁸ *Virtue*, 338. See also the caustic review to which Worden refers his readers (*Virtue*, 33n): 'Constancy', *London Review of Books* 5 (10th January 1983), 13-4).

²³⁹ Vickers, 'Otium', 31-4; Monsarrat, *Porch*, 17.

decision to leave Musidorus's side to fight Anaxius is the example, though Worden doesn't pursue what happens next.

But if solitariness is ultimately good, why does Sidney use it with such frequency as a negative epithet? He rarely calls Kalander or Euarchus or Philanax solitary.²⁴⁰ Perhaps, by his standards, they aren't. Philanax is a vital cog in the machinery of government. Euarchus's rule links a number of Greek states, including Arcadia, by means which range from direct rule (Thrace) to loose alliance (Arcadia);²⁴¹ he values the role of his 'neighbours' in the 'universal case of Greece . . . their united strength' (*OA*, 358-9). Kalander is the epitome of hospitality, with contacts and influence in both Arcadian and Laconian politics.²⁴² These qualities might be more important in the definition of early modern solitariness than lack of close friends and family. Basilius is prominently surrounded by his family, but he is also the character Sidney most often calls solitary.²⁴³ This kind of solitariness is defined in relation to civic and political activity, and, relatedly, to particular kinds of space, rather than by the number of people within one's vicinity. This is because it derives some of its meaning from the discourse of *otium*. Scipio was equally determined to be never busier than when he was at leisure and never less solitary than when he was alone.²⁴⁴ Leisure time, when the grip of social structures loosens and people get left to do what they want, shades easily into solitariness as well as idleness.

Reading Sidney from the Guazzian perspective consistent with his suspicions of solitariness does not suit easily with a reading based on Aristotelian moderation. What stands out in the comparison with the *Civile Conversation* is just the opposite: these works' refusal of a Guazzian middle ground, their strained exclusion of *ozio onesto*, that sociable midpoint between melancholy and overwork which Arcadia looks so much like, but which Sidney steadfastly refuses to allow it to become. When Sidney tries to write a version of Guazzo's conversational closet, he

²⁴⁰ An exception is Kalander's arrival at Basilius's camp during the siege, 'wery of his solitary life' without the company of his son or guests (*NA*, f.323v). Rather than associating him with solitude, however, this shows his inability to tolerate it.

²⁴¹ *OA*, 10, 351, 358-9; *NA*, f.64v.

²⁴² For his Laconian influence see *NA*, f.21v.

²⁴³ See note 119 above.

²⁴⁴ See note 162 above.

constructs Zelmane's melancholy arbour. When he tries to resolve the nagging problem of the princes' leisure, he replaces it with the extraordinary labours of Pyrocles' guilt. The gulf between action and idleness bleakly persists.

Similar disjunction marks Pyrocles' transvestism. Worden suggests that he is learning Aristotelian acceptance of his "feminine", passionate side (326-8), but here, as elsewhere, the argument relies substantially on the fact that Aristotle is in the early modern atmosphere which Sidney must be breathing. This is hard to argue with, but the specifics suggest that the Roman critique of *otium* exerts a more shaping pressure on Sidney's texts. Privacy, idleness and effeminacy all point in this direction. Worden's Aristotelian commitments are strong enough to make Musidorus's reaction to Pyrocles' transformation look like Aristotle gone wrong, but this significant misreading overlooks the significance of the transformation as well as the reaction. Seneca's obsessive anti-feminism makes the more-or-less literal threat of effeminacy seem ever-present, a threat which is virtually inseparable from *otium*. Pyrocles' clothing and Arcadia's ease do as much as Musidorus's rationalism to place the princes' argument in Stoic terrain.

As Brian Vickers shows, *otium* was a quality of places as well as people. Some areas, similarly to Arcadia, exerted a lazy, feminising influence that diverted people from their proper, warlike tasks. Baiae, *otium*'s most famous location, was one of these. '[S]o effeminate a place' reminds Seneca of Capua, where Hannibal's army – on leave, the original sense of *otium* – went to seed.²⁴⁵ 'Wee must likewise play the souldiers', he concludes, but without ever allowing ourselves such dangerous leisure;²⁴⁶ 'life . . . is but a warfare', and those who 'repose themselves' while others fight 'are effeminate and nothing worth'.²⁴⁷ If this recalls the princes' unchivalrous disguises, Seneca also relates effeminacy to diversion. 'Keepe on the course thou hast begun', he advises, anticipating Musidorus, 'and compose thy selfe in this habit of life temperately, not effeminately. I had rather thou shouldest live ill, then effeminatly'.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁵ Vickers, 'Otium', 17-9.

²⁴⁶ *Workes*, 244 (Epistle 51).

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 412 (Epistle 96).

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 340 (Epistle 82).

Other instances are broader; for Seneca, effeminacy came easily to mind. ‘Our minds’, he observes, are ‘made effeminate by too much repose’;²⁴⁹ ‘[v]ertue is . . . more familiar with labour and sorrow . . . [than] effeminate felicitie’.²⁵⁰ The passions are ‘an effeminateemie’,²⁵¹ easily conquered, so a friend can be criticised for ‘endur[ing] thy sonnes death so effeminately’.²⁵² More literal versions occasionally surface: ‘Seest thou not’, he asks anxiously, ‘that if the mind languish, the members are weakened . . . And if it be effeminate, how the infirmitie thereof appeareth even in the walking?’²⁵³ And sometimes what emerges is just straightforward disgust: ‘Seeme they not in thy judgement to live contrary to nature who are as effeminate in their garments as women? . . . What thing can be more miserable or more horrible?’²⁵⁴

Any attempt to locate the ethical vocabulary that stands behind Pyrocles’ female disguise and its links to idleness needs to consider Seneca. Thomas Lodge’s translation of *De Beneficiis* is particularly suggestive in this respect. Linking these themes to gardens, it suggests what early modern readers of the *Arcadia* might have been likely to find:

all your pleasure and delight, is to accustome your delicate bodies to a lazie idlenesse, . . . resembling that of sleepe, to couch and lie hidden under a close covert and arbor, . . . which you call tranquillity . . . in the caves and cabinets of your gardens. Contrariwise, we feele a pleasure truly worthy a man in giving benefits . . .²⁵⁵

Lodge amplifies Seneca’s references to gardens and genders. The words rendered by the Loeb translator as ‘covert of thick shade’ become ‘close covert and arbour’; ‘secret retreats’ become ‘caves and cabinets’. Pleasure ‘at the price of labour’ becomes ‘pleasure truly worthy a man’.²⁵⁶ That pleasure is the pleasure of benefits, ‘from whence friendship’, Seneca asserts, ‘taketh his original’:²⁵⁷ this is the manly sociability that effeminate idleness opposes. The *New Arcadia*’s garden buildings, and the effeminate transformation they inspire, suggest contexts of Stoic

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 664 (*Of the Constancy of a Wise Man*, 10).

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 66 (*Of Benefits*, 4.2).

²⁵¹ Ibid., 618 (*Of Blessed Life*, 11).

²⁵² Ibid., 418 (Epistle 99).

²⁵³ Ibid., 459 (Epistle 114).

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 485 (Epistle 122).

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 73 (*Of Benefits*, 4.13).

²⁵⁶ *Essays* trans. Basore, 3.231.

²⁵⁷ *Workes*, 29 (*Of Benefits*, 2.18).

stringency rather than Aristotelian accommodation. *The Sound of Virtue* is right to see Sidney as wistfully fascinated by the possibilities that transformation allows, but wrong to imagine that by the end of his experiments in pastoral romance he has written his way to an ethics that can safely include them.

3. The Politics of *Otium*: William Browne.

William Browne's eclogue collection *The Shepherds Pipe* (1614) has played an important part in recent discussions of seventeenth-century pastoral.¹ Browne's translation of Gomberville's prose romance, *Polexander* (1647), by contrast, is one of his least-known works. On the face of it, *Polexander* and *The Shepherds Pipe* could hardly be more different; indeed, *Polexander's* difference from the rest of Browne's oeuvre has sometimes caused his authorship to be questioned.² *The Shepherds Pipe* opens with an ostentatious affirmation of English poetic tradition by quoting part of a poem by the medieval poet Hoccleve; *Polexander's* original is the work of a contemporary French author. Where *The Shepherds Pipe* deals with contemporary political events, including the imprisonment of Browne's fellow-poet George Wither on suspicion of libel, *Polexander's* entirely fictional and unashamedly escapist narratives centre on the king of the Canary Islands and his adventures around the globe. Browne's eclogues are short poetic dialogues in the style of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* (1579); *Polexander* is lengthy, and composed entirely in prose. *The Shepherds Pipe*, along with *Britannia's Pastorals*, opens Browne's poetic career; the posthumously published *Polexander* closes it.

This chapter will suggest, however, that comparing the first of Browne's eclogues, itself largely composed of quotation from another poet, to the translation that became his final work, reveals a number of themes in common. These themes reveal important aspects of Browne as an author; of relations between members of the "Spenserian" poetic group, in which he was a prominent figure;³ of developments in seventeenth-century concepts of pastoral; and of that century's changing configurations of the relationship between politics and emotion. Drawing on

¹ Michelle O'Callaghan, *The 'Shepherd's Nation': Jacobean Spenserians and Early Stuart Political Culture, 1612-25* (Oxford, 2000) 26-62; David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance*, rev. edn (Oxford, 2002), 186-7. See also O'Callaghan, 'Now thou may'st speak freely': Entering the Public Sphere in 1614', in *The Crisis of 1614 and the Addled Parliament: Literary and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Stephen Clucas and Rosalind Davies (Aldershot, 2003), 63-80 (63, 72-4).

² See below, pp.163-4 and note.

³ The possibly unhelpful label, now in standard use, is defined in Joan Grundy's study *The Spenserian Poets: a Study in Elizabethan and Jacobean Poetry* (London, 1969), 3, 42-3.

the works of others to express his own concerns, a typical pastoral gesture,⁴ Browne turns to Hoccleve's *Series* (c.1420) and Gomberville's *Polexandre* (1638) for similar reasons. Both works deal with tensions between public and private worlds. At the centre of each lies a protagonist's withdrawal to bedchamber (the eclogue) or closet (*Polexandre*), where the destabilising effects of *otium* make their presence felt. Bringing pastoral into contact with this motif of withdrawal once more, the links between Browne, Hoccleve and Gomberville have much in common with those between Montemayor, Guazzo and Boccaccio discussed in Chapter 1. In both cases early modern and medieval works, and pastoral and domestic versions of retreat, converge around the theme of *otium*'s dangerous attractions.

But Browne's eclogue adds a new kind of location, Wither's prison-cell, the real-life setting for which his pastoral dialogue functions as metaphor. This introduces a political theme; and politics is also to the fore in *Polexandre*, where the Elizabeth-like Alcidiana, virgin queen of a pastoral island, 'privily withdrawes' to maintain her independence in the face of internal and external threats.⁵ In these works, *otium* becomes bound up with questions of resistance and assimilation: for characters like Alcidiana and George Wither (in his variously authored shepherd *personae*), pastoral represents a political choice of uncompromised independence. This sounds appealing, and critics have read the *Shepherds Pipe* eclogue on just these lines. But the reading offered here is different. It suggests that, in these pastoral contexts, that choice becomes contaminated by the negative effects of *otium*, so that political autonomy appears in a less favourable light: as an unsustainable, self-destructive condition which needs to be overcome.

⁴ Paul Alpers notes that '[t]he pastoral poet depends on prior usages and texts . . . Literary shepherds often recall and sing for each other the songs of their masters and predecessors . . . In uttering words attributed to Daphnis, Mopsus takes on a role fundamental to the Virgilian shepherd'. *What Is Pastoral?* (Chicago, 1996), 81; see also 3-6, 84. Similar arguments are advanced by Andrew Ertin, *Literature and the Pastoral* (New Haven, 1984), 132-3, 154-6; Judith Haber, *Pastoral and the Poetics of Self-Contradiction: Theocritus to Marvell* (Cambridge, 1994), 18-20, 22-3; William Kennedy, *Jacopo Sannazaro and the Uses of Pastoral* (London, 1983), 6-7.

⁵ See below, p.169.

BROWNE AND THE SPENSERIAN

Norbrook's *Poetry and Politics* cast Browne and Wither as prominent members of a 'poetic "opposition"' who expressed their discontent using 'Protestant pastoral'; *The Shepherds Pipe* was 'a kind of poetic manifesto'.⁶ Michelle O'Callaghan's book-length study developed this analysis. Authors of a cluster of interrelated works published around the important historical juncture of 1614, Browne and Wither were at the forefront of a closely-knit group of oppositional poets.⁷ Together with their fellow 'Spenserians' John Davies of Hereford, Christopher Brooke, and William Ferrar, they established a model of collective authorship and veiled reference to current affairs that removed pastoral from self-indulgent, private concerns and brought it into a proto-Habermasian public sphere, making it a vehicle for political debate rather than personal expression. Eschewing subjective lyricism, '[t]he Spenserian shepherd-poet . . . donned the spiritual and political armour of the questing knight'.⁸

O'Callaghan reads the Spenserians' significance in terms of publicness and privacy: *The Shepherds Pipe* is seen as 'mov[ing] pastoral out from the semi-private space of the cabinet and into the public domain' (50), or 'mov[ing] . . . private discussion between friends into the realms of public debate' (55). Publicising Wither's case, it helps to bring what might otherwise have remained 'a private concern' to 'circulat[e] in the public domain' (53), part of the larger process whereby 'private forms, such as pastoral . . . were invested with a public relevance by these Spenserian poets' (5). Drawing on the language of contemporary agrarian unrest to describe this dynamic strengthens the link between pastoral, privacy and *otium* still further: the Spenserians were reacting against pastoral's 'poetics of enclosure', 'a privileged, exclusive space' containing values such as 'retirement, leisure and ease', in order to make it more public and political (22-3). Perceptive and groundbreaking as they frequently are, at these moments O'Callaghan's arguments

⁶ Norbrook, *Politics*, 175, 186.

⁷ O'Callaghan, *Nation*, 29-31; O'Callaghan, 'Public Sphere' 63-80; Norbrook, *Politics*, 183-6, 188-9.

⁸ O'Callaghan, *Nation*, 3-8, 10-3, 23-4. Further references will be given in text or footnotes as appropriate.

are undermined by their proximity to early modern suspicions of *otium*; suspicions whose political thrust, this chapter will argue, was often far from oppositional.

The Shepherds Pipe's first Eclogue brings together with unusual clarity the three features that have been seen to define Spenserian pastoral: political reference, in its discussion of Wither's imprisonment; poetic community, by being cast as a dialogue between shepherds who represent Browne and Wither themselves; and the patriotic appropriation of English poetic tradition, in the extended quotation from Hoccleve which forms its centre.⁹ I will argue, however, that it has been assumed too easily that this is where the significance of Browne's medieval source begins and ends. The influence of the *Series* on Browne's eclogue is both more pervasive and more specific than has been realised. This, in turn, has implications that affect our understanding of what Browne may have been trying to say to Wither, implications which complicate the picture of political solidarity within a Spenserian poetic community that both Browne's and Wither's collections seem at first glance to present.

THE SHEPHERDS PIPE ECLOGUE

The most intriguing feature of Browne's eclogue is the Hoccleve poem at its centre. This inset poem is presented as the "song" that one of Browne's shepherds, Roget, is persuaded to sing for his companion. Browne's use of Hoccleve has generally been assimilated to what is assumed to be his oppositional and patriotic political stance. Norbrook mentions it in the course of a discussion of Wither's awareness of earlier traditions of prophetic poetry; the implication, though oblique, is that the Hoccleve quotation springs from a similar political impulse.¹⁰

⁹ *Ibid.*, 121-5.

¹⁰ Norbrook, *Politics*, 187.

O'Callaghan, building on Richard Helgerson's influential study, describes it as part of a 'nationalistic project' to build the 'kingdom of our own language'.¹¹

From this angle, including Hoccleve also looks typically pastoral. Browne's eclogue extends diachronically and synchronically to build the sense of poetic community characteristic of this genre; ties with a contemporary fellow-poet, Wither, are matched by those with an illustrious predecessor, Hoccleve.¹² Browne follows the model of the poem which originates pastoral, Theocritus's first Idyll – itself imitated in Virgil's fifth Eclogue – in which the inset song mourns the shepherd-hero Daphnis.¹³ Browne pays a comparable tribute to the master-poet Hoccleve, himself said to have been taught by Chaucer, as Browne is careful to point out.¹⁴ The rustic diction and covert political reference, meanwhile, suggest the nearer model of *The Shepheardes Calender*. Effectively the inaugural poem of the Spenserian poetic collective, Browne's eclogue works hard to confirm this group's pastoral identity.

Browne's interest in native poetic traditions, as O'Callaghan observes,¹⁵ seems evident here. His eclogue also sustains poetic lineage in a practical sense, since this is one of Hoccleve's very few appearances in print before the eighteenth century.¹⁶ Browne had assembled what he considered to be a complete set of Hoccleve's works in manuscript, and promised in an endnote to publish more of them if this foretaste went down well with his readers, though this intent was never fulfilled.¹⁷ His extended quotation from the *Series* was thus a significant contribution to the preservation and transmission of English poetic tradition, accomplished via an important topos of classical pastoral. The length of this poem, as well as its position at the opening of the collection, indicates its importance. Its 796 lines make it over half as long again as its nearest

¹¹ O'Callaghan, *Nation*, 61; cf. Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago, 1991), 1-18.

¹² On the importance of communal bonds, past and present, in classical pastoral, see Alpers, *Pastoral*, 80-93, 171; and Andrew Ertin, *Literature and the Pastoral* (New Haven, 1984), 152-7.

¹³ Cf. Alpers' discussion: *Pastoral*, 82-93.

¹⁴ *The Shepheardes Pipe*, C7r. Further references appear in text or footnotes as appropriate.

¹⁵ *Nation*, 123.

¹⁶ The others occurred in collected editions of Chaucer; few shared Browne's interest in Hoccleve, as A.S.G. Edwards notes: 'Medieval Manuscripts Owned by William Browne of Tavistock,' in *Books and Collectors, 1200-1650*, ed. Colin Tite and James P. Carley (London, 1996), 441-49 (443-4).

¹⁷ *Shepheardes Pipe*, C7r.

competitor, the Wither eclogue that ends *The Shepherds Pipe*; none of the other poems contain more than 260 lines.

Browne's sense of literary history, however, is allied to more pressing concerns. His shepherds represent the real-life poets Wither (Roget) and Browne himself (Willie), and the pastoral scene is overshadowed by the former's imprisonment. The reasons for this remain unclear, but it clearly had something to do with Wither's 1613 collection of satires *Abuses Stript, and Whipt*, which included corrupt courtiers among its targets.¹⁸ That these attacks were generalised rather than aimed at specific individuals apparently proved no defence; like Jonson's Scrivener, Roget is accordingly wary of state-decipherers and politic picklocks.¹⁹ '[N]o sooner can I play / Any pleasing roundelay', Roget complains, 'But some one or other . . . / . . . Will say, by this, he me / Meaneth . . .'. All he has to do is sing about an ass, and someone will 'take it / As his proper name' (B2r).

Willie sympathises; such nervous reactions only serve to show the guilty consciences of Roget's detractors (B2r). But he refuses to give up. Perhaps, he suggests, Roget could avoid danger by singing something different altogether, 'some other kind of lore':

Sing of love, or tell some tale
Praise the flowers, the Hills, the Vale
Let us not heere idle be . . . (B3r).

Roget agrees,²⁰ and the song he performs in response is the Hoccleve excerpt that takes up most of the remainder of the poem. This is a faithful transcript of the untitled final section of the *Series*; it will be labelled here 'Jonathas', after the protagonist whose adventures it describes. At its close, the two shepherds praise the song and discuss its author, a 'Scholler unto Tityrus [Chaucer]'

¹⁸ J. Milton French, 'George Wither in Prison', *PMLA* 45 (1930), 959-66; Allan Pritchard, 'Abuses Stript and Whipt and Wither's Imprisonment', *Review of English Studies* NS 14 (1963), 337-45; Norbrook, *Politics*, 187-8; O'Callaghan, *Nation*, 29-30; O'Callaghan, 'Wither, George (1588-1667)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/29804>, accessed 13 March 2012].

¹⁹ *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), in *The Alchemist and Other Plays*, ed. Gordon Campbell (Oxford, 1995), Induction.122-3.

²⁰ It may seem as though Roget rejects the suggestion of a change of 'lore'. He replies, 'Though it would besee me more / To attend thee and thy lore: Yet least thou might'st find in me / A neglect of courtesie, I will sing . . .' (B3r). But this responds to Willy's offer to sing for Roget in return ('Next day I will sing to thee' (B3r)). Roget means that he would prefer to listen to Willy's singing, rather than sing himself.

(C6v). Browne's endnote then identifies his source more clearly: 'Thomas Occleve . . . composed first this tale, and was never till now imprinted. . . . Hee wrote in Chaucers time' (C7r).

Beyond this point, however, the sense of English poetic tradition becomes more complex. The problem here is the nature of the 'Jonathas' story. Browne's rustic mannerisms intensify at the start and end points of 'Jonathas'. Roget introduces it as 'what I did leere / Long agon in Janiveere / Of a skilfull aged Sire' (B3r-v), using more self-consciously archaic diction than that found elsewhere in the poem. When he has finished, Willie's acclamation is full of the clichés of rural sports: 'Jonathas' would go down well at 'Whitson-ale[s] and 'revell day[s]', and might even win a dance 'With our Lady of the May'. If Roget will teach it to him, he shall have 'the best cosset in my fold', as well as the Theocritean 'mazor' (C6r-v). But these invocations of pastoral Englishness seem prompted by, and really only serve to highlight, the highly un-English (and un-pastoral) nature of 'Jonathas', a story whose nineteenth-century editor thought similar to those of the *Arabian Nights*.²¹ If Browne's aim was to articulate a sense of national identity, it would be difficult to think of a more unlikely selection from Hoccleve's *oeuvre* with which to achieve it. Immediately after the cosy evocation of 'Janiveere', comes a switch of location and culture as abrupt as that shortly to be effected by Jonathas's magic carpet: 'Whilom an Emperour . . . / Raigned in Rome . . .' (B3v). At the close, Willie's anticipation of a charmed Lady of May also seems optimistic, since Roget's story ends with Jonathas disembowelling the woman who betrayed him.

Between these points, 'Jonathas' tells a story which Hoccleve lifted, with few changes, from the medieval collection known as the *Gesta Romanorum*. The youngest son of a Roman emperor inherits only a magic ring, brooch and carpet. Each is tricked from him in turn by his lover, who leaves him stranded at the ends of the earth with the aid of the carpet. Wandering there, he eats two kinds of fruit and passes through two rivers: in each case, the first inflicts terrible injuries and the second heals. He keeps samples of the fruits and waters, enabling him to cure of leprosy a nearby ruler whose castle is surrounded by the severed heads of those who

²¹ Sidney J.H. Herrtage, *The Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum* (London, 1879), 481n.

previously tried and failed. Jonathas is now able to return home where, unrecognised, he sets up as a doctor. Called on to cure his former lover, he has his revenge by poisoning her with the deadly fruit and water, with horrific results: 'Her wombe opened, & out fell each in traile' (C5*v*). By discreetly ending here, Browne, unlike Hoccleve, omits the story's closing moralisation, which spells out its theological implications: the power of penance and 'holy communioun' to overcome the flesh (ll.713, 722).²²

Browne's use of 'Jonathas', then, is odd in a number of ways. Placing what is essentially an exotic romance at the centre of a pastoral, rather than vice versa, seems intuitively wrong; the closing image of internal rupture suggests something of the struggles of Browne's pastoral frame to accommodate 'Jonathas's gory imagery and geographic scope. Stranger still, however, in a poem addressed to the Spenserian with 'the greatest investment in a Protestant prophetic tradition',²³ are the confessional implications. The *Gesta Romanorum* was an integral part of the pulpit literature of the medieval church, and the early reformers had seen it as particularly disreputable.²⁴ In 1541 the reformist bishop John Scory condemned 'preachers [who] brought in their sermons *Gesta Romanorum*, persuading the people that it was the gospel or the Bible'.²⁵ In *Yet a Course at the Romyshe Foxe* (1543) John Bale similarly condemned such 'bokes of catholyk lernynge', along with 'holye water and sensynge p[ro]cessyo[ns] and massynge'.²⁶

One didn't have to be an ideologue like Bale to disapprove. Erasmus was equally scornful of preachers who 'come foorth with some foolissh tale taken out of Vitas patrum, or gesta Romanorum, moralisyng the same bothe Allegorically, Tropologically, and Anagogically';²⁷ these were 'thynges to the shew', rather than 'suche as are in deede' (liii*r*). Reformed preachers were

²² I cite the most recent complete edition of *The Series*, which is included in Thomas Hoccleve, *My Compleinte' and Other Poems*, ed. Roger Ellis (Exeter, 2001), 113-260. It should be noted that the title *Series* is a modern invention. Ellis retains Þ and 3, and preserves Hoccleve's usage of u/v and i/j; both have been modernised here.

²³ O'Callaghan, *Nation*, 60. Norbrook notes, however, 'a distinctly Arminian cast' in Wither's later willingness 'to modulate his prophetic voice into ceremonial forms' (*Politics*, 216). But he had shown little sign of this by 1615.

²⁴ On the medieval popularity of this 'homily-book', see G.R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1961), 14 and *passim* (especially 149-209).

²⁵ J.S. Brewer *et al*, eds, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, 21 vols (London, 1862-1910), vol.18 pt 2, 304. Reference from Susan Wabuda, 'Bishops and the Provision of Homilies, 1520 to 1547', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 25 (1994), 551-66 (559).

²⁶ Discussed in Wabuda, 'Homilies', 559.

²⁷ *The Praise of Folie*, trans. Thomas Chaloner (1549), Niv*v*.

accordingly quick to distance themselves from ‘the gestes romanorum, legenda aurea, [and] other such lyes’.²⁸ By 1614 these ‘bokes of catholyk lernynge’ had probably, as one older critic notes, lost much of their ‘original flavor of piety’;²⁹ they would have looked more like secular romances than ideologically tainted preaching materials. But as secular romances went, they were as far from Wither’s principles as it was possible to get. Wither had, in fact, declared his distaste for this kind of literature even on purely formal grounds. Determined to be ‘so plaine, that the bluntest Jobernole might understand mee’, in *Abuses* he had made clear his disdain for ‘darke *Parables*’, ‘fained *Allegories*’, and ‘adventerous’ romances.³⁰ His was a poetics of deeds rather than shows.

Bringing Hoccleve to print and putting his words in Wither’s mouth was potentially a powerful idea. It might have seemed a quietly striking appropriation of cultural authority. But Browne could easily have picked a different poem to achieve this, since as his endnote observed he had ‘the rest of his workes, being all perfect in my hands’. These included Hoccleve’s best-known poem, *The Regement of Princes*, which, unlike his copy of the *Series*, Browne annotated extensively.³¹ For a civic-minded poet aiming to move pastoral into the public sphere while consoling a victim of a corrupt court, this work in the *specula principum* tradition would have been the obvious one from which to quote. Browne’s failure to choose it suggests his aims may have been different.

If the choice of ‘Jonathas’ as an inset within Browne’s consoling address to Wither seems difficult to explain, however, the decision to draw on the *Series* as a whole makes more sense, since this is a poem-sequence whose unifying conceit is a dialogue between a distressed poet and his friend.³² This simpler connection between Browne’s medieval source and his contemporary theme has not previously been recognised; the ostentation with which Browne signposts the

²⁸ Robert Wisdom, in Emmanuel College Library, Cambridge, MS 261, f.95r; cited in Wabuda, ‘Homilies’, 559.

²⁹ Beatrice Daw Brown, ‘Exemplum Materials Underlying *Macbeth*’, *PMLA* 50 (1935), 700-14 (700).

³⁰ *Abuses Stript and Whipt* (1613), Bv, Xv. Erasmus’s ironic praise of *Gesta*-type allegories seems relevant: ‘too too are thei deceived, who wene that mans felicitee consisteth in thinges selfe, and not rather in the opinion how the same are taken. In as muche as in all humaine thynges, there is so great darkenesse and diversnesse, as nothyng maie be clerely knowne out, nor discovered: lyke as truely was affirmed by my Academicall philosophers’ (*Folie*, Iiiir).

³¹ Edwards, ‘Manuscripts’, 443; this is now Bodleian MS Ashmole 40. Lee Patterson notes the *Regement*’s greater popularity: ‘Beinecke MS 493 and the survival of Hoccleve’s *Series*’, in *Old Books New Learning: Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Books at Yale*, ed. Robert Babcock and Lee Patterson (New Haven, 2001), 80-92 (82).

³² An influential account of Hoccleve’s poem notes its affinity with Boethian *consolatio*: J.A. Burrow, ‘Hoccleve’s *Series*: Experience and Books’, in *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, ed. Robert F. Yeager (Hamden, 1984), 259-73 (268).

‘Jonathas’ quotation has actually served to obscure the wider dependence of his eclogue on Hoccleve’s poem-sequence as a whole, and in particular on its earlier sections. To explore the full significance of this link, it will first be necessary to set out the relevant aspects of the *Series* in detail.

HOCCLEVE’S *SERIES*

The *Series* is made up of five poems. The first two, ‘My Compleinte’ and ‘A Dialogue’, purport to be scenes from Hoccleve’s life; the fourth is a translation of an *ars moriendi* treatise by Henry Suso; and the third and fifth are both versions of stories from the *Gesta Romanorum*, the last of these being ‘Jonathas’. The sequence is unified by introductory passages before the third and fifth poems, as well as a similar interpolation at the close of the third, that link them to the first two.³³ These linking sections play a needed role, since there is a marked difference between the opening ‘Compleinte’ and ‘Dialogue’, whose originality and highly personal tone have often been observed,³⁴ and the adaptations and translation that make up the remainder. The overarching conceit that remedies this is that of a poem being written at the same time as it is being read. The first poem, a monologue narrated by Hoccleve himself, thus becomes the subject of discussion in the second, as Hoccleve discusses this most recent work of his with an acquaintance, and wonders what he ought to write next; the upshot of this debate being represented, ostensibly, by the following three poems.

Both opening poems centre around Hoccleve’s state of mind. In the first, ‘My Compleinte’, Hoccleve describes a bout of mental illness that he suffered some years previously

³³ ‘Dialogue’, ll.820-6; ‘Fabula de Quadam Imperatrice Romana’, ll.953-78; ‘Jonathas’, ll.1-84.

³⁴ J.A. Burrow observes that ‘no English writer had attempted such a full representation of anxiety . . . our first chronicler of private worries’: ‘Experience’, 268. Lee Patterson also notes the unusual psychological and autobiographical intensities: “‘What is Me?’ Self and Society in the Poetry of Thomas Hoccleve”, *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 23 (2001), 437-72 (437); and ‘Beinecke MS’, 84. Not everyone agrees: Stephen Medcalf’s convictions about medieval psychology lead him to the odd conclusion that, unlike twentieth-century writers, ‘Hoccleve is innocent of [psychological] extremities . . . his style is public’. ‘Inner and Outer’, in *The Later Middle Ages*, ed. Stephen Medcalf (London, 1981), 108-71 (133).

(ll.36-51). While the illness itself has passed, he claims, it has left him with a pervasive fear that others continue to doubt his sanity (ll.85-93). This fear appears severe enough to be counted a kind of mental disorder in itself. Suffering from socially disabling levels of self-consciousness and feeling himself comprehensively rejected by the world, Hoccleve avoids company and spends time alone in his room practicing “normal” expressions in his mirror, a scene that has drawn particular attention from recent critics.³⁵ In the ‘Dialogue’ that follows, he is joined by a second character, an unnamed ‘friend’, to whom he defensively asserts the completeness of his recovery from his earlier madness, and the robustness of his present state of mental health³⁶ – assertions about which the Friend clearly has some reasonable doubts.

‘My Compleinte’ thus offers a ‘poetics of enclosure’ that is distinctly lacking in that sense of privileged relaxation that O’Callaghan’s term suggests.³⁷ Hoccleve’s paranoia makes his chamber, with the parody of company that the mirror provides, a haven from the frightening ‘prees’, or crowd, that fills London’s streets and bustles around his workplace at ‘Westmynter Halle’.³⁸ The significance of this boundary is stressed at the start of ‘A Dialogue’, when the Friend, who hasn’t seen Hoccleve in three months, has to knock repeatedly before Hoccleve will open, and seems admitted only with reluctance.³⁹ Surrounded by the pressure of the press, the chamber seems at once protective and confining, an impression redoubled in language that compares Hoccleve himself to a locked room. Fear of being misunderstood by the ‘prees’ leads to a self-silencing that is also a form of imprisonment: ‘Forwhy [therefore], as I had lost my tungen keie, / Kept I me cloos [shut], and trussid me my weie [packed myself away]’.⁴⁰ In ‘A Dialogue’, the Friend recalls these words, and the withdrawal they imply, as he advises against circulating ‘My

³⁵ Discussions include Matthew Boyd Goldie, ‘Psychosomatic Illness and Identity in London, 1416-21: Hoccleve’s *Complaint* and *Dialogue with a Friend*’, *Exemplaria* 11 (1999), 23-52 (38-41); D.C. Greetham, ‘Self-Referential Artifacts: Hoccleve’s Persona as a Literary Device’, *Modern Philology* 86 (1989), 242-51 (247-8); Ethan Knapp, *The Bureaucratic Muse: Thomas Hoccleve and the Literature of Late Medieval England* (Pennsylvania, 2001), 169-71; Patterson, ‘Beinecke MS’, 84. Fiammetta similarly confronts in her bedroom mirror a face so ‘altered’ by emotional stress that she ‘doubt[s], whither it was my face or no, which I sawe in the Glasse’, possibly suggesting a common symptom of mental disorders associated with privacy. Boccaccio, *Amorous Fiammetta*, trans. Bartholomew Yong (1587), ff.57v-58r; see Chapter 1 above, pp.21-5.

³⁶ ll.60-4, 85-98, 365-9.

³⁷ See p.137 above.

³⁸ ‘Compleinte’, ll.72-3, 191; see also ll.64-93, 120-93.

³⁹ ‘Dialogue’, ll.2-14.

⁴⁰ ‘Compleinte’, ll.144-5.

Compteinte’, for fear that it will only exacerbate perceptions of Hoccleve’s mental fragility. Rather than sending this work ‘for to goo / Amonge ye peple’, he suggests, Hoccleve should ‘Kepe al that cloos’ (ll.23-4, 28). His argument against an alternative poetic project, the dangerously depressing *ars moriendi* translation, is similarly expressed: ‘that purpos caste out of thy myndes cheste’ (l.301).

Passages such as this reinforce the continuity between ‘A Dialoge’ and the theme of isolation and confinement that dominates the poem that precedes it. But ‘A Dialoge’ also shifts this topic towards questions of poetic style; the majority of the poem is taken up with discussion of what, and how, Hoccleve ought to write, a question closely related to the issue of his mental state. This is uppermost in the Friend’s mind as he advises against Hoccleve’s first two suggestions as to what his next openly circulated work ought to be: the confessional ‘My Compteinte’ will only confirm Hoccleve’s association with madness, while the proposal to translate Suso will be so arduous, and involve such depressing material, as to invite a relapse.⁴¹

Hoccleve refutes these objections with some heat,⁴² and the Friend shifts their conversation towards Hoccleve’s patron Humphrey, duke of Gloucester (ll.526-34), to whom Hoccleve is ‘in dette’ of a book (l.532). He suggests Hoccleve write something in praise of women (ll.667-798); this will have the dual benefit of pleasing Humphrey, who enjoys female company (ll.701-8), and helping to absolve Hoccleve of another stain lingering from his past, charges of misogyny that greeted his earlier translation of Christine de Pizan’s *L’Epistre de Cupide* (ll.754-6). The result is the first of the two *Gesta* tales, the story of the virtuous wife of Jereslaus, which follows ‘A Dialoge’. The Suso translation comes next, despite the Friend’s misgivings, reflecting an element of stubbornness in Hoccleve’s self-portrait (he has of course already included, by sleight of hand, the other poem that the Friend advised against publishing, ‘My Compteinte’). The introduction to ‘Jonathas’, the final poem, describes it as a concession to the Friend – Hoccleve himself had intended to make Suso the closing section – who wanted a work

⁴¹ ‘Dialoge’, ll.18-35, 295-315, 369-419.

⁴² Ibid., ll.35-98, 316-68, 420-48, 456-84.

to warn his son against riotous living.⁴³ As J.A. Burrow notes, this seems to mark a positive transition in Hoccleve, cleverly guided by the Friend; beginning the sequence in paranoid isolation, he ends it as a sage adviser.⁴⁴

The question of what Hoccleve ought to write, then, is bound up with worries about how his works will be received. These anxieties prompt a more general discussion of the competing claims of spontaneity and artifice in literary composition. These are already at stake in the conceit that structures the *Series*, in which the poem portrays its own composition as it takes place: an unusually artful way of creating that impression of immediacy which the confessional tone of the opening serves to enhance.⁴⁵

Yet this immediacy seems to be just the quality of ‘My Complaunte’ to which the Friend principally objects. Though, in ‘A Dialoge’, Hoccleve passionately defends such intimate disclosure as a topic fit for poetry (ll.54-98), the Friend’s advice on method sounds designed to prevent any further work along the same lines. In writing poetry, ‘[A]visament’ and ‘forsighte’ are crucial (ll.639, 643). As with building a house, a careful plan has to be made:

First is it seen, purposid, cast and ment,
How it shal wrought been, elles al is shent (ll.641-2).

. . . Thou wilt nat haaste, I trowe,
Unto thy penne, and therwith wirke heedlynge,
Or thou avysed be wel and wel knowe
What thow shalt wryte. . . (ll.646-9).

For wel is [the wise man] waar or he wryte or speke
What is to do or leve. . .
. . . nothyng shal out from him breke
Hastily . . . (ll.652-5).

As is often observed, these lines paraphrase a famous passage from Geoffrey of Vinsauf’s *Poetria Nova*.⁴⁶ More importantly, however, they firmly contradict what appears to be Hoccleve’s

⁴³ ‘Jonathas’, ll.1-3, 22-8.

⁴⁴ ‘Experience’, 268-70; for a similarly optimistic reading, see James Simpson, ‘Madness and Texts: Hoccleve’s *Series*’, in *Chaucer and Fifteenth-Century Poetry*, ed. Julia Boffey and Janet Cowen (London, 1991), 15-29 (23-5).

⁴⁵ Burrow compares it to Escher (‘Experience’, 262-3). Greetham notes the poem is ‘firmly concerned with the problems of authorship, in both a psychological and social sense’ (‘Persona’, 249).

⁴⁶ The significance of this is discussed by David Watt, “‘I This Book shal make’”: Thomas Hoccleve’s Self-Publication and Book Production’, *Leeds Studies in English* 34 (2003), 133-60 (150-1).

current approach. Hasting heedlessly to the pen without thinking in advance about what should be said and what left out: this sounds exactly like the compositional process of ‘My Complaunte’, as presented within the *Series*’ governing fiction. In actuality Hoccleve was metrically scrupulous,⁴⁷ as well as being capable of the *Series*’ formal ingenuity, but the prologue to ‘My Complaunte’ insists on the poem’s visceral unplannedness: ‘myn herte so sore swal / . . . / That nedis oute I muste’; ‘I braste oute on the morwe and thus bigan’ (ll.29-35). It is just such an unadvised poem as the Friend describes, one that ‘out from him br[o]ke / Hastily’. The parallel is pointed further when the Friend hopes this advice ‘may been unto thee in thy makyng / A good mirour’.⁴⁸ As mentioned, the mirror scene in ‘My Complaunte’ has struck many readers as its most memorable verses. One might expect, and from his initial protests it seems Hoccleve expects, that the Friend’s advice would be simply to be oneself. Instead, his point seems to be that with the mirror Hoccleve was on the right track. A more cautious and considered presentation of the self is required.

As has been seen, however, a significant part of Hoccleve’s reception anxiety is related not to perceptions of his mental health, but to charges of misogyny levelled at an earlier work. His worries in this respect are particularly relevant to Browne’s poem, since Wither too was subject to accusations on the basis of a previous publication. Like Browne’s Roget, in ‘A Dialogue’ Hoccleve invokes the spectre of wilful misinterpretation that ignores what has actually been written – in this case, the fact *L’Epistre de Cupide* is a debate which ultimately finds in favour of women rather than against them: ‘what world is this, how undirstande am I? / . . . / The book concludeth for hem’ (ll.774, 779). Inadvertently and amusingly confirming this argument, the Friend admits to not actually having read it, but still insists that Hoccleve ought to make amends (ll.781-91).

Hoccleve’s defence against perceived misogyny is not limited to interpretive matters, however. It also relies on the fact that *L’Epistre de Cupide* was a translation. Unlike authors,

⁴⁷ As Burrow has shown. See the introduction to his edition of the *Complaint and Dialogue* (Oxford, 1999), xxviii-xxxv.

⁴⁸ ‘Dialogue’, ll.645-6. Watt notes the importance of this image, but does not refer it back to the earlier mirror scene (‘Self-Publication’, 150).

translators, Hoccleve suggests, shouldn't have to take responsibility what they translate: 'therof was I noon auctor. / I nas nat in that cas but a reportour / . . . / I nat affermed it . . .' (ll.760-3). This Chaucerian defence⁴⁹ seems not unlike what Browne might be offering to Wither with 'Jonathas'; if people accuse you of libelling them whatever you write, then simply re-publishing words you didn't write at all – singing someone else's song – might be the only solution. But this seems far removed from the usual meanings of pastoral quotation, which tends to identify singers with the materials they sing, rather than distance them;⁵⁰ and Hoccleve's words here, apparently spoken in protest at his companion's accusations, may also subtly convey his internalisation of the Friend's ethos of poetic composition. In terms of concepts of translation – and perhaps, by implication, other kinds of literary borrowing – this passage marks a shift away from that represented by Suso's *ars moriendi*, which reflects Hoccleve's own depressive concerns, and towards the impersonal fables that make up the remainder of *The Series*. The effect of that move is to sharpen the reader's awareness of *The Series'* spectrum of compositional possibilities, from the self-expression of 'My Compleinte' to the *Gesta* adaptations, including 'Jonathas', that issue from the Friend's advice, and which seem to possess a much less direct relation to their author. This question of whether an author should be separable from, or continuous with, his text, was also central to Wither's personalised poetics.

HOCCLEVE AND WITHER

At this point, the parallels between the *Series* and the *Shepherds Pipe* eclogue which quotes from it can be more firmly identified. It was mentioned earlier that, contrary to what has often been assumed, 'Jonathas' is in fact an odd choice of poem to give a fictionalised Wither to sing; but the larger issues that preside over the poem-sequence from which it is drawn make that

⁴⁹ Greetham notes the closeness to ll.731-6 of the General Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales* ('Persona', 249-50).

⁵⁰ See notes 12 and 13 above.

choice much more comprehensible. Tied to the tail of ‘Jonathas’ are the ‘Compleinte’ and ‘Dialogue’; while ‘Jonathas’ is positioned explicitly at the centre of the eclogue, the poems that begin the *Series* provide the tacit models for the pastoral opening and closing sections that surround it.

In Hoccleve as in Browne, the subject is a dialogue with a depressed poet who has acquired a bad reputation from an earlier publication, claims to have been misinterpreted, and worries about the reception of his work in the future. In both poems, that dialogue acts as a framing device. In addition, as well as the parallel controversies over *Abuses* and *L’Epistre de Cupide*, Hoccleve’s non-literary anxieties about perceptions of his sanity are also comparable to Wither/Roget’s about over-interpretation. Roget thinks that whatever he sings, someone will take it the wrong way;⁵¹ Hoccleve feels that ‘whatso that evere I shulde . . . seie’, people will still think he’s mad.⁵² In the same stanza, which also contains the description of Hoccleve’s silence ‘as I had lost my tunges keie’, he refers to himself as ‘Droupinge and hevvy’ (l.146). It may have been this verse, with its locked-in poet, silenced by misinterpretation, that sparked Browne’s interest, since he begins his eclogue by urging ‘Roget, droope not’, and repeats this formula in the exhortation that rounds off Willy’s opening speech: ‘Roget, droope not then, but sing’.⁵³

The most important comparisons, however, are those which link politics to poetic form. Wither in his prison cell and Hoccleve in his bedchamber both suffer, in their different ways, from confinement. Wither’s, all too literal, is externally and punitively imposed, but Hoccleve’s psychological withdrawal represents an at least partly voluntary defensive retreat from a social world that has come to seem intolerably unfamiliar. Both, however, face pressure from powerful figures at court: in Wither’s case, whichever nobles he was considered to have offended; in Hoccleve’s, the powerful patron to whom he “owes” a new work. Both also, relatedly, receive advice to modify their style. In Hoccleve this receives much greater emphasis, with the Friend’s painful rejection of Hoccleve’s confessional poem leading to further arguments and, ultimately,

⁵¹ *Shepheards Pipe*, B2r, discussed above, p.140.

⁵² ‘Compleinte’, l.142.

⁵³ *Shepheards Pipe*, Br-v. Davies’ *Shepheards Pipe* eclogue has a similar usage (‘Droop not . . . unpleate thy browes’, G3v), but this probably imitates his addressee, Browne.

his speech on poetic method.⁵⁴ But Browne also advises Wither, more briefly and with less debate, to change his tune; and ‘Jonathas’ does seem something of a departure.

In real life this advice might have gone down less well; Wither and Hoccleve shared a stubborn streak. Lee Patterson suggests that lack of ‘forsighte’ was a flaw not limited to Hoccleve’s persona: he was ‘temperamentally incapable’ of adapting his work to social norms, as his odd choice of poems in the *Series*, despite the Friend’s guidance, might suggest.⁵⁵ He included the poems about death and depression that the Friend not unreasonably suggested might be better left out, and for the two *Gesta* sections, in which he does seem to follow the Friend’s guidance, he still drew on what seem like unfortunate materials. The poem apparently offered specifically (and belatedly – ‘he sholde han had it many a day ago’)⁵⁶ to Humphrey, the tale of Jereslaus’s wife, contains elements that, Patterson notes, seem uncomfortably close to the duke’s personal situation at the time; and ‘Jonathas’ seems an unpromising way to defuse accusations of misogyny.⁵⁷ By placing it at the close, Hoccleve ensured that his work’s final scene portrayed a faithless woman’s disembowelling, a fact which further jars with the dedication to a female patron, the countess of Westmorland, which follows in the Durham manuscript.⁵⁸ In terms of both patronage and stubbornness, Wither cuts a similar figure. J. Milton French described him as ‘pigheaded’, ‘tactless’ and lacking discretion.⁵⁹ David Norbrook suggests he was ‘constitutionally incapable of advancing praise to someone in power without an immediate counter-move’, and notes the halfhearted nature of his dedications to potential patrons.⁶⁰

There are also stylistic comparisons between Wither and Hoccleve. These tend to compound the impression that Willy’s advice to ‘sing, / . . . / . . . some other kind of lore’ carries significance that exceeds its casual surface. To imagine that Hoccleve really lacks formal control

⁵⁴ ‘Dialogue’, ll.18-35, 638-55.

⁵⁵ ‘Self’, 463.

⁵⁶ ‘Dialogue’, l.536.

⁵⁷ The Hoccleve of the poem appears to recognise this himself, but lets the Friend talk him into pressing on regardless: ‘Jonathas’, ll.36-59.

⁵⁸ Patterson, ‘Self’, 447-50. Patterson also notes that this ‘darkly vengeful’, ‘brutal’ and ‘viciously misogynist’ story of a woman who tricks a young man out of his inheritance is thus dedicated to a woman who had disinherited her own stepson (450).

⁵⁹ ‘Wither in Prison’, 966.

⁶⁰ *Politics*, 187-8.

would be as misguided as thinking that ‘My Complaite’ is really being written as we read it, but within the fiction of the poem both are true: the writing ‘braste[s] oute’ without ‘avisament’. In Wither’s case the lack of ‘avisament’ may have been more genuine. His style has been described as one that ‘insists on the authority of individual experience’, allows itself to be ‘determined by experience “as it happens”’, rejects ‘composition . . . in favour of self-expression’, and is opposed to ‘formal control’.⁶¹

These qualities were ones that Wither consciously espoused. In *Abuses* he made a number of assertions about the importance of style – or rather, the lack of it. This work, as noted earlier, is full of rejections of ‘*Poeticall* additions’, ‘fained *Allegories*’, ‘dark riddles’, ‘darke *Parables*’ (B*v*), or ‘the glories, / Of faire aduenterous Knights or Ladies loves’ (X*v*). The exemplary anecdotes that do occur are of the most literal kind;⁶² as Michelle O’Callaghan observes, the ‘very banality’ of these stories ‘reputedly based on the experiences of the speaker or “a friend of a friend”’ aims to produce ‘a commonality of experience’.⁶³ Consistent with that aim, Wither’s is ‘an honest homelie Rustick straine’ (X*v*), an ‘honest plainenesse’ truer than ‘*Court language* filed smooth’ (V8*r*), ‘so plaine, that the bluntest *Jobernole* might understand mee’ (B*v*), ‘as plaine . . . as a pack-saddle’ (B2*r*), and so on. Wither had not at this point adopted the full-blown Spenserian shepherd persona of his next work, *The Shepherds Hunting*. But these references anticipate the significance of that move by suggesting what pastoral seems to mean for an author who was clearly no follower of Sidney’s or Puttenham’s poetics. Rather than offering a prudent veil of metaphor, pastoral for Wither is simply another resource with which to support his wider ethos of telling it like it is. For him, political pastoral means rejecting allegory rather than embracing it. Instead of glancing at greater matters, it looks them fearlessly in the face.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Thomas Calhoun, ‘George Wither: Origins and Consequences of a Loose Poetics’, *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 16 (1974), 263-79 (263-4).

⁶² E.g. at H3*r*-H4*v*.

⁶³ O’Callaghan, *Nation*, 151.

⁶⁴ Norbrook reads Wither’s afterword to *The Shepherds Hunting* as acknowledging that ‘speaking so much in his own person’ is unpastoral (*Politics*, 195), but the sense may be different: ‘Criticke[s] may finde many faults . . . [such] as in the erring from the true nature of an Eglogue: moreover, it altogether concernes my selfe, which diuers may dislike’ (H5*v*). These are separate issues; the ‘erring’ probably refers to the prison setting.

Wither backs up this un-Sidneian disdain for poetic feigning – ‘I cannot brooke dissembling’ (G3r) – with Stoic praise of constancy. Lamenting how rarely ‘*words, and deeds, & thoughts* are one’, he asks, rhetorically: ‘Where shall you him so well resolved find, / That wants a wandering and a wavering mind?’ (C4v). Instead, man typically is

ever . . . uncertaine of himselfe.
 He is not *semper idem* in his will,
 Nor stands on this or that *opinion* still,
 But varies; he both will and wil not too,
 Yea even the thing he thinkes and swears to doe
 He many times omits. . . .
 . . .
 . . . this same *divers* and *inconstant creature*,
 That so contrary is in his owne nature . . . (C4v).

In ‘Satyr 2: Inconstancy’, he again wonders at ‘*Man / Whose thoughts are changing, and so oft amisse, / That by himselfe, himselfe deceived is*’, and implores ‘*God; that evermore / Remaines the same*’, to preserve him from this pervasive vice (P6r-v). In *The Shepherds Hunting* he expresses relief that imprisonment has left him ‘*still my selfe*, and that I’d rather bee, / Then to be *Lord* of all *these Downes*’ (B4v); ‘My heart’s the same’ (D9v).

This insistence on being true to oneself, ironically enough, is modelled closely on Seneca’s 120th Epistle,⁶⁵ but the dramatic gesture that opens *Abuses* is more genuinely original. Here Wither linked his pastoral-Stoic individualism to his contempt for patronage by dedicating it ‘To him-selfe, G.W.’:

Thou (*even my selfe*) . . . I have made choise of thy Patronage for this booke, rather then the protection of such whose mightnesse might seeme better able to defend it . . . I have to thee my *Ownne-selfe* committed the *protection*, and made the *Dedication* of this booke (A4r, A7v).

Wither made it clear that this rejection was bound up with a larger concern for poetic integrity, aimed at maintaining the closest possible alliance between work and self. Authorship thus becomes a device for maintaining *constantia*. Books must reflect selves, and vice versa, so that poetry constitutes a public commitment to staying the same:

⁶⁵ Cf. Seneca, *Workes*, trans. Thomas Lodge (1614), 480-1 (Epistle 120).

I have made this *Dedication* to thee, poore *world*-despised *Selfe*; even to put thee in minde . . . that thou take heed to thine owne words . . . If ever adversitie (as tis like enough) oppresse thee, yet remember thy owne sayings . . . Reade [this book], weekely, daily, yea and howlerly toe: what though it bee thine owne? thou knowest mans nature to bee so uncertaine, and prone to forgetfulnesse, even in the best things, that thou canst not have too many *Memorandums*. . . thou hast seene many by an alteration in their estate beene so *metamorphosed*, as if they were not the same men . . . let this thy owne worke bee first confirmed by thy life and conversation, yea let it be a *President* to thy selfe . . . (A4^v-A5^v, A7^v).⁶⁶

Put together, these commitments to the unity of self and text cast ‘Willy’s advice to ‘Roget’ to sing ‘some other kind of lore’ in a new light. Changing his tune under pressure was something Wither had expressed himself determined to avoid, and ‘Jonathas’ – the ‘catholyk’ tale of an adventurous prince and his lady’s unreliable love – seems particularly unsuitable. Though Hoccleve and Wither are both English vernacular poets, Jonathas and Roget inhabit very different genres. As ‘Willy’ suggests, this is indeed ‘some other kind of lore’, and his next words – ‘Let us not heere idle be’ – may be equally significant (B3^r). Browne’s Hoccleve gesture exits pastoral while seeming to affirm it. In doing so, it offers a powerful affront to Wither’s constancy.

It may seem strange, then, that Willy’s suggestion fails to elicit more disagreement. In ‘A Dialogue’, the poet is hurt by his friend’s advice, and an argument ensues (ll.35-483). This tension between the Hoccleve character’s attractive but impractical ethos of self-expression and the Friend’s worldly objections is essential to *The Series*’ narrative frame, as a ‘faintly rebellious’⁶⁷ though outwardly compliant Hoccleve appears to sneak in works – ‘My Compleinte’, the Suso translation – that the Friend has rejected, and the Friend makes return visits to make sure Hoccleve’s work is progressing satisfactorily.

A majority of critics have agreed with Burrow’s description of the Friend as a force for good, whose tutelage leads Hoccleve discreetly towards the social reintegration implied by the counsellor role in which the introduction to ‘Jonathas’ casts him.⁶⁸ Some, however, have dissented. Christina von Nolcken sees the Friend as one of those worldly distracters warned

⁶⁶ The most likely meaning for ‘*President*’ is *OED* 1b: ‘presiding god, guardian, or patron’.

⁶⁷ Burrow, ‘Experience’, 265.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 268-70.

against by Suso,⁶⁹ and Sebastian Langdell also reads him in a more sinister light.⁷⁰ Acting as a kind of editor, the Friend advises Hoccleve to be ‘waar’ in his writing,⁷¹ to turn his thoughts away from more serious or original topics, to avoid or make up for giving offence, to adapt his works to his audience’s tastes, to aim at pleasing a powerful patron, and to include conventional moralisations which close out alternative readings;⁷² and he returns more than once to ensure these instructions are carried out.⁷³ To Langdell, these actions are those of an ideological enforcer for a Lancastrian regime whose conformist pressures have been noted by other commentators.⁷⁴ Hoccleve memorably describes the effects of his suffering when he says that ‘Not have I wist hou in my skyn to tourne’.⁷⁵ Burrow suggests that turning in his skin is just what the Friend enables him to do, in order to escape the prison-house of his self-obsessed language.⁷⁶ Yet that reading also seems inadvertently to capture what others have seen as, at the least, the ambivalence of the Friend’s behaviour: to turn in one’s own skin also suggests the pain of self-betrayal.

In Browne’s eclogue these tensions seem absent. But this, of course, is because, as the situation seems to demand, Browne casts himself in the role of ‘Friend’ rather than ‘Hoccleve’, so that the person giving the advice is also the person writing the poem in which the advice is given. It’s Browne’s poem, so he can make his fictionalised Wither do whatever he thinks that Wither ought to do. Further evidence that this is not how the real Wither would have responded, however, comes in the shape of Wither’s own poems on the same subject. In *The Shepherds Hunting*, Wither imagines (or records) his fellow Spenserians visiting him in prison. But in Wither’s version, predictably enough, no one suggests a change of tack. Instead, ‘Alexis’ (William Ferrar) praises Roget’s ‘unchang’d resolution’, which was just what his friends both expected and hoped for:

⁶⁹ “‘O, why ne had y lerned for to die?’ ‘Lerne for to Dye’ and the Author’s Death in Thomas Hoccleve’s *Series*”, in *Four Last Things: Death, Judgment, Heaven and Hell in the Middle Ages*, ed. Allen J. Frantzen, special issue, *Essays in Medieval Studies* 10 (1993), 27-51.

⁷⁰ “‘What world is this? How undirstande am I?’ A Reappraisal of Poetic Authority in Thomas Hoccleve’s *Series*”, *Medium Ævum* 78 (2009), 281-99.

⁷¹ ‘Dialogue’, l.652.

⁷² This occurs at the end of section three: ‘Fabula de Quadam Imperatrice Romana’, ll.953-99.

⁷³ ‘Dialogue’, ll.792-6; ‘Imperatrice Romana’, ll.954-6; ‘Jonathas’, l.2.

⁷⁴ E.g. Patterson, ‘Self’, 465.

⁷⁵ ‘Compleinte’, l.303.

⁷⁶ ‘Experience’, 268.

All that did truly know thee did conceive,
 Thy actions with thy spirit still agree'd;
 Their good conceit thou doest no whit bereave,
 But showest that thou art still thy selfe indeed (E2*v*).

Heartened by such support, Wither finishes his collection with renewed determination to 'fulfill what my Muse drawes me to, / Mauge all Jayles . . .' (G8*r*).

Wither's fictionalised Browne concurs as heartily as the rest, as is made clear from the outset of his collection. The first of the *Shepherds Hunting* eclogues seems consciously to recall the opening poem from *The Shepherds Pipe*: Willy comes to console Roget, Roget performs a song, and Willy asks who wrote it.⁷⁷ In this case, however, the song is identified as a psalm of David; it provocatively reflects upon the circumstances of Wither's imprisonment, rather than distancing him from them.⁷⁸ And here, when Roget declares triumphantly 'I'me still my selfe', Willy's reply is unequivocal: 'Nobly resolved, and I doe joy to hear't' (B4*v*). In Wither's third Eclogue Willy is even more emphatic, advising Roget to 'stere but on the course, / That in thy just adventure is begunne', and applauding the fact that 'Thou art the same thou wert for ought I see / . . . / In nothing changed yet . . . / . . . / Still keepe thee thus' (E2*v*-E3*r*).

Comparison is also possible from a different angle, since Wither also wrote an eclogue that reverses the situation in Browne's poem, so that Browne is distressed and Wither the advice-giver: it is Wither who implores Browne to sing, and Browne who refuses for fear of the 'malice' of those who will 'pick some quarrell out' from his songs. Wither liked this poem enough to publish it in both *The Shepherds Pipe* and *The Shepherds Hunting*.⁷⁹ Here the style that causes offence is explicitly identified as pastoral; and Wither's fictionalised Browne, instead of changing to 'some other kind of lore', claims it as natural to him and refuses to abandon it:

⁷⁷ The opening here may contain a further hint of tension between Willy and Roget. Willy is hurt when Roget, exemplifying Stoic serenity amidst misfortune, asks for whose sake he is dejected: 'Tis time our *Loves* should these suspects [suspicions] forbear' (B2*r*).

⁷⁸ B6*r*-B8*v*. See O'Callaghan, 'Public Sphere', 63, and *Nation*, 57: '[Wither] read the Psalms as an historical and personal drama, involving the persecution of the godly under a court tyranny, that was currently being played out in his own imprisonment'.

⁷⁹ This poem is titled 'To His Truly Beloved Loving Friend Mr William Browne' in both collections. In *The Shepherds Hunting* it appears as the fourth eclogue.

. . . thou know'st I am but young,
 And the *Pastorall* I sung,
 Is by some suppos'd to bee
 (By a straine) too high for me:
 . . .
 Trust me, I do wonder why
 They should me my owne deny.
 Though I'me yong, I scorne to flit
 On the wings of borrowed wit.
 I'le make my owne feathers reare me . . .⁸⁰

Pastoral is 'my owne' style, 'my owne feathers', and hence – in Wither's conception of it – inherently opposed to 'borrowed wit'.⁸¹ Continuing the metaphor, Roget applauds Willy's resolve: 'Let nought therefore thee affright, / But make forward in thy flight'.⁸² Clearly this, in Wither's mind, is the kind of advice beleaguered poets should offer to each other.

WITHER AND MADNESS

A number of parallels between Browne's eclogue and Hoccleve's poem-sequence have now been traced. Yet there still appears to be one important difference between Wither/Roget and the "Hoccleve" presented in the *Series*: the reasons for their respective confinements. Hoccleve's poem, as has been seen, depicts him mentally and spatially withdrawing from the world because of the lingering effects of a bout of serious mental illness. Wither's situation was very different: he was essentially a political prisoner, jailed for his criticisms of the Jacobean court. The contrast, however, is not absolute. In 'A Dialogue' the Hoccleve-character launches into a diatribe against coin-clipping whose unmotivated oddness might be seen as providing further reason to doubt his recovery: a trace of madness seems to re-emerge in this sudden

⁸⁰ *Shepheards Pipe*, H5v-H6r.

⁸¹ A similar *Shepheards Pipe* eclogue by Davies suggests Browne may have been suffering a genuine crisis of confidence in his own poetic career at this time. There (Davies' version of) Browne contrasts the poetry to which he is 'inly pulde' by 'kind' to the legal career ('con / My leere in leefull lore') his relatives would prefer (G6r-v). 'Wernock' (Davies) gives what sounds like the standard Spenserian advice: 'Of world, ne worly men take thou no keepe' (G4v).

⁸² *Shepheards Pipe*, H7v.

fixation with a social issue (ll.99-196).⁸³ And Wither's own poems contain hints that his commitment to poetic individuality, inseparable as it was from his uncompromising sociopolitical views, was sufficiently eccentric for his sanity to occasionally be doubted.

At the outset of *Abuses*, he declares, conventionally enough: 'A sacred *Fury* hath possess my braines / . . . / I shall grow furious till this taske be done' (C3r-v). Towards the close of his advice-poem to Browne in *The Shepherds Pipe*, however, *furor poeticus* is reiterated with more noteworthy insistence. Wither depicts his own shepherd-persona, Roget, indulging in an enraptured apostrophe to poetry that seems to worry his companion Willy (Browne), who interrupts with some concern:

Though our wise ones call it madnesse
 Let me never taste of gladnesse
 If I love not thy mad'st fits
 Above all their greatest wits.
 . . .
 O high power that oft doth carry
 Men above

 Willy.
 Good Roget tarry
 . . .
 Call thy selfe to minde againe (Iv-v).

Though the issue here is partly, again, one of pastoral decorum ('Are these Raptures for a Swaine, / That attends on lowly sheepe . . .?', Willy asks (Iv)), the theme of madness is also present in the first of Wither's two contributions to Browne's collection. Here calling himself Thyrsis instead of Roget, Wither recounts a first meeting with 'Alexis' (Ferrar). In Wither's account, Alexis excuses an initial wariness by reference to Thyrsis's apparently extreme eccentricity:

. . . I must confesse that long
 In one thing I did doe thy nature wrong:
 For till I markt the aime thy Satyrs had,
 I thought them overbold and Thirsis mad,
 But since I did more neerely on thee looke
 I soone perceiv'd that I had all mistooke (F7v-F8r).

⁸³ Paul Strohm notes the 'puzzlement' of many critics at this section ('Hoccleve, Lydgate and the Lancastrian Court', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge, 1999), 640-61 (649)); Patterson reads it as implying an 'instability' of form ('Self', 445). Burrow suggests it is just bad writing ('Experience', 263).

These suggestions appear in poems by Wither himself, suggesting that imputations of madness were something in which he was at least tempted to revel. In *Abuses* he had already shown an interest in the psychological ills that could result from disordered passions, those ‘strange distemperatures’ which were an important consequence of the Fall.⁸⁴ Book I of *Abuses* is principally composed of fifteen poems each named after a different passion – love, lust, hate, choler, joy and so on – and describing the vices that can arise from it. *Abuses* is thus as much a work about the passions as it is about politics.⁸⁵ Its aim, as Wither states in his conclusion to this first Book, is ‘some Effects to show, / That doe from mens abused *Passions* flow’ (K2r).

Wither was keen to distinguish these from ‘Gods *Inspiration*’, a phenomenon presumably related to his own ‘sacred *Fury*’. But he finished this concluding meditation on good and bad varieties of passion with a hint that this separation might be less than watertight: ‘here with others faults I tell mine owne’ (K4v). This acknowledgement may be extended in the second and third Eclogues of *The Shepherds Hunting*, where, in a rambling response to questions from his friends about the reasons behind his imprisonment, Wither’s ‘Roget’ alter ego describes the passion-poems of *Abuses* as a pack of hunting dogs that have gone out of control:⁸⁶

These were my Dogges, tenne couple just in all,
Whom by the name of *Satyres* I doe call:
Mad Curses they be and I can ne’re come nigh them,
But I’m in danger to be bitten by them . . . (C6v).

This ‘roaring crew, / . . . as mad as if my minde they knew’ (C7r), outstrip their author-owner to run amok, a situation which continues into the present: ‘to and fro [they] still runne a thousand wayes: / Yea often to this place where now I lye, / They’l wheel about . . .’ (D5r).

⁸⁴ *Abuses*, C6v.

⁸⁵ As Allan Pritchard notes: ‘not so much a satire as a series of moral essays in verse on the passions’ ‘Imprisonment’, 338.

⁸⁶ The description begins at C3v.

Wither shared the common error that derived *satire* from *satyr*,⁸⁷ providing his poems with the beastly aspect that facilitates their description as unruly hounds. The sense is that *Abuses* has taken on a life of its own, generating new offences (through its readers' paranoid over-interpretations) that its author never intended. Here, for once, Wither does seem to indulge in a 'fained allegory'. His self-referential rural parable may be a wry response to Browne's suggestion of a more radical generic shift.

But these dogs are capable of turning on their owner as well. This suggests, as in the Actaeon story, the self-destructive potential of one's own disordered passions.⁸⁸ Wither's satyr-hounds represent poems named after passions, written by a poet who strongly identified with his own writing. The importance of controlling one's susceptibility to the passions, in the shape of the treacherous Fellicula, is also the theme of 'Jonathas', which both Hoccleve's prologue and his *moralisatio* emphasise. *The Shepherds Hunting*, then, may offer, in part, a rueful acknowledgement, admitting that the fact that *Abuses'* satiric vein went further than intended was the result of a hint of *furor* on the part of its author beyond the conventional, poetic kind.

WITHER, HOCCLEVE AND PASTORAL

So what does reading Browne's eclogue via its Hoccleve source-text tell us? Most immediately, it changes what Browne is trying to say to Wither. Instead of conveying solidarity, by comparing Wither to the troubled Hoccleve Browne links Wither's individualistic brand of

⁸⁷ The fullest discussion remains Eugene Waith's: *The Pattern of Tragicomedy in Beaumont and Fletcher*, (New Haven, 1952), 53-62 (Wither is discussed on pp.55-7). See also Alvin Kernan, *The Cankered Muse: Satire of the English Renaissance* (New Haven, 1959), 54-6; Sukanta Chaudhuri, *Renaissance Pastoral and its English Developments* (Oxford, 1989), 225; Anthony Parr: 'Time and the Satyr', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68 (2005), 429-64 (451, 454).

⁸⁸ The idea was longstanding. See, for example, the epistle to William Adlington's 1566 translation of Apuleius: 'by the fable of Actaeon . . . slayne of his owne Dogges may be ment . . . [that he was] slayne thorough the inordinate desire of his owne affectes' (*The xi Bookes of the Golden Asse*, *v-*iir). Wither might also have had in mind *Tristia* 103-6, which, as Sandys later noted, could support interpretations of Actaeon's fate as exemplifying the punishment of those who 'search into the secrets of Princes, or . . . discover their nakednesse'. If Wither made a similar inference, it would make his example doubly apt. Sandys also links the story to recreation, by suggesting that Actaeon over-indulged in hunting: 'neglecting the pursuite of virtue and heroically actions . . . hee dayly frequents the wild woods' (*Ovids Metamorphosis* (1632), 100).

poetic and political resistance to mental disorder. Wither himself seems to admit that others occasionally viewed him in this way, and even to revel in the implications of special access to *furor poeticus*. But Browne's message, conveyed via Hoccleve, seems less positive. Sympathise as one may with Hoccleve's difficulties, his condition at the start of the poem is clearly miserable and limiting. It stems, at least in part, from misperception and self-obsession; the 'prees' are not really scrutinising his sanity *en masse*, and practicing looking normal in a mirror is not the most effective way to make oneself less self-conscious. In these ways Hoccleve seems culpable as well as vulnerable. Transferring this template to Wither lays at least some of the blame for his imprisonment on his own intransigence, letting his persecutors off the hook, and traces the roots of that intransigence to psychological frailty rather than inward resolve. These qualities make Browne's poem more interesting, and more difficult to like.

It also challenges ideas about exactly where, in the much-discussed dyad of private and public, the politics in Spenserian political pastoral is located. The Spenserians have been seen as making pastoral political by dragging it away from its 'enclosed and subjective' tendencies, and into a nascent public sphere, a process in which the 'inclusiveness' of print publication is considered to have played an important part.⁸⁹ Wither's poetry and politics, however, were nothing if not subjective; and Browne's eclogue, read from the viewpoint for which I have been arguing, has more to do with privacy than publicness. Its dependency on the parts of the *Series* that remained unprinted in Browne's hands made this, in one sense, a coterie poem, its full significance available only to those close enough to its author to have been familiar with his collection of manuscripts.⁹⁰ The Spenserians were a less inclusive community, and less committed to print, than has been thought.⁹¹

But the restricted availability of this intertextual key to the poem's significances is not the only way in which privacy seems integral to its meanings. The Hoccleve-Wither comparison,

⁸⁹ O'Callaghan, *Nation*, 23, 4.

⁹⁰ Arthur Marotti includes among the features of such poetry 'intellectual complexity, paradox and irony . . . appeals to shared attitudes and group interests (if not to private knowledge) . . . biographical self-referentiality'. *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Madison, 1986), 19.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

Wither's passion-titles for his political poems, and his own suggestion that the reasons for his imprisonment have something to do with those passions running out of control; all these tend to unite political concerns and subjective, emotional ones, rather than seeing them as opposed. Browne's poem links this nexus of politics and emotion to his source-poems' depiction of a particularly intense version of privacy. In doing so, it associates political resistance, and pastoral poetry, with seceding from the public sphere rather than entering it; and it views such resistance negatively rather than positively. Instead of a militant shepherd-knight sallying forth, Browne casts Wither as another Hoccleve, locking himself away from the world.

'Mew'd up in grates of steel', Wither laments in *The Shepherds Hunting*: 'Fields, Downes, Hills, Groves, & al's but one poore roome' (B6*ν*, D9*ρ*). Browne's eclogue also compares meadows to rooms, but suggests likeness rather than opposition: Hoccleve's bedchamber, Wither's cell, and pastoral space are mapped onto each other as, implicitly, places of confinement. They are opposed to more expansive geographies: the intimidating bustle of London streets, or the dangerous freedom of Jonathas's magic carpet. But in urging Wither to embrace these possibilities, to sing a new kind of song, Browne is suggesting a dilution rather than an intensification of political impulses.

The inset poem that he offers as a symbol of this liberating manoeuvre has as its closing image a "cure" that turns out to be poisonous, corroding its victim from within. It may have had a similar effect on Wither's *constantia*. By the 1620s James had granted a special patent to Wither's *Hymnes and Songs of the Church*; it included a series of poems celebrating saints' days, including an exposition of the legend of St George, 'moralis[ed] . . . Allegorically', as Erasmus might have put it. He had to defend himself against allegations of 'popishness', and David Norbrook suggests that 'there is a sense that Wither was being bought off'.⁹² Perhaps he was less intractable than he liked to think.

⁹² *Poetry*, 216-9; Wither, *The Hymnes and Songs of the Church* (1623), 193-5. For the controversy, see Wither's *The Schollers Purgatory* (1624): 'So farr am I from insinuating any popish Superstitio[n] among the people . . .' (71); 'Were the observation of Saint Georges feast . . . popish . . . [as] my traducers ignorantly and irreverently conceive: yet since I neither invented it nor have power to abolish the same, why should I be blamed . . .' (77).

Browne's eclogue thus continues the association this thesis has been tracing between private spaces, pastoral, and *otium*, but adds political resistance to this undesirable list. It may seem odd for the author of *Britannia's Pastorals* to adopt this negative view of pastoral, implicitly or otherwise. But *Britannia's Pastorals*, with its quests, symbolic palaces and magical beasts, its dramatic, dreamlike geographic shifts and unexpected moments of exoticism, owes more to romance than pastoral. This covert bias towards romance provides an initial link between these early works and Browne's last project, his posthumously-published translation of Gomberville's prose romance *Polexandre*, in which pastoral and privacy are again linked to political resistance and emotional instability.

BROWNE AND GOMBERVILLE

Though *Polexander* contains a multitude of subplots and flashbacks that extend it to some 622 folio pages, the events that drive it are reasonably straightforward. Gomberville's titular protagonist is shipwrecked on Alcidiana's 'Inaccessible Isle', which has the disheartening property of being discoverable only by accident. He meets and falls in love with Alcidiana, but when he sails in pursuit of pirates who have kidnapped her aide Amintha he forgets that return, at least of an intentional kind, will be impossible. The resultant ocean-going search leads to adventures in a number of different continents before his goal is finally achieved.

Browne's authorship of this translation has sometimes been doubted,⁹³ but the evidence for it is persuasive. It is dedicated to Browne's patron the Earl of Pembroke, and a brief preface

⁹³ Philip Wadsworth thought the translator was 'perhaps the well-known pastoral poet of the same name' (*The Novels of Gomberville: a Critical Study of Polexandre and Cythérée* (New Haven, 1942), 100); A.H. Bullen concluded that '[p]robably the translator may be identified with the author of the *Pastorals*, for we hear of no other William Browne who was connected with the Pembroke family' ('Introduction', in *The Poems of William Browne of Tavistock*, ed. G. Goodwin, 2 vols (London, 1894), 1.xxxiii-iv). Michael Brennan assumes this is a different William Browne, but gives no reasons, despite noting the pastoral poet's closeness to Philip Herbert throughout the 1630s (*Literary patronage in the English Renaissance: the Pembroke Family* (London, 1988), 187, 201). The most recent assessment is that of Michelle O'Callaghan, who accepts Browne's authorship: Michelle O'Callaghan, 'Browne, William (1590/91–1645?)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/3706>, accessed 1 Aug 2012]; *Nation*, 230.

addressed to Pembroke by the publisher, Thomas Walkley, refers to the author as ‘a singular Tutor, (since with God)’.⁹⁴ Browne had been tutor to Pembroke’s ward Robert Dormer, and he had died sometime during or shortly before 1645, when the administration of his estate was recorded.⁹⁵ The persistent suggestion that this must be some other William Browne perhaps stems mostly from the nature of the work itself: a cosmopolitan French prose romance can hardly have been the valedictory work of a patriotic English pastoral poet.

Yet *Polexander* follows a typical early modern romance pattern by placing pastoral at its centre, and does so in a way that has several affinities with the conceptions of pastoral and romance that Browne’s first Eclogue suggests. The choice of a French work is also less surprising than might be expected. As poems such as the ‘Epistle . . . written from Thouars to Saumur’⁹⁶ and the third Book of *Britannnia’s Pastorals* bear witness, Browne at some point spent a considerable amount of time in France. *Britannnia’s Pastorals* and *Polexandre* also both show traces of the influence of another French pastoral romance, d’Urfé’s Sidneian *L’Astrée*.⁹⁷

If Browne possessed links to France which he advertised in his poetry, Gomberville’s interest in recent English history is equally evident in *Polexander*. England was a popular subject at the time among French authors,⁹⁸ and Gomberville’s depiction of his heroine, the virgin queen Alcidiana, clearly contains references to Elizabeth. Alcidiana rules her pastoral realm, whose principal enemy is Spain, from a capital city called Eliza.⁹⁹ Like Elizabeth, she faces the problems

⁹⁴ Marin le Roy, sieur de Gomberville, *The History of Polexander in Five Bookes*, trans. William Browne (1647). Browne translates the final, 1638 version; for the evolution of Gomberville’s text see Wadsworth, *Gomberville*, 9-42. A version exists with title-page dated 1648; it contains no significant differences.

⁹⁵ O’Callaghan, ‘Browne’ (DNB). Thomas Walkley also published an edition of *The Shepheards Pipe* in 1620, within the misleadingly titled *Workes of Master George Wither*. If Leo Kirschbaum was correct in arguing that this was not in fact pirated, as was once thought, then this may represent a further link to *The Shepheards Pipe*’s author. It is, however, distanced from *Polexander* by nearly three decades. See Percy Simpson, ‘Walkley’s Piracy of Wither’s Poems in 1620’, *The Library* 6 (1925), 271-7; and Leo Kirschbaum, ‘Walkley’s Supposed Piracy of Wither’s Workes in 1620’, *The Library* 19 (1938), 339-46.

⁹⁶ *Poems of William Browne*, 2:229.

⁹⁷ Mary Catherine McMahon, ‘The *Astrée* and Its Influence’, *Catholic Historical Review* 12 (1926), 225-40 (227).

⁹⁸ Wadsworth, *Gomberville*, 36n; Wadsworth also notes Gomberville’s interest in the history of sixteenth-century France (7). Edward Baron Turk argues that the events referred to in *Polexandre* would place the action around 1502, though no historical frame is strictly adhered to: *Baroque Fiction-Making: a Study of Gomberville’s Polexandre* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1978), 60.

⁹⁹ *Polexander*, 2.316ff. Pagination in *Polexander* is continuous until page 240. The next seventeen leaves are unpaginated. Pagination then restarts from ‘1’ and continues until the end. I treat the text as though made up of two volumes, each containing one of these sets of paginations: thus 1.240 indicates the last page of the first of these “volumes”, and 2.1 indicates the first page of the second “volume”. For the unpaginated middle section I refer to the

of a female ruler attempting to preserve her independence in the face of marriage proposals, factious subjects and foreign threats. Gomberville also provides Alcidiana with a kind of evil alter ego, Tisiphone, the ruler of another pastoral island which is sufficiently similar to Alcidiana's to be mistaken for it. A bejewelled forty-five-year-old redhead who 'might have been taken rather for an Eunuch clad like a woman than a woman indeed' (2.207), this bloodthirsty character has banned love from her island, but tries to seduce Gomberville's hero when he arrives there (2.205-11). Placing this caricature of an aging Elizabeth beside his more sympathetic version of a younger one allows Gomberville to hint that Alcidiana's apparently admirable refusal of sexual and political alliance may come to a bad end, a sentiment which emerges as an important theme.

Alcidiana's English roots thus seem clear, but her suitor Polexander, the seagoing hero-king of the Canary Islands, seems more distinctively exotic. But this is not entirely the case. As Josephine Waters Bennett has shown, Britain and the Canaries had a longstanding connection which was noted in two works often associated with the Spenserians, Camden's *Britannia* and Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*.¹⁰⁰ As both these works observe, historically they had shared the nickname 'The Fortunate Islands', a term frequently applied to the Canaries in *Polexander*, and possessed a common enemy in Spain.¹⁰¹ Gomberville's romance depicts the Spanish as uniquely villainous; his protagonist spends much of his time fending off their assaults on his realm, and the book closes with his rescue of Alcidiana's island from a similar attack.

When Polexander eventually marries Alcidiana, then, the result is a union between island nations which each have British associations. But Gomberville's is also a wildly internationalist work, with Polexander's exploits taking in South America, France, Denmark, and several parts of Africa.¹⁰² This juxtaposition of pastoral and English history with exotic romance could well have

signatures. It should be noted, therefore, that my citations bear no relation to the 'booke' and 'part' subdivisions marked in the text. They are intended, instead, to be as simple as possible for readers, who for the most part have page numbers to guide them.

¹⁰⁰ 'Britain among the Fortunate Isles', *Studies in Philology* 53 (1956), 114-40, (119, 121-3). See Camden, *Britain*, trans. Philemon Holland (1610), 4; Drayton, *Poly-Olbion* (1612), 2, 13-4. Drayton's title was influenced by the supposed derivation of *Albion* from the Greek *Olbion*, 'fortunate' (Bennett, 'Fortunate Isles', 121-2).

¹⁰¹ E.g. 1.143, 1.147, ¶r, 2.153.

¹⁰² There are also brief episodes in England and Scotland, but these have little effect on the plot: 1.235-6, 2.1-16. 2.233-5.

appealed to the author of *The Shepherds Pipe's* first Eclogue. It also bears comparison to *Britannia's Pastorals*, where 'Aethiop' pearls and crocodiles are curiously inserted into a supposedly British landscape; Browne had a history of combining the familiar and the exotic.¹⁰³ *Polexander's* Elizabethan stylings and naval theme would also have held special attractions for a poet who shared the general Spenserian nostalgia for the age of Elizabeth, and whose best-known work contained a passionate lament for the decay of the English fleet.¹⁰⁴

Polexander is not, of course, by Browne himself. No comprehensive comparison with Gomberville's original has yet been undertaken. As with his Hoccleve quotation, however, Browne generally sticks closely to his author, perhaps following the medieval poet's advice on 'reherc[ing] a manes sawe': 'As that he seith moot he seyn and nat varie, / . . . / . . . He may tho wordes nat contrarie'.¹⁰⁵ Hoccleve uses this sentiment to suggest, defensively, the translator's distance from his original. But the defence is required by the fact that singing someone else's song does tend to associate you with what it says, however much you try to deny it. Both the start and finish of Browne's career saw him voicing the words of others. In the first Eclogue, I have argued, this is more than a general invocation of poetic tradition; the quotation of this particular bit of Hoccleve has specific implications for what Browne is trying to say. Thematic and generic links between *Polexander* and Browne's earlier work, despite the apparent differences, suggest that its selection may have been similarly purposeful.

¹⁰³ *Britannia's Pastorals*, 2 vols (1616); see the bizarre metaphor involving a dream of crocodiles (2.39), and the oriental characterisation of the Devonian river-nymph Walla (2.76[misnumbered as 84]-80). This work's Italianate stylings have also often been observed: see Joan Grundy, 'Tasso, Fairfax, and William Browne', *Review of English Studies* NS 3 (1952), 268-71; Grundy, 'William Browne and the Italian Pastoral', *Review of English Studies* NS 4 (1953), 305-16; O'Callaghan, *Nation* 88-95. In 'On a Dream' (*Poems* ed. Goodwin, 2.288) Browne identifies himself emphatically with the American "Indian" he depicts, a stance that contrasts with that of his fellow Spenserian Christopher Brooke's revenge-poem *On the Late Massacre in Virginia* (1622). Patronage may have provided a further incentive for *Polexander*, since the Earl of Pembroke seems to have had a liking for French romances and travel narratives (Brennan, *Patronage*, 187).

¹⁰⁴ *Britannia's Pastorals*, 2.86-7: 'I have those Vessels scene whose hote alarmes / Have made Iberia tremble . . . / . . . / But now . . . lye / Rotting . . .'.

¹⁰⁵ 'Dialogue', ll.764-7.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

One of these affinities lies in the concepts of public and private that have been seen as playing such an important role in Spenserian pastoral. A key part of Alcidiana's function in the text is to symbolise this division. One of her first actions on assuming the throne is to divide her court into public and private sections:

not long after the death of [her father] Alcidus, the Princesse sequestred her selfe wholly from the conversation of men; and besides her publique Court which is composed of the Grandys of her Kingdome, and the Officers of the Crowne, She constituted a particular one, whereinto only Maides and Women are admitted. The Queen is never seen of men but when she is obliged to do some publique action . . . The rest of her time She remaines shut up in her palace amongst her Women. Thus the Old Shepheard instructed Poleyander in all the State secrets he knew . . . (1.238).

she invented a businesse which her predecessors had never put in practice, dividing her Court in two: She made a publicke and a private one. The publicke was compos'd of the greatest part of her Kingdome's Grandys, of the Officers of her Crowne and Counsellours of State. The other which was particularly her owne, consisted of young Ladyes and women, and some ordinary men appointed to serve the Princesse (2.276).

These passages occur in two independent narrations, widely separated in the text. Gomberville artfully introduces Alcidiana to the reader through the eyes of a number of different characters, but, as Philip Wadsworth observes, repetition occurs surprisingly rarely in these accounts.¹⁰⁶ The doubling here suggests that Gomberville is keen to bring Alcidiana's division of her court to his readers' attention.

In this translation, then, Browne was again displaying an interest in protagonists who withdraw, or find themselves withdrawn, from society. Gomberville may have been led to this theme by a sense that it, too, was peculiarly English. David Starkey and his contributors have comprehensively established the importance of the privy chamber in the spatial and political organisation of the early modern English court.¹⁰⁷ The French situation was very different. Philippe Ariès has called early modern England 'the birthplace of privacy . . . In France there is

¹⁰⁶ *Gomberville*, 59-60.

¹⁰⁷ David Starkey, ed., *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987), *passim*.

nothing comparable', and this was particularly evident at court.¹⁰⁸ As Hugh Baillie has noted, 'the publicity in which the king lived' was considered the most notable feature of the French court throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁰⁹ Free access of subjects to their sovereign was a distinctive principle of the French monarchy. Kings dressed and ate in view of the court, and the royal bedchamber was the principal room of audience: bed and throne had similar ceremonial, public connotations.¹¹⁰ This was quite different to the English pattern, in which, despite significant regnal changes, entry to the monarch's more intimate living-spaces was always a considerable privilege. As a result, demarcations of social space at the French court were less complex.¹¹¹

In a society in which public affairs were conducted principally by men, a female monarch would necessarily complicate this pattern; Baillie notes that the apartments of the French queen developed along more private lines.¹¹² Gomberville may thus wrongly have assumed that it was the long period of female rule in England that began the traditions of privacy that surrounded the person of the English sovereign. Alcidiana's inventiveness is not entirely misleading, however; although Elizabeth inherited a court in which the division between public and private areas was already crucial, her gender and personality both dictated changes. Dominated by women, who were themselves thoroughly dominated by the Queen, the privy chamber became more effectively sealed off from politics, more distinctively private; as Pam Wright observes, Henry VIII's 'cockpit of faction' was transformed into 'a barrier or a cocoon'.¹¹³ If Gomberville's description of his Elizabeth-figure's divided court as a 'business which her predecessors had never put in practice' is a historical exaggeration, then, the sense of intensified differentiation

¹⁰⁸ 'Introduction', in *Passions* ed. Ariès, 1-12 (5).

¹⁰⁹ 'Etiquette and the Planning of the State Apartments in Baroque Palaces', *Archaeologia* 101 (1967), 169-99 (180 and *passim*).

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 183, 186, 190-1. See also Nicole Castan, 'The Public and the Private', in *Passions* ed. Ariès, 403-46: 'The king [Louis XIV] devoured the man, dispossessing him of privacy . . . The king lived a public life . . . there was little intimacy' (403, 419).

¹¹¹ Baillie, 'Etiquette', 180, 189-90.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 191.

¹¹³ Pam Wright, 'A Change in Direction: the Ramifications of a Female Household, 1558-1603', in Starkey, *Court*, 147-72 (159 and *passim*). See also Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: a Social and Architectural History* (London, 1978): 'The process of withdrawal continued under Elizabeth. She ate more and more in the privy chamber, at the expense of the presence chamber' (110).

which underlies it has some validity. Pursuing this line, Gomberville places the split in Alcidiana's court at the centre of the symbolic organisation of *Polexander's* narrative, forming an emblem of other, similar divisions that occur on each side of it. The largest of these is the magically recessive tendency of the Inaccessible Isle itself: as one of its inhabitants, an old shepherd, explains to Polexander on his arrival, 'it privily withdrawes, and hides it selfe' when sought for.¹¹⁴

This magical division between the island and the world around it is also expressed in generic terms. When Polexander is shipwrecked there, having been attacked by pirates on his way home to the Canaries, he moves from a romance-world to a pastoral one. Proximity to *The New Arcadia's* opening sequence makes the generic reference so obvious that Gomberville's *locus amoenus* description is leavened with irony:

so delightsome valleys were it for the little Brookes which divided them, for the Fountaines which slid from the top of the little hills, for the meadow, coverd with a thousand severall kinds of flowers, or for the little woods which invironed them . . . If *Polexander* were ravished at so faire a Scite, he was farre more, in meeting with those that inhabited it. They were Shepherds so handsome, and Shepherdessees so fayre and neatly clad, that in seeing them *Polexander* thought on the Knights and Ladies of the French Court, & beleevved he saw them represent & act some Pastoral in their rurall habits (1.231).

The importance of the Inaccessible Isle's pastoral identity is also signalled by the fact that a similar set-piece introduces Tisiphone's island, whose inhabitants' resemblance to 'those famous shepherdessees of the ancient Arcadia' leads Polexander to confuse the two (2.205-6). But the affinity between pastoral and privacy sets up further resemblance to a less ancient Arcadia: as in Sidney, a *locus amoenus* turns out to be nested with private rooms. As Polexander pushes further into Alcidiana's island, the romance-pastoral boundary gives place to further subdivisions of 'privy withdrawal'.

The first of these is the divide between public and private courts. But the latter is further divided into different spaces with different levels of privacy: the 'first inclosure' where the bodyguards lodge (2.278), the 'privie chamber', into which one of these guards, Pisander, unwisely intrudes while the queen is dressing (2.282), and the 'closet' to which she retires to

¹¹⁴ *Polexander*, 1.234.

consult with Amintha (1.123, 2.322, 324, 335). Awareness of these clustered spaces intensifies in the novel's closing moments, when Amintha secretly conducts Poxander to see Alcidiana 'in private' (2.345). Uncertainty as to the queen's whereabouts offers Gomberville a chance to trace the floor-plan of her apartments. Initially she is reported to be 'retir'd into her Closet, and command given that none shall have admittance'; Amintha enters via a 'private gallery' to the 'queen's cabinet', which contains a 'lesser cabinet' (perhaps synonymous with the earlier 'closet'), where she finds Alcidiana; when Amintha returns with Poxander she is told the queen has taken to her bed in the 'greater privie chamber', where the lovers are finally united (2.345-6). Here, uniting the text's opposite poles of privacy and expansiveness, Poxander delivers 'an exact and judicious narration of those many strange and wonderfull Events you have read during this long discourse' (2.347), to which Alcidiana attends with appropriate if unlikely patience.

A metaphor of similar spatial division describes Alcidiana's secret diary, which the supportive Amintha conveys to Poxander by means of Alcidiana's herald Pallantus. Before reading, Poxander 'kisse[s] the rich covering, . . . to intimate . . . the respect he bore to the outside of [this] Temple' (1.136). Inside the diary lie further divisions of secrecy. Crucial parts of it are rendered illegible by ink-blots (1.138). This in turn, however, proves emblematic of a more profound concealment: Alcidiana's own inability to understand the meaning of the unfamiliar feelings that have prompted her to write. The diary opens with a question it proves unable to answer: 'What could cause the strange alteration I finde in my selfe?' (1.137). Her education by the high priest, Radiotez, in 'the troubles and passions of the Soule', contained 'nothing that hath any resemblance with my afflictions', so that it seems as though '[t]hese disorders are not begotten by any cause at all, at least not by any whereof I am sensible' (1.127). The reader is unlikely to share this bafflement, among whose precedents are Philoclea's wrangling with the nature of her feelings for the disguised Pyrocles,¹¹⁵ but it has the specific effect in this context of establishing a further public/private division within Alcidiana's mind, a level at which she remains hidden even from her own thoughts.

¹¹⁵ Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The Old Arcadia)*, ed. Jean Robertson (Oxford, 1973), 108-11.

The diary is described in a section whose title, ‘The History of Alcidianaes divers Humors’ (1.123), emphasises this impression of a divided self. It forms part of a narration by Alcidiana’s herald Pallantus, who travels the globe delivering her pronouncements, including, on this occasion, a sentence of death to be carried out on Polexander should he ever return to the island (1.84-5). As Alcidiana’s public mouthpiece, Pallantus testifies by his existence to the extent to which his queen’s public self is distinct and separable from her own person. Gomberville cleverly uses him to articulate this differentiation still further. Rather than simply hinting at Alcidiana’s secret love, Pallantus draws attention to the contradiction between her outward statements and inward thoughts, as on the occasion when Polexander defeated the rebellious baron Syziphus:

Alcidiana testified, publiquely, that the service you had done her, was such as Kings could not worthily acknowledge, unleast, then in giving up their crownes with themselves. But in particular, she found herselfe offended . . . she called to her the discrete Amintha, and being shut with her into her Closet. Doe not you beleeve (said she) that the rash Syziphus had intelligence with the man that overcame him . . . ? (1.123).

This contrast, between public testimony and ‘particular’, or private, feelings – *particulier* in French is an older word for ‘private’ –¹¹⁶ is mirrored by that between the two documents Pallantus delivers to Polexander in this scene, the death sentence (in the form of a written notice) and the diary. It also echoes towards the close of the book, as Polexander agonises over his plan to defy Alcidiana by returning to the island:

You but little know that Princesses intention. Those things which she hath made publick, are different from those she retaines in private. Her thoughts are not altogether answerable to her words. You must interpret Alcidiana; by Alcidiana . . . (2.299).

Such sentiments give Alcidiana, like her island, a quality of hiddenness that is enhanced by the way in which her character is presented. Like other female centres of gravity in pastoral romance – Diana, Zelmane, Spenser’s Faerie Queene – her appearance is delayed. She enters the novel

¹¹⁶ Ariès, ‘Introduction’, *Passions*: “‘private’” (or *particulier*, as one used to say in French) referred to everything outside the state’s purview’ (9). Alcidiana’s private court is also called ‘particular’ (1.238).

directly only in the closing scenes; prior to that she is glimpsed through other people's accounts. Like Polexander, the reader is placed on the outside looking in at a character who can at first be only faintly made out.

The different versions of private space in Gomberville's narrative create a Russian doll effect: pastoral island, court, closet, diary, even Alcidiana herself; each contains a further sealed-off space of knowledge. Patricia Fumerton argues that 'Elizabethan subjectivity' was predicated on just such a 'perpetual regress of apartments . . . [w]ithin [whose] "innermost" recesses . . . further recesses, cabinets, or cases kept opening up'.¹¹⁷ There is little sense of this in Sidney, or the works translated by Bartholomew Yong, in which privacy is anything but elusive: its destabilising potency seems all too firmly rooted and substantial. But for an author-historian like Gomberville, distanced (if only by comparatively little) from his subject, Fumerton's description matches how Elizabethan privacy looks from the outside. *Polexander's* sense of unexpectedly numerous compartments goes some way to justifying the Tardis-like description of the Inaccessible Isle's topography offered by its hero's shepherd host: 'farre greater then it seemes, because it extends not in length as others doe, but properly resembles a Pomegranet'.¹¹⁸ Unlike a pomegranate, however, the island's "seeds" are nested within each other, so that there always seems to be another layer of secrecy to penetrate. Its private realm recedes as it is approached.

The recessive dynamic of privacy was one factor that linked the architecture and functions of the privy apartments to the personal tastes and political styles of individual monarchs: the need to keep hollowing out new private spaces was an opportunity to decide what those spaces would be like. As Baillie observes, 'as the court and the public penetrate[d] further into the palace, so [did] the king withdraw into its interior',¹¹⁹ and the 'multiplication of rooms with . . . specialized purpose[s]' which resulted was 'designed to serve the different aspects of the

¹¹⁷ Patricia Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament* (Chicago, 1991), 69. See also 129: 'By the second half of the seventeenth century, private closets had become so public that lords and ladies were driven to add closets onto their closets, all in the search for privacy'.

¹¹⁸ 2.234. This comparison is not an artefact of translation: 'beaucoup plus grande qu'elle ne paroist, pource qu'elle ne s'estend pas en long comme beaucoup d'autres, mais ressemblent proprement à une grenade' (*Polexandre*, 5 vols (Paris, 1638), 2.593).

¹¹⁹ Baillie, 'Etiquette', 176.

royal *persona*'.¹²⁰ One result, as Simon Thurley has observed, was Henry VIII's creation and expansion of 'secret lodgings' behind the existing privy apartments. The pressure of the public world on the private gave rise to multiplying architectural subdivisions into differentiated spaces whose significances reflected – as Starkey and his contributors also emphasise – the sovereign's personality.¹²¹ This connection between human and architectural interiorities seems reflected in the layout of Alcidiana's capital city Eliza, which is built on an enormous rock in the shape of a human body (2.316).

The circumstance of an unmarried female ruler allows such desire for access to acquire a more obviously sexual charge. Gomberville exploits these materials to make his novel centre around a notion of private space as feminine, recessive, attractive, vulnerable, and dangerous. In *Polexander*, accordingly, *otium*'s instability, destructive potential and erotic connotations again work to link pastoral and privacy, making sense of the connection that spans the island's Arcadian appearance and the royal closet at its centre of government. But *otium* for Gomberville is more than simply a tantalising sense of intimacy that is always slightly out of reach. It poses a real threat, reflected in a number of subplots, and the corresponding drive to master it generates some of *Polexander*'s most intriguing and uncomfortable moments.

Alcidiana's private spaces seem conceived as a device to reinforce her power through mystique. The idea of 'divers humors' at the centre of those spaces which she is unable fully to comprehend herself, however, suggests a dangerous instability at the heart of this system, an idea that is born out in Alcidiana's own capriciousness as well as her effects on others. For Pisander, long-term exposure to this climate of intimacy proves hazardous: when he wins admittance to Alcidiana's private court as the head of her bodyguard, the proximity drives him mad with love and she is forced to banish him (2.278-88). This emotional problem exemplifies a wider political cycle in which protectors become threats. Pisander wins promotion by foiling the attempts of Syziphus and Arziland at winning Alcidiana's hand by force, but then develops comparable

¹²⁰ Ibid., 180, 176.

¹²¹ David Starkey, 'Introduction: Court History in Perspective', in Starkey, *Court*, 1-24 (6-9).

ambitions himself. A later rebellion by Syziphus is put down by Palexander, who then himself occupies the threatening position of potential suitor. (1.123-30, ¶2^v-¶¶^v). The tensions thus created by Alcidiana's refusal of passionate and political attachments spread outward. Parliament backs Syziphus's initial proposal (2.276-7); on his defeat, the people call for a marriage with Palexander (1.141-2, ¶4^r). Such effects are felt beyond the island itself; reports of Alcidiana's beauty have created a host of globetrotting suitors, who feel obliged to fight whenever a rival is encountered.

Alcidiana's causative role in all this is inadvertent, but Gomberville also gives her a more aggressive and interventionist side. The death sentence on Palexander is one instance of this. Another is her international 'Declaration, by which shee held for irreconcilable enemies all those that had the boldnesse to take on them the name of her lovers', issued after Arziland's revolt. This is aimed 'to give the more terrour to such Princes as loved her', and Pallantus is 'sent into Europe' with a mission to 'proclaime [it] in a thousand places' (2.282). Alcidiana also displays her reach during a tourney organised between all her suitors which takes place in Morocco. This offers the prospect of reducing future conflicts between them by establishing a hierarchy of claims to her hand. But Pallantus appears in the midst of the jousts to break them up, commanding all present, in Alcidiana's name, immediately to redirect their efforts to attacking a new suitor, Phelismond the Dane (1.204). This tactic seems designed mainly to replenish the vitality of the global system of random combats that has Alcidiana as its motivating centre, preventing it from settling. As well as offering an emblem of recessive privacy, then, Alcidiana also radiates violent instability, at home and abroad. The device of her diary probably owes something to the emerging genre of the secret history, which tended to place private feelings at the motivating centre of political events,¹²² but the wider contexts of Gomberville's romance also suggest how dangerous this makes privacy seem. Despite her obvious virtue, as the novel develops Alcidiana's jealously guarded sexual and political independence starts to look less like

¹²² 'Beyond the apparent political causes . . . there are usually strictly private causes: jealousy, desire, uncontrolled and uncontrollable passions'. Jean-Marie Goulemot, 'Literary Practices: Publicising the Private', in Ariès, *Passions*, 363-96 (385).

something that needs defending, and more as itself a threat that requires urgently to be overcome.

INSENSIBILITY AND RESENTMENT

These aspects of Gomberville's plot suggest that withholding some area of the self from public view can seem threatening. This sense is reflected in *Polexander's* largely negative take on disguise. Disguise, particularly of the shepherd and/or transvestite variety, is a common trope of pastoral romance. To Gomberville, however, it tends to signal unacceptable duplicity, even when employed to eminently virtuous ends. When Polexander lands on Alcidiana's and Tisiphone's pastoral islands, he does adopt shepherd disguise, but his manner of doing so, like Gomberville's self-conscious pastoral descriptions, suggests the perfunctory fulfilment of generic requirements: in each case the disguise has no effect on the plot and is quickly discarded (1.239-¶2v, 2.206). He also uses disguise in his final return to the Inaccessible Isle as a sacrificial slave, but the point here seems to be that this newly humble appearance reflects genuine personal change brought on by the hardships of his search: 'time, travell, and the torrid Zone have so changed him, that he is scarce to be knowne' (2.290). Though the disguise conceals Polexander's identity in a superficial sense, in a more profound one it expresses the truth of recent experiences.

Something similar could be said of a character such as Sidney's Pyrocles, whose cross-dressing reflects the "feminising" effects of his newly-acquired attraction to Philoclea. But Gomberville draws a distinction Sidney lacks, by depicting other characters who use disguise in a more invidiously deceptive way. One such strand involves the love between Muley Hassan and Ennoramita. Ennoramita is too virtuous to abandon her evil husband Nephizus, forcing Muley to adopt disguises in order for them to meet. These have a dark tone, reflecting on the painfulness of the self-division which their situation enforces. As an unknown knight, Muley bears a portrait of a woman who is half-skeleton, 'the one part alive and the other dead' (1.199). In character as a

mystical hermit, he describes a battle for his soul between good and bad angels, in terms that recall Alcidiana's situation – public and private selves haunted by 'divers humors' – from a more sinister perspective:

I am composed of two different Personages. I have one Nature which is proper to me, and another which is accidentall. Ther's a strange substance inseperably knit to mine. In a word, another my selfe lives in me, in the same manner as I live in my selfe . . . and yet are agitated in one and the same time with divers passions . . . (1.158-9).

Gomberville evidently likes these characters, and after Nephizus's death they seem to achieve a happy ending (1.204). Later, however, their author feels impelled to undo this. In a bizarre appendix to her story, the previously chaste Ennoramita reappears without Muley, having developed a depraved passion for Polexander's brother Iphidamantus: she drugs him and dresses him as a woman in order to kidnap him, before being killed abruptly in a Turkish raid (2.177-81). The usually punctilious Gomberville never explains the change, but the reversal of character and narrative conclusion seem to suggest that the necessary doubleness of her relationship with Muley has taken on a life of its own, contaminating their outcome. That concealment incurs strong penalties in Gomberville's ethical schema is further suggested by the fate of the other character associated with disguise, Iphidamantus himself, who frequently cross-dresses to impersonate his twin sister. Iphidamantus is eventually killed in battle (2.202), making him the only one of Polexander's companions to die in the course of the narrative.

Another link between the Iphidamantus and the Muley/Ennoramita subplots is sexual refusal. Ennoramita's chaste refusal to leave her lawful though appalling husband for Muley causes the doubleness that characterises their platonic affair. Iphidamantus's disguises are bound up with hints that he is homosexual,¹²³ but this, too, is cast as simply another kind of rejection of sexual alliance, when an outraged Polexander interprets his indifference to Melicerta's love as inhuman coldness (2.139-40). In another instance of a strained plot-twist leading to an unhappy

¹²³ Aside from the transvestite plotlines, these centre on his relationship with the pirate captain Bajazet. He is accused of being Bajazet's prostitute (1.115-6), and Polexander worries about the nature of their friendship (2.34); see below, p.183. Bajazet's love for Iphidamantus's twin sister provides an Illyrian solution. Edward Baron Turk notes the theme, with different conclusions: *Baroque*, 129-31.

end, Iphidamantus undergoes a fortuitous emotional about-face and they become betrothed, but his death follows almost immediately, before the marriage can take place (2.168, 174-5, 202).

Polexander's explanation for his previous reluctance seems to recall Alcidiana's pastoral virginity: 'this young Prince hath beene ignorant of what is knowne to beasts and plants . . .' (2.160). The idea of psychological division between public and private, of reserving a secret space within the self, seems associated in these stories with a culpable refusal to enter into sexual relationships with characters the novel has identified as virtuous; with a refusal to contribute, in this way, to the strengthening of the bonds between that international community of the good that Gomberville's romance implies.

The importance of this theme is highlighted by the frequency with which *insensible* and *ressentir*, and their cognates, echo through Gomberville's text. Browne's fidelity to his text, aided by the seventeenth-century senses of 'resentment' as emotion, gratitude or sympathy,¹²⁴ ensures that this thematically important contrast survives translation. The word 'resentment' itself was a relatively new arrival in English, and these usages were a couple of decades old at most,¹²⁵ so Browne's literal-mindedness may also have served to mark the up-to-date, topical nature of the ethics of emotion that Gomberville's narrative implied. Central to that ethics was a conception of emotions as quintessentially extrovert. Like its original, Browne's translation sees 'insensibility' and 'resentment' teased out into plotlines which similarly imply that the opposite of interpersonal emotions is not isolated, introverted ones, but rather an absence of any emotions at all.

The consequences of such 'insensibility' range from discourtesy to dehumanisation. Pirates are rallied with the thought that they fight for their own gain, rather than that of 'some . . . brutish Master' who regards their sacrifices with 'insensibility' (1.33); Hismalita's 'insensible nature' means that all her passions are feigned (1.65); Isatida is so beautiful that to refrain from wooing her would have been 'more insensible then judicious' (1.56). After a tale of heroic deeds leaves its audience speechless, Bajazet voices a polite fear of seeming unappreciative: the teller

¹²⁴ *OED* senses 2 (from 1622) and 5 (from 1640).

¹²⁵ See note above.

may think ‘our silence is a signe that we have not that feeling of it which we should’, and imagine them to be ‘insensible of brave actions’ (1.82).

Examples of ‘resentment’ are equally numerous. They include the still-familiar sense of ‘grievance’, as well as the more positive early modern meanings: a ‘furious Mute’ must be persuaded ‘to overcome his resentments, promising him that if they were just, they should not be left without satisfaction’ (1.4), but freed slaves ‘fell on their knees, to signifie their resentment’ (1.44). The positive connotations, however, tend to dominate. One example of these forms a significant parallel with Bajazet’s apology on behalf of the ‘insensible’ audience, which it shortly precedes: the rescued but still ‘insensible’ Hismalita, along with her husband, ‘shewed but little by their countenances their feeling or resentment of their common deliverance’ (1.78). Like the impressed but culpably silent audience, these liberated but ungrateful captives demonstrate the issue at the core of the insensible/resentment dyad; an issue of which Browne’s doublet ‘feeling or resentment’, explicating the French text’s single word ‘ressentiment’,¹²⁶ offers a useful snapshot. Feeling in *Polexander’s* ethical system tends to imply re-feeling, feeling that responds positively, and hence bindingly, to something or someone other than oneself. People who have heard a good story, or just been rescued, or received an offer of virtuous love, will seem ‘insensible’ if they fail to display the appropriate ‘resentment’ in return.

In this text, then, to ‘have not that feeling . . . which we should’ is a cardinal sin: *Polexander’s* ethics require insensibility to be abandoned, and resentment embraced. An emblem of this transition occurs in the opening lines, when witnessing what appears to be a double suicide jolts even hardened sailors into vehement pity. The ship’s captain is ‘much mov’d’ at the sight of the two men jumping from a cliff, and ‘his followers by a great shreek witnessed their great resentment: Yea the very Mariners suspending that obduratenesse, which their manner of life makes naturall to them . . .’. The feeling leads to action, as they ‘offered to succour those two so desperate . . . Thereupon some fifteen or twenty cast themselves into the Shallop’ (1.3).

¹²⁶ ‘[T]esmoignoient à leurs visages, peu de ressentime[n]t de leur commune delivrance’ (*Polexandre*, 1.537).

This episode later takes on considerable importance, because the ship's unnamed captain turns out to be Iphidamantus, the figure around whom Gomberville's theme of insensibility and resentment ultimately crystallises. The transition he presides over on the opening page is repeated later, when his feelings towards Melicerta abruptly shift from indifference to love. In the passages that describe his initial lack of response to her, 'insensible' and 'impassible' virtually become his epithets. Their negative connotations reach a height in Polexander's outrage, which suggests that lack of feeling is the ultimate crime:

That barbarian (said hee) who could look on so much attraction, and yet preserve his infamous liberty, was surely borne among those horrible rockes, which an eternall winter covers with lakes of ice and snow. 'Tis doubtlesse some monster whom angry nature produc'd in some extream corner of Scythia. Turkes are naturally cruell and unpitifull, but they are not insensible . . . (2.139-40).

In Iphidamantus, 'Nature which cries out that we must love . . . hath found a monster'. A repentant Iphidamantus agrees: 'I am that monster, who [has] . . . violated the most holy and sweet lawes of nature'. But this is in the past; similarly to the effects of the sight of plunging bodies on the hardened sailors, a violent image – in this case a mysterious dream of a bloodily wounded Melicerta – has cured his insensibility. After this disturbing dream, 'presently, of impassible, I began to be all passion' (2.175):

'Tis not the insensible [Iphidamantus] you see at your feet, that monster hath long agoe been out of the number of things existing: 'tis the repenting and sensible [Iphidamantus]' (2.169).

Imitating the kind of change with which *Polexander* opens, he has passed from 'obduratenesse' to 'resentment'. But his unexpected death, which shortly follows, suggests that this kind of 'insensibility' is harder to shake: Iphidamantus enacts the fate he has ascribed to his former self and passes out of the number of existing things.

GOMBERVILLE AND STOICISM

The punishments meted out to Gomberville's 'insensible' characters reflect broader cultural trends. Anthony Levi's study of French moral thought describes a 'strong wave' of reaction against 'Senecan rationalism' and towards 'the rehabilitation of the passions' which gathered momentum through the first half of the seventeenth century.¹²⁷ England saw a parallel development, as Christopher Tilmouth has argued.¹²⁸ *Polexandre* was swimming with this tide. It was not the only pastoral romance to do so: Levi notes how in d'Urfé's *L'Astrée*, too, 'virtue and duty are not incompatible with love, but rather tend to reinforce its promptings' (189). But *Polexandre's* evolution through its numerous revisions parallels the changes Levi traces especially closely.¹²⁹ A few years before the final version of Gomberville's romance was published in 1638, Bardin had described how 'un homme impassible' could never be capable of virtue; seven years later Descartes condemned 'ces Philosophes cruels, qui veulent que leur sage soit insensible'.¹³⁰

It would be wrong, however, to assume that this had to be conceived as a move away from Stoicism. The year before the publication of Browne's translation of *Polexander*, Gomberville published his *Doctrine des Moeurs, Tirée de la Philosophie des Stoïques* (1646), a treatise cast in the form of brief essays on 103 allegorical engravings by Pierre Daret. But Gomberville's *Doctrine* is anything but a defence of *apatheia*; instead, it exemplifies the freedom Neostoics felt to disregard and even attack this apparently essential aspect of their ancient predecessors' thought. Plutarch, reassuringly stern in other respects, offered ready-made arguments. *Of Morall Vertue*, as translated by Philemon Holland in 1603, holds that reason ought not 'to roote out quite all passions', but only 'limit them within certaine bounds'; accordingly, 'Morall vertues [are] not to

¹²⁷ *French Moralists: the Theory of the Passions, 1585 to 1649* (Oxford, 1964), 192, 335.

¹²⁸ '[T]he decline . . . of an austere rationalist model of self-governance', and a corresponding 'revalu[ation of] the affections as controlled but morally constructive forces': *Passion's Triumph over Reason: A History of the Moral Imagination from Spenser to Rochester* (Oxford, 2007), 1.

¹²⁹ Earlier versions, some very different, appeared in 1619, 1629, 1632 and 1637; there was also a belated follow-up, *La Jeune Alcidiane* (Paris, 1651). Wadsworth, *Gomberville*, 6, 8, 13, 19, 26.

¹³⁰ *Le Lycée du Sr Bardin*, 2 vols (Paris, 1632-4), part 1, promenade 1, p.62; Descartes, *Œuvres*, ed. Charles Adam and Paul Tannery, 12 vols (Paris, 1897-1913), 4.201-2 (letter of 18th May 1645); both cited in Levi, *Moralists*, 192, 289.

be impassibilities, but rather . . . moderations of our affections'.¹³¹ Making the sense of 'impassibility' clearer, Holland's Plutarch goes on to distinguish 'good affections' or 'Eupathies' from 'Apathies, that is to say, Impassibilities' (74). Together, *Polexandre's* Plutarchan critique of *apatheia* and the Stoic title of the same author's *Doctrine* show Neostoics' unlikely readiness to ally themselves with the philosopher Philemon Holland described as 'directly contrary' to their classical originals.¹³²

One of the images that *Of Morall Vertue* used to critique 'Impassibilities' was a kind of revision of *otium's* stagnancy topos, replacing standing waters with a windless ocean: 'let passions be rid cleane away . . . our reason will be found . . . dull and idle: like as the pilot and master of a ship . . . if the winde be laid and no gale at all stirring' (77). In 1640 Edward Reynolds extended this idea to *otium's* common link with humours theory. Unlike Gomberville, Reynolds was clear that this represented a move away from Stoicism. He observed that 'Tully and Seneca, and other Stoicall Philosophers' had to have been wrong in their blanket condemnations of 'perturbations of the Mind', since this was as 'absurd' as claiming that 'all motion [is] diseased and troublesome: for what water more sweet than that of a Spring, or what more thick or lothsome, than that which standeth in a puddle[?]'.¹³³ This reversal of *otium's* significances in respect of the passions seems reflected in the decisions of authors such as Gomberville and, as the next chapter discusses, Milton, to replace love-chains with chastity at the centre of their pastorals. Instead of a fall into the passions, idleness, and the pastoral world that represented it, was becoming a fall out of them. Stoic or not, this repositioning of *otium* was symptomatic of the times. Reconfiguring the stagnancy topos in this way rewrote mental and physical ill-health in terms of a deficit of emotion, rather than the surfeit that resulted when the active life was neglected. As both *Polexander* and the *Doctrine des Moeurs* suggest, however, the result was not necessarily a newly positive evaluation of private feelings. Instead, the passions could be placed firmly in the public domain.

¹³¹ Plutarch, *The Philosophie, Commonlie Called, the Morals*, trans. Philemon Holland (1603), 67. Further references appear in text or footnotes as appropriate.

¹³² *Morals*, 1057.

¹³³ *A Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soule of Man* (1640), 59-60.

Friendship offered one model for how this could be achieved. The *Doctrine des Moeurs* views friendship as both passionate in the extreme, and the building block of a well-functioning polity. The treatise's first discussion of friendship comes under the heading 'Man was Born to Love'; the accompanying picture of male friends hand in hand shows 'the duties of friendship'. Nothing can 'suspend for one single Moment the Ardency of their Affection; if they possess but one another they believe they possess all Things'. Verse quotations at the bottom of this page include the *omnia vincit amor* addressed by Gallus to his female lover in the *Eclogues* (10.69);¹³⁴ the pastoral reference is coincidental to the present argument, but the sentiment shows the proximity of Gombervillian friendship to more obviously erotic modes of feeling. Gomberville's translator is responsible for the 'friendly Bliss and fond Desire' mentioned here, but they only amplify the original reference to 'L'amour . . . ses flames' (43). The following sections, both appended to similar illustrations of male friends, are 'By loving we become perfect' (44) and – repeating the reciprocal message of resentment – 'It is necessary that we should Love, to be Beloved' (46). Many studies have discussed the significance of apparent eroticism in early modern accounts of friendship, but Gomberville's might be considered notably explicit in its insistence on the presence of what he later calls love's 'active Heat' (44).¹³⁵

Laurie Shannon suggests that early modern friendship discourses form 'a chapter in the history of public and private divisions'.¹³⁶ Supporting this view, the next section of the *Doctrine* finds Gomberville 'passing from particular Friendships to the publick', since 'Amity . . . in a state . . . produces . . . Peace, Unity and Strength'; 'particular' here, like Alcidiana's 'particular' feelings, is translating *particulier*, or private.¹³⁷ Daret's 'true Emblem of the Republick' thus shows that 'whilst the people are unanimous and affectionate to one another, they can never become a prey to Strangers'. 'Faithful good friends', an epigraph from Tacitus observes at the base of the page,

¹³⁴ I cite the eighteenth-century translation by T.M. Gibbs (*The Doctrine of Morality; or, a View of Human Life, According to the Stoic Philosophy* (1721), 42) which includes the French text in parallel.

¹³⁵ E.g. Laurie Shannon, *Sovereign Amity: Figures of Friendship in Shakespearean Contexts* (Chicago, 2002), 1-53; Tom MacFaul, *Male Friendship in Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Cambridge, 2007), 17-8; Alan Stewart, *Close Readers: Humanism and Sodomy in Early Modern England*, (Princeton, 1997), 122-60; Alan Bray, 'Homosexuality and the Signs of Male Friendship in Elizabethan England', *History Workshop* 29 (1990), 1-19 (*passim*).

¹³⁶ *Amity*, 10.

¹³⁷ See above, note 116.

‘are fit Instruments to support an Empire’ (48). Here, as with his hostility to impassibility, Gomberville might have drawn on Plutarch’s *Of Morall Vertue*. Plutarch also suggests that passionate attachments can be useful in civil society: just as students often grew to love their teachers, similar bonds of affection should tie citizens to magistrates (73-4). In 1576 Thomas Rogers anticipated Gomberville more closely, hoping that ‘from a domesticall friendship [men] . . . may step to a civile’ (f.89 ν); this had implications for the political virtue of ‘concorde’, since ‘with Freendship hath Concorde greate affinitie. For even as Freendship and Amitié joyneth a few together in good wil: so Concorde linketh many and a whole multitude’ (f.184 ν). Completing his microcosmic circle, Rogers then compared concord to the Galenic ‘temperature’ of elements that ensured bodily health (ff.185 r - ν). From this angle the passions could thus be seen to affect every level of social existence: inwardly, through the need for a moderating and harmonising self-control; domestically, through the affectionate ties of friendship; and civilly, through the concord that massed friendships made up. Gomberville’s passage from personal to political versions of *amitié* shares this all-pervasive view.

These examples might suggest that what matters in both friendships and more openly erotic relationships is not the level of eroticism, but the extent to which passionate attachments contribute to social cohesion. From this perspective, Iphidamantus’s implicit homosexuality may be a problem not on its own account, but because of the social disruption it causes. His closeness to the pirates’ leader, Bajazet, leads to suggestions of favouritism and prompts a fight in which Bajazet is badly wounded (1.115-7), a crisis whose impact is strengthened by Gomberville’s careful depiction of the social structure of the pirate community which Bajazet governs (1.26-7, 59-63). His failure to love Melicerta obstructs a marital alliance that Palexander favours. In contrast, Palexander’s love for Alcidiana, which aims at ending the Inaccessible Isle’s seclusion by merging their realms, encounters no such problems. It causes protracted absences from his kingdom, but his viceroy proves a perfect deputy, and his people never fail to support him – even when he renames Lanzarote ‘The New Isle of Alcidiana’ (2.153). When the Spanish attack he always manages to arrive in the nick of time. Instead, it is Alcidiana, withdrawn from passionate

attachments, who seems politically vulnerable. This is not simply a predictable case of heterosexual bias, since in Sidney the situation is something like the reverse: Pyrocles' desire for Philoclea has disruptive political consequences which his relationship with Musidorus initially offers to prevent. For Gomberville, things seem differently configured: instead of opposing politics to desire, *Polexandre* opposes integrative public desires with disruptive private ones.

This reading seems strengthened by the *Doctrine's* later discussion of privacy. If Gomberville's passionate version of friendship is a way of linking private and public relationships that has a distant predecessor in Plutarch, this later, more direct discussion of privacy and publicness draws on impeccably Stoic antecedents. In the section of the *Doctrine* entitled 'He that lives well, conceals not his Actions', Gomberville offers his version of one of Seneca's favourite maxims. Gomberville gives this a twist appropriate to his dedicatee, the future Louis XIV, by presenting its advocacy of publicness as an endorsement of *la Gloire*, but more inward implications quickly re-assert themselves. The good man, Gomberville suggests, never 'altogether neglects . . . the Voice of the Publick'. He 'reveal[s] to Fame his most secret Thoughts and Actions', and 'refuses not . . . her most curious Search' (150):

Let us expose naked, and without disguise, the integrity of our souls, and permit the world to look into our lives, to consider us within and without . . . let us satisfy the curiosity even of strangers . . . [and let] the most Vulgar . . . pry into our most private . . . Actions . . .

Into my wallet look . . .
I'd have no window, trunk, no room nor door
Deny you entrance . . .

I'll imagine that the whole world is looking upon me, even when I am alone, and doing something that none sees, or is privy too (150).

This idea was an important element of Stoic thought. The *Enchiridion* of Epictetus, popular with early modern translators, insists that one should behave the same 'when thou art alone and when thou art in companie';¹³⁸ Thomas James was thus offering appropriately Stoic praise to the dedicatee of his version, Charles Blount, when he noted that 'your life in private is

¹³⁸ *The Manuell of Epictetus*, trans. James Sanford (1567), f.24v.

answerable unto your life in publike'.¹³⁹ But the *Enchiridion*'s second expression of this idea is more forceful, when Epictetus, in the words of his earliest English translator, claims that the true philosopher 'watcheth himselfe, as his Enemie and Spye' (f.34r).¹⁴⁰ John Healey's 1610 translation of this passage went further: '[one should] keepe a guard over [oneself], as over a treacherous enemy'.¹⁴¹ That treacherous enemy was how Stoicism viewed the private self.

Seneca expresses this idea on numerous occasions in different forms.¹⁴² At its simplest he advises '[s]o doe all things . . . as if another man looked on' (208). Gomberville's sense that this thought suggests a built interior – windows, rooms and doors – is paralleled in Seneca's later exhortation to 'live publiquely, when as thy rooffe and walles may cover and not hide thee' (232). Seneca also sees this doctrine as yet another way of controlling the dangerous potentials of solitude and leisure. The reason why 'that which thou doest, thou [should] doest it as if a man had an eye upon thee' is the fact that '[s]olitude induceth us to all evill' (208). *Of Benefits* asserts that 'liv[ing] alwayes as it were in publike' creates a position of 'safetie' from which one may 'lawfull[y]' indulge in the 'delights of leasure' (141). Living in public defuses *otium*.¹⁴³

Seneca also, however, links the doctrine of living in public to friendship, a link which suggests that emotional ties and exchanges of knowledge are mutually dependent. Seneca, perhaps contrary to expectations, placed a high value on friendship, on which *Of Benefits* is effectively a treatise, since it is from 'the sacred law of Benefits' that 'friendship taketh his originall' (29). But this implies no materialism, since '[a] benefit is a thing incorporeall', not to be confused with 'the matter thereof; it is 'a common bond, and linketh two together' (114).¹⁴⁴ Gifts matter only in respect of the friendships they seek to create or enhance. In keeping with this philosophy, in Epistle 3 Seneca suggests that one of the most important things to be exchanged

¹³⁹ Du Vair, *The Moral Philosophie of the Stoicks*, trans. Thomas James (1598), A7r-v. ('[T]his booke . . . is nothing els but the selfe same Manuell of Epictetus' (3)).

¹⁴⁰ *Manuell* trans. Sanford, f.34r.

¹⁴¹ *Epictetus his Manuell*, trans. John Healey (1610), 93.

¹⁴² In addition to the examples discussed below, see *Workes*, trans. Thomas Lodge (1614), 179 (Epistle 11): 'We ought to chuse out som good man, and alwaies fix him before our eies, that we may so live as if he alwayes lookt on, & do al things as if he continually beheld us. This . . . is one of Epicurus precepts'. Further references are to this edition and appear in the text.

¹⁴³ The works cited are Epistles 25 and 43, and *De Beneficiis* 7.1.

¹⁴⁴ *De Beneficiis* 2.18, 6.2.

between friends is knowledge. This enables him to conjoin his doctrine of friendship with that of living in public, since both involve the exposure of secrets:

Thinke therefore long time with thy selfe, whether any man is to bee entertained into thy friendship; but when thou shalt be resolved to accept of his love, discover unto him readily thy whole hart, and as boldly communicate thy secrets with him, as with thy selfe; yet so live thou, that thy thoughts and actions may be such, that thou mayest commit them to the serious observation of thineemie . . . What is the cause therefore, why I should conceale any thing from my friend? Why before him thinke I not my selfe alone? (165).

Gomberville may participate in the Plutarchan critique of Stoic *apatheia*, but his antipathy to privacy, and his sense of emotional attachments as a way of controlling it, both agree with Seneca. The point of the *Doctrine's* sections on *amitié* is not to infuse this kind of relationship with barely-concealed desire, but to bring desires that might otherwise lie hid into public view by expressing them through the civic institution of friendship. Positioned halfway between private and public, between the potentially unruly passions and the social structures that offer to stabilise them, friendship seems ideal for this purpose. Looked at from one side, Gombervillian friendship engages and satisfies love's active heat; from the other, it forms the interlocking building-blocks of a unified state. It integrates the passionate side of existence with living in public. The close of Gomberville's romance, uniting Gomberville's well-travelled hero with the private Alcidiana, depicts marriage's ability to serve a similar purpose. Iphidamantus, again, provides a contrast. Surrounded by uncertainty and disguise, his sexuality not only throws Bajazet's community into disorder; it also resists the public recognition that marriage to Melicerta would provide.

'The good Man', Gomberville finishes this section by noting, 'in his closet . . . would nothing do / But what he dares expose to publick view' (151). Gomberville's criterion for a 'good Man' seems to be the thing to which characters like Iphidamantus, Ennoramita, Muley Hassan, and even Alcidiana herself, whose words in 'publick view' and closeted 'particular' are very different, fail to measure up. The strain of enforcing that criterion against the grain of *Polexander's* narrative, however, suggests a measure of coerciveness. It means that some characters have to be pushed into relationships they don't want or punished for the ones they do; but because

Gomberville is unable to close off either his own or his readers' sympathies for these alternative possibilities altogether, his solutions can seem wrenchingly violent.

Some of these impulses may have been prompted by Seneca, whose idea of friendship often seems forceful. A recent study lauds the equality that the *topoi* of early modern friendship often stressed.¹⁴⁵ But for Seneca, making friends has a literal meaning, since friendship means shaping another person to your will. This shaping is the real source of enjoyment: it is 'a farre more pleasant thing to make a friend, then to have a friend; as it is more agreeable to a painter to paint, then to have finished his picture', since '[t]his attention which he applyeth to his worke, hath in it selfe such sweetnesse'. Losing friends ought not to be a cause for concern, since it offers the opportunity to 'make' – in this loaded sense – new ones, '[a]s Phidias having lost one statue, can suddenly fashion another'.¹⁴⁶ This shaping is what lets Seneca announce triumphantly to Lucilius, 'I challenge thee for mine, thou art mine own labor . . . I laide hold on thee . . . I pricked thee forward . . . and thou reciprocally art to exhort me' (222).¹⁴⁷ These last words, however, are the only real glimpse of reciprocation. Senecan friendship sounds one-sided, and slightly predatory.

These senses of friendship – passionate, politically integrative, forceful – converge in a particularly discomfiting scene towards *Polexander's* close. Here Polexander reforms Perseus, the psychopathic prince of Benin, who has been captured after unsuccessfully rebelling against his virtuous parents. Polexander initially uses reasoned arguments to persuade his captive to virtue. But he follows this up with a more direct approach:

Perseus by this was not wholly converted, but at last he made shew he was likely to be so. Polexander, who was not wont to conquer by halves, redoubled his perswasions, added consideration to consideration, and so lively imprinted in Perseus thought the feare of losing both Crowne and life, if he did not reconcile himselfe to his father, that he promis'd him to submit to all he would command him. Our Heroe to continue and confirme him in that minde, lay with him, and handled him with that dexterity, as I might say he tamed him; and by the vertue of his eloquence made a man of a furious beast (2.123-4).

¹⁴⁵ Shannon cites many examples, including Erasmus: 'Frendship . . . is equalitie' (*Proverbes or Adagies*, trans. Richard Taverner (1539), Gv7; cited in Shannon, *Amity*, 3). She concludes that in early modern friendships '[l]ikeness, parity, equality . . . present a thoroughgoing antidote to hierarchies . . . likeness between friends radically cancels vertical difference' (11).

¹⁴⁶ *Workes* trans. Lodge, 174-5 (Epistle 9).

¹⁴⁷ Epistle 34.

At this point ‘perswasions’ and ‘consideration’ have already elicited Perseus’s full submission, so that, despite the subsequent reference to ‘eloquence’, this seems to suggest a transition to a new, more physical method to clinch the transformation. ‘[L]ay with him . . . handled him . . . tamed him’ suggest sexual contexts – seduction, or rape – which the original (*coucha avec luy*) supports.¹⁴⁸

This sounds bizarre, but it can draw support from both the moral philosophy on which Gomberville’s *Doctrine* is based, and the internal logic of the pastoral romance which shows that philosophy in action. The aim is to catch Perseus’s passions, since previous offers of terms have left ‘That black and brutish soule . . . no way mov’d . . . On the contrary, he became the more proud and savage’ (2.123). In the *Doctrine*, Gomberville recycles one of the most common *topoi* of early modern friendship when he asserts that friends are ‘so very much One, that you would conclude they were Two Bodies, actuated by but one Soul’ (42). But he offers a disconcerting opposite which makes the alternative to one soul in two bodies appear to be no soul at all: he who is ‘stranger to friendly bliss, or fond desire / . . . / . . . a Body has, but not a Soul within’ (43). This offers a particularly emphatic condemnation of the lack of capacity to form passionate attachments. Rather than having the wrong kind of passions, people like this have no passions at all, and calling this soullessness makes them sound expendable as well as cold. It may also, like Perseus himself, reflect Plutarch, who continued his discussion of ‘impassibility’ by noting that a mark of ‘vicious and dissolute persons’ was their incapacity to love even their parents, even if they tried their best to do so (74). The strongest mark of Polexander’s success with his patient is Perseus’s emotional reunion with the mother and father he has wronged.

Plutarch may also suggest how actions such as Polexander’s with Perseus could be imagined to work. The essay on the proverb *So Live, As No Man May Know Thou Livest* provides a kind of postscript to *On Tranquillity*’s description of the disordered passions caused by retirement. It suggests the therapeutic benefits of reversing that transition, bringing disordered passions into public view:

¹⁴⁸ *Polexandre*, 3.700.

our ancestors were wont to take in hand and cure openly in publike place, those that were diseased in body . . . even so, requisite it is and necessarie, to discover and lay open unto all men, lives that be diseased, and the infirmities of the soule, to touch and handle them . . . But now a daies it is cleane contrarie; in denying, in cloaking, covering, and hiding, men thrust and drive their vices inwardly, and more deeply still into their secret bowels (607).

The contexts here are medical rather than sexual, and Plutarch's translated Greek is unlikely to be a direct influence on Gomberville's translated French, but they help to show how intimate touch could suggest a means of reforming the passions by making them public. Polexander's handling recalls Plutarch's by dispelling deep-rooted vice and enabling socially integrative emotions.

Both the *Doctrine* and *Polexander* itself provide further clues to the logic behind Perseus's transformation. In the *Doctrine*'s discussion of how 'By Loving we become perfect', Gomberville discusses situations in which one of a pair of friends is morally inferior. In these cases, the love of the superior party will raise the other to the same level: 'Love . . . flies to the Assistance of the weaker Side, and . . . with his active Heat purifies the grosser Passions so, that . . . the Two Souls grow equally bright and pure' (44). Other episodes in *Polexander* show insensibility overcome by the shock of violence: bodies plunging from cliffs, or, as in Iphidamantus's reforming dream of Melicerta, a wound from which 'the bloud gush'd out in great clots' (2.174). These events establish in the reader's mind a therapeutic association between unexpected violence and the creation of those passionate bonds which play an apparently indispensable role in Gomberville's ethics. Here the suggestion may be that Polexander exploits that association in a disconcertingly literal way.

The method works, and the next day Perseus demonstrates his new capacity to be 'mov'd' by falling at his parents' feet and crying 'teares, [which] made appeare by their excesse that they were not counterfeit'. This display of real and appropriate emotion marks Perseus's social reintegration. Polexander, Perseus's father wonderingly observes, has 'in so little time . . . beene able to cure a spirit infected with so many distemperances, as they were judg'd incurable'. He points out to his formerly wayward son that 'Polexander having alter'd thee as he has done . . . binds thee to serve him more then thine owne father' (2.124). Alcadiana's 'divers humors' are

perhaps just comparable to Perseus's 'distemperances'. Polexander's defeat of her Spanish attackers at the close also takes the form of violent penetration of a "body", the human-shaped rock on which the Inaccessible Isle's capital is built. Only a small part of Eliza still holds out, so Polexander must clear out the Spaniards who, like so many rebellious passions, have 'gotten masters of some of the principall parts, and making use of them against nature's intention, imploy'd them for the ruine of their whole body' (2.316). In doing so he wins Alcidiana's hand, defusing the radiant instability generated by her unaligned state, and perhaps binding her too to his service.

CHASTITY AND INSTABILITY

The Shepherds Pipe eclogue and *Polexander* both associate pastoral retreat with certain kinds of political autonomy and resistance, of which they take a negative view. That negative view is supported by the association of both the retreat and the resistance with a third quality, emotional instability, as figured in Alcidiana's 'divers humours', as well as in the Hocclevian fragility that the *Series* evokes, and which Wither's parable of passion-hounds turning on their owner seems ruefully to concede. Rogers' commonplace comparison of social 'concord' to Galenic temperature shows the ease with which the government of states could be compared with that of the 'divers humours' of the self.¹⁴⁹ Perhaps flowing from this kind of analogy, these are works in which political resistance gives rise to, or stems from, psychological problems.

Like those examined in previous chapters, these works also place Stoicism on the losing side. Wither and Alcidiana, the real eccentric poet and the fictional virgin queen, are both committed to uncompromised political independence. Both also view emotion as politically

¹⁴⁹ See, for example, Levinus Lemnius's comparison of the body to 'the state of a Common wealth' (*The Touchstone of Complexions* (1576), f.11r; Galenist materialism makes this equally applicable to mental health. As James Yoch notes, the ultimate source is Plato's *Republic*, which compares 'mastery of pleasures and desires' in states and individuals (4.430d-432a; ed. cit. trans. Tom Griffith (Cambridge, 2000), 124-6); see his 'The Renaissance Dramatisation of Temperance: the Italian Revival of Tragicomedy and *The Faithful Shepheardesse*', in *Renaissance Tragicomedy: Explorations in Genre and Politics*, ed. Nancy Klein Maguire (New York, 1987), 114-37 (115-6). See also Chapter 4 below, note 84.

problematic: Wither in his poems on disordered passions as political vices, and Alcidiana in her fear of the political consequences of sexual attraction. But both suffer from similar problems themselves, in spite of their own arguments. Wither's political rants, as even he admits, can seem mad as well as inspired, and Alcidiana angrily and unwillingly falls in love.

These efforts at *constantia* not only fall short; they even come to look like symptoms of disordered passion in their own right. Wither's confidence in mental freedom is unsettled by the Ovidian 'Curres' who diagnose and reflect inward rebellion.¹⁵⁰ Browne's Hoccleve intertext implicitly traces Wither's troubles to just such a combination of solipsistic wilfulness and mental frailty, rather than the political resolve that Wither would prefer to claim. Alcidiana's chastity figures a dangerous ignorance and suppression of passion rather than freedom from it, so that 'strange alteration' takes her by surprise, an event for which her academic education in the 'passions of the Soule' has left her unprepared: like Shakespeare's Cassius, she finds the arts of philosophy little use against the realities of nature.¹⁵¹ Passions need to be publically channelled, not privately suppressed, and so marriage is the solution to the inward conflagration represented in the closing siege. The faith in the autonomy of thought expressed by Sidney's companion Edward Dyer – 'My mind to me a kingdom is' – gives place to something closer to Donne's rejection of human islands unaffected by each other, as Alcidiana's psychologically symbolic monarchy is absorbed into a larger whole.¹⁵²

As Laurence Lerner has observed, pastoral can be characterised by both chastity and license;¹⁵³ it can accommodate both Alcidiana's closeted innocence and Montemayor's landscape of dizzyingly changeable desires. *Polexander* suggests an underlying, anti-Stoic logic: suppressing desire only serves to increase its subterranean potency. In the proverbial wisdom of Yong's *Fiammetta*, it shows how 'restrained fire . . . more violently doth . . . burne' (f.88r). Alcidiana's chastity may seem worlds away from the perpetual motion of Selvagia's love quadrangle, but

¹⁵⁰ 'He's still free that's free in Minde'; 'as mad as if my mind they knew' (*Shepherds Hunting*, (Br, C7r).

¹⁵¹ *Julius Caesar*, ed. Marvin Spevack, rev. edn (Cambridge, 2003), 4.3.145-6, 194-5; see p.170 above.

¹⁵² Dyer, *Writings in Verse and Prose*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart (1872), 21; Donne, *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, ed. Anthony Raspa (Oxford, 1987), 87 (Meditation 17.5-10).

¹⁵³ *The Uses of Nostalgia: Studies in Pastoral Poetry* (London, 1972), 83.

beneath its surface, as the image of the closing siege suggests, lie similarly tumultuous impulses. The association of chastity with the intensified powers of buried desire, and the link between pastorals of love-pursuit and innocence, converge in that chaste revision of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Milton's *Mask*, which is the subject of my next chapter.

4. *Otium* as Illness: Milton's Pastoral *Maske*.

How important is pastoral to Milton's *Maske*? Studies of the formal aspects of Milton's poetic drama have tended to take their cues from its title.¹ *A Maske's* pastoral stylings have been viewed as motivated principally by the masque form itself: as part and parcel of the fashionable courtly entertainments to which, critics have suggested, Milton's Bridgewater tribute was intended as a subtle rebuke.² From this perspective, the fact that Comus's shepherd disguise and lowly cottage conceal a cavalier seducer and his palace of passions critiques the artificiality of royal pastorals.³

This chapter will suggest that *A Maske's* design is more thoroughly pastoral than critics have tended to appreciate. It will also suggest different reasons why Milton might turn to pastoral for his Bridgewater commission: reasons which have nothing to do with the politics of state, but which have important implications for the politics of gender. *A Maske* is pastoral because it addresses the problem of *otium*, in one of its more distinctive seventeenth century manifestations. Like Gomberville's *Polexandre*, published in its final form in 1638 – a year after *A Maske's* first printing – Milton's pastoral centres around his heroine's problematic chastity. But in this case the problem is not simply emotional or political, but medical: like William Guazzo's retirement, performed for the noblest of contemplative motives, the chastity of Milton's Lady is making her ill. She suffers, Milton strongly implies, from suffocation of the mother, a disease which gained publicity in the mid-seventeenth century through a number of vernacular accounts. Like Plutarch's *otium*, this was a disease of inactivity with mental as well as physical effects, which

¹ As their own titles suggest. See, for example, Angus Fletcher, *The Transcendental Masque: an Essay on Milton's Comus* (London, 1971); Maryann McGuire, *Milton's Puritan Masque* (Athens, Georgia, 1983); David Norbrook, 'The Reformation of the Masque', in *The Court Masque*, ed. David Lindley (Manchester, 1984); Cedric Brown, *John Milton's Aristocratic Entertainments* (Cambridge, 1985).

² Nancy Lindheim notes the presumed connection between these genres ('Pastoral and Masque at Ludlow', *University of Toronto Quarterly* 67 (1997-8), 639-68 (639)), of which Heather Dubrow provides a sophisticated restatement: 'The Masquing of Genre in *Comus*', *Milton Studies* 44 (2005), 62-83 (63, 70-3).

³ Barbara K. Lewalski sums up the prevailing view: Comus 'deceptively claims the world of pastoral . . . so prevalent in court masques. But instead he leads [the Lady] to a decadent court . . .'. *The Life of John Milton: A Critical Biography*, rev. edn (Oxford, 2002), 77.

struck down ‘fine and daintie dames’, with their chambered lifestyles.⁴ In the words of Robert Burton’s 1628 description, it affected ‘nice gentlewomen, such as are solitary and idle, live at ease . . . out of action and imployment . . . in great houses’, and were accordingly ‘discontented . . . and subject to passions’.⁵ But the causative inactivity, in this case, was sexual. In teenage girls, suffocation of the mother was caused by sexual abstinence, and relieved by intercourse. Its most notorious symptom was death-like paralysis. New manuscript evidence presented here suggests that Milton’s lead actress Alice Egerton had been diagnosed with just this problem two years before her performance in *A Maske*, and was still receiving treatment in 1633.

Presenting Alice’s delicate problem in a drama in which she was to perform the lead role may sound obtuse, but suffocation of the mother was a variety of melancholy – “maids’ melancholy” was Burton’s term –⁶ and using ‘friends and attendants’⁷ to involve the patient in a kind of informal drama designed to influence their delusions was a therapy which popular medical handbooks frequently suggested. It was recommended in the first vernacular treatise to describe suffocation of the mother: Edward Jorden called it ‘politikely confirm[ing] them in their fantasies . . . the better [to] fasten some cure upon them’ (f.24v). This device had theatrical as well as therapeutic potential, and seventeenth-century dramatists often exploited it, as Alan Walworth has shown.⁸ This was an area in which John Fletcher, whose *Faithful Shepheardesse* was once acknowledged as *A Maske*’s principal source, was particularly interested.

Alice Egerton had good reason to share the sentiments of Milton’s Lady, since her cousin and near-contemporary Elizabeth Audley’s marriage had led to her victimisation in the Castlehaven Scandal.⁹ In *A Maske*, I argue, Milton ‘politikely confirm[s]’ Alice’s well-grounded

⁴ Plutarch, *The Philosophie, Commonlie Called, the Morals*, trans. Philemon Holland (1603), 146.

⁵ *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 3rd edn (1628), 195.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 193.

⁷ Edward Jorden, *A Briefe Discourse of a Disease Called the Suffocation of the Mother* (1603), f.23v.

⁸ On these “theatrical cures” and their representation on the early modern stage, see Lawrence Babb, *The Elizabethan Malady: a Study of Melancholia in English Literature from 1580 to 1642* (East Lansing, Michigan, 1951), 46-7; Winfried Schleiner, ‘Justifying the Unjustifiable: The Dover Cliff Scene in *King Lear*’, *Shakespeare Quarterly* 36 (1985), 337-43; Schleiner, ‘Prospero as a Renaissance Therapist’, *Literature and Medicine* 6 (1987), 54-60; Alan Walworth, “‘To Laugh with Open Throate’: Mad Lovers, Theatrical Cures and Gendered Bodies in Jacobean Drama”, in *Enacting Gender on the English Renaissance Stage*, ed. Viviana Comensoli and Anne Russell (Chicago, 1999) 53-72; Carol Thomas Neely, *Distracted Subjects: Madness and Gender in Shakespeare and Early Modern Culture* (Ithaca, 2004), 47-9, 56-65, 76-98.

⁹ See below, pp.232-3.

fears of male sexual predation in the figure of Comus, and – he hopes – dispels them in Comus’s defeat. In doing so, *A Maske*’s aim is to open Alice Egerton’s mind to the possibility of what seventeenth-century commentators considered the only legitimate means of curing her symptoms. Like Gomberville’s, Milton’s theme is the persuasion of a chaste and fiercely independent heroine to what one leading Milton scholar calls ‘the dynastic marriage Lady Alice surely expects’.¹⁰

Much of what follows will be concerned with the reconstruction of medical contexts to which, I argue, *A Maske* closely refers. But the generic side of the argument also rests on lines of influence which the first part of this chapter works to establish. *A Maske* is participating in *otium*’s refashioning from an ethical to a medical concept, and the pastoral works that influenced Milton show this transition in action. Montemayor’s love-chain plot may have recalled the troubled aimlessness of Ennius’s soldiers,¹¹ but by the mid-seventeenth-century Fletcher’s *Faithfull Shepheardesse* had re-written it in Galenic terms. This chapter will begin by attempting to establish the specific way in which this came about. It will argue that Montemayor’s influence is transmitted to Fletcher via *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, the play on which *The Faithfull Shepheardesse* is modelled. In doing so, it will revive T.P. Harrison’s suggestion that the *Diana* is the *Dream*’s principal source. Scholars have been discovering increasingly ingenious reasons to argue against Harrison’s thesis ever since its publication in 1926, but new evidence presented here strengthens an argument that already has simplicity in its favour: the *Dream*’s love-chain plot is based on the sixteenth-century original of such stories, found in a widely-known work that Shakespeare is known to have used elsewhere.

Tying the *Diana* to the *Dream* also links it to *A Maske*. Milton’s drama emerges here as the product of a pastoral lineage that begins with Montemayor and runs through Shakespeare and Fletcher, absorbing influences along the way from the Italian tradition of pastoral drama for which, as Louise Clubb has shown, Montemayor was also an important model. *A Maske*’s most

¹⁰ Lewalski, *Milton*, 78.

¹¹ See Chapter 1 above, p.67.

significant pastoral predecessor, however, is *The Faithfull Shepheardesse*. Working within a critical paradigm focussed on pastoral's relevance to the politics of state, for the last half-century Milton scholars have been shying away from Fletcher's supposedly trivial eroticism and royalist associations. But Fletcher's medicalisation of Montemayorian pastoral is crucial to *A Maske*.

MONTEMAYOR AND SHAKESPEARE

Milton's reference to Montemayor in *Areopagitica* (1644) shows his awareness of the link between pastoral romance and *otium*, as his argument segues into a discussion of leisure:

If we think to regulat Printing, thereby to rectifie manners, we must regulat all recreations and pastimes . . . who shall silence all the airs and madrigalls, that whisper softnes in chambers? . . . The villages also must have their visitors to enquire what lectures the bagpipe and the rebbeck reads ev'n to the ballatry . . . for these are the Countrymans *Arcadia's* and his *Monte Mayors* (16).¹²

Like dancing and music that 'whisper[s] softness in chambers', pastoral romances are things 'delightful to man', recreations and pastimes in printed form. As Guazzo might have argued, in a healthy society time off needs to be genuine, regulated by quantity but not by quality; if reading is essentially a leisure activity – a notion that involves losses as well as gains – then what happens between book-covers should be equally unpressured. Unbent bows and playful statesmen stand in the background of Milton's clever appropriation of the discourse of leisure to the problem of censorship.¹³

Milton read the *Arcadia* around the time of *Areopagitica's* publication,¹⁴ but there is no evidence that he ever acquired firsthand knowledge of the work Thomas Wilson described as its twin.¹⁵ If *A Maske* has no direct contact with the *Diana*, however, it is influenced by two plays descended from it, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (c.1595) and Fletcher's *The Faithfull Shepheardesse*

¹² Kennedy also discusses this passage: *Critical Edition*, xxxiv.

¹³ See Chapter 1 above, pp.58-9.

¹⁴ As recorded in his commonplace book for the years 1643-6 (Lewalski, *Milton*, 160).

¹⁵ See Chapter 1 above, p.10 and note.

(c.1607).¹⁶ The influence of both of these on *A Maske*, and of Shakespeare's play on Fletcher's, has been widely noted.¹⁷ The earliest link in this chain of influence from Montemayor to Milton, however, is more tenuous, since T.P. Harrison's proposal of the *Diana* as *A Midsummer Night's Dream's* principal source has often been disputed or ignored.¹⁸

Notably, these denials are often premised simply on pushing the *Diana* further back in the line of textual descent; *A Midsummer Night's Dream* emerges as the progeny of a matrix of other, lesser texts on which Montemayor's influence can be more comfortably acknowledged. Louise Clubb argues that, like *The Faithfull Shepheardesse*, the *Dream* springs from Italian pastoral drama, many of whose most characteristic motifs derive from the *Diana*.¹⁹ Robert Leslie agrees, though he finds Montemayor influenced by Italian literature rather than vice versa.²⁰ Katherine Duncan-Jones considered that claims for Montemayor's influence on the *Dream* were going 'a little too far': the *Arcadia* was 'at least as likely' a source for Shakespeare as the *Diana*, the work on which contemporaries considered Sidney's to have been based.²¹ More recently, Richard Hillman has

¹⁶ For datings, see *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. Peter Holland (Oxford, 1994), 110; and Gordon McMullan, 'Fletcher, John (1579–1625)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/9730>, accessed 11 June 2012]. Fletcher's play was first published in 1610.

¹⁷ For links between the *Dream* and *A Maske*, see John Guillory, *Poetic Authority: Spenser, Milton, and Literary History* (New York, 1983), 75–82, 92–3; Maureen Quilligan, *Milton's Spenser: the Politics of Reading* (Ithaca, 1983), 212–7; and the 1968 edition of *The Complete Poems of John Milton*, ed. John Carey and Alastair Fowler, (Harlow, 1968), where Carey notes that Shakespeare is *A Maske's* 'stylistic master', and the *Dream* the play of his which Milton's drama echoes most (171), though Carey's most recent edition (*Milton: the Complete Shorter Poems*, 2nd edn rev. (Harlow, 2007)) is less emphatic. On *The Faithfull Shepheardesse* and *A Maske*, see John Arthos, *On A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle, by John Milton* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1954), 9–15; Gordon McMullan, *The Politics of Unease in the Plays of John Fletcher* (Amherst, Massachusetts, 1994), 195–6; Philip J. Finkelppearl, *Court and Country Politics in the Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher* (Princeton, 1990), 114; Dubrow, 'Masquing', 71; and, again, Carey's 1968 edition (170–1). As with the *Dream*, in 2007 Carey is less enthusiastic about Fletcher, reflecting a critical trend discussed below, pp.210–1. On the *Dream* and *The Faithfull Shepheardesse*, see Lee Bliss, 'Defending Fletcher's Shepherds' *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 23 (1983), 295–310 (298–302, 306); William Proctor Williams, 'NOT Hornpipes and Funerals: Fletcherian Tragicomedies', in *Renaissance Tragicomedies: Explorations in Genre and Politics*, ed. Nancy Klein Maguire (New York, 1987), 138–53 (146); McMullan, *Unease*, 60–1, 290n; Nancy Cotton Pearse, *John Fletcher's Chastity Plays: Mirrors of Modesty* (Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, 1973), 137; Marco Mincoff, 'The Faithful Shepherdess: a Fletcherian Experiment', *Renaissance Drama* 9 (1966), 163–77 (169).

¹⁸ T.P. Harrison, 'Shakespeare and Montemayor's *Diana*', *Studies in English* 6 (1926), 72–120 (94–103). Of the three most recent editors of scholarly editions of the *Dream*, Harold Brooks for Arden (Bristol, 1979) thinks its debts to the *Diana* 'no surprise' (lxi), but specifies them only to stress the differences between Montemayor's and Shakespeare's potions (lxxxix). Peter Holland (Oxford, 1994) finds 'a number of features . . . echoed' and 'cumulatively . . . strong' arguments, but nevertheless finds the question of influence 'problematic' (60). R.A. Foakes (Cambridge, 2003) does not mention Montemayor at all.

¹⁹ *Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time* (London, 1989), 94–7, 113, 116, 170, 172–5.

²⁰ 'Shakespeare's Italian Dream: Cinquecento Sources for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*', *Comparative Drama* 29 (1995–6), 454–65 (454–5).

²¹ Untitled review of *A Critical Edition of Yong's translation of George of Montemayor's Diana and Gil Polo's Enamoured Diana*, ed. Judith Kennedy, (Oxford, 1968), *Review of English Studies* NS 21 (1970), 108–9 (108).

continued the game of distancing by offering Nicolas de Montreux's adaptation, *La Diane*, as a candidate.²²

The frequency with which these arguments find themselves veering back towards the source they aim to deny seems revealing. Part of the problem, however, has been that Harrison did his argument no favours. Having observed that Shakespeare's familiarity with the *Diana* was evident from the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, he rightly identified two key elements as links to the *Dream*, the use of a magic potion to redirect passion, and the love-chain motif of Selvagia's story in Book 1; but he tied himself in knots in an attempt to work the latter into more specific parallels with the twists and turns of Shakespeare's plot.²³ He also failed to explore the process by which Selvagia's initial love quadrangle prefigures the later one of which she becomes a part – with Syrenus, Sylvanus and Diana – and which the potion attempts to resolve.²⁴ Harrison thus missed the fact that the love-chain and potion elements are not separate but integrated, as they are in Shakespeare.

He also failed to note that, unlike the better-known story of Felismena, which derives from *G'Ingannati*,²⁵ Montemayor's pastoral love-chain lacks any comparably well-known source.²⁶ This is likely to have enhanced the *Diana*'s significance in the minds of contemporary readers, who would have been likely to have known it as the original of this motif. Anyone writing about four lovers experiencing rapid shifts of attraction in a rural setting would have been likely to have had the story that opened Montemayor's well-known and widely-distributed work in mind. Shakespeare was far from being its only imitator. Clubb notes Italian pastoral playwrights' uses of magic potions, transvestism, sleep as a prelude to plot twists involving desire, love-chains, and removal to forests to develop their complications, as well as the more overt borrowings of

²² 'A Midsummer Night's Dream and La Diane of Nicolas de Montreux', *Review of English Studies* NS 61 (2010), 34-54.

²³ Harrison, 'Shakespeare', 73, 96-8, 100-3.

²⁴ See Chapter 1, pp.14-5.

²⁵ Harrison, 'Shakespeare', 74.

²⁶ The slender results of J.P. Wickersham Crawford's search for 'Analogues to the Story of Selvagia in Montemayor's *Diana*' (*Modern Language Notes* 29 (1914), 192-4) suggest that this part of Montemayor's narrative is likely to have been almost entirely his own invention.

Pasqualigo's *Gl'Intricati* (1581), whose heroine is named Selvaggia.²⁷ Though Clubb shares the general wariness by insisting, oddly, that Montemayor's influence is hard to disentangle from Sannazaro's,²⁸ the latter's *Arcadia* contains none of these elements other than the potion.²⁹ Rather than being inspired by some isolated descendant of the *Diana*, Shakespeare was participating in a widespread European trend, to which the *Diana*'s numerous Spanish sequels also bear witness,³⁰ of reworking Montemayor.

Rejections of the *Diana*'s influence tend to hang on questions of taste, but Hillman's recent article shows that such arguments have lost none of their vitality. There must be a mediator, he thinks, because Montemayor is 'stubbornly undramatic', maintains 'narrative distance' and has no sense of humour.³¹ This sits comfortably within a tradition inherited from older critics, among whom it may have served to conceal discomfort at the unabashed homoeroticism which opens Selvaggia's story, which unlike its echoes in Sidney resists being explained away as strategic or mistaken.

Notably, the two scholars who made the strongest cases for Montemayor's English influence interpreted this out of existence. For A.C. Hamilton, Selvaggia's story, which unlike Hillman he found 'superbly comic', also possessed a 'strangeness [which] suggests some thematic intent', a 'sophisticated philosophy' of irrational love. Unfortunately he edited out most of this 'strangeness' by confidently informing his readers that the story begins with Selvaggia's falling love with Ismenia 'believing her to be a man'. Hamilton criticised Montemayor's 'cosy' world, with its 'Enid Blyton' device of 'sage Auntie Felicia' and her 'magic water', whose nuanced operations he also overlooked; but he secured the cosiness himself with this bowdlerised version of Selvaggia's desire.³²

²⁷ Clubb, *Italian Drama*, 94 (Pasqualigo), 101 (Montemayor and Sannazaro), 107-8 (love-chains and transvestism), 113-4 (forests), 116 (sleep), 119-20 (shifting desires), 174 (potion).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 101.

²⁹ Sannazaro's potion is described in the tenth *prosa* (*Arcadia* trans. Nash, 106-8). It is not actually used.

³⁰ See Chapter 1 above, note 5.

³¹ Hillman, 'Montreux', 36.

³² A.C. Hamilton, 'Sidney's *Arcadia* as Prose Fiction: its Relation to its Sources', *English Literary Renaissance* 2 (1972), 29-60 (52, 54).

Hamilton was following in the footsteps of Harrison, Montemayor's strongest advocate. Though Hamilton finished his account with the emphatic conclusion that Selvagia's story presented 'the entire conception of confused lovers' on which Shakespeare's play is based, he initially introduced this tricky material more diffidently. After the central evidence of the potion, Selvagia's story was at first presented as 'cumulative evidence', 'insufficient in itself' to confirm the source-theory. Harrison then obscured the scandalous opening by starting in the middle of things, beginning his summary 'when Alanius meets Selvagia', and 'he falls in love with her and she with him'. The complication was fleetingly glimpsed: 'Selvagia has first been enamoured of Ismenia, who in jest once passed for Alanius, and who in features closely resembles him; hence no difference arises in Selvagia's mind when afterwards she meets Alanius'.³³ The ambiguous phrasing suggests that Selvagia always thought that Ismenia was Alanius, though Montemayor is clear that her initial attraction is premised on Ismenia's being a woman. If even Montemayor's best defenders found it necessary to consciously or unconsciously pass over this problem, it seems likely to have been a reason for the *Diana's* general neglect. For more recent critics it ought to have made Montemayor more interesting, but they, in turn, have been pulled up short by the assumption that pastoral has to be high-political to justify attention.³⁴

While the arguments for direct rather than mediated influence have not received their due, however, that does not make them decisive. There is, however, a piece of previously unnoticed evidence that tips the scales. Beginning with that printed at Valladolid in 1561, Spanish editions of the *Diana* included a number of other works, one of which was a version of the story of Pyramus and Thisbe. This poem was also attributed to Montemayor, though this has been considered doubtful.³⁵ The doubt may account for what seems to be the reason that scholars have failed to notice it;³⁶ though it appears to have been included in every edition in the original

³³ Harrison, 'Shakespeare', 100-2.

³⁴ See Introduction above, pp.3-4.

³⁵ B.W. Ife, ed., *Dos Versiones de Píramo y Tisbe: Jorge de Montemayor y Pedro Sánchez de Viana* (Exeter, 1974), vi-vii.

³⁶ Bullough noted its presence in his bibliography for *Two Gentlemen of Verona* – 'The Lisbon 1565 edn has the poem Píramo y Tisbe' – but made no mention of it, remarkably enough, in relation to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. (*Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, 8 vols (London, 1957-75), 1.523). Bullough was wrong, however, in thinking that the Lisbon edition was exceptional in this respect.

language after 1561, it was rarely mentioned on title-pages.³⁷ Other additions, such as Petrarch's *Triumpho de Amor*, Montemayor's own *Alcida y Sylvano*, and the interpolated story of Abyndaraez, were frequently advertised at the front. Out of the eleven early modern editions of the *Diana* in the British library which include it,³⁸ however, only two, those of Venice 1574 and Valencia 1602, mention *Píramo y Tisbe* in their preliminaries; the others leave it for the persevering reader to discover within. Translators, including Yong, ignored these other works and limited their attentions to the *Diana* itself, along with its Perez and Gil Polo sequels. But anyone reading Montemayor's pastoral romance in Spanish was likely to find his tale from Ovid alongside it. Of the twenty-five editions printed up to 1595, only the six earliest failed to include *Píramo*.³⁹ As well as offering independent support for Harrison's theory, this suggests an answer to the question of how Shakespeare read the *Diana*, since *Píramo* was only included in Spanish-language editions.⁴⁰

Pseudo-Montemayor's *Historia de los Muy Constantes y Infelices Amores de Píramo y Tisbe* displays a number of features which may have influenced both Shakespeare's direct use of this story, and the larger plot that his inset play reflects. It contains a high proportion of direct speech, which makes up forty-two out of its 126 ten-line stanzas.⁴¹ Unlike any English analogue available to Shakespeare, its heroine quarrels directly and specifically with her father, passionately reproaching him over three stanzas, and recalling his fatal opposition in her death-speech (ll.176-220, 1201-10). As well as anticipating *Romeo and Juliet*, another play often linked to *Pyramus*,⁴² this

³⁷ Ife, *Versiones*, vi-viii.

³⁸ These are: Valladolid 1561, Lisbon 1565, Venice 1574, Antwerp 1575 and 1580, Venice 1585, Madrid 1595, Valencia 1602, Madrid 1602, Barcelona 1614, and Madrid 1622. The Bodleian holds Venice 1568, which does include *Píramo* on its title page. Cambridge University Library has a copy of Madrid 1599, which I have not consulted.

³⁹ Ife (*Versiones*, vii-viii) states that there were twenty-seven Spanish-language editions of *Diana* together with *Píramo* between 1561 (Valladolid) and 1662. Though it has not been possible to inspect all of these, Mueller's list suggests this includes every monolingual Spanish edition published between these dates, of which she lists exactly twenty-seven. All such editions in the British Library and Bodleian include it.

⁴⁰ Harrison broached this himself, noting that Shakespeare might have encountered Yong's or Wilson's English versions in manuscript, or Colin's 1578 French translation in print: 'Shakespeare', 72.

⁴¹ Ife, *Versiones*, xxxii. References to Montemayor's poem are to this edition.

⁴² Kenneth Muir, 'Pyramus and Thisbe: A Study in Shakespeare's Method', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 5 (1954), 141-53 (142).

narrowing of general parental opposition down to a father-daughter conflict may have prompted that between Hermia and Egeus.⁴³

Montemayor's bookish and affected Píramo, who may have suggested Romeo as well as Bottom,⁴⁴ stumbles over his choice of words and corrects himself (ll.387-94), a hesitancy that seems recalled by the narrator when he professes to be at a loss to know what a stammering Tisbe, overcome with emotion, is about to say (ll.421-30). If Shakespeare found these devices ridiculous, he may have mocked them in the mechanicals' linguistic travails. Flute's correction of Quince's sweet-voiced 'paramour' to 'paragon' takes place within a similar field of reference to the Spanish Píramo's nitpicking substitution of *passión* for *afición*.⁴⁵

Píramo's death-speech, spread over twelve stanzas (ll.998-1119), includes a number of apostrophes: he addresses the moon (twice), skies (which he has already mentioned three times), Tisbe, trees, fields and the elements, before falling on his sword.⁴⁶ Bottom as Pyramus apostrophises tears (to which Montemayor's character is also heavily inclined),⁴⁷ sword and moon, and says his soul is in the sky.⁴⁸ The Spanish Píramo also dies 'saying "Tisbe" three times',⁴⁹ possibly prompting Bottom's not-quite-last words: "Thus die I; thus, thus, thus" (5.1.284).

There are other local parallels. Shakespearean Thisbe's 'mantle' is usually traced to Golding,⁵⁰ or to Tomson's "sonnet" in *A Handefull of Pleasant Delites*⁵¹ – others make Ovid's

⁴³ *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. R.A. Foakes, rev. edn (Cambridge, 2003), 1.1.22-98; further references are to this edition. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans, rev. edn (Cambridge, 2003), 3.5.126-95.

⁴⁴ Though no Shakespearean reference is intended, Ife could be describing Romeo when he observes that Píramo's *poesía cancioneril* style makes him seem 'más enamorado de la idea de estar enamorado . . . y más aún de la retórica del servicio amoroso . . . vacila entre la ternura espontánea y los ritos librescos del amor' [more in love with the idea of being in love . . . and more again with the rhetoric and routines of serving love . . . he vacillates between spontaneous tenderness and bookish lover-rituals' (*Versiones*, xxxvi-xxxvii).

⁴⁵ *Dream*, 4.2.9-10.

⁴⁶ Moon: ll.1051, 1056. Skies: l.1107 (cf. 1041, 1048, 1104). Tisbe l.1108, trees/fields l.1111, elements l.1116, suicide l.1120.

⁴⁷ Píramo 'se deshace en lágrimas en cualquier momento' [dissolves in tears at every moment] (Ife, *Versiones*, xxxviii); e.g. ll.285 ('en lágrimas bañado'), 503 ('un solloço lo [e]storvó'), 973-4 ('los ojos a demandar / lágrimas al corazón'), 979-10 ('las lágrimas no han podido / medirse con el tormento'), 986-8 (el triste corazón / . . . de lágrimas estava / tan lleno que rebentava'), 1098 ('todo en lágrimas bañado').

⁴⁸ *Dream*, 5.1.280, 287-9.

⁴⁹ '[D]iziendo – Tisbe – tres vezes', l.1119.

⁵⁰ Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, trans. Arthur Golding (1567), ff.44r, 45r.

⁵¹ Clement Robinson, ed., *A Handefull of Pleasant Delites* (1575), Ciiiv.

velamina a wimple or kerchief⁵² – but it may also be prompted by the Montemayor poem’s *manto* (veil).⁵³ The *myy* of the Spanish title, followed by its conjunctive syntax – *Myy Constantes y Infelices Amores* – seems echoed in Quince’s ‘most lamentable comedy, and most cruel death’, while its juxtaposition of the admirable and the unfortunate prefigures the tedious brevity and tragic mirth that the titles presented to Theseus describe (5.1.56-8). A possible link to the *Dream*’s larger plot comes with Tisbe’s reversal of the Apollo and Daphne myth, when she asks the wall to allow her, like Apollo, to embrace her laurel (ll.551-60). This inversion, she as the god and he as the transformed nymph, emphasises Tisbe’s initiative and Píramo’s passivity; Shakespeare hypertrophies these roles into desperation and contempt respectively, summed up by Helena’s ‘Apollo flies and Daphne holds the chase’, as she redoubles her pursuit of the vanishing Demetrius (2.1.231).

Montemayor also stresses Píramo’s lack of punctuality, placing it at the heart of the tragedy to a much greater degree than any of the English versions that Shakespeare is likely to have known, and prefiguring it, uniquely, by making Píramo late for his appointments with Tisbe at the wall (ll.91-2, 321-2).⁵⁴ It could have seemed ideal material for a comedy about amateur actors who have trouble with their cues, particularly in their wall scene (3.1.58-85), and whose Pyramus is very nearly late for the performance (4.2.1-20).⁵⁵ Perhaps most importantly, however, the poem opens by dividing its audience; the narrator appeals to ‘lonely lovers’ to hear his song, but rejects those who are vulgar or clownish.⁵⁶ Ife suggests that the Pyramus story is one which

⁵² Wimple: Chaucer, *The Legend of Good Women*, ll.813, 819, 845, 847 (ed. cit. *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson, 3rd edn (Oxford, 2008), 607); Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, 3.1396, 1404, 1419 (ed. cit. ed. Russell A. Peck, 3 vols (Kalamazoo, Mich., 2000-4), 2.188). Kerchief: Thomas Proctor, *A Gorgious Gallery, of Gallant Inventions* (1578), Oiiiiiv, Piv, Piir. The variants are discussed by Muir, ‘Pyramus’, 143.

⁵³ ll.804, 821, 939, 967, 994.

⁵⁴ See Ife’s discussion: *Versiones*, xl. The long sequence from ll.701-90 contrasts the efficiency of Tisbe’s departure with Píramo’s tardiness and describes her impatience as she waits for him: see especially ll.706-8, 734-6, 753-5, 765-7. From ll.901-36 Píramo reproaches himself for being late as he makes his way to meet her. While the relevant English analogues – Gower, Chaucer, Tomson, Moffet, Proctor, Gale – all mention Pyramus’s lateness, only Gale, whose 1617 *Pyramus and Thisbe* is almost certainly too late for Shakespeare to have known, gives it comparable emphasis (B3v-B4r).

⁵⁵ There may be a research seam beyond the scope of the present study here, since Ife discusses an earlier version by Villegas (1545) which compares Píramo to an actor who sleeps through his entrance: *Versiones*, xv.

⁵⁶ ‘[O]yanme sólo amadores, / y el que no, com grossero, / trate de cosas menores’ (ll.3-5).

inherently ‘contains its own parody’.⁵⁷ The opening of this Spanish version follows this impulse as it ‘establishes its tragi-comic ambivalence’ in these lines,⁵⁸ though the dismissal of the ‘grossero’ seems to weight it – bathetically, Shakespeare might have thought – in favour of the former. But the division into lovers and clowns also looks very like *A Midsummer Night’s Dream’s* springboard.

The story of Pyramus was already based around an embryonic contrast of court and country, moving from its urban beginning *En Babylonia* (l.30) to its bloody but pastoral close by the mulberry tree, whose *locus amoenus* qualities – fountain, meadow, flowers – Montemayor depicts at length (ll.718-37, 964, 1041-50).⁵⁹ His attention thus directed back to the *Diana* itself, Shakespeare combined its pastoral sections with *Píramo* to furnish Selvagia’s story with sharper edges, intensifying both the humour and the hazards. He may not have been the only admirer of Montemayor to think of combining *Píramo* and the *Diana*. A similar idea seems to have occurred to Hillman’s poet, Nicolas de Montreux. Hillman notes that *La Diane* contains an ekphrasis of four figures depicted on a cup: Adonis, Dido, Pyramus and Hyppolitus. Hillman suggests correspondences with the *Dream*, but this moment seem more likely to be looking back towards *Píramo*.⁶⁰ Montemayor’s most distinctive addition to Ovid is a scene in which Tisbe discovers four tombs in the cave in which she takes refuge: those of Adonis, Dido, Narcissus and Phaeton (ll.841-900). Shakespeare had no use for this episode, but Montreux’s cup may recall it. The French poet shows his own invention by substituting Hyppolitus, adds Pyramus to mark his source, then folds all four figures more securely into pastoral by giving them a new setting on the traditional Theocritean singing prize. For Montreux as well as Shakespeare, this minor poem looked like a genetically compatible offshoot of the major work with which it was bound.

The fact that the theory revolution of the 1980s and ‘90s passed Montemayor by was unfortunate, because approaching *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* in the light of his influence tends to

⁵⁷ ‘... un . . . cuento que contiene su propia parodia’: *Versiones*, xix.

⁵⁸ ‘... establece su ambivalencia tragi-cómica’: *Versiones*, xx.

⁵⁹ English versions always set the scene in Babylon, but none except Gale (*Pyramus*, A3r-v, B2v, C3r-v) makes any comparably extended use of the pastoral qualities of the tree and fountain where the lovers meet.

⁶⁰ Hillman, ‘Montreux’, 47.

support the case for Shakespeare's conservative tendencies that radical critics have often tried to make. Lorna Hutson has suggested that *Twelfth Night* closes off the more erotically destabilising impulses of *GI'ngannati*, itself closely related to the *Diana*: 'It is worth pointing out how much more explicit than *Twelfth Night* this play is about the fact that sexual desire is not gender specific'.⁶¹ In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, something similar happens to Montemayor, with confusions of gender erased from the love-chain plot. In place of a potion whose palimpsestic ineffectiveness serves to highlight emotional complexity, we get ones that brutally and apparently – in Demetrius's famous case – permanently override pre-existing preferences. These, not Montemayor's, are 'magic water[s]' of the kind which Hamilton derides.

Shakespeare uses them to ensure first chaotic but entirely artificial action, and then a remorseless knitting up of loose ends. Coincidence and magic leave little for emotions to contribute, and the drive to supply constant high-energy activity on stage squeezes out psychological nuances. Shakespeare's close offers an unconvincing solution to the anxiety of influence. He aims at audience support for aristocratic jeers at part of his source, the *Piramo* poem, in a scene with none of the edgy twists of tone and sympathy of its earlier equivalent, the mocking of Holofernes in *Love's Labour's Lost*.⁶² This overt ridicule of one of the elements borrowed from Montemayor conceals a silent diminution of another; the *Dream*'s clunky, drug-induced marital close is a disappointing revision of the *Diana*'s best scene, the ending of Book 6.⁶³ The change highlights the will to closure that characterises Shakespeare's comedies, and the depth he was willing to sacrifice to achieve it.⁶⁴

⁶¹ 'On Not Being Deceived: Rhetoric and the Body in *Twelfth Night*', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 38 (1996), 140-74 (150-2, 155-6; the quotation is on p.152). Harrison notes that *GI'ngannati* is the ultimate source for Felismena's story in the *Diana*: 'Shakespeare', 74.

⁶² *Dream*, 5.1.119-340; *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. H.R. Woudhuysen (Walton-on-Thames, 1998), 5.2.590-624.

⁶³ *Dream*, 3.2.450-7. Holland (*Midsummer Night's Dream*, 67-8) argues that Helena was Demetrius's true love all along (cf. 1.1.106-8, 4.1.168-9), and the (different) spell performed on him (3.2.105-9) simply returns him to her; he had merely 'acquiesced in Egeus's wish that he should marry Hermia'. But this does not explain the strength of the distaste he has earlier expressed for Helena (2.1.188-237, 2.2.90-3).

⁶⁴ For discussion, see Lisa Hopkins, *The Shakespearean Marriage: Merry Wives and Heavy Husbands* (Basingstoke, 1998), 16-84. Hopkins' arguments for an element of uncertainty in Shakespeare's marital endings are often persuasive in themselves, but much less so when compared to a source such as the *Diana*.

FLETCHER AND MEDICINE

If splicing *Diana* and *Piramo* together left the former's pastoral character attenuated, Shakespeare secured its ethical themes by giving his potion the otiose title 'love-in-idleness', a name that makes little sense if the *Dream's* love-chain is read without the light of its predecessor.⁶⁵ The potion's title was a reminder of the pastoral structure that underpinned the work. That structure was solid enough to be renovated, with some Italian help, by John Fletcher in *The Faithfull Shepheardesse*, a play which writes pastoral back into its Shakespearean model. Fletcher's play owes its pastoral setting, violence and eroticism to Italian tragicomedy, but draws heavily on *A Midsummer Night's Dream* for plot structure, poetic stylings and its Puck-like Satyr.⁶⁶ It thus combines two strands of influence from Montemayor, one diffusely transmitted via the Italian tradition, the other more specifically constituted by the *Diana's* most notable English dramatic descendant.

Unlike the *Diana's* influence on the *Dream*, these shaping pressures on Fletcher's play are universally accepted. But criticism directed towards questions of genre has been distracted from Fletcher's key innovation, his infusion of pastoral drama with humoural medicine. His central character is the virginal healer Clorin, who not only knows 'the darke hidden vertuous use of hearbs', but lists what she can treat: wounds, snakebite, spells, lovesickness, madness, and problems of sight and hearing caused by build-up of 'rume'.⁶⁷ Fletcher places her in 'the fat plaines of fruitfull Thessaly' (*Br*), an area associated with magic herbs by Ovid.⁶⁸ Her later claim that one of these plants, 'ramun', can avert even the magical effects of 'Medeas verses' (*Dr*), affirms this link, since Medea's use of Thessalian herbs to rejuvenate Jason's father Aeson was a

⁶⁵ Paul Olson noted the reference to Ovidian *otium*, but not the pastoral implications: 'A Midsummer Night's Dream and the Meaning of Court Marriage', *English Literary History* 24 (1957), 95-119 (112-3).

⁶⁶ On the *Dream's* influence on this play, see note 17. On (more directly) Italianate elements, see especially Clubb, *Italian Drama*, 122, 156-7; James Yoch, 'The Renaissance Dramatisation of Temperance: the Italian Revival of Tragicomedy and *The Faithful Shepherdes*', in *Tragicomedy* ed. Maguire, 114-37.

⁶⁷ *The Faithfull Shepheardesse* (1610), *Bv*. Further references will appear in text or footnotes as appropriate.

⁶⁸ As Carey, in his notes to Milton's *Elegia Secunda*, observes: *Shorter Poems*, 25, 212.

famous example of their potency.⁶⁹ Her second entrance finds her ‘*sorting of hearbs, and telling the natures of them*’ (D*r*), a stage direction which accurately predicts the ensuing speech.

Fletcher is particularly interested in the medical link between lust and blood. Blood played a key role in humours theory; it was the humour from which the others were derived,⁷⁰ and had a particular association with sexual desire. ‘[A]bundaunce of bloude’, one popular guide to humours theory reported, made people ‘prone to carnalitie and fleshlye luste’.⁷¹ Statements such as this show what Siraisi calls humours’ theorists’ ‘habitual preference . . . for materialist explanations of mental and emotional states’.⁷² But causation also worked in the opposite direction: ‘[p]erturbations and affections of the mynde’ could affect the health of the body, causing ‘greate hurts’ and altering both its ‘state’ and ‘outward shewe’.⁷³

Fletcher’s play attempts to exploit the dramatic possibilities of this two-way dynamic. In *The Faithfull Shepheardesse*, sexual thoughts lead to impurities of blood and prevent wounds from clotting, and chastity has curative powers. Characters are advised to ‘purge’ veins and livers to remove the ‘staine’ of sexual desire;⁷⁴ the play opens with a communal ritual designed to control this threat, proceeds to chaotic night-time action driven by it, and ends with the shepherds ‘brought againe / To virgin state’ of moral and physiological health (K4*r*). Physicians were taught to examine blood for a range of qualities: ‘viscosity, hotness or coldness, “greasiness” (unctuositas), taste, foaminess, rapidity of coagulation, and the characteristics of the layers into which [it] separated’.⁷⁵ Fletcher gives it similar attention: characters have blood that ranges from light, quick, hot, ‘intice[d]’ or ‘stirre[d]’, to ‘dull’, ‘chid[ed]’, cold, slow, and heavy, like ‘a river farre from springs’.⁷⁶ Healthy blood owes as much to a chaste attitude as it does to cooling herbs (B4*r*), or the rigorous ‘diet’ which the opening and closing scenes prescribe (B3*r*, K4*r*); and it has

⁶⁹ *Metamorphoses* 7.251-93 (ed. cit. trans. Frank Justus Miller, 3rd edn, 2 vols (London, 1977), 1.361). For discussion in relation to *A Maske’s* ‘haemony’, see below, pp.235-6.

⁷⁰ Nancy Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: an Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago, 1990), 105-6.

⁷¹ Levinus Lemnius, *The Touchstone of Complexions* (1576), ff.6*r*, 101*v*. There were further editions of the *Touchstone* in 1581 and 1633.

⁷² *Medicine*, 106.

⁷³ Lemnius, *Touchstone*, ff.59*r-v*.

⁷⁴ B2*v*-B3*r*, B4*r*, G3*r*.

⁷⁵ Siraisi, *Medicine*, 124. For an early modern example, see Lemnius, *Complexions*, ff.86*v*-87*r*.

⁷⁶ B4*r*, C2*r*, C3*r*, C4*r*, D*v*, H2*v*. For further examples, see B3*r*, B4*v*, D2*r*, E5*r*, I3*v*.

remarkable curative properties, helping Amoret to recover from one drowning and two stabbings (F3r-v, H3r). Even the river-god who rescues her from the first of these owes more to Galen than Ovid: he takes her pulse, examines – inevitably – her blood, staunches the wound, and worries that it lacks a ‘plaister’ (F3v).

Lustfulness, on the other hand, leads to ill-health: ‘foul disease[s]’ are ‘the frutes that growe, / In such hot vaines’ (I3v). Fletcher’s most original and interesting character, the sinister and frankly amoral libertine Sullen, is ‘leane, and full of scurffe’, a condition reflected in his ‘scabby’ and infectious flock (Cv). The blood lost when Alexis, another lustful character, is wounded, works as a kind of phlebotomy, since ‘twas not good’, contaminated by his desires (G3r). Healing, Clorin tells him, is conditional on a reformed attitude: ‘Provoking thoughts’, and ‘Commerse with wanton Eyes’ are habits which ‘must bee purg’d untill, / The vayne growe Whiter’ (G3r). Fletcher shows what happens if this advice is not adhered to: the briefest of relapses causes Alexis’s wound to ‘burst’ and run with ‘streames of blood’ (I3r).

Rather than displacing agency and conflict, then, Clorin’s holistic therapy, descended from Felicia via Oberon, interacts with and depends upon her patients’ instincts and choices. This ought further to enlarge critical appreciation of the literary possibilities of potions, which are far from the unimaginative plot devices they are sometimes assumed to be. Fletcher’s expansion of this aspect of his models may also owe something to the debates which followed the most notorious example of Italian pastoral drama, Guarini’s tragicomedy *Il Pastor Fido*. Attacked by Aristotelian critics for mixing tragedy and comedy, Guarini resorted to humours theory. In the first *Verrato* (1588), the first of his two defences of the *Pastor Fido*, Guarini refashioned the *Poetics* in fashionably Galenic terms. He argued that the advent of Christianity meant that the proper domain of pity and fear now lay in religious rather than dramatic discourse. If this left the ancient model of tragedy somewhat redundant, comedy had also suffered over time: it had become debased from its proper end – ‘purgation of that sadness which accompanies life’ – and evolved into a trivial genre which aimed solely at provoking laughter. A new kind of drama was required, one which would have the serious but decorous aim of ‘the tempering and refining of the

passions', using tragedy to restore to comedy its serious, purgative purpose, and comedy to steer tragedy away from those matters of ultimate seriousness which were now the business of the church rather than the theatre.⁷⁷ 'Tragicomedy's 'architectonic end' was 'to purge minds of the evil feeling of melancholy'.⁷⁸ This new aim seems closer to the *Ethics*' golden mean than the *Poetics*' catharsis: as Bernard Weinberg observes, it involved 'tempering the passions and disposing the spectator to . . . moderation of feeling'.⁷⁹

In the first *Verrato* Guarini drew on the *Politics* for his contention that genres should change with the times,⁸⁰ but in the second, published in 1593, he supported this idea too via medical theory, using the Galenic concepts of complexion and temperament.⁸¹ He noted that '[m]odern doctors . . . because of the weakness of our complexions', can no longer use the harsh techniques of the ancients,⁸² tragic catharsis was similarly too violent for modern tastes, but tragicomedy can 'delight all complexions'. *Temperamento* and *temperatura* are key to its definition.⁸³ Balancing different generic elements against one another to present an image of the equilibrium of humours that constituted the Galenic ideal of health, tragicomedy offers 'a poem of excellent temperament . . . very fitting to the human complexion . . . which as a whole consists only in the temperate mixture of the four humours'.⁸⁴ It seems likely that in his own Italianate pastoral tragicomedy Fletcher, keen to impress with his awareness of this fashionable new genre's theory as well as its practice, took his cues from this description. The humoral therapy which *The Faithfull Shepheardesse* represents on stage is an explicit version of that offered tacitly to its audience by virtue of its generic character.

⁷⁷ This, including direct quotation, is Weinberg's paraphrase: *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols, (Chicago, 1961), 2.1079. All translations are Weinberg's.

⁷⁸ *Il Verrato ovvero Difesa di Quanto ha Scritto M. Giason De Nores Contra le Tragicomédie, et le Pastorali* (Ferrara, 1588), f.27r ('il purgar gli animi dal male affetto della maninconia'); Weinberg, *Criticism*, 2.1080.

⁷⁹ *Criticism*, 2.1081.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.1079.

⁸¹ For discussion, see Siraisi, *Medicine*, 101-4, 120-1; Lemnius, *Complexions*, ff.31v-34v.

⁸² *Il Verrato Secondo ovvero Replica dell'Attezzato Academico Ferrarese in Difesa del Pastor Fido* (Florence, 1593), 118 ('medici moderni . . . per la debolezza delle complessioni non usano più i Diagridi, e le scamonee'); Weinberg, *Criticism*, 2.1086. I have altered Weinberg's 'constitutions' to 'complexions'.

⁸³ *Verrato Secondo*, 156 ('à tutte le complessioni . . . può dilettere'); Weinberg, *Criticism*, 2.1086-7.

⁸⁴ *Verrato Secondo*, 156 ('un poema d'eccellentissima temperatura . . . molto conforme all'umana complessione, che tutta solamente consiste nella temperie de'quattro umori'); Weinber, *Criticism*, 2.1087. James Yoch links this emphasis on *tempera* – a word repeated, he notes, throughout Guarini's commentary – to Plato's *Republic*, which similarly harmonises different classes: 'Temperance', 115-7.

FLETCHER AND MILTON

A recent article by Heather Dubrow notes that, ‘as critics have observed, it is no accident that *The Faithfull Shepheardesse* was apparently revived shortly before *Comus*’.⁸⁵ They observe it less than they used to. In 1954, John Arthos’s book-length study of *A Maske* devoted several pages to the link with Fletcher.⁸⁶ Carey’s 1968 edition of the shorter poems was even more emphatic. Fletcher’s play was Milton’s ‘most important single “source”’, due both to its presiding theme of ‘struggle between chastity and vice’, and a number of more specific parallels of situation, character and language. Though the quotation marks around ‘source’ suggest a degree of caution, Carey devoted half a page to listing these parallels. He also noted that of numerous Shakespearean influences, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* was the most prominent.⁸⁷ Four years later, however, in their Milton *Variorum*, Woodhouse and Bush were less enthusiastic. Though his imagery had influenced Milton in places, Fletcher offered ‘no parallels, however remote, with the action of *Comus*’, and the atmosphere of his play was ‘very unlike’ that of *A Maske*.⁸⁸ This dismissal may have stemmed from older, Greggish distaste for Guarinian eroticism,⁸⁹ but it was reinforced by the new critique of pastoral that subsequently developed, which tended to split the genre between an invidiously aristocratic version and a commendably political one.⁹⁰ Italianate Fletcher, revived at the queen’s pleasure, seems easily to fall into the first of these categories.⁹¹

Accordingly, the most recent book-length study of this author re-asserts the parallels with *A Maske* only after stressing *The Faithfull Shepheardesse*’s debts to *The Shepheardes Calender*, and striving for links to the 1607 rebellion and the more politicised Spenserians; this is the kind of

⁸⁵ Dubrow, ‘Masquing’, 71.

⁸⁶ Arthos, *On A Maske*, 9-15.

⁸⁷ *Complete Poems* ed. Carey and Fowler, 170-1.

⁸⁸ A.S.P. Woodhouse and Douglas Bush, *The Minor English Poems*, vol. 2 of *A Variorum Commentary on the Poems of John Milton*, ed. Merrit Y. Hughes (London, 1972), 759-60.

⁸⁹ ‘[A] spirit of sentimental sensualism . . . [and] enervating seduction’. W.W. Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama: a Literary Enquiry with Special Reference to the Pre-Restoration Stage in England* (London, 1906), 202.

⁹⁰ See Introduction above, pp.3-4.

⁹¹ Discussions of this revival include Sandra Clark, *The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher: Sexual Themes and Dramatic Representation* (New York, 1994), 16, 28; Finkelppearl, *Country*, 114; Yoch, ‘Temperance’, 125; Kathleen McLuskie, ‘“A Maidenhead, Amintor, at my Years”: Chastity and Tragicomedy in the Fletcher Plays’, in *The Politics of Tragicomedy: Shakespeare and after*, ed. Jonathan Hope and Gordon McMullan (London, 1992), 92-121 (104); and Brown, *Entertainments*, 99.

thing you need to find if you want to take Fletcher seriously.⁹² These ideas have not gained much of a foothold, however, and Dubrow sketches the more accepted picture: the *Shepherdess* is representative of ‘Caroline pastoral’ which ‘misappropriat[es]’ values that Milton nevertheless respects.⁹³ Any echoes of Fletcher in *A Maske*, this seems to imply, have less to do with imitation than rebuke. Barbara Lewalski’s authoritative biography takes a similar line ‘there is no close source’, and of numerous more distant ones only Clorin’s affinity with Sabrina makes the cut.⁹⁴ Carey seems to have been swayed by all this, because the introduction to *A Maske* in his revised edition of 2007, as well as omitting any mention of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, removes Fletcher’s priority and cuts the discussion to a single reference buried in a list of ‘usual sources and analogues’. These include ‘*The Faithfull Shepherdess* (which shows numerous parallels)’.⁹⁵ It seems a remarkable erosion of Fletcher’s critical footprint.

The move away from Fletcher’s corporeal tangle of sex, blood and humours seems particularly hard to justify in light of the fact that criticism of *A Maske* has increasingly come to centre around questions of sexuality. Sexual themes are prominent in Fletcher’s work, as the title of Sandra Clark’s study asserts.⁹⁶ Older studies tended to view Milton’s debts to *The Faithfull Shepherdess* in terms of formal properties – Italianate pastoral, court masque – and the chastity theme.⁹⁷ Newer ones, such as those of Clark or Kathleen Macluskie, have approached sexuality in Fletcher as a question of power relations and sociological change.⁹⁸ What both these perspectives miss is the medical contexts which place Fletcherian sexuality so firmly within the early modern body, and which are supported, in this play, by his use of a new genre linked by its originator to the Galenic idea of humoural balance or temperament. This dramatisation of sexuality from a medical viewpoint is also Fletcher’s most important contribution to *A Maske*.

⁹² McMullan, *Unease*, 55-70.

⁹³ ‘Masquing’, 71.

⁹⁴ Lewalski, *Milton*, 76.

⁹⁵ *Shorter Poems*, 175.

⁹⁶ *Sexual Themes*, *passim*.

⁹⁷ Arthos, *On A Maske*, 11-4; Fletcher, *Transcendental Masque*, 43-6; Brown, *Entertainments*, 82-3, 99.

⁹⁸ Clarke, *Sexual Themes*, *passim*, esp. 20-7; McLuskie, ‘Chastity’, *passim*.

Milton does not adopt Fletcher's presiding focus on blood, but he picks up on *The Faithfull Shepheardesse's* attention to air. Humoural medicine, which viewed the body as highly permeable, emphasised the influence of air quality. Air was one of the six 'non-naturals': factors which affected health but were not inherent in the body's physiological make-up, and could thus be manipulated to maintain equilibrium or effect a cure.⁹⁹ Levinus Lemnius put 'Ayre that enclooseth us' at the head of this list: 'Ayre . . . doth sometime slyly and closely, sometime manifestlye and apparantlye, enter and breathe into ye bodye, where it either corrupteth or els refresheth the spyrites within . . .'.¹⁰⁰ Though blood is Fletcher's main interest, Thessalian micro-climates also play a role. When Perigot proposes their midnight tryst, Amoret fears that 'this dayes heat' has 'moove[d] your blood' to lust (B4r). Perigot's denial rants unreassuringly against the 'foule diseases', similar to those of prostitutes, that

. . . the hot
 Sun bre[e]d[s] through his burnings, whilst the dog
 Pursues the raging Lyon, throwing fog
 And deadly vapor from his angry breath.
 Filling the lower world with plague and death (B4v).

Lemnius would have agreed: the 'soultery' weather of 'Doggedayes' was a particularly hazardous kind of 'ayre'.¹⁰¹ Unfortunately, these are just the conditions that gather as night falls at the start of the next act. Anticipating conditions around Ludlow, air thickens, heavy clouds descend, and 'mistes unsound / damp, and vapours' rise and spread over the 'wanton' fields, 'Striking dead both budd and bloome' (C4v-Dr). '[T]he wet / . . . falles like lazy mistes uppon the ground', Cloe later observes to Daphnis, threatening to 'soake' them (Ev). These conditions predispose characters to lust, but causation also works in the opposite direction: inward states affect the air around them. Cloe's sin is 's[c]ented' by the Satyr, and presents an airborne threat to the wounded Amoret's recovery; Clorin acts fast to 'Purge the Ayre from lustfull breath', instructing her assistant to sprinkle fragrant water in order to 'Send a fume and keepe the Ayre, /

⁹⁹ Siraisi, *Medicine*, 101.

¹⁰⁰ *Complexions*, f.46v.

¹⁰¹ See note above.

Pure and wholesome, sweete & blest' (I2*v*). The arrival of the captured Amaryllis and Sullen seems still more polluting: 'foule Infection ginnes to fill the Ayre . . . the place beginns / To sweat and labour, with the abhorred sinnes / Of those offenders . . .' (K3*r*). But once they are dealt with, things start to improve: 'The ayre growes coole againe, and doth beginn / To purge it selfe, how bright the day doth showe / After this stormy cloud' (K3*v*-K4*r*).

Milton sets up similar oppositions from the start, with the Attendant Spirit's fastidious differentiation of heaven's temperate climate from Ludlow's rank vapours and feverish smoke; the 'thick shelter of black shades' embowering Comus puts air and trees on a continuum, making the fog tangible.¹⁰² 'Grey-hooded [E]ven[ing]' has risen to muffle the stars (ll.187, 330); a gleam over the grove represents hope (l.224). Responding, the Lady addresses an 'airy shell' (l.230) in music that Comus describes as 'breathe[d]', and 'mov[ing] the vocal air' (ll.244, 246), rather than merely sung, with power over 'bleak unkindly fogs' (l.268). The Attendant Spirit agrees: her song is 'solemn-breathing', like 'a steam of rich distilled perfumes . . . upon the air' (ll.554-5). Comus pays the brothers a sinister compliment by saying they seemed to 'play i'th'plighted [folded] clouds' (l.300). The 'smoky rafters' of his cottage – the Lady's hopeful description (l.323) – sound less reassuring by resembling the 'black usurping mists' the boys complain about in the following scene (l.336), as well as anticipating the smoke which Comus's band apparently 'vomit' to defend themselves (l.654).

This kind of language not only establishes a climate, but also, like Fletcher, links it to morally-inflected emanations from the body: the Lady's fragrant, fog-dispelling song contrasts with the smoke wretched up by her captors. This may also reflect humours theory, which employed the concept of internal 'vapours' to link blood to brain and (hence) behaviour. Lemnius explained how 'good bloud' had 'a sweete pleasau[n]t sente' which 'comforte[d]' and 'tempere[d] . . . the brayne'. If blood impurities failed to be 'purged', however, 'there do strike up

¹⁰² *A Maske*, l.62. I cite Carey's edition: *Complete Shorter Poems*, 2nd edn rev. (Harlow, 2007).

into the head, grosse & fumie vapours' which caused mental 'distemperaunce'.¹⁰³ Literary influence follows the physiology, as Milton's vapours emerge from Fletcher's bloods.

But body-mind connections of an ethical cast also offer more specific parallels between Milton and Fletcher. The Elder Brother describes unchaste souls as 'clotted by contagion' from the bodies that house them, 'thick and gloomy shadows damp', 'linked . . . by carnal sensuality / to a degenerate and degraded state' (ll.469, 473-4). This Platonic description is particularly important in establishing the link between people and the atmosphere they inhabit: moral and physiological corruption is denoted by thickened souls as well as the thickened air they resemble. It seems informed by a number of passages in Fletcher. His villains, Sullen and Amaryllis, similarly embody and imbrute. Clorin follows her description of their lustful stink with an account of the heavy, contagious souls that produce it:

full of itching flame and leprosie,
Their very soules are, that the ground goes backe,
And shrinks to feele the sullen waight of black
And so unheard of vennome (K3r).

These are souls that have solidified enough to produce footprints of their own. The process that creates them is described as Clorin treats the 'Putrifying gore' that 'inward falls' into Alexis's sexual wound (G2v), an early sketch of the Miltonic 'defilement' that 'lewd . . . act of sin / Lets in . . . to the inward parts', causing the soul to clot (ll.464-6).

Fletcher's main concern is with the air outside the body, but when Thenot describes how he would brave 'all the plagues . . . begotten . . . / In the great wombe of aire' for Clorin's sake, there is a hint of internalisation. Milton develops this to make the setting of *A Maskee* seem, at times, like the interior of a body; and as Katherine Eisaman Maus has noted, that body seems female.¹⁰⁴ The most obvious instance, recalling and darkening Fletcher, is Comus's 'dragon womb / Of Stygian darkness', 'spit[ting] . . . thickest gloom' to blot the air (ll.131-3). But Comus slyly reverts to this theme when he greets the Lady, 'whom certain these rough shades did never breed'

¹⁰³ *Complexions*, f.10r.

¹⁰⁴ Katherine Eisaman Maus, *Inwardness and Theater in the English Renaissance* (Chicago, 1995), 200-1.

(l.265). Because the Attendant Spirit continues this strain with his description of Comus as ‘immured’, like an evil embryo, in the ‘navel’ of the woods (ll.509-10), his praise of the Lady’s song, ‘that might create a soul / under the ribs of death’ (ll.560-1), also sounds like a reference to human generation. Critics often debate the sexual threats to the Lady’s body in *A Maske*.¹⁰⁵ At moments like this, that threat seems re-interpreted on a larger scale. The Ludlow wood seems a female body in itself, full of imminent reproductive potential, and menaced from within by unhealthy fumes.

Such a body sounds like an antitype to the Lady’s virginal purity. It may, however, be an image of it. Early modern medicine held that adolescent girls who remained virgins were vulnerable to an ailment caused by toxic vapours rising from the womb. The symptoms and language used to describe this condition, known as suffocation of the mother, have close parallels in *A Maske*. It has long been known that in 1632 Alice Egerton was treated for ‘fitts’ by the well-known physician Richard Napier. In 1970, Barbara Breasted published her discovery of a letter from Napier’s nephew, Robert, noting that Alice was residing with his uncle for treatment and conveying her mother’s suspicions that the cause of her illness was bewitchment by the disaffected husband of her servant, Mrs Quicke. The question of witchcraft was of more immediate interest to Breasted, given *A Maske*’s supernatural elements, and she did not follow up the medical implications.¹⁰⁶ As a result, although Napier has received considerable attention from recent studies of both medicine and drama,¹⁰⁷ it has not previously been realised that his voluminous surviving case notes include a full account of Alice’s treatment. These show that

¹⁰⁵ They include William Kerrigan, *The Sacred Complex: on the Psychogenesis of Paradise Lost* (London, 1983), 22-72; John Leonard, ‘Saying “No” to Freud: Milton’s *A Maske* and Sexual Assault’, *Milton Quarterly* 25 (1991), 129-40; and Leah Marcus, ‘Justice for Margery Evans: A “Local” Reading of *Comus*’, in *Milton and the Idea of Woman*, ed. Julia M. Walker (Urbana, Illinois, 1988), 66-95.

¹⁰⁶ Barbara Breasted: ‘Another Bewitching of Lady Alice Egerton, the Lady of *Comus*’, *Notes and Queries* 17 (1970), 411-2 (*passim*). The letter is in Bodleian MS Ashmole 1730, f.251r.

¹⁰⁷ The principal studies from a mental health perspective are Michael MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam: Madness, Anxiety, and Healing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1981); and Ronald C. Sawyer, *Patients, Healers, and Disease In the Southeast Midlands, 1597-1634*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1986). Carol Thomas Neely draws on both in her study of the drama: *Subjects, passim*.

Napier suspected her illness to be ‘*matrixis Suffocatio*’,¹⁰⁸ and that she remained his patient at least until the middle of 1633, just over a year before her performance in *A Maske*.

ALICE EGERTON’S ILLNESS

Alice Egerton’s case-notes were a late discovery in the course of this research; as a result it has not been possible to transcribe and discuss them fully. I plan to undertake this work in a future article. Initial examination makes a number of points clear, however. Napier was close to the Egertons, as Michael Macdonald notes in his study of Napier’s treatment of mental illness, *Mystical Bedlam*.¹⁰⁹ His notebooks contain nativities cast for *A Maske*’s Elder Brother, Lord Brackley, Lady Alice, and her sister Lady Magdalen.¹¹⁰ Magdalen, three years older than Alice, was treated alongside her. Another name that regularly appears is that of Mrs Quicke, the servant attending the two Egerton girls, as Robert Napier mentioned in his letter;¹¹¹ she also received some treatment herself.¹¹² That letter suggests that some of the Egertons’ therapy was undertaken in residence, but advice was also sought by correspondence, as appears often to have been the case with Napier’s patients.¹¹³

The first entry for any of the Egertons is dated September 20th 1632, 8.30pm; it notes only that ‘The Lady Alice had 2 fitts’.¹¹⁴ The last is marked October 26th 1633, at 11a.m., and records receipt of a letter from Mrs Quick ‘in the behalf of the Lady Magdalen’.¹¹⁵ On May 13th of that year, the last dated entry for Alice, both sisters were clearly continuing to display symptoms. On that day Napier prescribed medicines ‘for vomitts’ for both girls – this may mean

¹⁰⁸ MS Ashmole 214, p.49.

¹⁰⁹ *Bedlam*, 49. Macdonald refers briefly to the Countess of Bridgewater’s fears about her children (205, 210). Given the scope of his research, two small errors here are understandable: he misattributes the letter in Ashmole 1730 to Richard Napier rather than Robert (205), and suggests that MS Ashmole 214 is foliated rather than paginated (294n184).

¹¹⁰ MS Ashmole 214 p.1 (Brackley), 433 (Alice and Magdalen).

¹¹¹ See note 106 above.

¹¹² MSS Ashmole 214, pp.68, 106; Ashmole 211, p.55.

¹¹³ MSS Ashmole 214, pp.302, 323; Ashmole 211, p.364; Ashmole 212, f.15r.

¹¹⁴ MS Ashmole 214, p.31.

¹¹⁵ MS Ashmole 412, f.15r.

purgatives, rather than treatments for vomiting – as well as ‘Blystering playsters’ for Magdalen.¹¹⁶ That Alice’s condition at least was chronic, perhaps peaking in annual cycles, seems implied by a weary-sounding inquiry from Mrs Quicke, dated 8th February 1633, as to ‘whether the Lady Alice should take anything to prevent her fitts before the spring’.¹¹⁷ This seems to have been prompted by some particularly intense attacks which had already occurred, since on February 21st Napier records that ‘Lady Alice had some sad fits fortnight since’.¹¹⁸ Though Napier may have been unable to cure her, however, he was able to suggest a diagnosis, since his second entry for Alice, dated October 1st 1632, includes a diagram with the words ‘matricis Suffocatio’ written across the centre.¹¹⁹ A month later, however, on October 16th, when Napier received his nephew’s letter, his prognostications in response to it caused him to doubt whether the cause of Alice’s ‘fitts of strangeness’ might not indeed be supernatural.¹²⁰ This dilemma of causation was itself considered to be characteristic of such cases.

Suffocation of the mother, though well-known to medieval and ancient medicine,¹²¹ was first described in the vernacular by Edward Jorden in 1603.¹²² It was thought to cause a number of symptoms relevant to *A Maske*. Its victims indulged in ‘idle talking’, which might include singing or threats.¹²³ They might imagine themselves to converse with spirits or devils, or express attitudes of generalised disdain. Anorexia, particularly of drinks, was common. *Suffocatio* was a variety of melancholy, and as such might share this disorder’s characteristic delusions of supernatural power. As Reginald Scot had noted before Jorden, such delusions made melancholy in older women likely to be confused with witchcraft confessions. Suffocation of the mother in

¹¹⁶ MS Ashmole 211, p.512.

¹¹⁷ MS Ashmole 214, p.302.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.323.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.49.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.75; discussed in MacDonald, *Bedlam*, 210. The quoted phrase is Robert Napier’s description: MS Ashmole 1730, f.251r.

¹²¹ Danielle Jacquart and Claude Thomasset, *Sexuality and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, trans. Matthew Adamson (Oxford, 1988), 173-7; Helen King, ‘Green Sickness: Hippocrates, Galen and the Origins of the “Disease of Virgins”’, *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 2 (1996), 372-87, *passim*.

¹²² See note 7 above.

¹²³ The description is from Nicolaas Fonteyn, *The Womans Doctour* (1652), 5; Ambroise Paré also describes ‘idle talking’, as well as ‘raving’, ‘foolish talking’ and ‘prattling’ (*The Workes of that Famous Chirurgion Ambrose Parey*, trans. Thomas Johnson (1634), 940-1). MacDonald notes that talking ‘idly’ was a symptom of mental distress which Richard Napier often recorded (*Bedlam*, 142).

young girls, however, was more likely to look like possession, a similarity which was regularly noted: this was exactly what Jorden's thesis, which arose from his firsthand experience of a case of supposed possession in a girl of Alice Egerton's age, set out to debunk.¹²⁴ The typical victim was an upper-class virgin who had just reached sexual maturity. The problem resulted from lack of sexual activity: 'For the medieval doctor, suffocation of the womb was without any possible doubt a disease caused by chastity'. Robert Burton's 1628 discussion laid fresh emphasis on this cause.¹²⁵

From the start Jorden emphasised that symptoms could be very various,¹²⁶ and it is important to note that the treatises mention numerous signs that Milton's Lady does not display. A number of other parallels, while intriguing, are far from conclusive. Nothing in *A Maske* suggests Rivière's description of pica, in which as well as rejecting wholesome foods the victim has a longing for unsuitable ones,¹²⁷ or the insensitivity to pain which Jorden thought to be one of the most characteristic signs.¹²⁸ The choking sensations which gave the disease its name are also absent, though these receive less profile in the descriptions than might be expected.¹²⁹ There is no suggestion in Milton's drama of shaking convulsions of an epileptic type, which were also often described.¹³⁰ Some accounts also describe changes of facial colouring, which Comus's reference to 'sallow Abstinence' (l.708) may just possibly reflect.¹³¹

The most important sign, however, on which all the relevant accounts agree, and to which they devote the most space, was intermittent bouts of paralysis: Jorden called this 'a *Stiffnesse or congelation* of the body, wherein they lie like an image in the same forme they were

¹²⁴ For the background, in addition to discussions cited elsewhere in this chapter, see Kaara L. Peterson, 'Performing Arts: Hysterical Disease, Exorcism, and Shakespeare's Theatre', in *Disease, Diagnosis and Cure on the Early Modern Stage*, ed. Stephanie Moss and Kaara L. Peterson (Aldershot, 2004), 3-28 (6-11); and Michael MacDonald, *Witchcraft and Hysteria in Elizabethan London: Edward Jorden and the Mary Glover Case* (London, 1991), vii-xix, xxii-xxvi.

¹²⁵ Jacquart, *Sexuality*, 174; Burton, *Anatomy* (1628), 193-6. These paragraphs provide a summary; detailed discussion with full references follows below.

¹²⁶ See note 161 below.

¹²⁷ Rivière, *Practice of Physick*, trans. Nicholas Culpeper *et al* (1655), 423.

¹²⁸ Jorden, *Mother*, A3v, f.14r.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, ff.5r, 15v, 17r; Paré, *Workes*, 939, 941; John Sadler, *The Sicke Womans Private Looking-Glasse* (1636), 61, 67; Fonteyn, *Doctour*, 53; Rivière, *Physick*, 421.

¹³⁰ Jorden, *Mother*, (e.g.) A3v, f.17r; Fonteyn, *Doctour*, 54 (although these victims, though contorted, seem paralysed); Rivière, *Physick*, 421. See also p.222 below.

¹³¹ Discussed below, pp.231-2.

taken'.¹³² Description of this was always accompanied with a warning about its death-like appearance; breathing and pulse could both entirely cease, and so great care had to be taken about pronouncing the sufferer deceased. Here anecdotes would follow about patients buried or even autopsied alive, often accompanied by speculation as to how survival occurred, perhaps through respiration via the skin.

Suffocation of the mother was caused either by stopped menses, or by retention of the substance known as female seed.¹³³ Throughout most of the seventeenth century, medical theorists generally agreed that women as well as men produced semen, albeit of a slightly thinner variety, and that the mingling of these two substances during intercourse, male and female seed, was essential for conception to occur. Female seed, like the male variety, was ejaculated upon orgasm. The strength of the parallel with semen is demonstrated by the fact that women could be thought, like men, to ejaculate during erotic dreams. Though the 'one-sex model' of anatomy famously described by Thomas Laqueur entailed female seed, it was not essential to it; one could ridicule the former while strongly defending the latter, as did Helkiah Crooke in 1615.¹³⁴

Though the alternative causes of blood and seed were always advanced, it was also usually claimed that the latter had worse effects.¹³⁵ This perhaps reflects the fact that only retained seed made sense in view of the disease's presumed origins in sexual inactivity. As a result, the unexpelled seed built up and putrified, emitting toxic gasses – 'black smoakie vapours' and 'fuliginous exhalation[s]'¹³⁶ – that caused the symptoms. This build-up could be associated either with unrequited love, or – as Robert Burton suggested, just six years before *A Maske* – with

¹³² Jorden, *Mother*, f.13r.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, ff.19v-20r; Paré, *Workes*, 939-40; Sadler, *Looking-Glasse*, 66; Fonteyn, *Doctour*, 52.

¹³⁴ On female seed, see Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, 1990), 38-59; Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800* (London, 1995), 34-68; Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: a Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life* (Cambridge, 1980), 35-7. None of the above studies, however, conveys the strength of early modern belief in the existence of female seed, which is taken for granted in all the primary works examined here. Crooke's account is typical (*Mikrokosmographia* (1615), e.g. 218-21, 258-62, 277); he introduces the opposing view solely to dismiss it (283-6). Female seed is, however, more watery than men's (218). Crooke sees no contradiction between denying the 'absurd' one-sex model (250), and noting that 'wanton women doe in their sleepes avoyde great quantity of seede' (284). Huarte's belief that female seed was potent enough to allow two women to conceive a child together was eccentric, but shows the strength of more conventional views: *Examination of Mens Wits*, trans. R[ichard] C[arew] (1594), 317-8.

¹³⁵ See note 133 above.

¹³⁶ Burton, *Anatomy* (1628), 193.

idealistic celibacy.¹³⁷ The only sure cure, ‘the coital cure’ as Carol Neely terms it,¹³⁸ was regular intercourse, and hence – authors are careful to note – marriage.¹³⁹ Until that can be arranged, however, recommendations include exercise, medicines to reduce production of seed, and bathing in cold water.¹⁴⁰ As with other kinds of melancholy, ameliorative psychological tricks – the well-known ‘theatrical cure’, in Alan Walworth’s phrase¹⁴¹ – can be employed to alleviate harmful behaviours caused by delusions; Jorden, like other writers on more standard kinds of melancholy, closed his treatise with a list of these.¹⁴² There is also a specific remedy to resolve the fit of paralysis, not mentioned by Jorden, but included in later accounts: stimulation of the genitals, either by a male doctor using an instrument such as a pessary, or, more usually and decently, by a midwife. Regardless of whether this method is employed, some emission of sexual fluids is likely to occur as the victim comes round.¹⁴³

The notion of this kind of illness was longstanding. Jacquart and Thomasset note its prevalence in medieval accounts, which use the same term, *suffocatio matricis*, that appears in Napier’s diagnosis of Alice Egerton,¹⁴⁴ and it gained early modern impetus with Lange’s epistle of 1554, based on Hippocrates’ description of the ‘disease of virgins’.¹⁴⁵ Jorden was thus not describing something entirely new, but he was introducing it to the vernacular. It was a topic which could obviously be accused of indecency, a fact of which Jorden was aware, noting that he had ‘slenderly overpasse[d] some poynts’ which were ‘not meete to discourse to[o] freely’ in ‘a vulgar tongue’ (f.18v).

His venture onto such dangerous territory had an ethical motivation. Jorden was following in the footsteps of Reginald Scot’s *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), which explained the

¹³⁷ See below, pp.224-5.

¹³⁸ Neely, *Subjects*, 84, 89.

¹³⁹ Paré, *Workes*, 945; Sadler, *Looking-Glasse*, 74; Fonteyn, *Doctour*, 55; Burton, *Anatomy* (1628), 194; Rivière, *Physick*, 401, 419, 427.

¹⁴⁰ See discussions below, pp.235-6, 255-6.

¹⁴¹ See note 8 above.

¹⁴² Jorden, *Mother*, ff.23v-25v; see below, pp.245-6.

¹⁴³ See below, pp.239-42.

¹⁴⁴ Jacquart, *Sexuality*, 173-7.

¹⁴⁵ Johannes Lange, *Epistulae Medicinales* (Basle, 1554), 1.21; translated in *Classic Descriptions of Disease*, ed. and trans. Ralph Hermon Major, 3rd edn (Springfield, Ill., 1945), 487-9. The best discussion is by Helen King: ‘Hippocrates’, 376-81.

fact that some “witches” seemed to believe in their own powers by suggesting they were suffering from melancholy delusions caused by the menopause; cessation of menstruation led to a build-up of ‘melancholike . . . blood’.¹⁴⁶ This, as has been seen, was also considered one of the two possible causes of the variant that affected young girls, but in these cases discussions centred on the second of the two, retained seed. The seed explanation could also be extended to widows with similar symptoms; they were used to regular intercourse, which had abruptly ceased, leaving – presumably – a physiological habit of seed production that suddenly found itself unrelieved.¹⁴⁷ But regardless of these different emphases and patient profiles, Jorden and Scot were united by their shared purpose of explaining apparently supernatural events in medical terms. Contrary to such appearances, Jorden argued, there was no ‘supernaturall . . . power inhaerent in the body’ of these patients (A3*v*).

Jorden, like his successors, emphasised the key symptom in which the patient lay ‘like a dead corpse three or foure houres together, and sometimes two or three whole dayes without sense, motion, breath, heate, or any signe of life at all’ (f.9*r*); one such victim ‘in the fitte of the mother, did lie six dayes without sense and motion, her Arteries being waxt hard’ (f.11*v*). Sufferers could also refuse ‘eating, or drinking, as if the Divell ment to choake them therewith’ (A4*r*). They might ‘prattle, threaten, chide, or sing’ (f.13*v*). ‘[M]aidens and widowes’ were the typical victims, since they were ‘accustomed or . . . apt’ to ‘the benefit of marriage’, whose ‘want’ led to the ‘congestio[n] of humors about that part, which increasing or corrupting in the place, causeth this disease’ (f.22*v*).

Jorden’s treatise indirectly addressed the controversy over the suspected possession of the fourteen-year-old Mary Glover. Another physician, Stephen Bradwell, refuted Jorden at length, outlining what a typical case of suffocation of the mother ought to look like in the process.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), 54; discussed in Neely, *Subjects*, 78-81. See also Babb, *Malady*, who notes that the idea of witchcraft as melancholy delusion originated with Johann Weyer (54-5).

¹⁴⁷ Jorden, *Mother*, f.22*v*; Burton, *Anatomy* (1628), 193; Fonteyn, *Doctour*, 4, 6, 55; Paré, *Workes*, 939, 942. This too was longstanding: medievals knew *suffocatio* as a disease of widows as well as virgins (*Sexuality*, 174).

¹⁴⁸ Stephen Bradwell, *Mary Glovers Late Woeful Case* (1603), in Michael MacDonald, *Witchcraft and Hysteria in Elizabethan London: Edward Jorden and the Mary Glover Case* (London, 1991), 1-150; further references in text or footnotes as

Bradwell noted the two causes, blood or seed, with seed the more toxic;¹⁴⁹ mother-fits were accompanied, at their worst, by ‘external coldness’ and cessation of pulse and breathing, and provoked by eating or drinking.¹⁵⁰ Mary was too young for either blood or seed to have had time to have built up, he thought.¹⁵¹ Her fits were also of the wrong kind,¹⁵² though the symptoms of food-refusal were present (85): the first fit occurred while she was drinking a posset (3-4). Glover’s fits were strongly convulsive, as well as paralytic; Bradwell acknowledged this to be typical of suffocation of the mother as well,¹⁵³ but felt that these particular convulsions were too strange and violent for ‘a meere natural disease’.¹⁵⁴ Almost every page of his account, however, referred to the paralysis: Glover became stiff, congealed (10, 12), frozen (6-7, 87), rigid (72), ‘benumbed’ (26), a dead and senseless image (21-2), deprived of feeling (71) and void of understanding (16).¹⁵⁵ It was just this absolute incapacity for ‘voluntarie moving’, her obviously total lack of ‘libertie of the joints’, that proved that the movements that she did make must be the product of the demon controlling her (72).

Another of Jorden’s opponents, John Swan, similarly noted the ‘deadness’ and ‘inflexible stiffnes’ that came over Mary’s left side,¹⁵⁶ leaving her ‘benumbed’ (40) and ‘inflexible as Iron’ (37), and the ‘scornfullye disdayninge . . . terrible threatning’ expressions that accompanied it (40-1). This kind of publicity seems to have had an effect, since vernacular accounts of her condition’s putative ‘[n]aturall cause’ began to proliferate.¹⁵⁷ Helkiah Crooke’s account in *Mikrokosmographia* (1615) noted that ‘fits of the Mother are oftner procured by seed reteined and corrupted then by blood’ (231). Victims of these ‘violent’ fits could ‘live some good space without breathing’, a phenomenon of which Crooke felt no need to give specific examples, since it was ‘so ordinary, as that no man will deny it’ (44). As a result, it was ‘impossible almost to

appropriate. Bradwell’s treatise (BL MS Sloane 831) remained unprinted until MacDonald’s transcription. It is discussed in MacDonald’s introduction (ix, xvi, xxxi-xxxiii).

¹⁴⁹ 65, 83, 96-104, 118, 138.

¹⁵⁰ 99, 85-92.

¹⁵¹ 27, 50, 96-102.

¹⁵² 26-7, 50, 86-92, 108-11.

¹⁵³ 85, 91, 99.

¹⁵⁴ 27, 50, 86-92, 108-12.

¹⁵⁵ See also 18-23, 29, 66, 69-72.

¹⁵⁶ *A True and Breife Report, of Mary Glovers Vexation* (1603), 17. Further references in text.

¹⁵⁷ Bradwell, *Woeful Case*, 28.

perceive whether such women do yet live or no, and doubtlesse many are buried in such fits (for they will last sometimes 24 houres or more, and the bodies grow colde and rigid like dead carkasses)' (253). They might also seem possessed, an explanation it was important to rule out (225).

Burton included a new section on 'Maides, Nunnes, and Widowes Melancholy' in the third edition of his *Anatomy* in 1628, prompted by 'workes not long since published' which identified this 'peculiar Species of Melancholy . . . proper to women alone', which a survey such as his 'may not omit' (193). He identified these learned-sounding works as the Latin treatises of Castro and Mercado, but since these had been available since 1603 and 1579 respectively,¹⁵⁸ the growing influence of Crooke and Jorden's more recent discussions is also likely to have been a factor.¹⁵⁹ Burton described this phenomenon as 'like fits of the mother' (193),¹⁶⁰ rather than identical with them, but the symptoms were similar and the physiological origins the same.¹⁶¹ He noted the ultimate source in Hippocrates, and emphasised the intermittency of the seizures: 'it comes and goes by fits, and is not so permanent as other [kinds of] melancholy . . . by fits it takes the[m] now and then' (193-4). Blood and seed were the two possible causes (193).

Burton also paid more attention to psychological effects. Sufferers were likely to display 'perverse conceipts' and 'preposterous judgement'. They were 'apt to loathe, dislike, disdain'; as well as 'think[ing] themselves bewitched', they might 'see visions, conferre with spirits and divels'. His version of the symptoms others described as paralysis was less emphatic, but still recognisable. There was 'a still dotage . . . of some part or other . . . from which they are

¹⁵⁸ L. Mercati [Luis de Mercado], *De Mulierum Affectionibus Libri Quatuor* (Vallesoleti [=Valladolid], 1579); Roderici á Castro, *De Universa Mulierum Morborum Medicina* (Hamburg, 1603). These works may, of course, have taken a little time to reach England. King, 'Hippocrates', draws on Mercado's work, which she dates to 1587 (372-3, 385-6).

¹⁵⁹ Especially *Mikrokosmographia*, which received further editions in 1616 and 1618.

¹⁶⁰ Emphasis mine.

¹⁶¹ Helen King takes others to task for failing to differentiate the variants of this kind of condition ('Hippocrates', 373n). But Jorden himself observed that 'the Symptoms of this disease are . . . of such a varietie as they can hardly be comprehended within any method or boundes' (*Mother*, f.2r). Stephen Bradwell agreed, noting that Mercado considered this variousness a characteristic symptom in itself; Bradwell was accordingly 'content to take the *suffocation of the mother* . . . as a name comprehending all hysterical affectes' (*Woeful Case*, 79, 84). Katherine Williams finds 'little diagnostic stability' in this area of medical practice ('Hysteria in Seventeenth-Century Case Records and Unpublished Manuscripts', *History of Psychiatry* 1 (1990), 383-401 (399)). Neely suggests that this period sees 'an innovative amalgamation of the formerly distinct conditions of the suffocation of the mother, genital congestion, and melancholy' (*Subjects*, 69).

sometimes suddenly delivered'. Sufferers were 'stupified and distracted . . . distracted, madde, or stupid for the time, and by fits', in which 'they cannot tell how to expresse themselves in wordes', and 'will not speake, make answer to any question'. The 'best and surest remedy' was simply 'to see them . . . married to good husbands in due time' (194).

Burton's most important contribution, however, was his clarification of the profiles of typical sufferers. This was a disease of 'noble virgins, nice gentlewomen', who 'live[d] at ease . . . in great houses' and were 'subject to passions' (195). But these could be subdivided into two kinds: those who were simply unable to obtain the objects of their desires, and those who, quite differently, had committed themselves to chastity. Among the first were included those 'wanton flurts' to whom, Burton was careful to point out, his prescription of marital (essentially, coital) cure should in no way be considered an encouragement (194). But "maids' melancholy" also struck those who

out of a strong temperament . . . are violently carried away with this torrent of inward humours, and though very modest of themselves, sober, religious, vertuous, and well given (as many so distressed maides are) yet cannot make resistance, these grievances will appeare, this malady will take place . . . (195).

It was this second type of victim alone, Burton thought, who was deserving of sympathy (195).

The strength of this inspired him to religious polemic against

superstitious orders, rash vowes . . . How odious and abominable are those superstitious and rash vowes of Popish Monasteries, so to binde and enforce men and women to vowe virginity, to lead a single life against the lawes of nature . . . so to starve, to offer violence, to suppress the vigor of youth . . . to debarre them of that, to which by their innate temperature they are so furiously inclined, urgently carried, & sometimes precipitated, even irresistably led, to the prejudice of their souls health, and good estate of body and minde. . . better marry then burne, saith the Apostle, but they are otherwise persuaded. . . what fearefull maladies, ferral diseases, grosse inconveniences come to both sexes by this enforced temperance, it troubles me to think of . . . (195-6).

Burton's discussion thus made it clear that this problem could affect the kind of young woman – or man, despite the section title and presumed gynaecological origins – who espoused a sincere commitment to celibacy, as well as those who simply suffered from unrequited love. In both cases, frustrated lovers and idealistic virgins, something to which 'by innate temperature'

human beings were ‘furiously inclined’ and ‘irresistibly led’ was being dangerously prevented. In this Burton was following the trend established by puritan marriage treatises, which in the first half of the seventeenth century had begun to stress the importance of regular sex for the health of both partners. The Protestant ideal of chastity increasingly referred to marital sex, where for Catholics it had meant celibacy.¹⁶² ‘Maides [and] Nunnes . . . Melancholy’ complemented this perspective, since it provided medical reasons for girls to marry as soon as possible.

After Burton, and in the same year as *A Maske*, came Thomas Johnson’s 1634 translation of *The Workes of that Famous Chirurgion Ambrose Parey*. Here, again, paralysis was the most distinctive symptom of ‘strangulation of the wombe’ (939): ‘the woman sinketh downe as if shee were astonished, and lyeth without motion, and sense or feeling . . . somtimes it is thought . . . that the woman is altogether dead’ (940). Paré felt this called for a separate chapter on ‘How to know whether the woman be dead in the strangulation of the wombe’, since ‘many women . . . so taken with this kind of symptome . . . have beene supposed and layd out for dead, although truly they were alive’ (941). John Sadler, writing in 1636, agreed: in the disease ‘called in English the Suffocation of the Mother . . . the body being refrigerated, and the actions depraved, she falls to the ground, as one being dead . . . shee falls down as one voyd both of sence and motion’. He offered ‘three experiments’ to ‘distinguish the living from the dead’ in such cases.¹⁶³

Further, similar descriptions were published mid-century. Nicolaas Fonteyn’s *Woman’s Doctor*, translated anonymously in 1652, described how ‘diseases of the *Matrix*’ could cause ‘swounding fits . . . insomuch as you cannot discerne, whither a woman breaths or not, or that she hath any pulse’ (1-2). In such ‘*Strangulation, or Suffocation of the Matrix*’ (51), the patient ‘lies, as if she were astonished and void of sense . . . by-standers may easily mistake her to be dead’ (53). Another symptom, which Fonteyn classified under the separate heading ‘Of Melancholy

¹⁶² For discussion, see Anthony Fletcher, ‘The Protestant Idea of Marriage in Early Modern England’, in *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson* (Cambridge, 1994), 161-81, *passim*. The chronology of the ‘central texts’ Fletcher discusses – Whately’s *A Bride-Bushe* (1616), Gouge’s *Domesticall Duties* (1622), Griffiths’s *Bethal* (1634), Rogers’ *Matrimonial Honour* (1642) – parallels that of the medical treatises discussed here (Fletcher, ‘Marriage’, 165).

¹⁶³ *Looking-Glasse*, 62-3, 67.

proceeding from the *Matrix*’, but which he similarly derived from stopped menses or retained seed,¹⁶⁴ was ‘a conceit that they are talking with Angels’ (71-2).

Three years later the English version of Rivière’s *Practice of Physicke* appeared. Under ‘Green-Sickness’, also called ‘virgins disease’, a syndrome closely associated with fits of the mother,¹⁶⁵ Rivière noted changes of facial colouring. He claimed this illness was caused by obstruction in the veins of the liver, but the tradition in which he is writing becomes clear when he suggests that ‘it is cured by marriage . . . Copulation, if it may be legally done’ (400-3). The same cure – ‘carnal Conjunction . . . if she be married’ (427) – applied, of course, to ‘Mother-fits’, caused in the usual way by blood or seed (420), which he treated separately from greensickness. In these ‘strangling fits of the Mother . . . their whol Body becomes cold . . . they lie like dead Women; and some have been accounted dead, and laid out for Burial’ (421). It was important, therefore, to inquire ‘how such as are in the Fits of the Mother, may be distinguished from those that are quite dead’ (425). Like his predecessors, Rivière described ‘want of appetite or thirst’ as a symptom; he laid special emphasis on the latter, a ‘universal loathing of al kinds of Drink’ that could be as severe as ‘the Water-Fear in such as have been bitten with a Mad-dog’ (423). His source for this was Mercado, on whose *De Mulierum Affectionibus* Burton had also drawn,¹⁶⁶ and which Milton could have known before *A Maske* – unlike Rivière’s description, which first appeared, in Latin, in 1640.¹⁶⁷ The posset on which Mary Glover’s first fit reportedly caused her to choke suggests that this symptom may have been considered one of the more significant.

Of the treatises discussed, Jorden, Crooke, Burton and Paré were all available in English in or before 1634. Milton could of course have known Paré in French before this, just as he could have known Burton’s acknowledged sources, Mercado and Castro; Jorden himself cited both Mercado and Paré.¹⁶⁸ To the learned, *suffocatio* was not new. But the growing number of treatises on this topic appearing in the vernacular as the seventeenth century progresses suggests

¹⁶⁴ *Doctour*, 71; cf. 52.

¹⁶⁵ See note 161 above.

¹⁶⁶ See note 158 above.

¹⁶⁷ *Praxis Medica* (Paris, 1640); see Germaine E. Berrios, ‘Madness from the Womb’, *History of Psychiatry* 17 (2006), 223-30 (227).

¹⁶⁸ *Mother*, ff.1r, 11r.

the increasing public awareness, and acceptability, of the theory of mother-fits in unmarried girls. This impression is strengthened by the relatively rapid translations of Fonteyn and Rivière, whose Latin originals did not themselves appear until the 1640s,¹⁶⁹ by comparison with Ferrand's controversial *Erotomania*. This general study of love-melancholy in both sexes also dealt with what it called *furor uterinus*,¹⁷⁰ though more briefly than those discussed above. First published in French in 1610, with a second and much-revised edition following in 1623, it did not appear in English until 1640, by which time the cultural climate may have seemed more propitious.¹⁷¹

These developments were paralleled in the drama, in which a fashion for portrayals of lovesickness as a medical phenomenon, in both men and women, took hold. Between 1616 and 1629, Alan Walworth notes seven plays on this topic, all of which also feature the 'theatrical cures' alluded to in his title.¹⁷² Three of these were by Fletcher, who seems to have had a special interest in medical perspectives on sexual issues. *The Faithfull Shepheardesse* is not on Walworth's list, although Clorin's ruse to defuse Thenot's passion could be regarded as a comparable device (H3v-Ir), and the insanely chaste Perigot's double stabbing of his supposedly immodest betrothed seems interpretable along Burtonian lines.¹⁷³ Lovesickness appears in the list of diseases which Clorin claims to treat (Bv); Amaryllis calls it 'that heavy youth consuming miserie' (Cv), and Clorin later describes its operations and 'coital cure' as she banishes 'lustfull' herbs from her garden:

You that intice the vaines, and stirre the heat
To civill muteny, scaling the seate
Our reason moves in, and deluding it
With dreames and wanton fancies, till the fit
Of burning lust be quencht by appetite (Dv),

¹⁶⁹ Fonteyn, *Syntagma Medicum de Morbis Mulierum* (Amsterdam, 1644); for Rivière see note 167 above.

¹⁷⁰ Ferrand, *Erotomania*, trans. Edmund Chilmead (1640), c2v, 94-100.

¹⁷¹ Ferrand's original treatise was entitled *Traicté de l'Essence et Guérison de l'Amour ou de la Melancholie Erotique* (Toulouse, 1610). The revised and expanded version, on which Chilmead's English translation was based, was re-named *De la Maladie d'Amour ou Melancholie Erotique* (Paris, 1623). On the controversy, see D.A. Beecher, 'Erotic Love and the Inquisition: Jacques Ferrand and the Tribunal of Toulouse, 1620', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 20 (1989), 41-53 (*passim*).

¹⁷² 'Theatrical Cures', 61-6. The relation of this kind of "cure" to *A Maskee* is discussed below, pp.245-8.

¹⁷³ *Shepheardesse*, F3r, H3r; see above, p.208.

These ungendered references lack medical specificity, however: they suggest the broader notions of lovers' melancholy described in treatises such as Du Laurens' *A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight*.¹⁷⁴ In 1607 Jorden's ideas had not yet taken hold.

In the later play that he co-authored with Shakespeare, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, Fletcher returned to the methods of *The Faithfull Shepheardesse*, combining the influence of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* – aided this time by its author – with medical discourse.¹⁷⁵ In this case, however, he offered the most complete description of 'maids' melancholy' on the early modern stage. In a subplot which may owe something to Sidney's *Zelmane*, the Jailer's Daughter falls in love with Palamon, whose noble status makes him unattainable. She helps him escape, but her unfulfilled desire drives her mad; the only cure is to persuade her to have sex with her former suitor, who pretends to be Palamon.¹⁷⁶ Her bawdy though at times affecting story runs alongside that of the chaste Emilia, unhappily forced to marry Palamon.

Though probably composed in 1613-4, this play was published for the first time in 1634,¹⁷⁷ perhaps on the back of *The Faithfull Shepheardesse's* success. Like that play, it was advertised as having been recently presented at Blackfriars by the Kings' Men; it shared a printer, Thomas Cotes, with the less well-known 1629 edition of the *Shepheardesse* which preceded its stage revival. Someone interested in the *Shepheardesse* would be likely to know about the *Kinsmen*, and reading them together would enhance awareness of Fletcher's interest in humoural psychology. Like other theatrical examples, this one presented the variant of women's melancholy that stemmed from unrequited love rather than over-zealous chastity; but it was inset into a story of just such chastity. In *The Two Noble Kinsmen* the age at which such problems were considered to typically manifest themselves is stressed: 'What pushes are we wenches driven to / When fifteen

¹⁷⁴ André Du Laurens, *A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight: of Melancholike Diseases*, trans. Richard Surphlet (1599), 117-24.

¹⁷⁵ On the influence of the *Dream*, see Glynne Wickham, 'The Two Noble Kinsmen or A Midsummer Night's Dream, Part II?', in *The Elizabethan theatre, VII: Papers Given at the Seventh International Conference on Elizabethan Theatre*, ed. G.R. Hibbard (Port Credit, Ontario, 1980), 167-96 (178-95, especially 185: 'the forest [is used] in the same emblematic sense . . . as it has been used in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and in which . . . Milton will use it again in *Comus*'). Much of Wickham's argument stands independently of his historical parallels, which are not always persuasive.

¹⁷⁶ For a full discussion, see Neely, *Subjects*, 83-91.

¹⁷⁷ *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ed. Lois Potter (Walton-on-Thames, 1997), 34-5.

once has found us' (2.4.7). This, of course, was Alice Egerton's age when she performed in *A Maske*.

ALICE EGERTON AND *A MASKE*

At *A Maske's* time of writing, women's melancholy was thus a topic of increasing significance in both medical and theatrical discourse. Alice Egerton had been diagnosed with its most characteristic symptom, suffocation of the mother. Milton showed his awareness of this ailment in 1643's *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, where he compares its effects to the apparent madness of the sectaries. Perhaps, he speculates, such people start out with a genuine 'zeal of Religion' whose principles lead them to restrain themselves from 'some lawfull liberty', with mind-altering results:

As by Physick we learn in menstruous bodies, where natures current hath been stopt, that the suffocation and upward forcing of some lower part, affects the head and inward sense with dotage and idle fancies.¹⁷⁸

Since the problems Milton is referring to evidently result from sexual abstinence – the resultant build-up of seed was thought harmful to both sexes,¹⁷⁹ though specific effects in men received little attention – his reference to stopped menses rather than retained seed, like his delicate allusion to 'some lawfull liberty', seems likely to stem from a concern for propriety. Like other passages in this treatise,¹⁸⁰ Milton's familiarity with such problems may reflect his experience with the Bridgewater.

¹⁷⁸ *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, ed. Lowell W. Coolidge, in *Complete Prose Works*, ed. Don M. Wolfe, 8 vols (New Haven, 1953-82), 2.217-356 (278-9). Further references are to this volume and edition.

¹⁷⁹ Burton thought virginity caused 'fearefull maladies' in 'both sexes' (*Anatomy* (1628), 196); Ferrand thought that 'want of convenient Evacuation of the seed' caused melancholy in widowers and other men prone to it (*Erotomania*, 58-60); Thomas Cogan asserted that 'the seed . . . of man and woman . . . needeth . . . sometime to bee abated. For otherwise, it is an occasion of many grievous maladies' (*The Haven of Health* (1636), 279-80; discussed below, p.235).

¹⁸⁰ The medical contexts discussed here have implications for the *Doctrine and Discipline* which require space of their own. I plan to address them in a future article.

As an upper-class teenage girl, Alice Egerton was suffocation of the mother's typical victim. Her avatar on stage, the Lady, exhibits many of the associated symptoms and predisposing factors. She is zealously committed to chastity, and experiences an episode of paralysis, apparently as a result of a spell; in 1653, Harvey was still observing how 'Diseases of the womb' could make things look 'as if the affected Persons were enchanted'.¹⁸¹ The motionless Lady seems a statue (ll.660, 818), a condition her brother inadvertently anticipates when he discusses the power of chastity's 'rigid looks' to 'freeze' people to 'congealed stone' (ll.448-9), recalling the treatises' references to rigidity, coldness and 'congelation'. As will later be discussed, the manner of her emergence from this 'fit' is particularly telling. Before falling into it, she chides, threatens and expresses her contempt for Comus. The Elder Brother suggests that she converses, or can expect to converse in the future, with angels (ll.454-8). Her predicament is set by Milton in a womb-like forest replete with 'black smoakie vapours'. The fact that she is apparently paralysed in a seated position may also be relevant, since Laurinda Dixon's study of a related ailment depicted in mid-seventeenth-century Dutch paintings suggests that this pose was characteristic.¹⁸²

The Lady's claim to have supernatural powers with awesome destructive consequences that she is reluctant to use accords with more general symptoms of melancholy. Reginald Scot suggested that women who, under the influence of melancholy, thought themselves to be witches, might assume responsibility for what insurance companies call acts of God: he recorded one who confessed herself responsible for every storm and frost that had occurred in the winter of 1565.¹⁸³ More prosaically, one commonly-cited "case history" of melancholy featured a man who refused to urinate for fear that if he did so, he would flood the entire town, a delusion of which the Lady's belief that she has only to speak to cause an earthquake (ll.796-8) may represent a more serious form. A closer combination of potentially earth-shattering power and

¹⁸¹ William Harvey, *Anatomical Exercitation Concerning the Generation of Living Creatures* (1653), 502.

¹⁸² Laurinda Dixon, *Perilous Chastity: Women and Illness in Pre-Enlightenment Art and Medicine* (London, 1995); see the illustrations on pp.62-7, which date from 1657-70. It should be noted that these women, in Dixon's reading, are suffering from the lassitude associated with greensickness, not the paralysis of *suffocatio*. These conditions were closely linked however, since the causes were the same. Helen King criticises Dixon for failing to distinguish them: 'Hippocrates', 373n (see note 161 above).

¹⁸³ Scot, *Discoverie*, 55.

responsibility appears in the anecdote of a man who believed he would shortly be required to take over the task of carrying the world from Atlas. Comus's threat to turn the Lady's body into 'alabaster', meanwhile, a distinctively fragile type of rock, may derive from the equally widespread stories of melancholics who thought their bodies were made of glass, butter or pottery, and hence frighteningly vulnerable.¹⁸⁴

The drama centres on the Lady's refusal of Comus's potion, partly on the grounds of his moral character: 'none / But such as are good men can give good things' (ll.701-2). Jorden suggested that 'offence in eating, or drinking, as if the Divell ment to choake them therewith' was 'ordinarie in uterin affects' (A4r); Mary Glover's sudden inability to drink her posset probably came to mind. Rivière, recycling Mercado, compared this reaction to drinks, in particular, to the 'Water-Fear' of rabies victims (423). The stage picture of Comus forcing the drink to the Lady's mouth as the brothers burst in may express something like these symptoms. Comus also tells her to reject the doctrine of 'lean and sallow Abstinence' (l.708). These words may offer a sidelong comment on the physique and complexion of the actor who is playing her. Though the most usual description in such cases was one of pallor, the English version of Lemnius's *Secret Miracles of Nature* (1658) described a 'swarth weasil colour' (18); the Latin original, *Occulta Naturae Miracula*, first appeared in 1559.

Rivière, later than *A Maske* but possibly reflecting earlier descriptions, referred to the Hippocratic 'disease of virgins' as 'Green-sickness' or 'white jaundice', as well as 'the pale colour of virgins'. Face and body were 'pale and white, sometimes of a lead-colour, blew or green . . . yellowish, greenish or blue'. Greensickness, or chlorosis, was closely associated with mother-fits.¹⁸⁵ Helen King notes the variety of descriptions of skin colouration attached to this condition,

¹⁸⁴ Fear of urinating, taking the world from Atlas, and bodily fragility imaged as earthenware, glass or butter, are all found in both Du Laurens, *Discourse*, 101-3, and Thomas Walkington, *The Optick Glasse of Humors* (1607), ff.69v-72r; delusions of glass bodies are also found in Lemnius, *Complexions*, ff.151r-v, and William Vaughan, *Approved Directions for Health* (1612), 102. Scot, *Discoverie*, includes the Atlas story and those of men who thought they were 'earthen pots, greatlie fearing to be broken' (53). All these works also contain numerous other, similar, "case histories" of melancholy, a kind of narrative whose implications are discussed by Walworth, 'Theatrical Cures', 55-60, and Neely, *Subjects*, 76-83. Neely notes the blend of grandiosity and fragility common to many of these stories (77).

¹⁸⁵ See Conclusion below, note 1.

best summed in Sydenham's 'bad colour in the face'.¹⁸⁶ But Milton may have in mind an older work which links this kind of complexion with both anorexia and melancholy, though not the specific kind that afflicted teenage girls. Elyot's *Castel of Helthe*, still being reprinted as late as 1610, observed that 'Abstinence is a forbearynge to receyve any meate or drynke . . . it maketh the colour salowe, it ingendreth melancoly'.¹⁸⁷ A dramatist looking for a visual signal for 'maids melancholy' who also knew that food refusal was one of the symptoms might take this kind of description as a cue.

While the evidence suggests that Alice Egerton was suspected to suffer from the disease of which these kinds of symptom were characteristic, we have no way of knowing for certain if she shared the Lady's ostentatious commitment to chastity. She might well, however, have reacted to the Castlehaven scandal with just such a commitment. Her cousin, Elizabeth Audley, had been married young even by early modern standards,¹⁸⁸ at the age of twelve, and then raped by a servant at her stepfather's instigation. These events emerged publically in 1631, when Alice herself, three years younger than Elizabeth, had reached the age of twelve.¹⁸⁹ As Breasted showed, Alice's grandmother appears, in ways that seem shocking from a modern viewpoint, to have laid considerable blame on Elizabeth. She was concerned that Elizabeth had not returned to her estranged husband, Castlehaven's son, after the scandal, and refused to take her in in case she corrupted other children in her household.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁶ King, 'Hippocrates', 374, 376; she cites Sydenham, *The Entire Works* (1753), 658; this is a translation of Sydenham's mid-seventeenth-century Latin text ('Hippocrates', 373).

¹⁸⁷ *The Castel of Helthe* (1539), ff.55v-56r; 1610 edn, 83. Elyot refers specifically to the effects of fasting in summer.

¹⁸⁸ Blaine Greteman discusses the issues in relation to the Lady's age: "'Perplex't Paths': Youth and Authority in Milton's *Mask*", *Renaissance Quarterly* 62 (2009), 410-43 (414-5).

¹⁸⁹ For a full account, see Cynthia Herrup, *A House in Gross Disorder: Sex, Law, and the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven* (Oxford, 1999), 1-98. On relevance to *A Maske*, see Barbara Breasted, 'Comus and the Castlehaven Scandal', *Milton Studies* 3 (1971), 201-14; Rosemary Mundhenk, 'Dark Scandal and the Sun-Clad Power of Chastity: The Historical Milieu of Milton's *Comus*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 15 (1975), 141-52; John Creaser, 'Milton's *Comus*: The Irrelevance of the Castlehaven Scandal', *Milton Quarterly* 21 (1987), 24-34; Nancy Weitz Miller, 'Chastity, Rape and Ideology in the Castlehaven Testimonies and Milton's Ludlow Mask', *Milton Studies* 32 (1996), 153-68; Ross Leasure, 'Milton's Queer Choice: Comus at Castlehaven', *Milton Quarterly* 36 (2002), 63-86.

¹⁹⁰ Breasted, 'Castlehaven', 214-6. Creaser, 'Irrelevance', claims these concerns were a tactic aimed at obtaining pardons for Elizabeth and her mother. Herrup's research, however, suggests both Creaser and Breasted (who thought Elizabeth's grandmother did later offer her a home (220n)) were too optimistic. Though the Dowager Countess eventually contributed to a yearly allowance, Elizabeth Audley remained 'effectively cast out of both her marital and her natal families', and was 'left to live by her wits' (*Disorder*, 101, 110). Creaser's reference to her as 'debauched' (25), though possibly intended as an indirect voicing of the Countess's own (presumed) thoughts, seems misjudged.

As well as the direct impact of learning of these events, Alice is likely to have been closely scrutinised for signs that she was turning out like her supposedly immoral cousin. Her mother apparently felt that their relatives' misbehaviour must have been the result of witchcraft,¹⁹¹ and the fear she expressed via Robert Napier's letter, that Alice had herself been bewitched by her servant's husband, seems interestingly close to the Castlehaven events, which also featured a servant's attack on a young girl. The Countess is likely to have been hypersensitive to the possibility of similar events occurring in her own household, and hence primed to discover signs of them. Alice was surrounded by pressures to which a loudly-proclaimed commitment to celibacy might have been a logical response. She had the misfortune, however, to live in an age in which female chastity and promiscuity were beginning to look equally pathological.

More general correspondences between Milton's drama and the symptoms of suffocation of the mother have already been observed, but as *A Maske* moves to its climax the medical theme emerges in more detail. The key speech here is Comus's praise of nature's bounty (ll.709-35), which Carey, in 1968, linked to a speech by *The Faithfull Shepheardesse's* equivalent of Comus, Sullen.¹⁹² Interrogated by the priest after his capture while attempting to rape Amaryllis, Sullen offers an insolent justification:

Hath not our Mother Nature for her store,
And great increase, sayd it is good and just,
And willd that every living creature must,
Beget his like[?] (*Ir*).

Comparing this with Comus's persuasions, however, highlights Milton's twist. Comus's final argument rests on culling nature, not imitating it; instead of an example to be followed, nature's profusion is a threat that needs controlling for "her" own sake.

Comus begins by suggesting that the point of natural abundance is to satisfy human appetite, vanity and acquisitiveness. Plants and animals 'sate the curious taste'; silk and gemstones

¹⁹¹ Louis A. Knafla, 'Egerton, John, first earl of Bridgewater (1579–1649)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/8587>, accessed 14 June 2012].

¹⁹² *Poems of John Milton*, 170.

exist for humans to wear and hoard (ll.711-9). Not using these resources seems ungrateful to God, who created them (ll.719-25). This argument from nature is already different from Sullen's, but then Comus unexpectedly veers to a new angle: failure to take advantage of nature's store is not merely ungrateful to its creator, but dangerous for nature herself. Unless her abundance is used up, nature will become 'surcharged with her own weight', 'cumbered' with birds darkening the sky, 'over-multitude[d]' with cattle, 'o'erfraught' with swelling seas (ll.727-31). This leads to the difficult lines in which the subterranean glow of 'unsought diamonds' acclimatizes 'they below' – hell-dwelling demons, Carey glosses – to brightness, allowing them to surface and walk the earth (ll.731-5).

Comus's description of a world 'strangled with her waste fertility' (l.728), however, may suggest a more specific reading. 'Strangulation' of the mother was an alternative title employed by Crooke, Paré (939, 941-2) and Fonteyn (51). Jorden noted that one of this condition's Latin names was *Strangulatus uteri* (f.5r), Bradwell described sufferers' 'strangulatorie respiration' (91), Sadler avoided confusion by pointing out that it was the woman, not the womb itself, who became 'strangled' (61), and Rivière refers to 'strangling fits of the Mother' (421). This resulted, in the most literal of senses, from waste fertility: unused 'female seed' lay rotting in the womb and gave off fumes which either rose themselves or caused the womb to swell upwards, resulting in, among other symptoms, a choking sensation.¹⁹³ The link seems supported elsewhere. Nature's bounty is first 'pour[ed] . . . forth / . . . / thronging the seas with spawn innumerable', and making it 'swell' if unused (ll.709-12, 731). Subsequently it appears as gems and minerals – later the speech zeroes in on the accumulating diamonds – stored in 'her own loins' (ll.717-9, 731-3). Spawning, swelling, shiny, and building up hazardously in the loins if unused, this fits Paré's description of 'male and female seed' as 'white, shining' and 'swolne' (885); Crooke compared it to 'the froth or foame of the sea' (259).

'Nature' was another name for seed. Jorden called it 'nature or *sperma*', using the first of these terms in his version of the commonplace comparison between the respective toxicities of

¹⁹³ See note 129 above.

menstrual blood and female seed in cases of suffocation of the mother: ‘the putrefaction of bloud’ was ‘not so deadly as . . . the corruption of nature’ (f.20r). Describing a similar problem, and referring to the accepted view that semen was formed from blood, Thomas Cogan’s popular *Haven of Health* (1584), whose last two (of seven) reprintings were those of 1612 and 1636, observed that ‘in the seed or nature of man and woman resteth the whole hability of procreation . . . of bloud is nature bred continually, and needeth therefore sometime to bee abated. For otherwise, it is an occasion of many grievous maladies’.¹⁹⁴ This field of reference need not of itself imply that Comus’s insinuation is to be taken as accurate in the present; he might just mean that being strangled with waste fertility is what the Lady will be leaving herself open to in the future if she fails to put her dainty limbs to gentle usage (ll.679-80). Helen King’s survey of the early modern fortunes of a similar Hippocratic malady suggests the amenability of such medical theories to *carpe diem* arguments: ‘The message of green sickness could thus be summarised as “if you’ve got it, use it”’.¹⁹⁵ But Alice Egerton’s diagnosis supports a more direct interpretation.

Another such context is provided by haemony. Attempts to identify Milton’s amphibious herb are numerous,¹⁹⁶ and John Rogers’ suggestion of *agnus castus*, the chastity plant, is not one of those most frequently cited.¹⁹⁷ Rogers’ identification, made in passing in the course of his brilliant discussion of Marvell, rests on visual resemblance, and the fact that this plant’s name and ancient associations suit Milton’s theme. But it gains further support from the fact that Sadler (74-6), Fonteyn (60) and Rivière (429) all suggest *agnus castus* as a medicine for fits of the mother. Sadler and Fonteyn both recommend it specifically when the cause of the fits is retained seed rather than menstrual blood, since it ‘will drie up and diminish the seed’ (Sadler, 74).¹⁹⁸ Ferrand also prescribes it in a number of places as a general cure for love-melancholy in both sexes.¹⁹⁹

If Milton took his description of haemony from *agnus castus*, however, he seems likely to have taken its name from the *Haemonia* of Ovid’s *Medea*. *Haemonia*, as Cooper’s *Thesaurus* notes,

¹⁹⁴ Cogan, *The Haven of Health* (1636), 279-80; discussed by Fletcher, *Gender*, 46.

¹⁹⁵ ‘Hippocrates’, 386.

¹⁹⁶ Carey lists the better-supported suggestions: *Shorter Poems*, 212.

¹⁹⁷ *The Matter of Revolution: Science, Poetry and Politics in the Age of Milton* (London, 1996), 90n.

¹⁹⁸ Sadler, *Looking-Glasse*, 74; Fonteyn, *Doctour*, 60.

¹⁹⁹ *Erotomania*, 244, 256, 264, 267.

was ‘The countrey called Thessaly’;²⁰⁰ Medea and Fletcher’s Clorin share the same storehouse of magic herbs. Milton’s *Elegia Secunda* refers to Medea’s use of them to rejuvenate Jason’s father. Medea’s therapy involved slitting Aeson’s throat, killing him, before infusing the Haemonian herbs into his blood, whereupon he revived.²⁰¹ In this formal lament for the death of a university official, Richard Ridding, Milton declared that Ridding deserved to live on like Aeson, made young again by a Haemonian medicine (ll.7-8). Aeson’s resurrection might have returned to Milton’s mind, perhaps with some help from Fletcher’s Thessalian herbs, while reading the case histories of patients who revived at the moment of burial or autopsy.

Sabrina’s appearance suggests other kinds of cure. Cold water was sometimes advised. Sadler observed that Hippocrates had freed a woman from a mother-fit by ‘powring cold water on her’ (73). Ferrand, whose work Milton could have known in its original French,²⁰² recommended cold baths several times for love-melancholics of both genders, but felt them to be especially effective for women: ‘it is most certaine, that a Bath of cold water is a very soveraigne Remedy for the cure of the Uterine Fury, which is a Species of Love-Melancholy’ (313). This assertion drew support from Ferrand’s anecdote about the women of Lyons, who had suffered from this problem *en masse*, and leapt in the river to cure it (268). Milton, who follows lesser-known versions of the Sabrina story by making her jump in the Severn rather than being pushed (l.830),²⁰³ may have intended her subsequent miraculous recovery (ll.831-40) to suggest this kind of ‘Remedy’, with the application of ‘drops . . . / . . . of precious cure’ drawn from those same waters suggesting a similar therapy for the Lady (ll.911-2).

²⁰⁰ *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae & Britannicae* (1584), s.v. ‘Haemonia’.

²⁰¹ See pp.206-7 above and note. The resurrective aspect is emphasised by the fact that Medea subsequently tricks the daughters of Pelias into killing their father by guiding them through the same procedure but substituting the wrong herbs (7.297-349; *Metamorphoses* trans. Miller, 1.365-7). The story was sufficiently well-known for Cooper’s *Thesaurus* to include it in Medea’s entry: ‘by hir sorcerie restored to yong yeares againe his olde father Aeson’. Cooper does not mention the method, however. *Thesaurus*, s.v. ‘Medea’.

²⁰² See note 171 above.

²⁰³ Jack B. Oruch finds that the only other version to feature this is that of *The Lamentable Tragedy of Loarine* (1595), K4r: ‘Imitation and Invention in the Sabrina Myths of Drayton and Milton’, *Anglia* 90 (1972), 60-70 (64). For discussion, see Philip Schwyzer, ‘Purity and Danger on the West Bank of the Severn: The Cultural Geography of *A Masque Presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634*’, *Representations* 60 (1997), 22-48 (46-7n); Maurice Hunt, ‘Managing Spenser, Managing Shakespeare in *Comus*’, *Neophilologus* 88 (2004), 315-33 (326, 329-30).

The drops of water are followed by the gums of glutinous heat (ll.916). In 1973 Flosdorf's query paved the way for several other critics to voice their intuitions that these represented sexual fluids. Flosdorf had asked 'what is their source: Comus? the Lady[?]', but replies almost universally assumed the former.²⁰⁴ Even when, as in Debra Shuger's brilliant 1997 article, the Lady was seen as the source, it was assumed that Milton must at some level be imagining her as male.²⁰⁵ Shuger suggested a link with the Attendant Spirit's description of Comus's spells as 'lime-twigs' set to catch the nightingale-figure of the Lady (ll.565-6, 645). She noticed that Augustine had described the semen he ejaculated during wet dreams as 'the birdlime of concupiscence', and that birdlime was defined in a standard early modern Latin thesaurus as *glutinum* (1-2). Lacking the theory of female seed as a context, however, Shuger resorted to the common theory that the Lady was Milton's self-portrait (5),²⁰⁶ repeatedly insisting that her reading 'entail[ed] that the Lady be, as it were, a man' (4). Responses to her article tended to read past this, however, in their eagerness to do away with the suggestion that Milton's heroine 'exuded' anything at all. Ronald Corthell suggested that Shuger ought to have considered whether the gums were not more likely to originate with Comus, ignoring much of her argument and apparently unaware that plenty of critics had already taken this for granted; William Shullenberger deplored the notion that they might represent the Lady's own 'effluence of excitement'.²⁰⁷ Present-day deficits in the vocabulary of women's sexuality may lack the unpleasant medical consequences of early modern misconceptions of physiology, but they can have a similarly debilitating effect on debate.

Commentators who focus on that physiology have arrived at conclusions close to those of Richard Napier. B.J. Sokol examined variant readings of Comus's reference to the Lady's melancholy blood (l.809) and suggested that these, like the earlier 'dragon womb' (l.131),

²⁰⁴ J.W. Flosdorf, "'Gums of Glutinous Heat': A Query", *Milton Quarterly* 7 (1973), 4-5 (5). Responses included Edward Le Comte, *Milton and Sex* (London, 1978), 1-2; Kerrigan, *Complex*, 47; and John T. Shawcross, 'Two Comments', *Milton Quarterly* 7 (1973), 97-8.

²⁰⁵ "'Gums of Glutinous Heat" and the Stream of Consciousness: The Theology of Milton's *Maskē*', *Representations* 60 (1997), 1-21 (3-5).

²⁰⁶ Maus gives an account of the history of this idea: *Inwardness*, 199n.

²⁰⁷ Ronald Corthell, 'Go Ask Alice: Daughter, Patron, and Poet in *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle*', *Milton Studies* 44 (2005), 111-28 (124-5n); William Shullenberger, 'Girl, Interrupted: Spenserian Bondage and Release in Milton's *Ludlow Mask*', *Milton Quarterly* 37 (2003), 184-204 (199-201nn).

suggested that menstruation might be an issue.²⁰⁸ More recently James Broaddus has considered but discounted the possibility of female seed. Broaddus suggested that the gums were instead the vaginal secretions that early modern commentators sometimes distinguish from seed. As he notes, however, descriptions of this kind of fluid, where they occur at all, are usually an afterthought.²⁰⁹ Lacking the magic of procreation, it was a substance, if it existed distinctly from female seed at all, in which early moderns had less interest.²¹⁰

Sokol and Broaddus each describe one of the two possible causes of *matricis Suffocatio*, menstrual blood and female seed. Both, like the Lady's seat, were described as venomous; though this could apply to any 'morbid secretion',²¹¹ its frequency in this context seems notable. Jordan described how the unexpelled humour, whether blood or seed, 'corrupteth and putrifieth to a venemous malignitie' (f.5r), and gave off 'venemous vapour' (f.20r). This was especially the case, however, when the culprit was 'nature or *sperma*', since 'as it is a substance of greatest perfection . . . So being depraved or corrupted, it passeth all the humors of our bodie, in venom And therefore it is compared to the venom of a serpent' (f.20r). Crooke used the same word to describe the moment of onset of the paralysis, a 'cessation of breathing and intermission of the pulse, the use of them both being taken away by a venemous breath' (253). Johnson's Paré discussed how the 'venemous quality' of corrupted blood or seed 'causeth such like accidents as happens in the suffocation of the wombe' (950). To cure that condition, one needed to expel the 'venemous matter contained in the wombe' (945). Rivière's English readers encountered similar wording at the start of his section on 'Mother-Fits': 'When Seed and Menstrual Blood are retained in Women . . . [they] attain a . . . venemous quality; from whence venemous Vapours are . . . carried . . .' (420).

²⁰⁸ B.J. Sokol, "'Tilted Lees", Dragons, Haemony, Menarche, Spirit, and Matter in *Comus*', *Review of English Studies* NS 41 (1990), 309-24, *passim*.

²⁰⁹ James W. Broaddus, "'Gums of Glutinous Heat" in Milton's *Mask* and Spenser's *Faerie Queene*', *Milton Quarterly* 37 (2003), 205-14 (205-7).

²¹⁰ He cites Crooke: 'beside their seede, there is another waterish moysture which delighteth, tickleth and washeth their genitals; and that indeede conferreth nothing to generation' (*Mikrokosmographia*, 285). But cf. Thomas Raynalde, *The Byrth of Mankynde* (1545), who identifies this with female seed rather than recognising it as a distinct substance: 'wemen having great . . . desyre to any ma[n] this seede doth yssue . . . to the woma[n]s pryvye passage moystyng all that parte, as it were with a dewe' (f.27r). Raynalde's popular handbook was still being reprinted in 1654. It derives from a German original by Eucharius Roeslin, to whom Raynalde's work is sometimes attributed.

²¹¹ *OED* s.v. 'venom', A.2.

Milton used this term again himself in the decade after *A Maske*, in the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*'s reference to the 'venom of a lusty and over-abounding concoction' (251); in the absence of a satisfying marriage this can be controlled through 'strict life', 'labour' and dietary restriction. These were all remedies for suffocation of the mother – Burton advised 'labour and exercise, strict diet' (195-6); Paré thought 'liv[ing] sparingly . . . in continuall labour' offered protection (950) – as well as for the equivalent, less-discussed problem in men, for which Ferrand recommended 'frequent and violent Exercise, or Labour', and avoidance of rich foods.²¹² Milton's 'venom' probably denotes both varieties of what this treatise elsewhere describes as 'the twofold seminary in nature' (272).

Exercise, diet, cold water and *agnus castus* were all possibilities when the 'best and surest remedy', sexual intercourse, could not be achieved. Another therapeutic option, however, was for a midwife to stimulate the genitals to effect ejaculation of the retained seed. This bizarre-sounding therapy had a long history.²¹³ It was described by Galen, and recommended by medieval authors such as Arnald of Villanova and John of Gaddesden:²¹⁴

If the suffocation comes from a retention of sperm, the woman should . . . draw up a marriage contract . . . If she . . . cannot do this, because she is a nun . . . or because she is married to an [impotent] old man . . . she should . . . take frequent exercise and use medicine which will dry up the sperm . . . If she has a fainting fit, the, the midwife should insert a finger covered with oil of lily . . . into her womb and move it vigorously about.²¹⁵

As this passage suggests, this procedure was specifically advised to bring the patient round from the 'fainting fit' considered to be this condition's principal sign.

²¹² *Erotomania*, 59.

²¹³ On which see also Mary Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages: the Viaticum and its Commentaries* (Philadelphia, 1990), 131: 'suffocation of the womb[: o]ne of the causes of this disease was thought to be retained seed that became corrupted and poisonous, and . . . needed to be purged. One means, acceptable in classical medicine and found in the works of Galen and Avicenna, was to arouse the woman to orgasm so that she ejaculated the retained seed. The arousal was often achieved by a woman who manipulated the patient manually . . . manuscripts contain no marginalia expressing surprise or outrage at this therapy, which suggests that the latitude of accepted medical practices was wider than we tend to assume'. Vernacular descriptions might be a different matter, however, as discussed below.

²¹⁴ Jacquart, *Sexuality*, 175-6.

²¹⁵ John of Gaddesden, *Rosa Anglica* (Augsburg, 1595), 595-6; cited and translated in Jacquart, *Sexuality*, 176. *Rosa Anglica* was probably composed c.1313 (Martha Carlin, 'Gaddesden, John (d. 1348/9)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/10267>, accessed 14 June 2012]).

Jacquart and Thomasset note concerns about the moral implications of this kind of treatment.²¹⁶ These help to explain why it appears to enter the vernacular literature comparatively late. Jorden's section on cures focussed on psychological methods; he noted crisply that 'the cure in regard of the internall causes, because they are properly belonging to the Physition, I do purposely omit' (f.25v). The first explicit mention I have found is in the 1634 translation of Paré. Paré suggests that recovery from the fit will in any case be accompanied by vaginal secretion, but if aided in this way by a midwife the result will be a more copious ejaculation of the seed itself:

Those who are freed from the fit of the suffocation of the wombe, either by nature or by art, in a short time their colour commeth into their faces by little and little, and the whole body beginneth to wax strong, and the teeth, that were set and closed fast together, begin (the jawes being loosed) to open and unclose againe, and lastly, some moisture floweth from the secret parts with a certaine tickling pleasure; but in some women, as in those especially in whom the necke of the wombe is tickled with the mydwives finger, in stead of that moysture comes thick and grosse seed, which moysture or seed when it is fallen, the wombe being before as it were raging, is restored unto its owne proper nature and place, and by little and little all symptomes vanish away (942).

Let the mydwife annoint her fingers . . . and with these let her rub or tickle the top of the necke of the wombe which toucheth the inner orifice . . . so at length the venemous matter contained in the wombe, shall bee dissolved and flow out . . . and so when the conjunct matter of the disease is scattered and wasted, the wombe, and also the woman shall bee restored unto themselves againe (945).

Particularly relevant to *A Maske* is the evacuation of moisture and/or seed that occurs on recovery, also mentioned by Rivière: 'when the Hysterical, or Womb-Fit begins to go over, a certain moysture flows out of the Water-gate . . . and so the Sick-Party by little and little, is freed from her Fit . . . Those that have Fits of the Mother, do in the end of the Fit come to themselves like persons awaked from sleep . . . sometime much humour flows from the Womb' (424-5). Though these are among the later accounts, this symptom was known earlier; the lack of such an 'effluce of humor' on recovery was a strong indicator, for Stephen Bradwell, that Mary Glover's fits were not of this type (99, 104).

After Paré, cure by midwife is more frequently mentioned. Sadler and Fonteyn both describe it:

²¹⁶ Jacquart, *Sexuality*, 176.

If it bee caused by the retention and corruption of the seed; at the instant of the paroxisme, let the Midwife tak oyle of lillies . . . Let her dippe her finger therein and put it up into the neck of the wombe tickling and rubbing the same. The fit being over, proceed to the curing of the cause . . . a good husband will administer cure.²¹⁷

[R]etention of the Seed is the Cause of these Symptomes, which if they be so vehement, that the former remedies cannot tame them, proceed as followeth.

. . .

With a piece of Cotton make a pessary, according to art, put it up, and move it up and down, till the superfluous seed be ejaculated.²¹⁸

Galen [tells] . . . of a widow, who was afflicted with intolerable symptomes, till the abundance of the spermatick humour was diminished by the hand of a skilfull Midwife, and a convenient oyntment.²¹⁹

Rivière's discussion worries interestingly about propriety. Discussing 'stoppage of the Terms', he recommends using 'a wise Midwife' to examine the condition of the neck of the womb (404), but no midwife is mentioned in his recommendations to bathe the genital area or inject medicines into the womb with clysters (407-8).²²⁰ Like Fonteyn's suggestion of a pessary, this suggests a limit to what a male doctor could perform: instruments could be used, but direct contact was seen as indecent. Employing a midwife did not, however, completely resolve this problem. Rivière twice mentions the midwife's cure when 'carnal conjunction' is not possible, as is the case with unmarried women; but on the second occasion he makes clear his disapproval:

Instead of carnal conjunction, where that cannot be had, many advise that the Patient be rubbed and tickled by a Midwife in the Neck of her womb, into which the Midwife must put her fingers anointed with Oyls of Spices, that so the offensive Sperm may be voided, but seeing that cannot be done without wickedness . . . a Christian Physitian may never prescribe the same (427-8).

This moral stance irritated Rivière's translator, however, who interpolated into the ellipsis in the above quotation an unflattering description of his author:

(a silly superstitious papist, that counts it a meritorious good work to burn a mother and child in her womb alive, as at Jersey, and a wickedness to free a sick body of a little offensive humour) (428).

Burton's rant against Popish vows of celibacy similarly suggests the confessional issues that suffocation of the mother could evoke. The interpolation in Rivière's text shows that the work of

²¹⁷ Sadler, *Looking-Glasse*, 73-4.

²¹⁸ Fonteyn, *Doctour*, 67.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

²²⁰ This type of clyster was not, however, to be used on virgins (408).

differentiating witchcraft from fits of the mother was still very much a live issue in the 1650s, and that forward-thinking Protestants might distinguish themselves from superstitious papists by their commitment to a clear-eyed medical perspective on such matters; a perspective that endorsed the method of cure that midwives could effect.

These contexts suggest one possible answer to a question that has troubled many commentators: why do the Attendant Spirit and haemony prove insufficient to free the Lady, requiring Sabrina's intervention, and the ensuing discovery of the gums? A male doctor, such as Napier, could prescribe medicines like *agnus castus* which could ameliorate the problem over time; but for release from the paralysing fit itself, intimate touch by a woman could be required, and would be followed by a release of at least some 'moisture', and at most 'thick and gross seed', the venomous substance that had been the cause of the problem.

The most recent discussion of Milton's Sabrina locates her significance in touch. She 'touches the present directly . . . the dead, present-tense virgin touch[es] the living, marriageable gentry Lady . . . touching the Lady, rather than a royal heir'.²²¹ Mary Loeffelholz agrees: 'she touches the Lady . . . no one else . . . is required to touch the Lady'. But this account wavers – 'Her touch is . . . very nearly ethereal, but it is touch nevertheless, visible, real and transformative' – and then rolls back: 'they can touch . . . Or rather, Sabrina can touch the Lady (metonymically, via her own watery body and the Lady's chair) . . .'.²²² This seems to be moving towards Matthew Steggle's position: 'Sabrina . . . is noticeably careful not to touch the Lady'.²²³

Critics disagree about what the touches do as well as whether they exist. William Kerrigan thinks their 'moist cold of chaste water' opposes 'the moist and hot of lust'.²²⁴ William Shullenberger, on the other hand, thinks the sequence of 'Breast, fingers, lips, pelvis' implies that 'Sabrina releases the bound energy of the Lady's erogenous zones . . . desire is reborn'.²²⁵

²²¹ Erin Murphy, 'Sabrina and the Making of English History in *Poly-Olbia* and *A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 51 (2011), 87-110 (102-3).

²²² 'Two Masques of Ceres and Proserpine: *Comus* and *The Tempest*', in *Re-membering Milton: Essays on the Texts and Traditions*, ed. Mary Nyquist and Margaret W. Ferguson (London, 1988), 25-42 (34).

²²³ "'Gums of Glutinous Heat" and Euripides' *Medea*', *Notes and Queries* 46 (1999), 328-30 (330).

²²⁴ *Complex*, 47-8.

²²⁵ 'Interrupted', 198.

Representing the midwife's cure without giving offence was difficult, even in medical treatises, but these responses suggest that with Sabrina – herself 'reviv[ed]' with fragrant baths and 'ambrosial oils', 'through the porch and inlet of every sense / Dropped in' – Milton achieved a level of indirection that was at least partially successful, leaving room for audiences and actors to draw their own conclusions. Treatises offered similarly discreet alternatives. '[S]ome advise', Rivière diffidently reports, that

the Genital Parts should be by a cunning Midwife so handled and rubbed, as to cause an Evacuation of the over-abounding Sperm. But that being a thing not so allowable, it may suffice whilst the Patient is in the Bath, to rub gently her Belly . . . not coming neer the Privy parts, [so] that . . . the Womb . . . of its own accord . . . expel[s] the Seminal Excrement, and that nothing else be done with the hand, save a little to open the Womb, so as the Water may pass [in] . . . the water will operate as much as any . . . [m]edicines (419-20).

This spectrum of options for dealing with situations in which lusty concoctions venomously over-abound parallels the range of interpretations of Sabrina: from direct touch to standing back and letting the water do its work.

Broaddus rejects the idea that the gums could be seed because this would require orgasm to expel it, which nothing in *A Maske* seems to imply.²²⁶ Early modern treatises did lay considerable emphasis on the physical signs of orgasm which accompanied ejaculation: Crooke's description of 'a pleasant force or violence . . . a little epilepsie . . . a pleasant Convulsion' (238) is typical.²²⁷ As Jacquart and Thomasset note, however, despite the fact that medieval medical theory insisted that orgasm had to occur for female seed to be discharged, for discretionary reasons doctors rarely mentioned it when discussing this kind of treatment, a precedent followed by all the treatises examined here. This may be why Paré and Rivière leave open the possibility that only 'a certain moisture', rather than the seed itself, is expelled on recovery, supporting Broaddus's suggestion of Crooke's 'waterish moisture'.

Broaddus may not be entirely correct, however. Shortly before her paralysis, the Lady describes what would happen if she spoke the sage and serious doctrine of virginity (ll.785-6). Its

²²⁶ 'Gums', 207.

²²⁷ For discussion, see Laqueur, *Sex*, 2-3, 46-50.

‘uncontrolled worth’, inflaming her spirits, would cause ‘the brute earth’ to ‘lend her nerves, and shake’, shattering Comus’s ‘magic structures’ (ll.792-98). The ‘brute earth’ may recall the Elder Brother’s description of the ‘lewd and lavish act of sin’ by which the unchaste soul ‘embodies and imbrutes’ (ll.464, 467). Too heavy for heaven, after death this kind of soul lingers near the deceased body to which it has become attached, on what the Attendant Spirit has introduced as ‘this dim spot, / Which men call earth’; ‘this sin-worn mould’ with its ‘rank vapours’. Comus mobilises this description in the Lady’s direction when he wonders how her ‘divine’ song could possibly issue from ‘any mortal mixture of earth’s mould’ (ll.243-4). *OED* describes mould as ‘a hollow form or matrix’,²²⁸ as well as ‘earth considered as the material of the human body . . . as opposed to the soul or spirit’,²²⁹ senses which anticipate the Lady’s ‘corporal rind’, the earthly body which encases her.

If ‘brute earth’ might thus suggest the ‘carnal sensuality’ of the body, as the Elder Brother describes it (l.473), the shaking nerves tend to further that implication. Carey glosses these nerves as ‘sinews’,²³⁰ but Crooke associates them with sensation and impulse-transmission rather than motion and support, often in sexual contexts. From the clitoris, he notes, ‘lustfull imaginations are communicated to . . . the vesselles leading the seede’, a process facilitated by the fact that this organ is ‘nervous and therefore of most exquisite sence’ (225). The womb has similar qualities: ‘The nerves of the wombe though they bee small yet are they very many, implicated or couched one within another like a net, that they may confer exquisite sence unto it’. ‘[A]bout the lower parts they are more plentifull’, Crooke notes, to enhance the ‘pleasure . . . conceived in coition’ (232). Such pleasure is caused by ‘the touch of the seede upon the nervous and quicke sensed parts as it passeth by them’ (238). The sense here seems close to that of the ‘impetuous nerve’ whose ‘prescrib’d satisfaction’ the *Doctrine* simultaneously acknowledges and despises (7).²³¹

Importantly, the nervous shaking which the Lady imagines but rejects would be caused by something ‘uncontrolled’ (l.792). For Crooke, here discussing women despite his masculine

²²⁸ ‘Mould’, n.3, II.9.a, first citation c.1330.

²²⁹ ‘Mould’, n.1, 2.a, first citation c.1300.

²³⁰ *Shorter Poems*, 221.

²³¹ The medical sense of ‘prescribe’ is established at this date (*OED* 3.a, first citation 1533).

pronouns, in orgasm one is ‘transport[ed] . . . out of himselfe or beside himselfe as it were, in the act of generation; to which otherwise being maister of himselfe he would hardly have beene drawne’ (238). The pleasant but violent convulsion is, and needs to be, a moment when self-mastery is lost; a frightening possibility that the Lady’s speech glances at but refuses to allow. Such refusal was considered to be a primary cause of the condition of which Richard Napier had already diagnosed Alice Egerton as a chronic sufferer, and whose best-known symptom was the paralysed state into which the Lady, at this moment of Milton’s drama, is about to fall.

SPIRITUAL PAGEANTS

In his rebuttal of Breasted’s Castlehaven thesis, John Creaser observed that the proximity of these events made them exactly what Milton’s *Maskee* was least likely to be about.²³² Similar arguments might seem to apply here, but there are some possible responses. Alice’s symptoms had gone on for some time. Her treatment with Napier had continued for at least eight months, and Mrs Quicke’s question about what, if anything, she ought to take for the year ahead strikes a note of resignation. Even if this treatment had been producing signs of improvement, it would have been interrupted by Napier’s death, on April 1st 1634. Other means needed to be sought, and a budding dramatist might be just the person to provide them.

Lists of ‘theatrical cures’ for melancholic delusions were a standard feature of treatises on this condition; one of the most frequent examples was that of the man who thought he was dead, and consequently refused all food. Unable to dispel this notion, a doctor arranged for the patient’s friends to pretend to be similarly deceased, and invite him to dinner, persuading him that dead people can eat.²³³ As though to advertise its affiliation with the standard accounts, Jorden’s treatise closed with a similar list (ff.24r-25v). It may seem hard to see how these could be

²³² ‘Irrelevance’, 31.

²³³ See note 184 above. The story of the “dead” man’s dinner party appears, in various forms, in Lemnius, *Complexions*, ff.151v-152r; Walkington, *Optick*, f.71r; Du Laurens, *Discourse*, 102.

imagined to be effective for a problem whose causes had just been described in such specific, physical terms; Bradwell criticised Jorden on just these grounds (138). Jorden seems to have felt the more direct remedies were too indecent to describe.²³⁴ But closing with “case histories” also had the dual benefits of linking suffocation of the mother to more widely-accepted kinds of melancholy, and dealing with the problem of why patients sometimes seemed to respond to exorcism. The latter could be explained in psychological terms similar to those suggested by the theatrical cure (f.25r).

Jorden observed that ‘phisitions have used divers sorts of fallacies to encounter the melancholike conceits of their patients . . . if we cannot moderate these perturbations of the minde, by reason and perswasions, or by alluring their mindes another way, we may politikely confirme them in their fantasies, that wee may the better fasten some cure upon them’ (ff.24r-v). For Jorden, these ‘fantasies’ were chiefly the delusions of supernatural possession that his treatise aimed to explain away. Accordingly, he presents stories about people who ‘verily beleieve [themselves] bewitched’, such as a woman ‘vexed with many grievous *Symptoms*, [who] imagined that the Divell was the author thereof; she was ‘cured by procuring her son to make her beleieve that he saw three divels in her looking glasse, & one great one to drive them out’ (ff.24v-25r). Along with these theatrical cures, and often associated with them, Carol Neely suggests that the interest of writers like Scot and Jorden in distinguishing melancholy from witchcraft was another feature of medical discourse which Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists developed for the stage.²³⁵

The Lady’s speeches in Milton’s drama suggest that Alice Egerton had the high-minded commitment to celibacy which early moderns thought to be the principal cause of ‘maids’ melancholy’. But Robert Napier’s letter also describes her mother’s fears that she was bewitched. This was the whole question, he pointed out: whether Lady Alice’s fits ‘proceeded from any

²³⁴ See above, pp.240-2.

²³⁵ Neely, *Subjects*, 46-50, 56-68, 94; Schleiner, ‘Dover’, is an important influence on Neely’s argument.

natural Cause, or from the malediction of som evill disposed bodye'.²³⁶ Richard Napier himself, as has been seen, wavered between these explanations.²³⁷ Comus focusses this dilemma for the audience in his reaction to the Lady's disdainful speeches, as he wonders how to interpret this typical symptom of maids' melancholy. At first, like any naive observer, he is inclined to take her words at their supernatural face value: 'She fables not, I feel that I do fear / Her words set off by some superior power'. Even to a supernatural being such as he is himself, this kind of behaviour is disconcerting. But he gathers himself, recalling Robert Napier's first alternative, a 'natural Cause': 'tis but the lees / And settlings of a melancholy blood' (ll.808-9).²³⁸ As later in the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, Milton may have felt that naming female seed directly would be going too far, and so decorously referred instead to blood, suffocation of the mother's alternative explanation.

Comus's reversion to a medical interpretation flows from the plan he announces at l.804: 'I must dissemble'. The patterning of this speech suggests inner conflict, with ll.709-805 and 808-9 implicitly set off as asides in which Comus wrestles with his disquiet at the Lady's behaviour, and, like an early modern doctor working through the differential diagnoses of possession and *suffocatio*, decides further tests are needed: he must 'try her yet more strongly' (l.805). His decision to proceed via 'dissembl[ing]', which otherwise seems obscure, may offer a metatheatrical reminder that a dissembled cure for melancholy – Jorden's politic fallacies – is just what is in progress.

The Attendant Spirit's invocation to Sabrina seems to exemplify Jorden's explanation of why "superstitious" prayers do often seem to work in bringing patients round; not through supernatural power, but through 'the confide[n]t perswasion of the patient to find release by that means' (A4r). He returns to this theme during his discussion of theatrical cures. Prayers work in the same way:

²³⁶ MS Ashmole 1730, f.251r.

²³⁷ See p.217 above.

²³⁸ 'Lees' was a common term for melancholy: see Chapter 1 above, note 112.

all those superstitious remedies which have crept into our profession . . . prayers or Ave Marias . . . when they prevaile in the cure of diseases, it is not for any supernaturall vertue . . . but by reason of the confident perswasion which melancholike and passionate people may have in them (ff.24^v-25^r).

At the same time as suggesting the more practical remedy of which Jorden feared to speak, Sabrina's appearance also seems to stage such confident persuasion through artificial representation of a miraculous cure. William Vaughan described how 'the Physitian . . . [must] devise some spirituall pageant . . . hee must endeavour to deceive and imprint another conceit . . . in the Patients braine, thereby to put out all former phantasies'.²³⁹ If this kind of description sparked the imaginations of writers for the public theatres, then masques, which often offered discreet persuasion in the guise of tribute to the 'great persons' who participated in their performance,²⁴⁰ seem closer again to this kind of therapeutically occasional 'spiritual pageant'. Given *A Maske's* original players, the heading of Jorden's final chapter, which describes such cures, also seems eloquent: 'Of the cure of this disease, so much as belongeth to the friends and attendants to performe' (f.23^v).

If *A Maske*, despite this kind of artful layering, still caused offence, this too may have had curative potential. Jorden's final anecdote reports how

[a] yong Maiden . . . fell into these fits of the Mother, and being in one of them, a Physitian then present modestly put his hand under her cloathes to feele a windie tumor which shee then had in her backe. But a Surgeon there also present not contented with that maner of examination, offered to take up her clothes, and to see it bare: whereupon the Maid being greatly offended, tooke such indignation at it, as it did put her presently out of her fit (ff.25^{r-v}).

Annoying Alice Egerton by plunging her into the midst of this intrusive drama could have been a risk worth taking. But indications that offence was not entirely avoided elsewhere seem evident in the well-known censorship of the Bridgewater manuscript; and perhaps also in the less-discussed coincidence of *A Maske's* first publication with the death of the Dowager Countess, who had been so keen to protect her family from scandal, in the first month of 1637. Others in the family

²³⁹ *Directions*, 91.

²⁴⁰ The classic account is Ernest William Talbert's: 'The Interpretation of Jonson's Courtly Spectacles', *PMLA* 61 (1946), 454-73 (*passim*, esp. 457-9). See also Martin Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture* (Cambridge, 2008), 5-6; Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: the Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1987), 25-7, 39-51, 185, 195-6, 219-64.

may have felt that this protectiveness, internalised in Alice's commitment to chastity, was exactly the problem, and that *A Maske* was a risk worth taking to break that cycle after other avenues had failed.

The theme of maids' melancholy suggests that the course of action *A Maske* was subtly urging its leading actress towards marriage. If Alice had absorbed the lessons of her cousin's experiences, this may not have been an easy task, but authors agreed that it was the best and only complete cure for the problem of retained seed.²⁴¹ Here again Milton could draw on Fletcher. *The Faithfull Shepheardesse* was composed at a time when the medical critique of sexual inactivity was less widely known. Though Fletcher's play condemns lust and rewards sexual virtue with health, however, he shows more extreme kinds of chastity to be as problematic as the instincts they try to smother. Perigot's fanatical purity, which twice leads him to stab his innocent beloved, proves even more destructive than Sullen's malign promiscuity, and Thenot's self-frustrating desire, predicated on Clorin's chaste refusals, is made to seem ridiculous.²⁴² Fletcher's preferred outcome is expressed by the reformed Alexis, as he reflects on his stabilised union with Cloe: 'True love I find a pleasant fume, / Whose moderat heat can nere consume' (K2r).²⁴³ *A Maske* similarly attempts at least to open the future possibility of a third way – marital sex – between the extremes of lust and virginity.

Jorden's suggestion for dealing with difficult cases was 'to politikely confirme them in their fantasies' (f.24v). Comus, the arguments presented here suggest, represents Milton's attempt to confirm the fantasies of someone who thinks most men are evil seducers like Castlehaven. The fantasy is represented as powerfully as possible in order to dispel it; by the end of the play Comus has fled, leaving a powerful female figure and some ineffectual but unthreatening males. *A Maske* then closes with the Attendant Spirit's description of Cupid and Psyche's heavenly union, in which 'free consent' is that of the parental 'gods' rather than the prospective spouses (ll.1003-10). This discreetly distanced positive vision of marriage, patriarchally approved, is reinforced by the

²⁴¹ See above, pp.224, 226, 239, 241.

²⁴² F3r, H3r, B4v, H3v-Ir.

²⁴³ Sandra Clark's suggestion, that Fletcher wants us to think that 'Perigot's violence is the fault of Amaryllis alone', seems slightly too simple: *Sexual Themes*, 30.

negative argument of the Lady's silence – suggesting not only the gradual, 'by little and little' revival from the fit that the treatises describe, but also their insistence that anything other than the regular intercourse that marriage could provide would effect at best a partial and provisional recovery. But the persuasion failed, and Alice Egerton stayed unmarried for the next eighteen years.²⁴⁴

²⁴⁴ Lewalski, *Milton*, 622n.

The variety of suffocation of the mother that affected chaste teenage girls eventually became known as greensickness, or chlorosis. It persisted into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when it acquired the name hysteria.¹ Since the idea of hysteria played an important role in the development of psychoanalysis, Alice Egerton's diagnosis with its early modern forerunner does much to explain *A Maske*'s popularity with psychoanalytic critics.² These studies adapt what is primarily a therapeutic method in order to interpret *A Maske*'s ethical significances, but understanding Milton's drama as a kind of therapy itself suggests new ways in which those significances might be conceived. The point of writing a character like Comus is not to test the Lady's virtue, but by his eventual defeat to dispel the notion that all men are predisposed, like her uncle, to promiscuity and sexual coercion. Alice's fits are likely to have been viewed as stemming from a commitment to chastity prompted by such a belief. Summing that belief in the figure of Comus and showing him inducing such a fit onstage presents this dynamic so that, in the best-case scenario, the Lady can recognise it for herself, and thus break the cycle. Like William Guazzo, she has to understand, and accept, the nature of her ailment, in order to cure it. Unlike the case of that obligingly fictional character, however, evidence suggests that this therapeutic persuasion was not successful – because, of course, its basis was as insubstantial as the

¹ The literature is extensive. As well as works already cited, see, for example, Gilbert Glaser, 'Epilepsy, Hysteria and "Possession": a Historical Essay', *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 166 (1978), 268-74; Nicholas P. Spanos and Jack Gottlieb, 'Demonic Possession, Mesmerism, and Hysteria: A Social Psychological Perspective on Their Historical Interrelations', *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 88 (1979), 527-46; Irvine Loudon, 'Chlorosis, Anaemia and Anorexia Nervosa', *British Medical Journal* 281 (1980), 20-7; Loudon, 'The Diseases Called Chlorosis', *Psychological Medicine* 14 (1984), 27-36; Jean Starobinski, 'Chlorosis – the "Green Sickness"', *Psychological Medicine* 11 (1981), 459-68; Katherine Williams, 'Hysteria in Seventeenth-Century Case Records and Unpublished Manuscripts', *History of Psychiatry* 1 (1990), 383-401; G.S. Rousseau, "'A Strange Pathology: Hysteria in the Early Modern World, 1500-1800', in *Hysteria beyond Freud*, ed. Sander L. Gilman (London, 1993), 91-224; Laurinda Dixon, *Perilous Chastity: Women and Illness in Pre-Enlightenment Art and Medicine* (London, 1995); Carol Thomas Neely, *Distracted Subjects: Madness and Gender in Shakespeare and Early Modern Culture* (Ithaca, 2004), 12-23.

² William Kerrigan, *The Sacred Complex: on the Psychogenesis of Paradise Lost* (London, 1983), 22-72; Christopher Kendrick, 'Milton and Sexuality: a Symptomatic Reading of *Comus*', in *Re-membering Milton: Essays on the Texts and Traditions*, ed. Mary Nyquist and Margaret W. Ferguson (London, 1988), 43-73 (*passim*); Hugh M. Richmond, *The Christian Revolutionary: John Milton* (Berkeley, 1974), 72. Many adopt similar but less theoretically explicit readings, e.g. Leah Marcus, 'John Milton's *Comus*', in *A Companion to Milton*, ed. Thomas N. Corns (Oxford, 2003), 232-45: 'the Lady's imprisonment seems to relate to the repression of desire' (243).

supernatural causation it replaced. There was no “female seed” to build up. It was the ideas of Alice Egerton’s persuaders, not those of the patient herself – whose independent course seems to have been both prudent and at least partially successful – which needed correcting. In this sense, readings that have tried to bring to light the fact that refusing Comus returns the Lady to patriarchal subjection rather than freedom have been on the right track.³

Reviewing William Kerrigan’s *The Sacred Complex*, Philip Gallagher suggested that some of its interpretations of what Kerrigan contended to be *A Maske*’s ‘Freudian subtext’ were ‘quite literally out of Milton’s world’.⁴ The present argument suggests that while Freud is not in Milton’s world, he is historically connected to it, and the “subtext” results from that connection rather than psychoanalysis’s transhistorical ability to reveal hidden motivations. In the terms of Milton’s drama and the medical history that stands behind it, the intuitions of psychoanalytic studies emerge as close to, but distinct from, contemporary understandings. The Lady is ultimately responsible for her own paralysis, and Comus is intended to represent the Lady’s own ideas, but in a different way, and for different reasons, than a transhistorical approach can discover.

Psychoanalysis reflects modern concerns about involuntary sexual responses, but *A Maske*’s anxieties have more to do with ‘privy withdrawal’. Like Alcidiana’s in *Polexander*, *A Maske* figures the Lady’s chastity in these terms. The Elder Brother suggests that for such a virgin, principled in virtue’s book, being lost in the woods may actually be congenial:

... Wisdom’s self
 Oft seeks to sweet retired solitude,
 Where with her best nurse Contemplation
 She plumes her feathers, and lets grow her wings
 That in the various bustle of resort
 Were all to-ruffled . . . (ll.374-9).

³ The best statement of this argument is Kathleen Wall’s: ‘*A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle: the Armour of Logos*’, in *Idea of Woman* ed. Walker, 52-65 (61). Katharine Eisaman Maus suggests a move from an ‘invisible space . . . of transgression’ to ‘reincorporation into her . . . social context’: *Inwardness and Theater in the English Renaissance* (Chicago, 1995), 201, 208.

⁴ Philip J. Gallagher, ‘Beyond the Oedipus Complex’, *Milton Quarterly* 18 (1984), 84–92 (90).

But his description, as so often with this speaker, betrays itself. His language rewrites *otium honestum* as its sensual counterpart: pluming herself with only a nurse for company, the wise Lady's imagined place of retirement sounds like Fiammetta's bedroom. The theme of spatial enclosure continues in the Elder Brother's contrast between this retreat and that of 'he that hides a dark soul, and foul thoughts / . . . / Himself is his own dungeon' (ll.382-4). His companion follows his lead:

. . . 'Tis most true
That musing meditation most affects
The pensive secrecy of desert cell
Far from the cheerful haunt of men . . .
. . .
. . . who would rob a hermit[?] (ll.384-89).

The exchange exemplifies the way the Elder Brother's reassurances tend to fail, as the Ludlow wood shapeshifts between lady's chamber, melancholic dungeon and hermit's cell. Instead of a 'constant mood of . . . calm thoughts (l.370)', retreat generates instability. As with Guazzo, this submerged critique of privacy entails a critique of Stoicism rendered with equal delicacy, as the *apatheia* which the Lady's undesiring constancy seems here to define begins to veer towards illness. The Elder Brother's description of his sister as winged and feathered wisdom prefigures the Attendant Spirit's references to her nightingale-like singing and Comus's seedy, lime-twig spells (ll.565, 645); and Comus's ridicule of Stoic pomposity (ll.705-8) is followed by more serious observations on its medical consequences. When he describes how a Nature strangled with waste fertility would be shadowed by a 'winged air dark with plumes' (l.729), the recollection suggests how sweet retired solitude can spiral out of control.

The brothers' speculations form part of that larger thread of enclosure images which many critics have followed through *A Maske*.⁵ These build towards the sense of the misty landscape that traps the Lady as the sealed-up womb that theorists of mother-fits depict, in need

⁵ As noted by Roger B. Wilkenfeld, 'The Seat at the Center: an Interpretation of *Comus*', *English Literary History* 33 (1966), 170-97 (174-76, 182-6); Maus, *Imwardness*, 200-2; and Stanley Fish, 'Problem-Solving in *Comus*', in *Illustrious Evidence: Approaches to English Literature of the Early Seventeenth Century*, ed. Earl Miner (London, 1975), 115-32 (118).

of the ‘opening medicines’ that doctors such as Rivière prescribed.⁶ Such matters, as Laura Gowing suggests, were surrounded by discourses of privacy of a particularly intense kind.⁷ The ‘privities’, a term Crooke reserved for the female genitals – the equivalent chapter on men is entitled, ‘the yard, or virile member’ – were a kind of metonym for the essence of privacy itself.⁸ The apology for the ensuing discussion prefaced to gynaecological treatises was commonplace. Thomas Raynalde worried about ‘discoverynge’ the secrets of ‘wemens pryvitees’ in the vernacular, and acknowledged some would feel his book were better condemned to darkness than allowed to see the light.⁹ Jordan ‘h[e]ld it not meete to discourse to freely of such matters’, ‘especially in a vulgar tongue’, and ‘crave[d] pardon’ for leaving some of them out.¹⁰ Burton, delaying his disclaimer for greater effect, employed a spatial metaphor that enhanced the sense of privacy, as though he had accidentally stumbled into a virgin’s bedroom. ‘But where am I? Into what subject have I rushed? . . . I confess tis an *indecorum* . . . I will say no more’, he declared, before saying much more.¹¹

John Sadler, following a strategy first employed by Crooke, suggested that just such taboos were what rendered women especially vulnerable to disease: a combination of ‘ignorance and modesty’ about their own bodies made women dangerously reluctant ‘to divulge and publish the same unto the Physitian’. He offered his *Private Looking-Glasse* for woman’s ‘aide and benefit’, so that ‘as in a glasse she may see her selfe in private’, and hence be ‘enabl[ed] to informe the physician’.¹² Sadler’s opening exemplifies the double game these works could play, suggesting voyeuristic possibilities behind the altruistic parallel between publishing the treatise and women’s “publishing” their illnesses.

But Crooke’s manner of proceeding is perhaps the most notable. ‘Being arived at this place’, he observed at the start of his chapter on generation – it carried the possibly defensive

⁶ Rivière, *Practice of Physick*, trans. Nicholas Culpeper *et al* (1655), 403.

⁷ *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 2003), 29-34.

⁸ Helkiah Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia* (1615), 210, 237.

⁹ Thomas Raynalde, *The Byrth of Mankynde* (1545), Cür.

¹⁰ Edward Jordan, *A Briefe Discourse of a Disease Called the Suffocation of the Mother* (1603), f.18v.

¹¹ Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 3rd edn (1628), 195.

¹² John Sadler, *The Sicke Womans Private Looking-Glasse* (1636), A4r-A5v.

subtitle, 'as well in men as in women' – he had 'entred into deliberation with my selfe, whether I were best silently to passe it by'. But the reason that female diseases of the womb remained some of the 'hardest to be cured' was exactly because 'the partes are least knowne as being veyled by Nature, and through our unseasonable modesty not sufficiently uncovered'. To remedy this situation, Crooke had thus resolved 'to reveyle the veyle of Nature, to prophane her mysteries', even though such an enterprise might seem perilously close to 'ensnar[ing] mens mindes by sensuall demonstrations', since 'some men cannot containe their lewd and inordinate affections'. To takes such weaknesses into account, he resolved to 'molifie the harshnesse of the Argument' by using 'circumlocutions', although these do not seem evident in the text. In addition, however, he had 'so plotted our busines, that he that listeth may separate this Booke from the rest and reserve it privately unto himselfe' (197).

This may accord with Gowing's suggestion that such books could also function as erotica.¹³ But it also shows what might be described, following Patricia Fumerton, as the recessive tendency of this area of knowledge,¹⁴ which even in the act of being published, in the most literal sense, required to be set aside within its own separable space. In this sense, medical discourse in the first half of the seventeenth century continues the process mapped by the various translations of Plutarch's *On Tranquillity* in the second half of the sixteenth. As gynaecology enters the vernacular surrounded by intriguing preambles about secrets and risks, women become increasingly associated with particularly virulent emotional disorders that stem, literally, from 'privities'.

Laurinda Dixon notes that one sign of such disorders in seventeenth-century paintings is the victim's seated position;¹⁵ like Plutarch's women, they are pictured 'sit[ting] stil within doores'.¹⁶ Burton's description places 'maids' melancholy' firmly in this tradition. Passing over

¹³ *Bodies*, 84.

¹⁴ Patricia Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament* (Chicago, 1991), 69, 129.

¹⁵ Laurinda Dixon, *Perilous Chastity: Women and Illness in Pre-Enlightenment Art and Medicine* (London, 1995), 62-7; see also Chapter 4 above, note 182.

¹⁶ Plutarch, *The Philosophie, Commonlie Called, the Morals*, trans. Philemon Holland (1603), 146; see Chapter 1 above, pp.25-9.

those ‘kept hard to [their] work and bodily labour’, it was a disease of ‘nice gentlewomen, such as are solitary and idle, live at ease, live a life out of action and imployment, that fare well in great houses . . . discontented . . . and subject to passions’ (195). For Edward Jorden’s opponents, this had been another of the reasons why Mary Glover couldn’t be suffering from mother-fits: she was from ‘the ranke of meane people, where everie one must worke for a living, and are not pampered with full and daintie fare’.¹⁷ According to John Swan, she had told him herself how she was in the habit of ‘run[n]g nimblie up and down our stayres’, and ‘lugg[ing] home lustielye an heavie burthen without wearines’. Swan pointed out what this meant: ‘This I observe, that it might appeare, it was not *rest* and *slouthfulness*, that caused her greife: which yet, the opposite *Doctour* insinuateth in his treatise of suffocation of the *Moother*’.¹⁸ This was *otium*’s medical aspect. Paré agreed; *suffocatio* rarely affects girls who ‘live sparingly and hardly . . . in continuall labour’.¹⁹ Fonteyn re-asserted the Plutarchan nexus of women, privacy and idleness in the opening words of his treatise. Under the heading ‘Women’s Diseases’, he wrote: ‘Women were made to stay at home, and to looke after Houshold employments . . . such business is accompanied with much ease’.²⁰ The question of the perturbations of fine and daintie dames in chambers, with their housewifely occupations,²¹ had passed from philosophers to physicians.

The strangeness of *otium*’s medical side shows the distance pastoral had travelled from Montemayor’s *Diana* to Milton’s *Maske*. But it also shows *otium*’s pervasive cultural importance. It weighed on early modern minds, influencing how a range of areas of experience – gender, privacy, medicine and leisure – were conceived. These all have to do with what might be called selfhood; and since conceptions of the self have large consequences for what people spend their lives trying to achieve and avoid, early modern pastoral acquired an ethical importance reflected in the complex intensities with which its best exponents invested it.

¹⁷ Stephen Bradwell, *Mary Glovers Late Woeful Case* (1603), in Michael MacDonald, *Witchcraft and Hysteria in Elizabethan London: Edward Jorden and the Mary Glover Case* (London, 1991), 98.

¹⁸ *A True and Breife Report, of Mary Glovers Vexation* (1603), 62-3.

¹⁹ *The Workes of that Famous Chirurgion Ambrose Parey*, trans. Thomas Johnson (1634), 950.

²⁰ Nicolaas Fonteyn, *The Womans Doctour* (1652), 1.

²¹ Plutarch, *The Philosophie, Commonlie Called, the Morals*, trans. Philemon Holland (1603), 146; *Of the Quiyete of Mynde*, trans. Thomas Wyatt (1528), aivv.

Otium is one of the common threads that runs from the *otio vile* suffered by Montemayor's shepherds to the *suffocatio matricis* which the paralysis of Milton's Lady suggests. The other is these works' pastoral forms and contents. These often appear in conjunction with romance. For writers who wanted to take the plausible step of using pastoral to explore the problems of *otium* they had learnt about from Aulus Gellius, Cicero, Seneca and Plutarch, pastoral romance was a useful and natural development, because for these writers *otium* took much of its significance from its opposites, the things it distracted people from or, on occasion, helped them to pursue. When moral philosophers were prepared to justify *otium* at all, it was almost always in terms of what it was not: the tasks for whose performance a certain minimum amount of leisure might be necessary or beneficial. Including pastoral and romance in a single work was accordingly helpful to writers who were trying to get a fix on the difficult, more-or-less phenomenon that *otium* presented; to work into literary shape something classical authors had envisaged as rust-like, corrosive to purposes and forms.²²

Not every work examined here is a pastoral romance: the Spenserian Eclogue, of which the opening poem from William Browne's *Shepherds Pipe* is an example, might be considered the rustic, politicised antithesis of this supposedly courtly genre. But Browne does use romance, or something close to it, placing at the centre of his Eclogue a *Gesta* tale which includes a noble protagonist, distant places, extreme violence and magic. He does so, my argument suggests, because as well as the political allegory that so many scholars have noted, this pastoral poem also has an interest in *otium*, which its romance elements help to sharpen.

A Maske, in contrast, seems to defy this binary scheme. Here the romance elements hang about the figure of Comus, who also represents the pastoral location, with its Montemayorian passion-disordering potential. But these shifts reflect the fact that Milton is drawing on the discursive framework of *otium* as well as the generic one of pastoral. In Comus's lust and the Lady's chastity, *A Maske* depicts the opposite but equally damaging extremes of *otium* that writers

²² Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*, 11.2.6 (rust), 19.10.12 (more or less). The latter phrase occurs in the closing line of the *Iphigeneia* chorus which opens with the earliest known use of *otium: praeterpropter vitam vivitur* ('we live but more or less'). Establishing the correct usage of *praeterpropter* is Gellius's reason for adducing Ennius's lines. Ed. cit. trans. J.C. Rolfe, rev. edn, 3 vols (London, 1946-52), 2.305, 3.389. See Chapter 1 above, p.67.

like Guazzo had defined, to argue, like Guazzo, for a middle way. *The Civile Conversation* acknowledges that descending from high-minded retreat to ‘conversation with women’ can easily lead to Circe-like subjection to erotic passion, but argues that it need not.²³ *A Maske* presents a similarly tactful case for what Milton later called the ‘cheerful conversation of man with woman’, which formed, like *ozio onesto*, the best remedy for ‘the evill of solitary life’.²⁴ Like William Guazzo, the Lady needs persuading that the opposite pole of the *otium* of chastity doesn’t have to be the uncontrolled sexuality which Comus’s defeat dispels; it could be marital integration into the elite society to which *A Maske*’s closing moments return its protagonist, accompanied by the Attendant Spirit’s discreet account of Cupid and Psyche’s divinely sanctioned union.

These pastoral renegotiations of *otium* reflected its double-sided nature. *Otium*’s standing waters could represent the seething yet unproductive passions into which those who neglected their appointed tasks might find themselves plunged; but they could also figure the becalmed and isolated state of those who lacked the winds of passion to propel them.²⁵ Authors who leaned towards the first of these views could fill their pastoral landscapes with love-chain plots that bubbled with shifting attractions, yet ultimately led nowhere; they included Montemayor, Sidney, Shakespeare and Fletcher. As the seventeenth century progressed, however, it was the second of these views of *otium* that tended to engage pastoral’s attention. Gomberville embodied pastoral in the shape of the virgin queen of an Inaccessible Isle, cut off from a world dominated by sea-travel. *A Maske* shows the shift involved particularly clearly. Milton derived from Fletcher, Shakespeare and Montemayor a pastoral scene strongly associated with the love-chain plot; but he pushed that plot to the margins, and replaced it with a ‘doctrine of virginity’ whose assertion is followed by paralysis. Changing ideas about *otium* exerted pressures on pastoral forms.

This may suggest a one-sided and slightly old-fashioned model, in which intellectual and sociological contexts are used to explain the experiential intricacies of literary texts. But if one

²³ Stefano Guazzo, *The Civile Conversation*, trans. George Pettie and Bartholomew Young [Yong] (1586), f.118r; see Chapter 1 above, pp.62-4.

²⁴ *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, ed. Lowell W. Coolidge, in *Complete Prose Works*, ed. Don M. Wolfe, 8 vols (New Haven, 1953-82), 2.217-356 (235).

²⁵ See Chapter 3 above, p.181.

solution to this might be to explore, for example, the influence of Sidney's *Arcadias* on the seventeenth-century redesign of Wilton House and its gardens,²⁶ another is to acknowledge the literariness of the contexts. This study, like the authors it examines, focusses on the *topoi* of philosophical writings rather than the doctrines that might be extracted from them, and hence on the historically contingent language in which those *topoi* are translated, rephrased, and mobilised into images, narratives and diseases. This process could have highly specific outcomes, some of whose impact on one individual can be traced through the circumstances of Alice Egerton's participation in *A Maske*; but it could also have more pervasive ones, such as those that helped to create the cultural conditions in which suffocation of the mother became a widely-accepted idea.

The evolution of pastoral over the period of this study suggests some of the ways in which these and other changes came about. Between 1559 and 1647 pastoral authors drew on their classical and early modern predecessors in flexible and imaginative ways, in order to address a set of issues that were ethically crucial but hard to pinpoint. Was there a kind of leisure that refreshed as well as one that corrupted, and if so, how could you tell them apart? Why did solitude make people ill, even when it was undertaken for the most virtuous of motives? Was *otium* a problem of too much emotion, or too little? Were its associations with femininity metaphorical, biological, or both? What did it say about the relationships between public and private, or between politics, emotions and desires? The answers changed, but the questions persisted, and authors kept coming back to pastoral to explore them.

²⁶ The 'drawing roome' was painted with scenes from the *Arcadia*, the garden contained a statue of Venus and Cupid (or Aeneas?) and another of Diana. It was noted for its *giochi d'acqua*, which included singing birds; Basilius's banqueting house is surrounded by similar 'artificiall inventions' including birds, a revolving platform and a rainbow effect (*The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (1590), ff.62r-v). See Colin Platt, *The Great Rebuildings of Tudor and Stuart England: Revolutions in Architectural Taste* (London, 1994), 87, 90; Paula Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden: Architecture and Landscape in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries* (London, 2005), 112. Mary Sidney built a house modelled on Basilius's lodges (Platt, *Rebuildings*, 83-4); Mark Girouard suggests these also influenced the star-shaped Spur Castle in Tyrone, and Star Castle in the Scilly Isles (*Elizabethan Architecture: its Rise and Fall, 1540-1640* (London, 2009), 252-3).

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