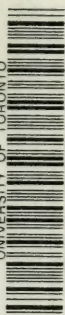


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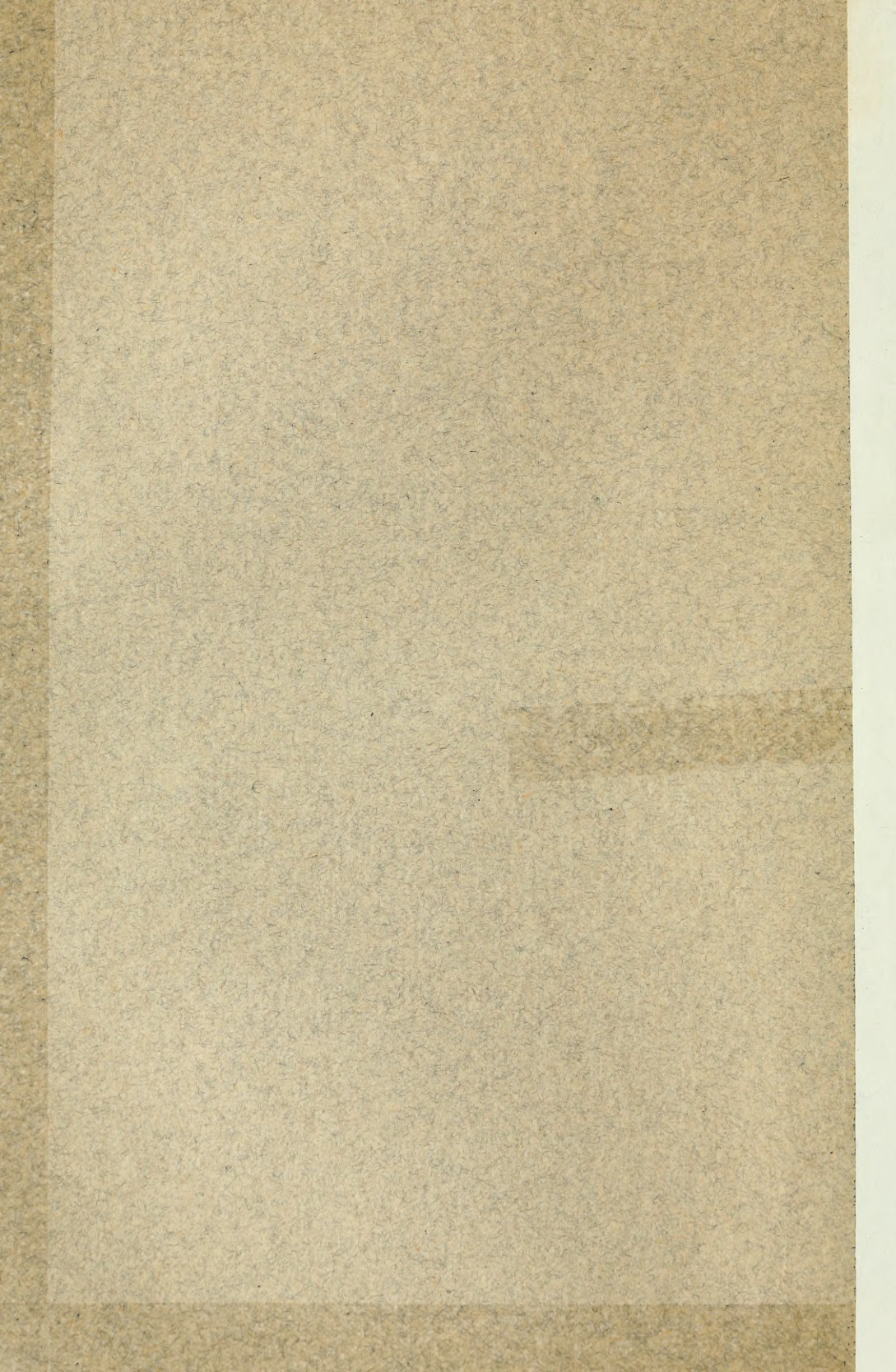
THE EARLY ROMANTIC DRAMA
AT THE ENGLISH COURT

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND
LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
(DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH)

BY
LEE MONROE ELLISON

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MENASHA, WISCONSIN
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PREFACE

Early in the course of my studies in Elizabethan drama I undertook, at the suggestion of Professor Manly, to prepare a bibliographical compilation of the sources of all romantic plays produced in England before the close of the sixteenth century, in so far as these sources had been determined by previous research. Though designed merely as a preliminary exercise in the methods of graduate work, this survey proved both interesting and suggestive. It revealed the precise limits which had been fixed by the combined labors of former students in determining the source relations of Elizabethan drama, and it suggested a comparative analysis of the plays of the period with a view to determining the relative importance of particular types of romantic literature in providing plot material for Elizabethan playwrights.

Out of these rather general considerations came the suggestion for the present study. The attempt to reduce the varied forms of romantic appeal to something approximating regular classification served, of course, to emphasize the obvious conventionality in motive and incident which many plays of the period exhibit, and to demonstrate the fact that much of the plot material had been standardized, so to speak, and needed only to be assembled and adjusted. It soon became apparent, also, that the romantic devices and conventions which I had designated as "mediaeval," in contrast to those of Renaissance origin and affiliation, were overwhelmingly predominant during the early period of Elizabethan drama. Thus the contact of mediaeval literature with the later romantic secular drama seemed to constitute a logical topic for investigation. But owing to the particularly fugitive character of all evidence bearing upon the history of the popular stage in England prior to the last quarter of the sixteenth century, it seemed advisable to rest my study upon the more stable foundation of the court performance. Here, at least, we are dealing with a demonstrable matter. The appropriation of the materials of mediaeval romantic literature by the purveyors of royal entertainment is proved by contemporary records to have begun at an early date; and the sudden emergence of this form of

quasi-dramatic activity into real drama at the court of Elizabeth had been provided for by many years of practically unbroken tradition.

The period during which I have attempted to trace the development of the romantic drama is terminated naturally by the inauguration of new fashions and the popularizing of more novel themes by the promoters of dramatic innovation. The passing of the mediaeval vogue, in all but plebeian circles, may be thought of as complete by the year 1585. Its recrudescence upon the popular stage during the last decade of the century does not, of course, come within the scope of the present study.

Perhaps it would not be out of place to add a word in explanation of the reasons that led me to include a discussion of the play *Common Conditions* in a dissertation which purports to deal with the survival of mediaeval literary conventions in the sixteenth century court drama. If my conjecture be correct, the story upon which that play is based reached the dramatist not through mediaeval channels, but in the form of an Italian novella. Nevertheless, the story is characteristically mediaeval. The affiliation with the legend of St. Eustace and its analogues is sufficient proof of this. Furthermore, there could be no more striking indication of the strength of the heroic tradition in Elizabethan drama at this period than the care of the dramatist to supply whatever conventions were lacking in the narrative version. There is, to be sure, no direct evidence that *Common Conditions* was ever presented at Court; but in view of the extraordinary demand for acceptable drama, the assumption that so good a play was not overlooked by the Master of the Revels can hardly seem wholly unwarranted. Besides, I should like to repeat that I make no claim for the court play as a distinct genre. It is the character of the drama during an important period in its history that we are interested in tracing; and, since *Common Conditions* is one of the few surviving representatives of the kind of dramatic activity with which this dissertation is concerned, its exclusion could hardly be demanded on strictly logical grounds.

In the pursuance of this study I have received indispensable assistance from certain members of the Faculty of the University of Chicago, which I take pleasure in acknowledging. To Professor Manly I am indebted for the original suggestion, as well as for invaluable counsel upon matters of detail while the work was

in progress. My obligations to Professor C. R. Baskervill are no less great. The results of my labors have in every instance passed under his immediate inspection, and whatever of merit this treatise possesses is due in no small measure to his influence. Finally, I have to thank Professor Karl Pietsch, of the Romance Department, for the generous interest which he has shown in my studies, and to express my gratitude for the valuable assistance which he has rendered me in getting together a working bibliography of the older romantic literature of Europe.

L. M. E.

Chicago, June 3, 1916.

CHAPTER I

ROMANTIC ELEMENTS IN THE EARLY ENGLISH MASK

In the general obscurity surrounding the early history of English dramatic literature the origin and development of the mask is traced with special difficulty. Not only is there an absence of any but the most meager of contemporary records or other sources from which accurate information can be drawn, but there is also an uncertainty as to the exact meaning of the terms in which the earliest recorded performances are described, that makes it quite impossible to speak accurately of their character. Stow mentions mummings as having been presented in 1236 and again in 1298, and gives a detailed account¹ of an exhibition in the nature of an elaborate dumb show which was arranged in the streets of London in 1377, "for the desport of the yong prince Richard son to the blacke prince." That the *ludi* with which Edward III celebrated Christmas at the Castle of Guilford, in 1348, were dramatic in character, seems to be indicated by the nature of the properties and materials employed.² These afford convincing evidence also that the taste for bizarre and gorgeous decoration so characteristic of the mask of the time of Henry VIII was of early origin, the entry in the accounts of the wardrobe for these performances including, among other things, "Eighty tunics of buckram of various colours, forty-two visours of various similitudes, . . . fourteen mantles embroidered with heads of dragons, fourteen white tunics wrought with heads and wings of peacocks, fourteen heads of swans with wings, fourteen tunics painted with eyes of peacocks, fourteen tunics of English linen painted, and as many tunics embroidered with stars of gold and silver." The few remaining references to mummings and disguisings during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries throw little light upon their real nature; whether they were anything more than mere spectacles or the antics of disguised merry-makers and dancers, it seems impossible to determine with certainty.³

¹ *Survey of London*, ed. 1633, p. 78 f. See also Brotanek, *Die Englischen Maskenspiele*, (Wiener Beiträge, Band XV.) p. 6, and Collier, *Hist. Eng. Dram. Poetry*, I, 26.

² Warton, *History of English Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt, II, 72. Cf. also *Accounts of the Expences of the Great Wardrobe of King Edward III*. *Archaeologia*, XXXI, 37 ff.

³ For the controversy regarding the particular significance attaching to the early use of the terms *ludi*, *disguisings*, *mummings* and *masks*, the reader is referred to

By the middle of the fifteenth century, however, the species had become clearly differentiated. It had undertaken the presentation of a definite theme, either by the interchange of speech between the characters, or by means of a descriptive and explanatory monologue, and consequently deserves the dignity of being considered a variety of dramatic literature. We are able to speak thus positively, because we have, in the work of Lydgate, poetry written expressly as an accompaniment for the mask.⁴ "Devyses for desguysings," or "mommynges," is the name which Lydgate gives to these interesting and historically important productions. Strictly speaking, they are not, it is true, dramatic. They make no use of dialogue; nor do they develop their motive force from within through the reaction of character upon character. Their importance in the history of the mask lies in the fact that they mark a point at which the disguisings, in addition to their spectacular appeal, undertook the presentation of an idea which is capable of rational and intelligible explanation. The mere grotesque shows continued to be exhibited, from time to time, until far into the reign of Elizabeth; but in the main the masks and court pageants, from the work of Lydgate onward, begin to have a theme, and it becomes possible to study them from the point of view of subject-matter. The nature of the themes which the early devisers of masks and pageants sought thus to represent objectively by means of costume and pantomime, the sources from which these themes were drawn, and the influence, if any, which such performances had upon the regular English drama, it will be the object of the present study to determine.

In general, it may be said that the mask shows the same diversity in subject-matter as does the regular drama, and draws its material from the same sources. Of the mask poems left by Lydgate, one is a pure allegory,—a morality in monologue,—another is the allegorical presentation of a theme drawn from romantic sources, two others use the materials of classic mythology, a fifth

Brotanek, *Die Englischen Maskenspiele*, pp. 115-127; Reyher, *Les Masques Anglais*, pp. 13-28; J. W. Cunliffe, "Italian Prototypes of the Masque and Dumb Show," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, 1907 (N. S. 15), pp. 140-56; Scherm, "Englische Hofmaskeraden," *Studien zur Vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, 9, 406-27.

⁴ Five of the six mask pieces of Lydgate are to be found in Brotanek, pp. 305-325; the other has been reprinted by Miss Hammond in *Anglia*, XXII, 364 ff.

presents biblical scenes and characters, while the sixth is the elaboration of an idea drawn from popular literature. Here we have an exact parallel of the several types of the regular drama, and something of the same variety continues to mark the mask until the close of the sixteenth century. There is one circumstance, however, which helped to determine the general type of theme usually employed in the mask. Having its origin in royal fondness for gorgeous ceremonial and display, this species of dramatic activity remained throughout its history in close association with the life of the court. A majority of the masks produced in England before the close of the sixteenth century were not undertaken merely as ends in themselves, but were used to introduce dances, tournaments, and other forms of court entertainment. It was always primarily an occasional performance; and its functional character set rather narrow limits to the subject-matter which it might employ. The social and festive purposes which it was designed to serve called usually for matters of love and gallantry. Depending largely upon symbolism and pantomime to express its meaning, it required a theme at once simple and striking; its fundamental conception had to be readily intelligible, and yet afford opportunity for the necessary scenic display. All these needs were admirably served by the romantic literature of the Middle Ages, and it was to the achievements of knightly heroes, the ceremonials of chivalry, and the ideals and sentiments of courtly love that the devisers of the early mask and court pageant most frequently turned for the ideas which they sought to embody in these pantomimic exhibitions.

The romantic allegories which grew up around that unique mediaeval institution known as the court of love were particularly adapted to such treatment. Their personified abstractions lent themselves readily to symbolical representation under the figures of chivalry; and their motives furnished a convenient framework for the essential elements of pageantry and splendor. The various emotional states allied to the passion of love, when classified and labelled according to the approved mediaeval fashion, furnish a large number of valiant knights and fair ladies who move in the train of Venus and swear fealty to her laws. It is they who become the familiar *dramatis personae* of much of the early mask poetry of the English court. Bien-Coler, Bel Accueil, and Dous Regart are to the court entertainment what their soberer kindred of the family of Fides, Spes, and Caritas are to the morality.

This particular type of symbolic literature was very voluminous, and extended over a period of several centuries.⁵ Traces of its influence are discernible, in fact, until long after the victory of the modern spirit which brought in the Renaissance. Its characteristics, motives, and conventions may be adequately studied, however, in its most important single representative, the *Roman de la Rose*; and it is the influence of this stupendous work which no doubt accounts in a large measure for the popularity of romantic allegory in England during the fourteenth, fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

Lydgate makes specific acknowledgement of his indebtedness to the *Roman de la Rose* in his mask of Fortune and the Four Virtues.⁶ "So here foloweth," he says, by way of introduction, "the devyise of a desguysing tofore the gret estates of this land then being at London, made by Lidegate daun Johan, the munk of Bury. Of dame fortune, dame prudence, dame Rightwysnesse, and dame fortitudo. Beholdethe, for it is moral, pleasant, and notable. So first cometh in dame fortune.

Lo here this lady yee may see,
Lady of mutabilitytee;
Which calleth is Fortune,
Of seelde in oon she doth contune,
For she hathe a double face,
Right so every houre and space
Sche chaungeth hir condycyouns
Ay full of transmutatycions,
Lyche as the Romans of the Rose
Descryveth hir, withouten glose,
And tellethe pleyne, how that she
Hath hir dwelling in the see."

Lydgate's characterization of this "Lady of Mutability" is the conventional one given in *Le Roman de la Rose*⁷ and elsewhere in mediaeval literature. Her house, which stands upon an island in the sea, is so built that one side displays every beauty, but the

⁵ On the origin of allegory, its popularity during the Middle Ages, and the two sources, pagan and Christian, from which the court of love literature drew its symbolism, see Neilson, *Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, (Harvard Notes and Studies, Vol. 6.) p. 8 ff. For a less highly specialized discussion of the rise of modern allegory, see Courthope, *History of Eng. Poetry*, Vol. I, p. 341 ff.

⁶ Brotanek, pp. 309-16.

⁷ Cf. ll. 6657 ff.

other is "ebylt in ougly wise" and "ay in pointe to falle down." At irregular intervals and always unexpectedly, there comes a flood, which deluges everything.⁸ She herself is as unstable as her house. To-day she lavishes favors on man; tomorrow she overwhelms him with calamity. Her vagaries with famous men of history are related,—how she made dupes of Caesar, Alexander, Croesus, and others, and how her promises, no matter how fair and alluring, are in no case to be trusted. The four virtues are in their turn given a similar allegorical characterization.⁹

Disquisitions upon the fickleness of fortune were very common during the Middle Ages, and appear to have been a sort of literary tradition inherited from classical literature. They are a characteristic of the group of mediaeval romances which have a more or less definite eastern affiliation,—the group of which *Floris and Blancheflur* may be taken as an example. About the end of the twelfth century a certain Simon de Freine, *canonicus* at Hereford, composed a *Roman de la Fortune*, a sort of free adaptation of Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae*.¹⁰ The whole is in the form of a dialogue between a clerk and a personification of Philosophy. The clerk denounces, while Philosophy defends, the fickle goddess.

What form of symbolism Lydgate employed to represent objectively the "transmutacyouns" of Fortune, we do not know, though doubtless it was some naïve conception of which the accompanying text was intended as an interpretation. The results which followed similar efforts on other occasions were often fantastic and highly amusing. Tradition described Fortune as without feet and as having a double face. Dramatic allegory therefore seized readily upon such striking characteristics. In a procession which welcomed Alfonso the Great upon his entrance into Naples, in 1443, Fortune was represented by a lady in a chariot, accompanied by twelve young knights. The goddess herself wore hair only on the front part of her head, the back part being shaved, to represent the second face. Her fugitive character was further

⁸ Most of the details mentioned by Lydgate occur also in the House of Fortune in the *Anticlaudianus* of Alanus de Insulis (VIII, 1, T. Wright, *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poems*, VI, 268 ff.), which is described as receiving alternately the breath of Zephyrus and the blasts of Boreas.

⁹ The date of this mask is not known, but the reference in line 267 places it somewhere in the reign of Henry VI.

¹⁰ Cf. Karl Voretzsch, *Altfranzösische Literatur*, Halle, 1913, p. 148.

symbolized by a special genius who sat upon the lower steps of the car, and who had his feet immersed in a basin of water.¹¹ Petit de Julleville describes an odd device employed for a similar purpose in the French morality *Bien Avisé, Mal Avisé*:¹² "Un des tableaux les plus curieux de cette moralité est celui où Bien Avisé était admis à contempler la roue de la Fortune. On voyait la Fortune montrant un double visage aux hommes, l'un riant, l'autre affreux. Sur la roue qu'elle fait tourner, quatre hommes sont attachés, qui lui servent de jouets, partés de bas en haut et de haut en bas par le perpétuel mouvement. Le premier s'appelle *Regnabo*; le second *Regno*; le troisième *Regnavi*; le quatrième *Sum sine regno*. Les quatre formules composent ensemble un vers hexamètre: "Je règnerai, je régné, j'ai régné, je suis sans royaume." Ainsi sont personnifiées les vicissitudes de la grandeur."¹³

One of the earliest English court masks of which a full account has reached us is the "desguisinge" held in connection with the festivities accompanying the marriage of Prince Arthur and Catherine of Arragon, in 1501.¹⁴ The motives and devices which it employed became the stock material for similar performances throughout the sixteenth century. For this reason, and because of the fact that it used abundantly the matter and symbols of the romantic allegories which developed around the court of love idea, it is worthy of being examined in some detail. The contemporary description reads in part as follows: "Then began and entered the most goodly and pleasant disguising, convayed and showed in pageants proper and subtle; of whom the first was a castle right cunningly devised, sett upon certaine wheels, and drawne into the saide gret hall of fower great beasts with chains of gold . . . There were within the same Castle disguised viij goodly and fresh ladyes looking out of the windowes of the same, and in the foure corners of the Castle were iiij turrets . . . in the which of every one . . . was a little child appareled like a maiden. And so all the four children singing most sweetly and harmoniously in all the

¹¹ Cf. Burckhardt, *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy*, Stuttgart, 1868, p. 421.

¹² *Le Mistere du Bien advisé et Mal advisé*, Imprimé a Paris, par Pierre le Caron pour Anthoine Verard.

¹³ *Répertoire du Théâtre Comique en France an Moyen-Age*, Paris, 1886, pp. 39-41.

¹⁴ Described in MS. Harl. no. 69, printed in *The Shakespeare Society Papers*, I, 47, and also by Collier (*History of English Dramatic Poetry*, I, 58).

coming the length of the hall till they came before the K. Ma^{tie}. . . . The second Pageant was a shippe in likewise sett upon wheels without any leaders in sight, in right goodly apparell, having her mast-toppes, sayles, and her tackling, and all the appurtenances necessary unto a seemly vessel . . . until they came before the King somewhat beside the Castle . . . And out from the saide shippe descended down by a ladder two well beseane and goodly persons calling themselves Hope and Despair, passing toward the rehearsed Castle with their banners, in manner and form as Ambassadors from the Knights of the Mount of Love unto the ladyes within the Castle . . . making their means and entreates as woers and breakers of the matters of love between the K. and the L. The said ladyes gave their small aunswear of utterly refuse, and knowledge of any such company . . . and plainly denyed their purpose and desire. The said two Embassadors therewith taking great displeasure, showed the said L. that the K. would for this unkind refusall make battayle and assault . . . to them and their Castle, so that it should be grievous to abide their power and malice.

“Incontinent came in the third Pageant in liknesse of a great hill, or mountain, in whom there was enclosed viij Knights . . . naming themselves K. of the Mount of Love . . . And the two Embassadors departed toward the Knights, being within the Mount, showing the disdain and refusall with the whole circumstance of the same. So as they therewith not being content . . . went a little from the said mount, their banners being displayed, and hastily sped them to the rehearsed Castle, which they assaulted so and in such wise, that the Ladies, yielding themselves, descended . . . and submitted themselves to the power, grace and will of those noble Knights . . . and daunced together many divers and goodly daunces¹⁵ . . .”

The little bit of romantic drama underlying all this pageantry is conceived with characteristic naiveté. The whole is not so much a representation of any particular court of love material as a free adaptation, to the purpose in hand, of its conventional symbolism and allegory. The simplicity of the idea commends it; for symbolic pageants, even when “proper and subtle,” are not the most effectual means of refining upon and elaborating a particular theme. What we really have here is the earliest recorded

¹⁵ *Loc. cit.*

instance at the English Court of the attack upon the Castle of Beauty by the Knights of Love, a performance that was repeated so often during the ensuing century that we are struck by the apparent lack of ingenuity on the part of those whose business it was to supervise the royal festivities. The truth is that both the theme and the symbols by which it was presented are matters of remote tradition, and are associated with important elements in the history of human culture. The ship, the mount, and the castle;—since they are the devices about which much of the Court pageantry of the next hundred years is to be grouped, it seems worth while to inquire briefly into their origin.

The ship, in particular, is a figure of great antiquity as a symbol and a decorative nucleus. It was originally, perhaps, the Ship of Isis, which was launched upon the Nile every year on the fifth of March, as a symbol that navigation had been reopened.¹⁶ As a dry-land car it appeared in the processions of the spring festivals among various pagan peoples, especially in maritime districts.¹⁷ Its original significance appears in its substitution for the plough in the Plow Monday processions of the sea-coast towns of southwestern England.¹⁸ The possibilities which it offered for splendid and striking scenic display were early recognized. As the *carrus navalis*, sometimes more specifically as the car of Neptune, it was a prominent figure in the shows and pageants that passed through the streets of ancient Rome.¹⁹ Having lost its original significance, it became simply an object of gorgeous and splendid pageantry, and in this capacity it continued to delight the eyes of beholders for many centuries. It appears conspicuously in the odd mixture of sacred and secular elements which made up the Corpus Christi Pageants and other ecclesiastical processions of the Middle Ages.²⁰ In this connection indeed it may have retained something of its original pagan religious significance.²¹ As it brought the ambassadors from the Mount of Love to the Castle of Beauty, in the Tudor Court pageant, so, in the religious processions, it brought the saint, with his retinue from afar to participate in the

¹⁶ Burckhardt, *Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy*, p. 419.

¹⁷ Cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*.

¹⁸ Cf. Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, I, 121. It was so used at Minehead, Plymouth and Deavenport, in the west of England and also at Hull, in the north.

¹⁹ Burckhardt, p. 419.

²⁰ Cf. Burckhardt, *Geschichte der Renaissance in Italien*, pp. 320-332.

²¹ Cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*.

local celebrations.²² Gorgeously decorated ships appeared in regular flotillas in the "Trionfo," the Carnival, and other semi-religious festival processions of mediaeval Italy, and, as would naturally be expected, in the numerous pageants arranged by the courts and burghers throughout Europe. When Duke Borso came in 1453 to Reggio to receive the homage of the city, he was shown, among other things, a colossal car in the form of a ship, moved by men concealed within it.²³ When Isabella of England came to the continent to become the bride of the Emperor Frederick II, she was met at Cologne by a whole flotilla of such chariots, drawn by concealed horses and filled with priests in fantastic costume, who welcomed her with music and singing.²⁴ In the case of the civic pageants it was usually deemed more fitting to assign the preparation and control of the ship to the guild whose occupation was most closely allied with the sea. Thus it usually fell to the fish-mongers. It was these tradesmen who, on the birth of Edward III of England in 1313, went to Westminster with a ship in full sail and escorted the Queen on her way to Eltham.²⁵

Doubtless the most famous of all the civic pageants of Europe was "den grooten Ommeganck" maintained by the various trade guilds of the City of Antwerp and exhibited there on important occasions for several centuries. The most interesting account that has reached us from an eyewitness of this famous pageant is that of Albert Durer, in the narrative of his travels in the Low Countries in 1520.²⁶ In view of the commercial importance of the city, the ship pageants appearing in the procession are said to have been extraordinarily elaborate. The "Ommeganck" was revived as late as 1803, upon the occasion of Napoleon's visit to Antwerp; and for the entertainment of the famous guest, various pageants were devised, one of which was a warship of colossal proportions, fully rigged and manned as if for battle, and having fifers and drummers on board, with men in the yards and top-castles.²⁷

²² "Ein Haupteffekt aber war das Schiff mit der heiligen Ursula und ihren Jungfrauen, das namentlich in den Aufzeichnungen über die Freiburger Froleichnamsaufzüge eine grosse Rolle spielt."—Criezenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, I, 189.

²³ Burckhardt, p. 418, citing *Annales Estens*, in Murat XX. col. 486 ff.

²⁴ Schultz, *Höfisches Leben*, I, 620-21.

²⁵ Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, II, 167.

²⁶ An account of this celebrated pageant may be found in the Introduction to Fairholt's *Lord Mayors' Pageants* (Percy Society, X), pp. 9 ff.

²⁷ Fairholt, *loc. cit.*

The permanency of the ship as a decorative and symbolic figure of the Lord Mayors' Pageants in London is suggested by a speech of the dissolute apprentice Spendall, a character in the play known as "Green's Tu Quoque." "By this light," he says, "I do not think but to be Lord Mayor of London before I die, and have three pageants carried before me, besides a ship and an unicorn."²⁸ And in such of these civic parades as found their way into history the ship was seldom lacking.²⁹

What is probably a survival of the association of the dry land ship with the spring festival of remote periods is seen in an odd bit of allegorical fiction which served as a prelude to a tournament held by Henry VIII in the second year of his reign. In the quaint language of Hall it is described as follows: "The first daye of Maye the Kinge accompaigned with many lusty Bachelers, on grete and well doinge horses, rode to the wodde to fetch Maye . . . and as they were returning on the Hill, mete with them a shippe under sail. The master hayled the Kinge and that noble compaignie, and said that he was a Maryner, and was come from many a strange porte, and came hither to se if dedes of arms were to be done in the country.³⁰ . . . An Heralde demanded the name of his shippe, he aunswered, she is called *Fame* and is laden with *good Renoune*. Then said the Heralde, if you will bring your shippe into the bay of *Hardines* you must double the point of *Gentlenes* and there you shall se a compaignie that shall medle with your merchandise. Then sayd the King, sythen *Renoune* is their merchaundise let us bye it and we can: Then the shippe shotte a peale of Gones, and sailed forth before the Kinges compaignie, ful of flagges and banners til it came to the tilte yarde."³¹ That afternoon the sports

²⁸ Fairholt, *Lord Mayor's Pageants*, p. 1

²⁹ In Anthony Munday's Pageant of 1605 there was a "Shippe called the Royall Exchange" (Fairholt p. 30); in that devised by Middleton, in 1613, a ship sailed down Cheapside carrying the King of the Moors and his retinue (p. 35); in 1615 Munday appears once more with "a faire and beautiful shippe . . . stiled Joell (a play upon the Lord Mayor's name) attended by Neptune and the Thames" (p. 39); the ship in the 1616 Pageant was named the Fishermongers' Esperanza, etc. (p. 41). Numerous other similar pageants are recorded.

³⁰ The parties to the contest which usually marked the Carnival, or Shrove Tuesday revelry, sometimes appeared upon the scene in ships, as if from a far country. Cf. Burckhardt, *Gesch. der Ren*, p. 326.

³¹ Hall, *Chronicle, containing the History of England during the Reign of Henry IV and the Succeeding Monarchs*, etc., p. 467 In the Middle High German verse

began and lasted for three days, at the end of which time "the Queene made a greate banket to the King and all of them that had Justed: and after the banket done she gave the chefe price to the King."³¹

Returning to the other principal figures in the "disguising" of 1501, the "mount" and the castle, we find that, like the ship, they too were thoroughly conventional devices of mediaeval allegory and pageantry. Besides their allegorical function, these figures were utilized as a convenient means of presenting the dancers and actors in these pantomimic dramas before the audience in a striking and picturesque manner. They served as decorated cars, drawn by strange animals or by wild men³² ("wodwoses"), and the performers generally remained concealed in them until the desired point was reached, when they suddenly emerged before the startled beholders. Today we are inclined to laugh at the incongruities involved in a moving mountain and castle, or a ship passing in full sail down the city streets, but the allegorical sense which they were supposed to convey raised them slightly above the level of mere fantastic absurdities. Under this restraint they were usually so contrived as to show some degree of artistic or poetic feeling.³³

romance, *Moriz von Craon*, there is an interesting parallel to the romantic framework of this tournament,—the expedition of Moriz to the château of the Countess of Beaumont. For the delight of the Countess he caused a magnificent ship to be built, complete in every detail. The cable-ropes were of red silk, and a massive golden anchor hung from the stern. The sails were silken banners bearing the mottoes and devices of the accompanying knights. Loading it with armor, lances, and other equipment necessary for a tournament, and hitching on horses, concealed beneath the drapery, he moved majestically through France until he came to the Castle of Beaumont, where he fought a grand tournament with the knights of the castle, finally presenting the car with all its furnishings to the Countess. Cf. *Moriz von Craon*, ed. by M. Haupt, 621-1080. A later edition by Edward Schröder (Berlin, 1894) is interestingly reviewed by Gaston Paris, *Romania*, 23, 466 ff.

³² Persons clothed in the traditional green to represent Robin Hood's foresters often preceded these pageants. The accounts of the various guilds which had charge of the Lord Mayors' pageants during the 17th century contain numerous entries of money paid to the "green men."

³³ Extravagances, however, were not wanting. Sometimes gigantic animals were contrived, out of which a number of masked figures suddenly emerged, as at Siena, in 1465, when at a public reception a ballet of twelve persons came of a golden wolf. Cf. Burckhardt, *Renaissance in Italy*, p. 415.

There appears to be no strict original in the court of love romances for the "Mount of Love" in the sense in which it appears in the Tudor mask of 1501 and the other similar ones that followed it. One naturally suspects that the association lies ultimately with the name Venusberg and the various traditions which linked the subterranean palace of perpetual delights over which the goddess presided with particular mountains.³⁴ It is true that in none of the versions of this legend is there intentional allegory, though the delights of the underground palace are in general those of the allegorical castle of love. At any rate, with the example of innumerable castles, towers, pavilions and gardens of love before him, the artist of the Tudor pageant could hardly have claimed much originality for his conception.

The "mount," with its gorgeous decorations and obscure symbolism remained a favorite piece of pageantry at the Tudor court until near the end of the sixteenth century. Sometimes mere gorgeousness seems to have been the only end sought, as in the case of the pageant called "The Ryche Mount," prepared under the direction of Sir Harry Guilford for the feast of the Epiphany in the fourth year of the reign of Henry VIII.³⁵ The pageant was drawn by two "mighty woodwossys," or wild men, and consisted of a mountain of gold and precious stones "set with herbs of various kinds, and planted with broom to signify Plantagenet, and also with red and white roses; on the top a burning beacon; on the sides fleurs de lis."

A somewhat similar pageant, designed for the edification of the French ambassadors to the English Court, is described by Hall as having been exhibited on May 5, 1528. "All that day were the straungers feasted, and at night they were brought into the hall, where was a rock full of al maner of stones, very artificially made . . . In and upon the middes of the Rock sate a fayre lady richly appareled with a Dolphin in her lap. In this rock were ladies and gentlemen . . . and out of the cave in the said Rock came X Knightes, armed at all pointes, and foughte together a fayre tourney. And when they were severed and departed, the desguisers

³⁴ These traditions finally assumed a form corresponding in general to the modern Tannhäuser legend; cf. Neilson, *Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, pp. 133-35. For the early German version of the Venusberg see Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, ed. Meyer, 1878, II, 780, 882.

³⁵ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, ed. by Gairdner II, 1499.

descended from the rock and daunced a great space. . . . Then entered a person called Reaport appareled in Crymson satyn full of tonges setting on a flying horse . . . called Pegasus. This person in Frenche declared the meaning of the Rock and the trees at the Tournay."³⁶ It is to be regretted that the chronicler did not think it worth while to record this explanation.

Other pageants in the form of gorgeously decorated "mounts" and possessing some recondite allegorical significance which cannot now be determined were exhibited at various times during the reign of Henry VIII³⁷ Sometimes it was classical mythology instead of allegory which underlay the conception. In the procession that conveyed Anne Boleyn through London on her way to the Tower for the Coronation ceremonies, "there was the mounte Pernassus with the fountayne of Helicon, which was of white marble . . . On the mountain satte Apollo and at his feete sat Calliope, and on every side of the mountain satte iiiii Muses playi- ing on several swete instruments."³⁸

Some idea of the elaborateness with which these pageants were prepared may be obtained from a glance into the account books of those court officials who were entrusted with their preparation. Thus for the festivities at the coronation of Edward VI a "mount," which may have been one of those used in some of the early pageantry of Henry VIII,³⁹ was taken from the storehouse of the Revels and employed twice, once in some unexplained connection at the Sanctuary in Westminster and again at Whitehall for a representation of the story of Orpheus.⁴⁰ These operations,

³⁶ *Chronicle*, 595.

³⁷ Cf. Hall, *Chronicle*, 723, and *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, II, 1494.

³⁸ Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 801. The "Mount of Parnassus" appeared also in "den grooten Ommeganck" of Antwerp (Cf. Fairholt, p. xxvii). In the Lord Mayor's Pageant of 1620, called "The Triumph of Peace," there was represented "Pernassus Mount," with the Nine Muses and Mercury. The "maine pageant" of this procession, however, was a "mount where St. Catherine sat," attended by twelve maids of honor (Fairholt, p. 48). In one of Munday's early pageants, Corinus and Gogmagog, two huge giants, were, "for the more grace and beauty of the show," fettered with chains of gold to "Britain's Mount" (Fairholt, p. 30). In the Pageant of 1623, devised by Middleton, appeared "Mount Royal," upon which were placed "six kings and great commanders, that were originally sprung from shepherds and humble beginnings" (Fairholt, 50).

³⁹ Cf. Kempe, *Loseley Manuscripts*, 74.

⁴⁰ The account rolls bearing upon the preparation and the employment of this mount are printed by Feuillerat, *Documents relating to the Office of the Revels during the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary*, p. 3, pp. 6-8 and notes.

together with the necessary repairs upon the "mount," required the services of twenty-seven carpenters and joiners, most of them working for periods of ten to fifteen days and for half as many nights; so that for this apparatus alone we read, "Summa of all the Charges of the Mounte . . . xxxiii^{li} viij^s j^d." ⁴¹

For the castle and the attack upon it by the Knights of the Mount of Love, as represented in the disguising of 1501,⁴² there are innumerable parallels both in the romantic love allegories of the Middle Ages and in the many symbolical narratives of didactic literature. In view of its wide-spread use, it may perhaps be worth while to summarize briefly the development of the castle allegory.⁴³ In early patristic literature it soon became a convention to represent the contest between Virtue and Vice under the symbols of battle and siege.⁴⁴ Thus in an early and typical example⁴⁵ a certain king assigns to his three daughters, Fides, Spes, and Caritas, the guardianship of the town of Mansoul. For the defence of this town there are three castles, Rationabilitas, Concupiscibilitas, and Irascibilitas. Each of the daughters is put in charge of a castle and given certain attendants, with such names as Prudentia, Patientia, Sobrietas, Discretio, etc., to aid in the defence of it. The adversary in command of the army of Wickedness attempts to capture the city by assaulting the castles, but is finally beaten off by the army of Virtues. About this figure of mediaeval warfare didactic allegory established itself firmly, and finally came to include among its symbols most of the prominent characteristics of feudal society. Personified moral and spiritual qualities contended upon the battlefield and in the tournament with their corresponding adversaries in the categories of vice and wickedness. The figure of the castle was elaborately

⁴¹ Feuillerat, p. 8. The lasting popularity of the "Mount" in Tudor Court masks is seen in the entries of the expense accounts of the Revels office. We may be sure that it always possessed some allegorical or mythological significance, but the account books seldom throw any light upon this point. Feuillerat (*Documents relating to the Office of the Revels during the Reign of Elizabeth*) publishes expense accounts for "mounts" used in masks at the usual seasons in 1572-3 (pp. 160, 185), 1579-80 (p. 328) and again in 1581 (pp. 340, 345).

⁴² See above, pp. 6-7.

⁴³ I follow Neilson, *Origins and Sources*, etc., pp. 8 ff.

⁴⁴ Traced by Creizenach (*Gesch. d. n. Dramas*, I. 467) to the *Psychomacia* of Prudentius, ca. 400 A. D.

⁴⁵ One of the *Parables* ascribed to St. Bernard. Cf. Neilson, p. 21.

developed, all the various architectural details being employed in symbolic representation. *Le Chateau d'Amour*,⁴⁶ ascribed to Robert Grosseteste, and written early in the thirteenth century, is perhaps the best known, and in its relation to secular allegory, the most influential, work of this group. It is an allegorical representation of the body of the Virgin under the conventional figure of the Castle, and, though written in the form of a romance, it is wholly religious in character.

The machinery and symbolism of this religious allegory were taken over by the allegorical romances which were born of the court of love enthusiasm. These are considerable in number, and extend from the beginning of the thirteenth through the early years of the sixteenth century. But the subject-matter of all of them is largely conventional. Personified emotional states allied to the passion of love take the place of the soldiers in the armies of vice and virtue; the castle and the fortress become the abode of Venus or the stronghold of some benevolent or malignant desire. The closely allied matters of love and gallantry gave new force to the old symbols of siege and warfare. In the colorless realm of personified abstraction castles are stormed, fair ladies rescued from peril, and wicked knights punished, in much the same manner as in the heroic romances of adventure.

The assault of the allegorical castle by militant abstractions becomes one of the commonest of romantic motives, and occurs with slight modifications in the literature of practically every country of Europe.⁴⁷ The classic instance, and evidently the model for many later imitations, is the siege of the Castle of Jealousie and the liberation of Bel-Acueil by the soldiers of Love, in the *Roman de la Rose*.⁴⁸

The conception was an ideal one for representation in masks and disguisings. Its theme, simple in itself and widely familiar, could be almost completely expressed in terms of action, and therefore ran no risk of not being understood; it furnished opportunity for scenic brilliancy and splendor, while the romantic idea underlying it made it readily adaptable as a prelude to social and festive occasions.

⁴⁶ *Le Chateau d'Amour*, ed. by M. Cooke, London, 1852, for Caxton Society; discussed by Neilson, pp. 136-38.

⁴⁷ Cf. Brotanck, pp. 325-26 for a few instances of its wide dissemination in European literature.

⁴⁸ Ed. Francisque-Michel, Paris, 1864, ll. 11, 252 ff.

That these advantages were justly appreciated by the devisers of court entertainments is attested by the frequency with which the motive is repeated; for in truth it recurs with slight variations in almost monotonous regularity as an adjunct to Tudor festivities. The earliest recorded instance is that of the disguising of 1501, noted above. Many other similar exhibitions are described by the chroniclers or indicated by the official records of the office of the Revels. Sometimes these dramatized romantic allegories borrow perceptibly from the machinery and atmosphere of the heroic romances of adventure, especially when they serve as a framework for the sports of the tiltyard. This is true of the festivities with which Henry VIII⁴⁹ celebrated the birth of his eldest son. After the return from Richmond to Westminster, (February, 1511) the king ordered "a solempne justes in honor of the Queene." Assuming the name "Cure Loial," the king chose three companions from among the courtiers, who were called "Bon Valoire," "Bon Espoir," and "Valiaunt Desire," the whole party bearing the appellation "Les quater Chivaliers de la forrest Salvigne." These names were written upon "a goodly table," which was hung in a tree, in true romantic fashion. The "forest Salvigne" itself was represented by an elaborate piece of pageantry "twenty-six feet long, sixteen feet broad and nine feet high," according to the circumstantial details in the official account-books. Among the various embellishments are mentioned "hawthornes, oaks, maples, hazels, birches, fern, broom, and furze, with beasts and birds embossed of sundry fashion, with foresters sitting and going upon the top of the same"; and in the itemized expense accounts there are entries for "two dózen embossed birds," "2400 turned acorns and hazel nuts," "gold for gilding the antelope's horns," and "one pound vermilion for the mouths of the lion and antelope."⁵⁰ But the connected account of Hall affords a better idea of all this splendor: "Into the Pallys was conveyed a pageaunt of great quantitie, made like a forrest, with rock, hills, and dales . . . with six foresters standing within the said forrest, garnished in cotes and hoods of grene Velvet . . . In the middes of this forrest a castell was standing made of gold . . . This forrest was drawn, as it were, by the strength of two great beastes, a Lyon and

⁴⁹ Cf. Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 517; also *Letters and State Papers of Henry VIII*, II, 1494-5.

⁵⁰ *Letters and State Papers of Henry VIII*, II, 1494.

an Antelope . . . led with certaine men appareiled like wilde men or woodhouses . . . When the pageant rested before the Queene, the forenamed forsters blewe their hornes, then the devise . . . opened on all sides and out issued the foresayd four Knyghtes, armed at all peces," etc.⁵¹ They were confronted by the Earl of Essex with three companions, and so the jousts began and lasted all that day.

At night the revelry was changed from jousting to dancing, the scene being Whitehall. The pageantry provided as a setting for this merry-making lost nothing in brilliancy, though its allegorical significance becomes somewhat more obscure. The representation was styled the "Golldyn Arber in the Arche yerde of Plesyr," and there was the same attempt at gorgeous realism that marked the pageant of "La Forrest Salvigne." The arbor was set with "wrethyd pilers of shyning porpyll, keyyrd with a type in bowd gyld with fyne golld, rayled with costly Karoufing, and thereover a vyen of sylver beryng grapes of golld; the benchys of this erber were set and wrought with kindly flowers, as roses, lillies, marygollds, gelofers, prymroses, cowslyps and suche other; and the erch yerde set with orange trees, pere trees, olyf trees, . . . and within this arber were sitting xii lordes and ladys, and without on the sydes were viii mynstrells, . . . and befor on the steps stod dyvers persons dysgyssed, and on the top were the chyldren of the chappell synging, so that on this pageaunt were xxx persons, which was marvellous wyghty to remove and carry."⁵² From Hall's account⁵³ we learn that the pageant was preceded by "a gentleman richly appareiled," who explained the meaning which the device was intended to convey, but as the explanation was not recorded, we are none the wiser. All we know is that the chief participants bore such allegorical names as "Amour Loyall," "Bon Foy," "Valiaunt Desire," and that "when the said pageant was brought forth into presence, then descended a lorde and a lady by coples . . . and daunced, that it was good to see."⁵⁴

⁵¹ Hall, *Chronicle*, 519.

⁵² *Letters and State Papers of Henry VIII*, II, 1496.

⁵³ *Chronicle*, p. 519.

⁵⁴ A clerk in the office of the Revels left the following account of the sorry fate that overtook this gorgeous and costly pageant. "This forrest or pageant after the ewsans had into Westmester Gret Hall (was) by the king's gard and other gentylnen rent, broken, and by fors karryd away. and the poor men that wer set to kep it, ther heds brokyn two of them, and the remnaunt put therfrom with forse, so that none

The castle was again assaulted as a part of the Christmas festivities at Greenwich in the third year of the reign of Henry VIII. Under the direction of Richard Gibson a castle was built, with towers and bulwarks, and fortified with ordnance "as gouns, hagbochys, kanuns, kortaws, chains of iern werke and seche like,"⁵⁵ and across the front was written "Le Fortresse dangerus." Within the castle were six ladies. "And when the Queene had beheld it . . . in came the king with V others . . . These six assaulted the castle, the ladies seing them so lustie and coragious were content to solace with them and upon further comunicacion to yield the castle, and so they came down and daunced a long space."⁵⁶

Our information is entirely insufficient to enable us to apprehend the inner meaning of the disguising used to introduce the jousts in the tilt-yard at Greenwich in June of the following year. It began with a procession of ladies clad in red and white silk, riding upon coursers with trappings of the same material. Following these came a pageant representing a fountain "with eight gargilles spouting water," and within the fountain sat the King impersonating a knight. Then came a lady "all in black," followed by a knight in a horse litter, a gorgeous affair draped with black silk and fitted with silver trimmings. Then suddenly with a great noise of trumpets came in a pageant bearing the designation, "The Dolorous Castle"—somber in hue, as befitted its name. Immediately the jousts began between these two parties, "and ever the King break most spears."⁵⁷

The Christmas holidays of the seventh year of the reign of Henry VIII (1515) were passed at Eltham, with the usual round of festivities. Hall tells us that "on the xii night in the hall was made a goodly castle, wondrously set out, and in it were certeyn ladyes and knightes, and when the king and queen were set, in came other knights and assayed the castel, wher many a good strype was geven, and at last the assaylauntes were beaten awaye."⁵⁸ It will be noted, perhaps with some relief, that a slight element of

therof but the bear tymbyr cum near to the kyng's use nor stoar." *Let. & Papers*, II, 1494. One member of the despoiling party sold his share of the loot for £3, 14 s, 8 d. Hall, 519.

⁵⁵ *Letters and State Papers*, II, 1498.

⁵⁶ Hall, *Chronicle*, 526.

⁵⁷ Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 533.

⁵⁸ Hall, *Chronicle*, 583. *Letters and State Papers*, II, 1499.

variety appears in the assault of the castle in this instance. In the first place, the king is a spectator and not a participant; and, second, the "assaylaunts were beaten away." This unusual denouement is partly explained by the fact that there were knights as well as ladies in the fortress. As long as the assaults were made upon the conventional castles of "Love" or "Beauty," it was of course necessary for social and allegorical reasons that the fortunes of war should usually be unfavorable to the garrison, else the knights would have to resort to less spectacular means of securing partners for the dance.

The romantic and social significance of the dramatic allegory is strongly accentuated in the description which Hall gives⁵⁹ of the festivities provided by Cardinal Wolsey for the night of Shrove Tuesday, 1522. The castle in this instance was provided with a principle tower and two less towers,⁶⁰ in all of which cressets were burning. On the top of each was a banner, with mottoes explaining the allegory. This castle was kept by "ladyes with straunge names,"—Beautie, Honour, Perseveraunce, Kyndnes, Constaunce, Bountie, Mercie and Pitie. Standing about the castle were eight other ladies with such names as Disdain, Gelousie, Malebouche, etc., who were "tired like women of Inde." The attacking party consisted of eight lords,—Amorus, Noblenes, Gentlenes, etc., "led by one all in Crymosin sattin with burning flames of gold, called Ardent Desire (the king), which so moved the ladies to give over the Castle, but Scorne and Disdaine said they would holde the place." Ardent Desire, however, insisted upon immediate capitulation. "Then the lordes ronned to the castle (at whiche time was a greate peale of gones) and the ladies defended the castle with Rose Water and Comfittes, and the lordes threwe in Dates and Orenge and other fruits made for pleasure." The place was finally won, despite the stubborn defense of Lady Scorne and her companions. "Then the lordes tooke the ladies as priso-

⁵⁹ *Chronicle*, p. 631.

⁶⁰ Much was made of the symbolism of the tower in the castle allegory. Cf. the tower of Doctrine, the tower of Music, the tower of Chivalry, etc., in Stephen Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure* (Percy Society, XVIII, London, 1845). In *Le Tresor Amoureux*, usually attributed to Froissart, (*Oeuvres de Froissart*, ed. by Scheler, III, 52 ff.) there is a park guarded by eight towers, occupied by Diligence, Bonté, Beauté, Honneur, Maniere, Humilité, Atrempance, and Courtoisie (ll. 325-49). In Bishop Grosseteste's *Chateau d'Amour* the castle is supported by four towers, each inhabited by one of the cardinal virtues, a detail often represented in the castle pageant.

ners by the handes and brought them downe and daunced together very pleasauntly."

An excellent illustration of the elaborate scale on which these Tudor revelries were conducted and the extraordinary length to which the participants were willing to go to secure the effect of realism in their mimic warfare is seen in the attack upon the Castle of Loyaltie which constituted the principal festive event of the Christmas season of 1525.⁶¹ This enterprise was the result of "a chalenge of feactes of armes" and the culmination of a fiction that was solemnly acted by the whole court for a period of several days. It was pretended that the King, "out of his bountifull goodnes," had given to four maidens of his court the Castle of Loyaltie, to dispose of as they saw fit, and the maidens, anxious to insure its safety, had placed it in the custody of a very valiant band consisting of "a captaine and fifteen gentlemen with hym." The Castle of Loyaltie itself stood in the tilt-yard at Greenwich, a massive structure twenty feet square and fifty feet in height, "very strong and of grete timber well fastened with yron." On all sides were great ditches fifteen feet in depth, "and thei were very stepe, and betwene the diches and Castle was set a pale whiche was rampaired with yerthe so stepe and thicke that it was not likely to be gotten." The surrounding moat was duly provided with drawbridges. In fact, so complete were the preparations for defense that "when the strength of the castle was wel beholden, many made dangerous to assault it, and some saide it could not be won by sporte but by earneste."

On Saint Thomas's Day, before Christmas, the band to whom the defense of the castle had been entrusted sent a herald into the Queen's chamber, the king being present, to announce to "all Kynges, princes, and other gentlemen of noble corage" that they were ready to answer all challengers. The Captain wished it to be known that "nere to the Castle he would raise a Mounte, on which should stand a Unicorne supporting foure faire shilds," red, white, yellow, and blue, and the challengers were to make known the nature of their challenge by touching a particular shield, a device often employed in the romances of chivalry.

The assault did not begin at the appointed time, however. So formidable was the castle that the King, who of course was to have command of the challengers, had devised certain engines to be

⁶¹ Described by Hall, *Chronicle*, pp. 688-9.

employed in the attack, "but the Carpenters were so dull that they understood not his entente and wrought all things contrary." The contest for the time being was transferred to the open field, but by the second of January the plans of the challengers were completed, and the assault on the castle was begun. After a strenuous and picturesque siege which lasted for several days, its capture was finally effected.

Romantic allegory, dramatically represented in the banquet halls and tilt-yards of English sovereigns, did not cease with the reign of Henry VIII. It still found favor with the knightly courtiers of Elizabeth. Court of love material, worn rather thin, it is true, but still recognizable, lies at the foundation of the entertainments prepared by Thomas Churchyard for the Queen on her visit to Suffolk and Norfolk in 1578.⁶² The castle is lacking, but the usual characters, and the motives that inspired them, are present. A dramatic outline for a tournament is provided as follows: Manhode, Good Fortune, and Desarte are suitors for the favors of Beauty. In the inevitable conflict among the wooers, Manhode and Desarte are vanquished, the former being slain outright. Beauty, in her distress at the violence of the suitors, flies to the Queen for protection.

The personal connection of the dramatic thread with Elizabeth, as seen in the last named touch, was a matter which was scarcely ever overlooked by the mask poets of this reign. Indeed one of the last, as well as one of the most ingenious and pleasing, of all the performances involving the castle motive was so contrived as to make of it an elaborate compliment to the Queen. It included a tournament, however, not as an appanage, but as an integral part of the whole. Our account of it is from the pen of Henry Goldwell, and is entitled "A Declaration of the Triumph Showed before the Queen's Majesty and the French Ambassadors on Whitsun Monday and Tuesday, 1581."⁶³ The demand for *vraisemblance* not being as strong as during the reign of Henry VIII, the castle was not actually constructed, but the gallery at the end of the tiltyard where the Queene sat to witness the contests was denominated "The Castle or Fortress of Perfect Beauty." The challengers were the Earl of Arundel, Lord Windsor, Sir Philip Sid-

⁶² Nichols, John, ed. *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*. 3 vols. London, 1788-1821, II, 179 ff.

⁶³ Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth*, II, 310 ff.

ney, and Master Fulke Greville, who called themselves the "Foster Children of Desire." They declared the Castle of Perfect Beauty to be their special patrimony, and announced their readiness to defend their right against all who should question it. The fiction began some weeks before the tournament actually took place. On a Sunday in April, when the Queen was returning from Chapel, a boy appeared before her, and delivered the speeches of defiance, after the manner of an ancient herald. The day appointed for the tournament having arrived, the four "Foster Children" made ready to besiege the "Castle of Perfect Beauty." Portable battlements were prepared, upon which were mounted two cannons, with gunners, and within the battlements were arranged "divers kinds of most excellent music against the Castle of Beauty." These things being ready, the attackers approached, first passing by for a near survey of the castle. The *defi* was repeated. The portable earthworks were moved as near as possible to the Queen, the music continuing without interruption. Then a boy appeared and sang:

"Yield, yield, O yield, you that the fort do hold,
Which seated is in spotless honor's field;
Desire's great force no forces can withhold,
Then to Desire's desire O yield, O yield.
Yield, yield, O yield. Trust not to Beauty's pride!
Fairness, tho fair, is but a feeble shield,
When strong Desire, which virtue's love doth guide,
Claims but go gain his due, O yield, O yield."

Another boy sang a response, advising the attackers to rely only on forcible conquest.

"Alarm! Alarm! Here will no yielding be!
Such marble hearts no cunning airs can charm.
Courage, therefore, and let the stately see
That nought withstands Desire! Alarm! alarm!"

When the songs were ended, the cannons were fired off, the one with sweet powder, the other with sweet water, "very odiferous and pleasant, and the noise of the shooting was very excellent of music within the mount."

Then came the defenders in full retinue, each one attended by his servants and pages. One of the pages, disguised as an angel, assured the Queen that the dwellers in the house of Beauty had nothing to fear. The page of Sir Thomas Ratcliffe then told her a romantic story of how his master, having suffered long in the

service of love, and having at last withdrawn himself from the world, had heard of the attack of Desire upon the Castle of Beauty, and was come to the rescue. The tilt then continued until night-fall.

The next day the "Foster Children" returned for a second attack under the personal leadership of Desire himself, but after a spirited fight in the open field with the defending party, they decided, upon consultation, that it would be a presumption to storm the castle, and so surrendered themselves to the mercy of Perfect Beauty.

The long reign of popularity which this romantic conception enjoyed at the English Court came to an end with the tilt-yard compliment of 1581, and we do not find it appearing thereafter as a framework for royal festivities.⁶⁴ A thoroughly mediaeval notion in origin and signification, it was at last displaced by newer and more artistic fashions in regal flattery and display. The earliest recorded instance of its dramatic representation in England is at the marriage of Prince Arthur and Catherine of Arragon, as described above. But it could hardly have been a novelty, even at that time. From carvings upon ivory caskets and figures upon tapestry, it would seem that the conception was familiar as early as the reign of Edward II.⁶⁵ It is in fact quite likely that in this, as in several other instances, the court borrowed the traditional material of the May games and other popular celebrations. On the continent we have records of the siege of the Château d'Amour in connection with May-day festivities as early as the second decade of the thirteenth century. These correspond in methods of attack and defense, as well as in other characteristic details, to the representations in the English court masks of the sixteenth century. The *Mémoires* of the French Society of Antiquaries⁶⁶ contain an account of such sports by the young people of certain villages in Switzerland. On the first Sunday in May a wooden Château d'Amour was built, and the assault made upon it in the usual manner.

⁶⁴ The anonymous *Masque of the Twelve Months*, presented probably in 1612, employs a modification of it. See *Inigo Jones. A Life*, etc., ed. by Collier, Shak. Soc., 1848, pp. 131-42.

⁶⁵ Cf. article (cited by Neilson, pp. 137-8) in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1835, pp. 198 ff., entitled *On Ancient Caskets of Ivory and Wood*.

⁶⁶ *Mémoires et Dissertations sur les Antiquités nationales et Étrangères*, pub. by Soc. Roy. des Antiquaires de France, Paris, 1817, I, 134-7. Cited by Neilson, p. 255.

From the same source, too, we have very interesting details of *le siège du Château d'Amour* in the town of Fribourg. Inside the castle was a garrison of pretty girls, who conducted a stubborn but hopeless defense against an assaulting party of young men. The ammunition of both sides consisted of bouquets and festoons of roses; and after the capitulation of the castle all rode in procession through the streets, and the day ended in dancing and other forms of revelry. Further evidence of the remote origin of the assault upon the castle as a feature of popular merry-making is found in the account given by Rolandinus Pativinus of the festivities in the city of Treviso in the year 1214. Because of the striking similarity in general detail to several of the English court revels which we have been discussing, the passage may be quoted in full:

“Zur Zeit dieses Podestà (des Albizi Florentis) wurde ein Hoftag der Fröhlichkeit und Lustbarkeit in der Stadt Treviso veranstaltet, zu viel als möglich Paduaner, sowohl Reiter als Fusssoldaten eingeladen wurden. Es gingen dahin auch eingeladen, um diesen Hoftag zu schmücken, ungefähr zwölf Damen, von den edelsten und schönsten und am meisten zu Spielen geeigneten, die damals in Padua zu finden waren. Der Hoftag oder das Spiel war aber folgendermassen: es wurde zum Scherz eine Burg gebaut und in diese die Damen mit ihren Jungfrauen, Geleiterinnen und Dienerinnen gebracht, die nun ohne Beihülfe eines Mannes diese Burg weislichst vertheidigten. Diese Burg war auch von allen Seiten mit solchen Befestigungen geschützt, nämlich mit Bunt- und Grauwirk, mit Purpur-Sommet, Scharlachstoffen, Seidentüchern aus Bagdad und Almeria. Was soll ich sagen von den goldenen Kronen, von Chrysolithen und Hyacinthen, von Topasen und Smaragden, von Rubinen und Perlen und von den Zieraten aller Art, mit denen die Damen ihre Häupter gegen den Angriff der Kämpfer geschützt hatten. Auch die Burg musste erstürmt werden und wurde erstürmt mit folgenden Wurfgeschossen und Instrumenten: Mit Aepfeln, Datteln, und Muskatnüssen, mit kleinen Torten, mit Birnen, mit Rosen, Lilien und Veilchen, zugleich mit Flacons, gefüllt mit Balsam, Parfüms, Rosenwasser, mit Ambra, Kampher, Kardamom, Zimmt, Nelken, kurz mit allen Arten von Blumen und Specereien, die nur wohlriechen und glänzend sind. Von Venedig wohnten diesem Spiele viele Männer und mehrere Damen bei, dem Hoftag eine Ehre zu erweisen, und unter dem

kostbaren Banner des heiligen Marcus kämpften die Venetianer weise und ergötzlich."⁶⁷

The examples of the early English court mask so far examined have consisted almost entirely of attempts to represent dramatically, with the aid of various accessories of pageantry and decoration, the symbolism of the court of love romances. But the other great branch of mediaeval romantic literature, the narratives of those knightly heroes who do not wear the cloak of symbolism, contributed scarcely less important elements. The spirit and the ideals of chivalry are common to both, and both drew ultimately from very similar sources of romantic inspiration. When the conflicts between the personified abstractions of the allegorical romances are represented by English courtiers upon the tilt-yards at Greenwich and Westminster, the ideals of knightly honor which all profess to follow are the same as those which guided the heroes of King Arthur's court in all the pursuits of love and war.

So vital, in fact, was the Arthurian tradition during the Middle Ages that it exerted a pronounced influence upon the forms and ceremonials of chivalry. At least twice in England, and repeatedly on the continent, were the association of the knights of the Round Table and other traditional features of life at the mystical court at Camelot established with solemn adherence to the details of romance. Roger Mortimer restored the Round Table at Kenilworth, the company consisting of one hundred of England's bravest knights and as many of her fairest ladies.⁶⁸ At Windsor Edward III, presided over an association of twenty-five knights who assumed the names and simulated the characters of Arthurian heroes.⁶⁹ The rules of arms alleged to have been promulgated by King Arthur in fact governed the sports of the tilt-yard until near the close of the fifteenth century, and the term "Round Table," the Greek traveller Posidonius tells us, was the common designation for

⁶⁷ Rolandinus Patavinus, *Chron.* 1, 13., quoted by Schultz, *Das Höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, Leipzig, 1889, I, 576.

⁶⁸ Dominus Rogerus de mortuo Mari ennumerabili multitudine militum et dominarum apud Kenilworthe congregata, famosissimum celebravit convivium expensis," etc. (Tom. Wykes, quoted by Schultz, *Höfisches Leben* II., 117) Cf. also notes to Drayton's *Hist. Epist. Mort. Isabel*, V. 53 and *Histoire littéraire de la France*, T. 23, p. 470.

⁶⁹ Th. Walsingham, *Hist. brevis Angliae ab Edwardo I, ad Hen. V*, London, 1574, fol. p. 117.

jousts and tournaments.⁷⁰ The Latin chroniclers in fact almost invariably use the term, (sometimes restricting it to single combats) to describe the martial sports imitated from ancient chivalry. The account of those at Hesdin, in 1235, reads "apud Hesdinium ubi se exercebant ad Tabulam rotundum."⁷¹ At the Abbey of Walden, in 1252, the express remark of the historian (Matth. Paris, p. 819) is that the English Knights tried their strength not in ordinary combats, "sed in illo ludo militari qui mensa rotunda dicitur." The sports which Mortimer instituted at Kenilworth are described as "ludum militare, quem vocant rotundam Tabulam, centum militum ac tot dominarum constituit."⁷² Such sports are forbidden by the Bull of Pope Clement V: "In faciendis justis praedictis quae tabulae rotundae in aliquibus partibus vulgariter nuncupantur, eadem damna et pericula imminet, quae in torneamentis praedictis, idcirco, certa causa idem justatum dum existit."⁷³

It has been suggested, and indeed appears quite probable, that the heroes of romance were, usually impersonated in these martial sports and feats of gallantry.⁷⁴ That such was the case throughout the reign of Henry VIII and later with respect to the somewhat more fashionable allegorical romances, we have had abundant proof. We have seen furthermore the elaborate fictions invented and solemnly acted by the courtiers of Henry VIII and Elizabeth as a framework for their chivalrous merry-making. In an inventory of the properties in the armory of the tilt-yard at Greenwich, made by George Lovekyn, clerk of the stable, at the direction of Sir Henry Guildford, Master of the Horse, in the second year of the reign of Henry VIII, are mentioned the arms of King Arthur, Brute, and Cadwallader, and "steel bards gilt with a trail of roses and pomegranates, with the story of St. George and St. Barbara."⁷⁵ Similar romantic conceptions are found in the fondness for dragons, monsters, etc., in Tudor court-pageantry and disguisings. The Rouge Dragon was a favorite badge of Henry

⁷⁰ *Hist. litt. de la France*, T. 23, p. 470.

⁷¹ Schultz, *Höfisches Leben*, II, 117.

⁷² Wilhelm Rischanger (1279) quoted by Schultz, *Höfisches Leben*, II, 117.

⁷³ Grässe, *Lehrbuch einer Allgemeine Literaturgeschichte*, 4 Bde., Dresden, 1840, Bd. II, Abt. 3, s. 150 f., quoting Du Cange, *Gloss. Med. Latin*, T. III, p. 1049.

⁷⁴ Cf. *Hist. litt. de la France*, T. 23, p. 470.

⁷⁵ *Letters and State Papers of Henry VIII*, III, 2, p. 1550.

VII,⁷⁶ and acquired on this account special significance as an emblem of Tudor grandeur. The procession which celebrated the Coronation of the Queen, in 1487, consisted of many "gentlemanie pageants," among which is mentioned "a great redde dragon spouting flames of fyer into the Thames."⁷⁷ In the ancient painting at Hampton Court representing the meeting of Henry VIII and Francis I on the famous Field of the Cloth of Gold, the red dragon is shown flying over the head of Henry and accompanying him on his way.⁷⁸ The red dragon appeared again in the procession which brought Anne Boleyn from Greenwich to the Tower for the Coronation ceremonies, in 1533. The mayor and the citizens, at the invitation of Henry, had undertaken "to see the citie ordered and garnished with pageaunts in places accustomed, for the honor of her grace." Leading the procession that moved up the Thames, and followed immediately by the Mayor's barge, was "a foyst or wafter full of ordinaunce, in which foyst was a great dragon, continually moving and casting wyld fyer, and round about the said dragon stode terrible monsters and wyld men casting fyer and making hideous noises."⁷⁹ Hall tells us further that on the left of the Mayor's barge was another "foyst" on which was a "mount," and "on the same stode a white Fawcon crowned, upon a rote of golde environed with white roses and red, which was the Queenes devise."⁸⁰

We have seen how the court of Arthur was "restored" at Kenilworth by Mortimer and at Windsor by Edward III. The precise extent to which the materials of heroic romance entered into these representations is not known, because of the meagerness of the accounts which have reached us concerning them. Of similar enterprises on the continent at approximately the same time, we possess much more detailed information, and in these, scenes from the old romances were staged upon the tilt-yard, and legendary heroes performed anew their feats of gallantry and daring. One of the most famous was the grand tournament held at the Château

⁷⁶ *Glossary of Terms used in Heraldry*, p. 297.

⁷⁷ Cf. Chambers, *Med. Stage*, II. 170.

⁷⁸ Fairholt, *Lord Mayors' Pageants*, p. 11.

⁷⁹ Hall, *Chronicles*, p. 799.

⁸⁰ A reference to the union of the houses of Lancaster and York by the marriage of Henry VII. Anne Boleyn's coat of arms was "argent, a chevron gules between three bull's heads coupéd sable, armed or."—J. Woodward, *Treatise on Heraldry*, p. 11.

de Ham-sur-Somme, in 1278.⁸¹ A proclamation from Dame Courtoisie was circulated among the flower of European chivalry, and when the famous assembly had gathered, no less a personage than Queen Guinevere was chosen to preside. Among the other romantic figures specifically mentioned are Arthur's seneschal, Sir Kay, the famous Soeur d'Amour, a character in the *Sir Cligès* of Chretien de Troyes, who four times crossed the sea to Scotland and Northumberland to demand her lover whom another lady had imprisoned, and the Knight of the Lion, who at the command of Guinevere delivered four ladies from captivity.⁸² Among the historical personages who took part in the combats and the banquetting and dancing which followed was the famous Robert Comte d'Artois. Indeed, the roster of participants has been an important source of information in tracing the lineage of many ancient families among the French and Flemish nobility.

Nearly three centuries later, and in a neighboring locality, the stirring deeds of mediaeval romantic heroes were dramatized upon a gigantic scale for the amusement of the most renowned sovereign of Europe, the Emperor Charles V.⁸³ This magnificent pageant was arranged by the Emperor's sister, the Queen of Hungary, at Bins, in Flanders, in 1549. The performance lasted two days, and embraced all the extravagant melodrama that mediaeval romance could be made to yield, — brave knights risking life in the effort to relieve distressed beauty, awe-inspiring supernatural phenomena, magic castles, fiery dragons, wicked enchanters, dwarfs, and giants. None of the approved thrill-producing agencies seems to have been omitted. There were numerous single combats between individual knights as well as between parties representing the opposing sides, but the whole centered about the siege of a castle, not the allegorical castle of Love, or Beauty, or Loyalty, of which we have had so many examples, but the conventional magic castle of mediaeval romance, in which fair ladies and brave knights had been imprisoned by a wicked enchanter. The leader of the rescuing party was Philip, afterward Philip II, and the assault was made with all the strenuousness of actual warfare. Finally, as

⁸¹ Described in the so-called *Roman de Ham*. See De la Rue, *Essais historiques sur les bardes, les jongleurs et les trouvères normands*, Caen, 1834. 3 Vols. Vol. I, p. 148 ff.

⁸² De la Rue (I. 148) supposes that characters impersonating all the important Knights of King Arthur's Court appeared among the combatants.

⁸³ Described by Calvete de Estrella, *Viage del Principe Don Filipe*, pp. 188-205.

a fitting denouement for so wild a story, the castle vanished from sight, by virtue of its magical properties, and the performance came to an end.⁸⁴

This magnificent affair had, as we have seen, many parallels at the English court during the reign of Henry VIII except for the fact that the English pageants, instead of drawing directly upon the romances of chivalry for their material, employed rather the chivalrous conventions as modified by the court of love romances. It is probable that some of the English tournaments of which we possess only scraps of information, such for instance as those of Edward III and his knights of the restored Round Table, approached in grandeur and brilliancy the famous assembly at Ham-sur-Somme. It was real and not mimic warfare, however, that absorbed the energies of the English chivalry during the greater part of the turbulent fifteenth century. The Tudors brought a return to stable conditions, but the first of the line was too practical and matter-of-fact to give more than a thought to play. But the accession of his young, buoyant, and pleasure-loving successor brought a return of the old-time romantic atmosphere to the English court, which, save for the pall that enveloped the mid-decade, was to continue undisturbed throughout the sixteenth century.

The traditions of chivalry, which had survived the ravages made among the older nobility by the Wars of the Roses, were not completely forgotten in the growing passion for the new culture of the Renaissance. Legendary heroes out of the old romances still continued to be familiar figures in English court life. When Prince Arthur visited Coventry, in 1498, the mythical son of Uther met him in person and made a speech of Welcome.⁸⁵ Valentine and Orson participated in the festivities at the coronation of Edward VI.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ This "disappearance" was effected in such cases by having the castle, etc., so constructed that its walls could be made instantaneously to fall flat. Such a contrivance figured in some unexplained way in a Court performance before Elizabeth, in 1577. In the Revels accounts (Feuillerat, p. 345) we find entries for "Dragon with y^e fyer woorkes, Castell with y^e falling sydes," etc.

⁸⁵ Brotanek, p. 5.

⁸⁶ Edward the Confessor, St. George, and "numerous abstractions" were also represented. Cf. Nichols, *Literary Remains of Edw. VI.* (Roxburgh Library), and Chambers, *Med. Stage*, II, 171.

Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon—the contribution of Christianity to the galaxy of immortal Worthies—continue to make their appearance in company with their illustrious associates. The stubborn persistence of the Nine Worthies as lay figures in pageants and dumb shows is indicated by Shakespeare's burlesque in *Love's Labour's Lost*. The notion is characteristically mediaeval, this balancing of three figures chosen from each of three eras of history, Christian, Pagan, and Jewish, who should stand as the concrete embodiment of imperishable renown. The Christian world was represented by the three celebrities named above, the Pagan by Hector, Alexander, and Julius Caesar, and the Jewish by Josua, David, and Judas Maccabaeus. In some instances slight substitutions were made in the first two groups, but hardly ever in the last; and sometimes as a compliment to local or national heroes, a tenth worthy was added, as Henry VIII in England, Robert Bruce in Scotland, and Bertrand de Guesclin in France.

It is impossible to say when or by whom the selection was first made. In the *Voeux du Paon* Jaques de Longuyon had celebrated the groups as embodiments of all the ideals of knighthood. An anonymous work, written evidently during the reign of Charles VIII, was printed at Abbeville in 1487, with the title, "Le triumphe des neuf preux, auquel sont continus tous les faits et prouesses quilz on acheuez durant leur vies avec lystoire de Bertrand de Guesclin."⁸⁷ A second edition appeared at Paris in 1507, and a Spanish translation by Antonio Rodriguez at Lisbon, in 1530. A "Roman de Judas Machabée" was begun about 1240 by Gautier de Belleperche, and was finished by the Troubedour Pierre du Ries.⁸⁸ It was later turned into a prose romance which we still possess, "Les excellentes, magnifiques et triomphantes chroniques de tres—valeurieux prince Judas Machabeus, un des neuf preux et aussi de ses quatre frères, transl. de latin en francais," by Charles de St. Gelais, Paris, 1514.⁸⁹ The original work appears to have been lost.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Grässe, *Lehrbuch*, etc., II, 3. 394-5; Extract in *Bibliothèque des Romans*, 1775, Juillet, T. I, p. 141 et seq.

⁸⁸ See De la Rue, *Bardes, Jongleurs, et Trouvères*, II, 178.

⁸⁹ Grässe, *Lehrbuch* II, 3, p. 435.

⁹⁰ It is probably not the same as the extant "Raumant d' Auberon ensi que ses aves Judas Macabeus," etc. Distinct from both also is the supposedly lost "Roumans du Roy Auberon et du Huon," which is believed to have been the original of the current prose romance "Huon of Bordeaux." See Grässe, II, 3, 435.

The Worthies enjoyed an extraordinary popularity in mediaeval and early modern England. They were nearly always found among the heterogeneous figures composing the pageants of the Corpus Christi Processions.⁹¹ In an undated Harleian manuscript, the English national hero Guy of Warwick takes the place of Godfrey of Bouillon,⁹² as does Robert Bruce in the Scottish "Ballet of the nine Nobles."⁹³ When Queen Margaret and Henry VI visited Coventry, in 1456, they were entertained with shows devised by one John Wedurley, among which was a separate pageant for each of the Nine Worthies.⁹⁴ The occasion of the proclamation of Henry VIII as King of Ireland, in 1541, was celebrated with "epulae, comœdiae, et certamina ludicra," in which the Worthies played an important part.⁹⁵ The city of Dublin welcomed Lord Sussex upon his return from an expedition against James MacConnell in 1557, with a show of the Six Worthies.⁹⁶ When Philip II came to London as the husband of Mary, in 1554, his sensibilities may well have been offended by a large painting of the Worthies which stood at the conduit in Gracechurch street. Henry VIII, who was given a prominent place among them, was represented as handing a Bible to Edward VI, and strong objection was made because the painter had not caused the Bible to be presented to Mary.⁹⁷ At a May Day celebration in London, in 1557, there was "a joly may gam in Fanchurch strett, with drumes and gunes and pykes, and the 9 Wordes dyd ryd and thay had speches evereman."⁹⁸ In Stephen Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure*, Dame Fame, appearing to the dead Graunde Amoure, assures him that for his worthy demeanor during life, his heroism in slaying the ugly giants, the fiery dragon, and in overcoming the seven metals of enchantment, and, above all, for winning the love of "La Bell Pucell the most fayre lady," his "renowne shall raigne eternally"; and to acquaint him with the true meaning of the immortality of fame, she recites in detail the glorious career of each of the Nine Worthies, of whom he

⁹¹ Chambers, *Med. Stage*, II, 365.

⁹² Brotanek (p. 56) citing MS. Harl. no. 2220, fol. 7.

⁹³ *Ibid.* citing *Anglia*, XXI, p. 359.

⁹⁴ *Coventry Leet Book*, quoted by Sharp, *Diss. on Cov. Mys.*, 147.

⁹⁵ Chambers, II, 365.

⁹⁶ Chambers, II, 365.

⁹⁷ Holinshed, *Chronicles*, III, 1091. Brotanek, p. 56.

⁹⁸ Brotanek, (p. 56), quoting MS. Cot. Vitellius, F. V., etc.

is now become the peer.⁹⁹ At the famous meeting of Henry VIII and Francis I at Ardres and Guines, in 1520, the traditional number of the Worthies was raised to ten by the addition of Hector.¹⁰⁰ "The fyrst persone of the X," says Hall, "was apparelled like Hercules in a shirt of silver and damaske written in letters of purple about the border, 'en femes et infautes cy petit assurance.' "

A curtailment of the Worthies, with significant omissions and substitutions, formed the framework of the very elaborate pageantry with which Henry VIII entertained the Emperor Charles V on the occasion of his famous visit to the English court.¹⁰¹ Several of the shows were embodiments of recondite allusions to the various international quarrels then in progress. When Henry and his illustrious guest reached the Draw Bridge leading into the city, they found it securely guarded by two huge giants representing Hercules and Sampson, each bearing his traditional weapons, and both together supporting a great Table on which was written "all the Emperor's Style." At the middle of the bridge stood a splendid edifice occupied by Jason with the Golden Fleece. On one side of him stood a fiery dragon, and on the other two bulls, "the whych beastes cast out fyer continually." Passing on to the conduit in Gracious Street, they found a magnificent palace, at the entrance of which stood Charlemagne holding two swords. One, the sword of Justice, he gave to the Emperor; the other, the sword of Triumphant Victory, he committed into the keeping of Henry. Before him sat the Pope, to whom he gave a crown of thorns and three nails, accompanying them with explanatory verses in Latin. Next they passed to Leadenhall, where they found John of Gaunt presiding over a gorgeous pageant representing all his descendants, "and on the top stood the Emperor, the King of England and the Queen, as three in the VI degree from the sayd duke." From thence they proceeded to the conduit in Cornhill, and found there a splendid palace surmounted by two towers. Under a cloth of state sat King Arthur, who was being served by ten kings, dukes, and earls. At the approach of the King and the Emperor, a poet addressed to them the following verses:

⁹⁹ *Pastime of Pleasure*, ed. from edition of 1555, Percy Society, XVIII, London, 1845, Chap. LXIII, pp. 208-12.

¹⁰⁰ Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 619.

¹⁰¹ Described by Hall, *Chronicle*, pp. 638-9.

"Laudat magnanimos urbs inclita Roma Catones
 Cantant Hannibalem punica regna suum
 Gentis erat Solime rex ingens gloria David.
 Gentis Alexander gloria prima sue.
 Illustrat fortis Arthuri fama Britannos
 Illustras gentem Cesar et ipse tuam
 Cui deus imperium victo precor hoste secundet
 Regnet ut in terris pacis amica quies."

"And so they passed through the Poultry to the Great Conduit in Chepe where was made . . . four towers . . . and in the four towers were four fayre ladyes for the four cardinall virtues so richely besene that it was a great pleasure to beholde." Such pageants as this last were quite common; they originated evidently in an attempt to represent objectively a part of the allegory elaborated by Bishop Grosseteste in his *Chasteau d'Amour*.¹⁰²

The materials of high romance, with a slight admixture of mythological elements, entered largely into the entertainments which Leicester prepared for Queen Elizabeth on the occasion of her famous visit to Kenilworth, in 1575. Two contemporary accounts of these performances are left to us,—one by Gascoigne, who aided in preparing them, the other by the London tradesman, Laneham, upon whose mind they seem to have made a strong impression.¹⁰³ And we can but admire the ingenuity with which the court poets fashioned the materials of Arthurian legend into an elaborate and tasteful compliment to the Queen. Much is made of the tradition that King Arthur once held court at Kenilworth, though the dramatic elements in the entertainment center about the story of the Lady of the Lake, as told in Book IV of the

¹⁰² See above, p. 19. One of the pageants forming the procession which escorted Anne Boleyn to the coronation ceremonies was a "Tower with four Turretts, and in every one of the four turretts stood one of the cardinall Virtues with their tokens and properties, which had several speeches, promising the queen never to leave her" (Hall, 802). Walsingham, in his account of the reception of Richard II by the citizens of London in 1377, tells us of a pageant in the form of a castle with four towers, from the sides of which wine ran forth in abundance. In each tower was a beautiful virgin in white garments, and upon the approach of the King, they blew in his face leaves of gold and threw counterfeit gold florins upon him. (Cf. Fairholt, pp. 3-4.).

¹⁰³ Both are printed in Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth*, I, B-H, 1-70; Gascoigne's account, "The Princely Pleasures of Kenilworth Castle," in *Complete Works of Gascoigne*, ed. Cunliffe, Vol. 2, pp. 91-133; "Laneham's Letter," with much valuable supplementary matter, in the edition by Dr. Furnivall, *Captain Cox's Ballads and Books*, Ballad Society, London, 1871.

Morte D'Arthur. They begin with a welcoming ceremony to the Queen. As the royal party was approaching the Castle, a sybil appeared, and, in a set of verses devised by Hunnis, assured her Majesty that only happiness and prosperity were to come to England during her reign. When the outer gates of the Castle were reached, there appeared upon the battlements six huge trumpeters, "much exceeding the stature of men in this age. By this dumb show it was meant that in the days of Arthur men were of that stature; so should Kenilworth seem still to be kept by Arthur's servants and heirs." On entering, the Queen found that the porter was no less a person than Hercules, "who being overcome by the rare beauty and princely countenance of her Majesty, surrendered himself and his charge," in a bad poem written by Badger. Inside the court the Queen was met by the Lady of the Lake herself, attended by two nymphs, "who came all over the Poole, being so conveyed that it seemed they had gone upon the water." She sketched the history of Kenilworth from the time that it had sheltered the mystical King Arthur, and declared that the intervening years had been for her a period of deep sorrow; but she announced her intention of coming forth from her retirement, since at last she had found one on whom she might bestow the love of which she had hitherto thought only Arthur to be worthy.

Some days later the deliverance of the Lady of the Lake was represented. As the Queen crossed the bridge, on return from hunting, she was met by Triton, with a message from Neptune imploring her assistance in behalf of the distressed damsel, whom the wicked knight Sir Bruse-sans-pitie constantly pursued, with evil designs. Sir Bruse's grievance was, that the damsel had imprisoned his cousin Merlin within a rock, as a punishment for his inordinate lust. Neptune had done what he could to alleviate her distress. To keep her from falling into the hands of the wicked knight, he had enveloped her in the waves, where, according to the prophecy of Merlin, she must remain—the Lady of the Lake forever—unless she were liberated by the presence of a better maiden than herself. Therefore, Neptune sent to beseech her Majesty to allow the magic of her presence its full force in dispelling the power of Sir Bruse. Triton having delivered himself of this message, the Queen proceeded further on the bridge, where she was met by the Lady of the Lake, attended by two nymphs. Next appeared Proteus, sitting upon a dolphin's back, who sang a

song of congratulation, "as well in behalf of the lady distressed, as also in behalf of all the nymphs and gods of the sea." We learn from Gascoigne that a battle between the knights of the Lady and the forces of Sir Bruse was arranged for, but not performed.

An illuminating example of the vitality which the traditions of the age of chivalry still possessed in Elizabethan England is found in the romantic figure of the "Old Knight" Sir Henry Lee. His vocation in life was the prosaic business of sheep-grazing, though much of his time was devoted to acting out the romantic dreams with which his mind seems to have been haunted. Anxious to prove his chivalrous loyalty when Elizabeth came to the throne, he conceived the idea of the hitherto non-existent office of Royal Champion, with himself of course as the incumbent. This office he continued to hold for more than thirty years, receiving later the additional dignities of Master of her Majesty's Armory and Knight of the Most Noble Order. Annually, on the 17th day of November, the anniversary of the accession, "in his great zeale and earnest desire to eternize the glory of her majesties court," he rode into the lists to prove by feats of arms that the flower of knight-hood still flourished in Elizabeth's dominions.

Finally, on the thirty-third anniversary of the accession of Elizabeth, when the infirmities of old age would no longer allow him to perform the strenuous exercises which his office imposed upon him, he made a public resignation, accompanied with much elaborate and mystic ceremonial, in favor of the Earl of Cumberland. These ceremonies took place in the tilt-yard at Westminster, in the presence of the Queen, the French ambassador, "many ladies and the chief nobilitie." At the foot of the stairs leading to the gallery where her Majesty sat, "the earth opening as if by magic," there appeared a pavilion made of white taffeta, "being in proportion like to the sacred Temple of the Virgins Vestal." At one side stood an altar covered with a cloth of gold, upon which three candles were burning. Before the door of the temple stood a crowned pillar embraced by an eglantine tree, "whereon was a Table, and therein written (in letters of gold) this prayer following:

"Elizae, etc., Piae, potenti, faelicissimae virgini, fidei, pacis, nobilitatis vindici, cui Deus ostra, virtus, summa devoverunt omnia. Post tot annos, tot triumphos animam ad pedes positurus tuos, sacra senex affixit arma. Vitam quietam, imperium, famam aeternam precatur tibi, sanguine redempturus suo. Ultra columnas Herculis columna

moveatur tua. Corona superet coronas omnes, ut quam coelum faelicissime nascenti coronam dedit, beatissime moriens reportes coelo. Summe, Sancte, Aeterne, audi, exaudi Deus."¹⁰⁴

The old knight was then disarmed and offered up his armour at the foot of the crowned pillar. Then kneeling, he presented to the Queen the Earl of Cumberland, as one anxious to serve her in the office of Royal Champion. Her Majesty graciously accepting this offer, the new aspirant for knightly honors was duly armed and mounted upon his horse. In lieu of armour and helmet, the Old Knight then put on "a side coat of black velvet and a buttoned cap of the countrey fashion." We are told further that "for divers days hee wore upon his cloake a crowne embroidered, with a certaine motto or device, but what his intention therein was, he himselve best knew." For this occasion was written the well-known poem beginning, "His golden locks Time hath to Silver turn'd," etc., usually ascribed to Peele, but lately claimed by Mr. Bond for John Lyly.¹⁰⁵

The romantic mind of this old courtier was probably the source of many of the half whimsical fictions embodied in the entertainments and tilt-yard exhibitions designed for the amusement and flattery of Elizabeth.¹⁰⁶ He is by no means the least interesting of the many brilliant figures that surrounded the person of the Queen, and none outdid him in simple, whole-hearted loyalty. His naïve devotion, too, is said to have been graciously acknowledged by Elizabeth, who too often forgot the sacrifices of her more distinguished servants. Unfortunately for his fame, his name is associated with one of the contemporary scandals, but this does not seem to have greatly impaired his popularity at Court.¹⁰⁷ In his epitaph we have the summary of the life of an Elizabethan cavalier: "He gave himselve to Voyage and Travaile into the flourishing States of France, Italy, and Germany, wher soon putting on all those abilities that became the backe of honour, especially skill and proof in armes, he lived in grace, and gracing the

¹⁰⁴ The entire ceremonies are described in Segar, *Honors Military and Civill*, (1602) Bk. iii. Ch. 54. Cited by Bond, *Works of Lyly*, I, 410-16.

¹⁰⁵ See *Works of John Lyly*, ed. by Bond, I, 411-12.

¹⁰⁶ The Queen's entertainments at Woodstock (1575) and Quarrendon (1592), in which he played so important a part, are reserved for discussion in another connection.

¹⁰⁷ For several years, in his old age, he "lived for love" with Anna Vavasour, one of the Maids of Honor.

Courts of the most renowned Princes of that war-like age, returned home charged with the reputation of a well-firmed traveller, and adorned with those flowers of knighthood,—courtesy, bounty, valour,—which quickly gave forth their fruit . . . as well in the fieelde . . . as also in Courte, where he shone in all those fayer partes [which] became his profession and vowes, honoring his highly gracious M^{ris} with reysing those later Olympiads of her Court Justs and Tournaments . . . wherein himself lead and triumphed, carying away great spoyles of grace from the Sovereigne, and renown from the worlde, for the fairest man at armes and most complete Courtier of his times” . . . etc.

By virtue of his office as Royal Champion, Sir Henry Lee was usually the central figure in those odd mixtures of Mediaeval love-allegory and heroic fiction which formed the *motif* of the martial exercises arranged for the amusement and flattery of the Queen. In these later times, the crude and gorgeous pageantry with which Henry VIII was accustomed to introduce his jousts and tournaments had given place to a simpler species of tilt-yard fiction in which the dramatic element was given a more definite literary basis. This species includes the challenges to combat, the *cartels* and *defies*, wherein the adventurous knight announced in high-sounding terms some absurd proposition of love or war, the truth of which he proposed to establish by vanquishing in honorable combat all who dared to question it. The theses over which these contests took place were usually similar in character to the questions proposed for the mediaeval love debate, though in most cases they were so contrived as to contain the point of the compliment, of which the whole affair was but the larger expression. A fair sample of this whole class of tilt-yard literature is the following “Cartell for a Challenge”:

<A Herald reads>

“To all the Noble Chosen and Hopful Gentlemen, in this most notable Assemble; the strange forsaken Knightes send greetings:—

Whereas the Question hath ben long and often, and yett resteth doubtfull and undiscussed, whether that w^{ch} Menne call Love be good or evill; And that it is manifest that there be manie wor-thie Knights, in this p'ence, to whom Love is most delightfull, and his lawes no paynes; I bring this schedule, to signifie to all the gentlemen here that love armes, and list to defend this course. that there be three armed and unknowen Knightes, here at hand.

of one mind and divers fortunes, that with stroke of Arm and dynt of sword, be come to defende against all that will maintaine the contrary, that Love is worse than hate, his Subjects worse than slaves, and his Rewarde worse than nought: And that there is a Lady that scorns Love and his power, of more Virtue and greater bewtie than all the Amorous Dames that be at this day in the Worlde."¹⁰⁸

To French influence has been attributed the improvement in simplicity and rationalism of these romantic ceremonials at the English court.¹⁰⁹ French literature of the period, it is true, abounds in models for such tilt-yard effusions as the one quoted above. Ronsard, in particular, is known to have been popular in Elizabethan court circles, and his work may have furnished the suggestion for the ideas underlying some of these performances. Besides Ronsard, Marot, Melin de Saint Gelaïs, Philippe Desportes, and Jean Passerot all have left literary expressions of similar chivalric whimsicalities.

But whether or not a specific French influence be traced in this later tilt-yard literature, it is certain that the English Court in its occasional festivities had for a long time drawn largely upon sources in romantic literature for its material. Serving generally the occasion of balls, tournaments, and other forms of revelry, the mask turned to practical account the romantic allegories of the Middle Ages, while the romances of heroic adventure furnished it with appropriate themes for the fictions of the tilt-yard and the various other ceremonials of chivalry so popular at the court of the Tudors. The possible significance of these forms of semi-dramatic activity in the history of the romantic drama will be considered in the following chapter.

¹⁰⁸ This, with several other mask pieces, was published by W. Hamper in 1821, as the work of George Ferrers, the title of the collection being "Masques: performed before Queen Elizabeth. From a coeval copy, in a volume of manuscript collections, by Henry Ferrers." Mr. Bond, on stylistic evidence, attributes it to John Lyly. See his edition of Lyly's *Works*, I, 410 ff.

¹⁰⁹ Brotanek, p. 283 ff.

CHAPTER II

THE INFLUENCE OF THE MASK ON THE EARLY ENGLISH COURT DRAMA

“The Tudor dramatists,” says Professor Gayley. “did not make their art; they worked with what they found, and they found a dramatic medium of expression to which centuries and countless influences had contributed.”¹ In the preceding chapter an attempt was made to show the nature and the extent of the semi-dramatic activity which manifested itself in the maskings and pageantry of the English court. As a result of the historical survey thus made, we are reminded that for three hundred years prior to the accession of Elizabeth the court had been the center of a genuine and spontaneous, even if primitive, form of mimetic endeavor; that tradition, in an ever lengthening chain, demanded the celebration of significant events and the observance of the chief holidays of the calendar with masks, shows, and royal sports, in which the dramatic element appeared in constantly increasing importance; and that the inspiration and the matter for these performances were drawn in large part from the most natural and in fact the only easily accessible source, the romantic literature and traditions of the Middle Ages. In traversing the period from the earliest records to the middle of the sixteenth century, we thus pass in review a numerous progeny, similar in origin and purpose, but diverse in character—grotesque, fantastic, spectacular—and all perhaps upon last analysis to be assigned a place in the dramatic categories. The question naturally arises, whether they were mere ephemera, possessing no interest beyond the occasion that called them forth, except to the antiquarian and the student of *Kulturgeschichte*, or whether a positive influence can be assigned to them in the forward movement toward an artistic and literary drama. The latter is undoubtedly the case. Among the many hidden springs that contributed to swell the flood of Elizabethan dramatic literature, the “mummings and monstrous disguisings” of preceding ages are not the least important.

What of vital importance to the mature drama can be specifically claimed as coming from a source apparently so unpromising?

¹ *Representative English Comedies*, Vol. I, p. xxiv.

To be forced to meet the question in precisely this form would be to obscure somewhat its real bearing, but, even in that case, the reply might confidently be, that from such a source came something—not much, perhaps, but certainly a little—of all that is essential to the mature drama. A consideration of the historical relations between the true secular drama and the various forms of mimetic activity which for convenience are generically included in the term “mask,” will show at what points the influence of the latter was exerted.

As Professor Gayley reminds us, the Elizabethan dramatist did not begin *ab initio*, but directed to new and more artistic ends the dramatic impulses that had been expressing themselves more or less sporadically during the preceding ages. The distinct lines along which his inheritance had descended were those leading to the large body of ecclesiastical and didactic drama, to a much less extensive body of secular farce, to the dramatic element in the people’s May games and other popular celebrations, and, finally, to the various quasi-dramatic forms which grew up spontaneously in the congenial atmosphere of the court. These are all roughly contemporary species of the dramatic kind, and each of them possessed characteristics which helped in the progress toward the literary drama. It is proposed in the present instance to single out the influence of the court performance for special consideration.

It was inevitable that the dramatic instinct of the English race which manifested itself in the Latin tropes of the tenth century and which continued in the main to follow ecclesiastical channels for the next five hundred years, should express itself at last in a truly secular drama. A condition of such transformation, however, was the recognition that sources other than the old scriptural-liturgical and didactic matter might be utilized for dramatic purposes. This seemingly obvious conclusion was arrived at only gradually, however, and appears to have been borne in on the collective consciousness from several sources. The first of these was a surviving tradition of Latin comedy which during the Middle Ages appeared both in the form of a narrative of Plautine and Terentian matter conducted by means of dialogue, and as Latin farce interlude, dealing with native material, the latter probably being very limited in extent. Along with this surviving classical tradition was a primitive folk drama, the precise impor-

tance of which it is very difficult to determine, and which may itself have possessed a religious significance in remote pagan times. From either or both of these sources, or from the ecclesiastical drama itself, could have come the suggestion of the secular drama, but neither could have pointed the way to a body of material sufficient in scope and suitable in character for the support of such a drama. This important service may be justly attributed to the rudimentary forms of dramatic activity which had their inception in the social festivities and martial games of the Court. We have seen how everywhere in Western Europe the exploits of legendary heroes were represented upon the tournament field and the tilt-yard; how in the England of the fourteenth century the associates of Mortimer and Edward III imagined themselves to be living in the mystical atmosphere of King Arthur's Court, assuming the names and pretending to follow the ideals, of its most famous characters; how in some instances, as in the famous meeting at Hamsur-Somme, in 1282, and in the elaborate entertainment prepared for the Emperor Charles V in which the future Philip II participated, gigantic dramas from heroic romance were represented, with a tournament field for a stage and with wonderfully effective impressions of realism and verisimilitude.² Such traditions, moreover, we have seen surviving at the English Court until the end of the reign of Elizabeth, and exhibiting themselves in the vagaries and fantastic practices of the Queen's Champion, Sir Henry Lee. The most prolific source of material for Court masks and disguisings was, however, not the mediaeval romance of adventure, but the romantic allegories which grew up about the conception of the court of love. On the continent, as we have seen, themes of such character were represented in pageant and pantomime from the beginning of the thirteenth century. In England they are at least as old as the time of Richard II. The romantic atmosphere of the early Tudor Court was especially favorable to such exhibitions, and here they enjoyed high favor. We have seen how, at the Courts of Henry VII, and more especially Henry VIII, they were carried out with great elaboration, care, expense, and probably with no small degree of artistic success. The same hoary traditions we see emerging again, somewhat to our surprise, after Elizabeth had been for a quarter of a century on the throne, and being made by such cultured and scholarly courtiers as Fulke

² See above, Chap. I, pp. 28 ff.

Greville and Sir Philip Sidney to serve the purposes of royal compliment and flattery.

The first approach to the materials of romantic secular literature for dramatic purposes was made, then, by the court entertainment or festival in search of themes for masks and pageants. The dramatic element in these exhibitions, it is true, was not always prominent, but the mimetic impulse was at work, and was taking a direction, too, in which it had previously had very little exercise. The matter of the popular farce was too limited in range and imaginative possibilities to allow it free play. The primitive folk drama contained very potent elements for general dramatic evolution, but it, too, lacked dignity and the approval of cultural tradition. The opening of a distinct literary source by these court festivals and entertainments brought with it entirely new possibilities. It meant not only that an approach had been made to the presentation in dramatic form of themes of simple secular interest, but that for the future secular drama the way had been found to the scenic, the spectacular, the wonderful—in short, to dramatic romanticism.

It is worthy of emphasis also that the impulse which called these court shows and masks into being was purely artistic. The purpose of almost all the contemporary species of dramatic effort was instructive, or didactic and reformatory. Here was an abundance of rudimentary dramatic activity that was intended only to please and thrill. Crude and extravagant as some of them undoubtedly were, and eloquent of the barbarous tastes of the people who witnessed and acted them, they mark, nevertheless, a distinct advance in the direction of an artistic drama. The pitifully primitive aesthetic conceptions betrayed by the grotesque animal masks of Edward III, and two centuries later, by the similar ones of Edward VI, are not to be dismissed as merely absurd. They bear somewhat the same relation to the dramatic art of *Hamlet* or *Lear* that the cave man's club bears to the modern rifle. They not only represent the artistic instinct at work; they themselves are the very stuff out of which romantic art is made. They foster the sense that delights in the wonderful and strange—"the admyracion menne have for the thynges seldome seen."³ The mask began and continued to be an independent member of the dramatic species. These early shows did not "evolve"

³ Hoby's *Courtier*, p. 55.

through higher forms into the artistic drama, any more than the offensive and defensive weapons of primitive man evolved into modern fire-arms. But in each case, man, in endeavoring to supply his wants, worked continuously through the ages to something better. In the court masks and disguisings we find dramatic activity no longer directed to ecclesiastical or didactic ends, but undertaken for its own sake; and when once the distinctly artistic attitude was taken, the way was opened for the entrance of the artistic imagination, and the consideration of aesthetic values and interests, all of which were matters of tremendous importance to the future history of the drama.

Thus the early semi-dramatic revels and festivals at the English Court not only pointed the way to a source of material upon which the secular romantic drama might draw during the formative stages of its existence, but they were also largely instrumental in awakening and developing the aesthetic tastes and interest by which that drama should be controlled. As far as the dramatic realm is concerned, they afforded the first rude exercises of the romantic imagination directed to purely artistic ends. The idea that a secular purpose might underlie dramatic effort was of course not absolutely novel, but it had been given only slight attention by any distinctly cultural group. The inborn instinct which impels to artistic creation had been confined mainly to the primitive folk drama, where it had asserted itself with considerable vigor. On the whole, it is scarcely too much to say that by the close of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the approach which had been made toward the conception of the drama as an end in itself had been largely by way of the dramatic element in court masks and disguisings. These, however, had been an incitement to a genuinely artistic, even if naive, productivity, and had given opportunity for the development of saner judgment and more aesthetic taste in matters of a dramatic nature.

It would doubtless be easy to overrate the importance of these performances in promoting the development of the purely technical elements of the drama. It is freely admitted that their dramatic quality was seldom given prominence, being subordinated, as was proper in the mask, to the scenic and the spectacular. It is furthermore true that in the case of the earlier "shows" and *ludi* this quality was excessively crude and primitive. But passing by such exhibitions, whose only service to the drama consisted in

fostering a rude sense of the romantic and, possibly, in suggesting a future comedy of the grotesque, we come, as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, to a type of Court performance which undoubtedly did exercise an influence of considerable importance in the development of dramatic technique. This of course is the attempt to express a romantic theme by a combination of pageant and pantomime, of which we found numerous instances at the Courts of Henry VII and Henry VIII.

The regular romantic drama will have to acknowledge affiliation with these "by-forms" in other respects than mere similarity in theme and spirit, for in those acted fictions of the banquet-hall and tilt-yard all the methods of the regular drama are clearly foreshadowed. Here, for instance, was ample opportunity for training in the conception of dramatic situation. The incidents which the revellers at the Court of Henry VIII chose for pantomimic presentation as a setting for the tournament or ball really meant something. They possessed significance and unity, and were capable of logical development in the necessary sequence of motive, action, and result. The Knights of the Mount of Love, with erotic designs, send their ambassadors to the Castle of Maidens. The maidens "give their small answer of utterly refuse," thus introducing the necessary obstacle, the conflict of wills, whereupon the knights assault the castle and capture the maidens. A mariner, in the good ship *Fame*, arrives at the Court of Henry VIII in quest of glory through noble deeds of arms. He is fittingly answered, and a tournament is arranged to give him the opportunity for which he is searching. We find in these and many other similar instances the essential elements of a rude plot, consisting of central motive, situations, and progression through acting characters to a more or less definite solution. Of course nothing complex can be undertaken in the analysis of motives and emotions as long as the means of expression and communication consist chiefly in pantomime. But in the personification of the various emotions allied to the passion of love are dimly suggested a large number of the plot resources upon which the romantic dramatist of the future was to draw. In the gradual movement forward, too, the scenic and the spectacular are allowed to usurp less of the interest, and mimetic opportunities for the characters are offered. This is seen in comparing the various instances in which the siege-of-the-castle motive was used. In the

first instance examined, that of 1501, the reliance seems to have been almost entirely on pantomime, the only indication of an interchange of speech being that the ladies "gave their small answer of utterly refuse and knowledge of any such company." When acted before Elizabeth in 1583, however, the old theme had taken on important literary embellishments, the whole circle of Court poets having contributed to its decoration. The singing of the challenges and responses by the pages of the opposing knights may possibly be a suggestion borrowed from popular usage in connection with this motive.

In the actual portrayal of character the mask could of course do little. The action was too rudimentary and the means of expression too limited to afford opportunity for the representation of anything approaching emotional or psychological subtlety. But despite this great handicap, something must be credited to these spectacular exhibitions of the Court in the progress toward vital dramatic characterization. In the first place, such performances certainly aided in developing a sense of individual characteristics. Romantic abstractions from the court of love allegories were, as we have seen, introduced in large numbers, thus providing an array of dramatic personages for the realm of romance analogous to the *dramatis personae* of the moralities. These, of course, were mere flat figures rather than complex psychological units, but they came in stamped with the name of a quality, and their parts in the rudimentary action were determined by motives consistent with, and growing out of, this quality. They thus become in a measure dynamic, acting upon the general situation and being acted upon by it in turn. But in spite of the fact that they have a certain element of psychological probability to preserve, they are figures of one dimension instead of three. They approximate the type, but not the individual. Exhibiting only single traits in the complex of character, they may, in a sense, be thought of as emotional constants in the personal equation. However, their exploitation in mimetic forms is significant for the future of the drama. It shows the awakening of a sense for subjective values in the romantic relations of life similar to that which the didactic play was cultivating in its moral and ethical relations. Romantic interests cease, therefore, to depend solely upon the objective and the external, upon the unusual incident and the sensational spec-

tacle. The romantic imagination proceeds from the outer to the inner life, thus marking the advent of new and, to the modern mind, far more effective forms of romantic appeal. The old themes of the heroic and the supernatural lay quite without the limits of ordinary experience. These newer fictions of love and passion dealt with matters that touched life much more intimately, and their significance for the vital drama is correspondingly greater.

The dependence of the mask upon costume and pantomime in the effort to suggest personality insured the continuance of the mediaeval fashion of symbolical expression, but it happened not infrequently that the symbol took the form of a character from history—or at least from what the Middle Ages regarded as history—who should stand as the embodiment of the abstract quality. Hence the wide popularity of that carefully correlated group of manikins known as the “Nine Worthies.” This might be taken as an early attempt to avoid the fatal thinness of the abstraction; and if so, we shall have to admit that it achieved some small degree of success, for undoubtedly it would be easier for an impersonator to suggest a shadow of individuality for Arthur or Godfrey of Bouillon than for “Dous Regart” or “Joyeus Penser.” But the time for the real manifestation of character, to say nothing of its analysis and development, was far in the future. It is enough to claim for the early masks and disguisings that they made a feeble beginning. With every form of thought and expression under the sway of allegory, there was small hope that the incipient romantic drama would break the spell, certainly not while carrying the handicap of symbolism as its only means of expression. In one respect, however, this limitation may have operated to advantage. Being incapable of subtlety, the mask always ran the risk of not being understood. Only the salient, the broadly significant, attributes of personality could be suggested; and the effort to be intelligible probably led to a closer observation and a clearer perception of the essential elements of character.

The most important service, however, which the early mask rendered in bridging the gap between the ecclesiastical and didactic plays and the artistic literary drama of the future was not in contributing to the improvement of the technical factors of the dramatic art, but in fostering a taste for such a drama and in providing an atmosphere favorable to its development. The same demands which called into existence these dramatic entertainments at the

Court, and the same tastes by which such performances were controlled, resulted at last in completely freeing dramatic activity from the trammels of the miracle and the morality and in directing it solely toward artistic ends. The first chapter in the history of the secular drama in England, therefore, is in a large measure a history of the tastes and fashions of the Court. That these tastes were buoyantly and aggressively romantic we have had abundant evidence, covering the period from the accession of the Tudor dynasty until the closing years of the reign of Elizabeth. In the following chapter it is proposed to show how the budding romantic drama, fed thus from the soil of favoring tradition and warmed by the sun of royal patronage, grew rapidly to a period of vigorous and fruitful development.

CHAPTER III

THE EARLY ROMANTIC DRAMA OF THE COURT

We are accustomed to think of the Elizabethan romantic drama as drawing its plot material almost exclusively from foreign sources, and as finding its ultimate affiliation, as far as temper and spirit are concerned, with the influences which moulded the Renaissance. For the period during which the drama was rapidly approaching maturity, this is undoubtedly true. The way to the inexhaustible fund of romantic motive and incident in the literature of Italy and Spain had already been found before Shakespeare made his appearance; and in the work of his predecessors are discernible some traces of that matchless technical skill whereby the borrowings from these sources were completely transformed in an atmosphere of imaginative idealism into the distinctive species of dramatic production with which his name will always be associated. But the romantic drama was not the creation of Shakespeare, nor even of the men whose work belongs to the decade immediately preceding him; and the raw material upon which those who first sought to satisfy the demand for a secular drama of the romantic genre served the period of their apprenticeship was very different in character from the Italian story of intrigue or the exotic Renaissance pastoral. Long before the possibilities of these sources had been more than suggested, a romantic drama which, whatever may have been its other characteristics, was not lacking in vigor or vitality, had managed to subsist upon such materials as were available. We have seen how the native or the long naturalized literature was drawn upon for the early Tudor mask and court entertainment. The romantic tastes and traditions thus fostered undoubtedly proved one of the strongest factors in creating among the courtly group a demand for the regular drama and in suggesting motive and incident for dramatic presentation. Without doubt, too, analogous influences were bringing into existence a vigorous popular drama of the same general character, but unfortunately we are practically destitute of sources of information bearing upon the formative stages of its existence. So the first chapter in the history of the romantic secular drama in Eng-

land has of necessity to be written from the rather meager records kept by the Office of the Revels at Court.

In view of the fact that the early drama drew so freely upon the vast fund of heroic and romantic legend which had accumulated during the Middle Ages, it is perhaps worth while to inquire briefly into the nature and extent of the surviving interest which it still possessed for the England of the Renaissance. We shall not be surprised to find the old literature fallen somewhat into disrepute. In the first place, it was almost entirely an expression of the spirit of feudalism and chivalry; and since the social and intellectual conditions out of which it grew had disappeared with the passing of those institutions, it had lost in a large measure the hold upon the minds and imaginations of men which had once given it significance. In the light of the new culture, too, it appeared strange and uncouth. Its formlessness and extravagance invited the ridicule of those who had felt the chastening influence of Greek and Latin literature, and by the humanists generally it was contemptuously regarded as the rude imaginings of an age of barbarism. In another quarter also the old literature encountered enemies. As part of the heritage of mediaevalism, it was associated in some minds with monks and monasteries, and so it came in for a share of the bitter abuse which the champions of the Reformation heaped upon all things that bore a taint of Catholicism. Critics of the latter school, however, are for obvious reasons even more uncompromising in their hostility to the literature and ideals of contemporary Italy than to those of the Middle Ages.

A typical expression of the animosity which Puritan and Humanist alike entertained toward the old popular romantic literature is the familiar diatribe contained in Roger Ascham's *Schoolmaster*,¹ but Ascham's vitriolic language sounds very much as if it had borrowed some of its intensity from similar expressions of the early humanists. The fashion of denouncing the old romances seems to have been set by Erasmus, who characterizes tales of Arthurs and Lancelots as "fabulae stultae et aniles."² "Nothing hinders," he contends, "that a boy learn a pretty story from the ancient poets, or a memorable tale from history, just as readily as the stupid and

¹ Cf. *The Schoolmaster*, Arber's Reprints, p. 80. The passage may be found in Gregory Smith's *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, Vol. I, pp. 3-4.

² W. H. Woodward, *Erasmus concerning the Aim and Method of Education*, Camb. Univ. Press, 1904, p. 114.

vulgar ballad or the old wives' fairy rubbish such as most children are steeped in nowadays."³ An equally hostile critic was the Spanish humanist Vives, whom Henry VIII brought to the English court as tutor to the Princess Mary. Vives expresses a moral as well as intellectual repugnance to the literature and the customs of chivalry. They are both vicious and silly, according to his view. The indebtedness of Ascham's famous denunciation is seen in the parallelism in language and sentiment to the following passage from Vives: "There is a use nowadays worse than amongst the pagans, that books written in our mother tongues that be made but for idle men and women to read have none other matter but of love and war: of the which books I think it shall not need to give any precepts. If I speak unto Christian folk, what need I to tell what a mischief is toward, when straw and dry wood is cast into the fire."⁴ He would prohibit by law the reading of "those ungracious books, such as be in my country in Spain, the *Amadis*, *Floris and Tristan*, and *Celestina* the bawd, mother of naughtiness; in France, *Lancelot du Lac*, *Paris and Vienna*, *Panthus and Sidonia* and *Melusine*, and here in Flanders, the histories of *Florice and Blanchfleur*, *Leonella and Canamorus*, *Pyramus and Thisbe*. In England, *Parthenope*, *Generides*, *Hippomedon*, *William and Melvor*, *Libius* and *Arthur*, *Guy*, *Bevis*, and many others."⁵

With the first of the reformers thus arrayed in hostility against all forms of romantic literature, and particularly against the romances of chivalry, it is not to be expected that they would grow in favor as classical culture became more general and the movement toward Puritanism gained headway. The Puritan, "E. D.," author of the "Brief and Necessary Instruction," printed in 1572, laments the survival of the literature of Popery in the customary strain. "What a multitude of bookes," he says, "full of synne and abominations, have now filled the world! Nothing so childish, nothing so vaine, nothing so wanton, nothing so ydle, which is not both boldly printed and plausibly taken. So that herein we have fulfilled the wickednes of our forefathers and overtaken them in their syns. They had their spiritual enchauntmentes, in which they were bewytched, Bevis of Hampton, Guy of Warwike, Arthur

³ Woodward, *Erasmus*, p. 214.

⁴ *Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women*, ed. by Foster Watson, New York, 1912, pp. 57-8.

⁵ *Vives*, ed. Watson, pp. 58-9.

of the round table, Huon of Burdeaux, Oliver of the Castle, the four sonnes of Amand, and a great many others of such childish follye. And yet more vanitie than these, the witles devices of Gargantua, Howleglas, Esop, Robyn Hood, Adam Bel, Frier Rush, The Fools of Gotham, and a thousand such other. And yet of all the residue the most dronken imaginations, with which they so defiled their Festival and high holy-daies, their Legendawry, their Saintes lyves, their tales of Robyn Goodfellow, and of manie other Spirites, which Satan had made, Hell had printed, and were warranted unto sale under the Popes priviledge, to kindle in mens hartes the sparkes of superstition, that at last it might flame out into the fires of Purgatorie."⁶

Similiar attacks upon the older romantic literature were made with comparative frequency, not only by avowed Puritans, but by those who wished to see it supplanted by the literature of classical antiquity. Gosson,⁷ Nash,⁸ and Francis Meres⁹ all call the familiar roll of romance heroes, and speak of them with the same contemptuous disapproval. Occasionally an apologetic voice is heard in their defence. Sidney concedes that "Orlando Furioso and honest King Arthur will never displease a soldier."¹⁰ Puttenham, the author of *The Arte of English Poesie*, confesses to having "written for pleasure a litle brief Romance or historical ditty."¹¹ John Taylor, the water-poet, declares—with possibly an ironic intent, it must be admitted—that the legendary heroes of old are the world's example of martial valor. "In all ages and countries," he says, "it hath ever bin knowne that famous men have flourished, whose worthy Actions and Eminency of place have ever bene as conspicuous Beacons burning and blazing to the Spectators' view, the sparkes and flames whereof have sometimes kindled courage in the most coldest and most effeminate cowards."¹² A vigorous and able, though long deferred, reply to the charges of barbarism brought by over zealous classicists against the literature and cul-

⁶ This interesting preface is referred to by Dr. Furnivall in his *Captain Cox's Ballads* (p. xiv). It is reprinted in part in the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, vol. XL, pp. 228-9.

⁷ *Plays Confuted*, Cf. W. C. Hazlitt, *English Drama and Stage* (Roxburghe Library).

⁸ *Anatomie of Absurditie*, Smith, *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, I, 322-3.

⁹ *Palladis Tamia*, Smith, II, 308.

¹⁰ *Defense of Poesie* (1787) p. 55.

¹¹ Cf. Smith, *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, II, 43-4.

¹² Quoted by S. H. Lee, edition of *Huon of Bordeaux*, p. xlvi.

ture of the Middle Ages is found in Samuel Daniel's *Defense of Rhyme* (1603).

The frequency of the attacks upon the romances of chivalry and other types of mediaeval fiction is sufficient evidence that they still enjoyed a public among the Elizabethans in spite of the scorn of Puritans and classicists. There is no doubt, however, that it was in the main an apprentice, a distinctly bourgeois public. As long as they circulated only in manuscript, they remained the particular possession of the aristocracy, but with the introduction of printing came a demand for reading matter which Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, Pynson, Copland, and others sought to satisfy with copious draughts from the fountains of Mediaeval romance. The aristocratic heroes consequently lost much of their exclusiveness, and exchanged the limited patronage of the nobility for an infinitely larger circle of such whole-hearted admirers as the Warwickshire stone-mason, Captain Cox.¹³ We are not to suppose, however, that they ceased entirely to interest men of education and culture. The estimation in which they were held during the reign of Henry VIII is indicated by the fact that the eminent publicist and chancellor, Lord Berners, considered his time fittingly employed in turning into English *The Castle of Love*, *Arthur of Little Britian*, and the tremendously popular and influential *Huon of Bordeaux*. But the atmosphere of sensationalism and stirring adventure in the romances of chivalry recommended them particularly to the masses of Elizabethan England, and they were evidently bought and read with great avidity. Fourteen editions, or more exactly, reissues, of *Huon of Bordeaux* are counted between the first publication of Lord Berners' translation, around 1530, and the end of the century. Hazlitt lists thirteen extant editions of *Bevis of Hampton*, nine of which belong to the Tudor era. Guy was the hero of four romances and a drama. The latter was not printed until 1661, it is true, but its composition was probably not later than 1600. As the sixteenth century drew to a close, the interest of the public in fiction of the mediaeval heroic type seems to have undergone no abatement. An examination of the various bibliographers' manuals shows that all the older native romances and those introduced from France during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were as attractive to the enterprising publishers of the Elizabethan period as they had formerly been to

¹³ Cf. *Captain Cox's Ballads and Books* (*Laneham's Letter*), ed. Furnivall.

Caxton, Pynsoð, and Wynkyn de Worde. During this period, too, the existing body of fiction of the mediæval variety received important new additions. Various popular Spanish and French romances that had not been previously translated were turned into English and reissued in successive impressions. It was at this period that the heroes of the Amadis cycle were first introduced to English readers. Furthermore, the knights of the Round Table and other well known figures of mediæval legend were assigned new adventures, and original romances were written in imitation of the old. Some of the more important accessions which Elizabethan prose fiction received in one or the other of these ways are the following:

“A rare and straunge historicall novel of Cleomenes and Sophonisba, surnamed Juliet. Very pleasant to reade. Imprinted at London by Hugh Jackson, 1577.”

Hazlitt, *Handbook*, p. 457.

“*The Knight of the Sun*. The first Part of the Mirrour of Princely Deedes and Knighthood. Wherein is shewed the Worthinesse of the Knight of the Sunne and his brother Rosicleer, sonnes to the Emperour Trebatio, with the strange love of the beautiful Princesse Briana, and the valiaunt actes of other noble Princes and Knights. Newly translated out of the Spanish into our vulgar English tongue, by M(argaret) T(iler). Printed by Thomas East, 1579.”

Hazlitt, p. 321.

“*Gerileon of England*. The gallant, delectable, and pleasaunt Hystorie of Gerilion of England, containing the haughtie feates of Armes, and Knightlie Prowesse of the same Gerileon, with his Loves and other memorable Adventures. Composed in the French Tongue by Steven de Maison, and Now newly translated into Englishe. Imprinted by Myles Jennynges, dwelling in Paules Church-Yarde, at the signe of the Byble. 1583.”

Hazlitt, p. 47.

“*The Knight of the Sea*. The Heroicall Adventures of the Knight of the Sea, comprised in the most famous and renowned Historie of the illustrious and excellently accomplished Prince Oceander, Grandsonne of the mightie and magnanimous Claranax—Emperour of Constantinople, and the Empresse Basilia, and sonne unto the incomparable Olbiocles, Prince of Grecia, by the beautious Princesse Almidiana, daughter unto the puissant King Rubaldo of Hungaria; wherein is described his parents’ misfortunes and capti-

vities, his owne losse, straunge preserving, education and fostering by Kanyra, Queen of Carthage, his Knighthood, admirable ex-ploytes, and unmatched achievements, graced with most glorious conquestes over knightes, gyants, monsters, enchauntments, realmes and dominions: with his fortunate cominge to the knowledge of his parents in the greatest extremitie of their captivitie; his combating, affecting and pursuites in his love towards the rarely embellished Princesse and lady-knight Phianora, daughter unto the invincible Argamant, King of England, by the gracious Princesse Clarecinda. At London, for William Leake. 1600."

Collier, *A Bibliographical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language*, I, 440.

This romance is of special interest inasmuch as it has been held by some critics to be a parody on heroic romance which anticipates Don Quixote. Hazlitt describes it as "A romance written in ridicule of the tales of knight-errantry" (Handbook, p. 321). The absurd extravagance of the title-page alone is certainly sufficient justification for such an assumption. Collier, however, regards it as a serious production. He says: "This is one of the few romances of the period when it was published not derived from some foreign original, and it is quite evident from perusal that it is not a translation." As to whether it is a mock romance, he says, "The point may perhaps be disputed, for although the style of the performance in many places is bombastic and conceited, and the incidents unnatural and extravagant, in this respect it goes but little beyond performances of the same kind which had been translated from the French by Anthony Munday and others." (*Bibliographical Account*, I, 444.)

The Knight of the Sea bears evidence on every page of its kinship in spirit and tone to the romances of the Amadis cycle, especially those which deal with the heroes of the third, fourth and fifth generations. Collier is quite correct, therefore, in putting it in the same category with Munday's renditions, through the French, of the Spanish romances. The subject-matter is perhaps sufficiently indicated by the title-page quoted above; and it is quite interesting to observe what original effort could produce in the way of varied and stirring, even though absurd, adventure in the domain of knight-errantry. The underlying motif is the familiar one of the lost son. Just before the birth of Oceander, his mother is

torn from her friends by a giant and carried away to sea, where the hero is born. Hence his name, and the device of the "Neptunian Kingdome" that later adorned his shield. In an effort to save his life, his mother entrusts him to a fisherman, by whom he is later delivered to the Emperor of Grecia. Though reared a Pagan, he is in the end converted to Christianity, learns the facts of his birth, and delivers his parents from imminent peril. Collier is probably right in denying any satirical intent in the romance, though the high-flown style in which it is written certainly lends color to such a view. The following passage may serve as an illustration of what Elizabethan prose might become under stress. Oceander, meeting in combat the British Princess Phianora, disguised as a wandering knight, has just struck off her helmet: — "Therewith, the buckles being broken have empoverished the helmet to inrich Oceander's eye-sight with the aspecting of the most beautifull object that ever dame Nature by her deified cunning framed. For so soon as the proud helment was distennanted of so precious a head, such a bush of goulden twisted tressalines rained themselves into the bosome of the Princesse, as the Jove-sent showre of Pactolian gold into the lovely lap of Danaë: which being handsomely disshevelled about her armed shoulders, made her resemble bright shining Cynthia in the gray clear Welkin in fashion, though farre exceeding her in favourable fairnesse: so angellicall were the lookes of this divine and more than beautifull Lady Knight, of whose sight, like the sun-gazing Indian, Oceander was so amazed, as like one transmuted, hee stode still mute in a quandarie, being of a great while not able to recover his over-ravished senses" (Chap. 12).

"*Palladine of England*. The famous, pleasant and variable Historie of Palladine of England. Discoursing of honourable Adventures, of Knightly deedes of Armes and Chivalrie. Translated out of the French by A(nthony) M(unday). Printed by Edward Alde for John Perin. 1588."

Collier, *Bibliographical Account*, I, 549.

"*Palmerin d' Oliva*, the Mirrour of Nobilitie, turned into English by A(nthony) M(unday), 1588."

Collier, *Bibliographical Account*, I, 549.

"*Palmendas*. The Honorable, pleasant, and rare conceited Historie of Palmendas, Sonne to the famous and fortunate Prince

Palmerin d' Oliva Emperour of Constantinople, and the Queen of Tharsus. Translated by Anthony Munday. Licensed 1589. Printed by I. C." Collier, *Bibliographical Account*, I, 550.

"*Primalcon of Greece*. The famous and renowned Historic of Primaleon of Greece, sonne to the great and mighty Prince, Palmerin d' Oliva. First Book. Printed for Cuthbert Burbie, 1595." Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 482.

It is perhaps unnecessary to remark that the heroes of the last four romances are descendants of Amadis of Gaul. Thomas Paynell, who was at one time chaplain to Henry VIII, had translated the earlier books of the cycle in 1568.

"*The Nine Worthies of London*: explaining the honourable exercise of Armes, the Vertues of the Valiant, and the memorable attempts of magnanimous Minds. Pleasant for Gentlemen, not unseemly for Magistrates, and most profitable for Prentices. Compiled by Richard Johnson. Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin, 1592." Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 302.

"The most famous History of the Seaven Champions of Christendom . . . Compiled by Richard Johnson. Printed by Cuthbert Burbie, 1596."

"The Second Part of the famous History of the Seven Champions of Christendom. 1597."

Collier, *Bibliographical Account*, I, 411.

"*The Red Rose Knight*. The Most Pleasant History of Tom a Lincoln, that Renowned Soldier, The Red Rose Knight, who for his valour and Chivalrie was surnamed The Boast of England. Showing his Honourable Victories in Forraine Countries, with his strange Fortunes in the Fayrie Land; and how hee married the fayre Anglitora, daughter to Prester John, that Renowned Monarke of the World. Together with the Lives and Deaths of his two famous Sons, the Blacke Knight and the Fayre Knight, with divers other memorable Accidents, full of delight. The Seventh Impression, 1635. By Richard Johnson."

Collier, *Bibliographical Account*, I, 305.

The three last named romances represent the work of a single writer in this recrudescence of mediaeval fiction—Richard Johnson, whose output is avowedly addressed to the bourgeois London public, that public for which Heywood's *Four Prentices* was written

and upon which the Henslowe stage must have depended for the better part of its patronage. These works seem to have enjoyed an extraordinary popularity, all having passed through several editions within a few years. The most interesting of the group, the *Red Rose Knight*, is usually described by bibliographers in the seventh edition, of 1635; but its existence as early as 1598 is proved by the fact that Francis Meres, in *Palladis Tamia*, includes it, along with the *Seven Champions*, in the list of books "hurtful to youth."¹⁴ The work, in fact, is not wholly devoid of interest to modern readers. Its style is tolerable, and, in general the type of motive and incident, is not an absolute surrender to barren sensationalism. Though possessing the general characteristics of the older members of the class to which it belongs, it has certain traits that are distinctively Elizabethan. The chief of these is its tragic mood. Unlike the typical romance of Chivalry, it fails to survive calamity, and conduct its hero with head-long optimism to an ultimate triumph over all difficulties. It shows, on the other hand, unmistakable effects of the popular taste which reveled in the tragic and bloody themes of Kyd, Marlowe, and their less worthy imitators, as will be evident from the following brief summary:—

Tom-a-Lincoln, who later becomes the Red Rose Knight, is the fruit of the illegitimate love of King Arthur for the fair Angelica, daughter of one of his earls. Brought up by a poor shepherd in ignorance of his parentage, he becomes in youth a bold and daring outlaw, whose exploits reach the ears of the King. Arthur, on learning his identity, gives him command of an expedition against the King of Portugal, over whom he wins a great victory. In quest of adventure, he next proceeds to Fairy Land, and is greatly beloved by the queen of that country, Celia, who presents him with a son (the Fayrie Knight of the later story). Accompanied by Sir Lancelot, he next visits the court of Prester John, and, after winning the love of Anglitora, daughter of that monarch, persuades her to elope with him to England. On the return journey they are seen by Celia, Queen of Fairyland, who, in despair at his faithlessness, like Dido takes her own life. On arriving in England, Tom and his wife are given a hearty welcome by his royal father.

At this point begins part two of the story. A son (The Black Knight) is born to Tom and Anglitora, but their domestic happi-

¹⁴ Cf. Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, 308.

ness is short-lived; for King Arthur, dying, reveals the secret of Tom's birth, and Anglitora, ashamed of his illegitimacy, sets out secretly for her father's court. Guinevere's hatred of Tom is so intense that she issues a decree declaring him an outlaw, and forbidding anyone to speak to him upon pain of death. Tom's mother, Angelica, she condemns to speedy execution. Amid all this distress, the hero sets out to recover his lost wife. He is rewarded at last by finding her living as the mistress of a strange knight, and, upon asking for lodging at their castle, he is assigned to mean quarters, where, during the night, he is murdered by his former wife and her paramour, and his body is buried under a dung-hill. Like the ghost in *Hamlet*, his spirit returns to inform his son, the Black Knight, of the deed, whereupon the Black Knight avenges the death of his father by killing his mother. The two sons of Tom now meet, and fortunately learn the truth of their kinship. After many wanderings and many valorous deeds, they return to England; and at Lincoln, the birth-place of their father, they build a beautiful abbey, where, after a serene and pious old age, they at last find a resting place within its quiet walls.

"The famous History of Pheander the Maiden Knight, how disguised under the habite and name of Armatius, a Marchant, he forsooke his kingdome of Carmonia for the Love of Amoretta, the most incomparable Princesse of Trebisond. Together with a true Narrative of the rare fidelity of his Tutor Machaon."

Collier, II, 154—5.

This romance was licensed in 1595, though no edition of so early a date is extant. There is no doubt of its existence during this period, however, as it is included in the proscriptions of Meres in *Palladis Tamia* (1598).¹⁵ It is mentioned also by Taylor, the water-poet, in the dedication of his *Eight Wonder of the World* (1613). The earliest edition described by Hazlitt is that of 1617.¹⁶

"*Celestina*. The Delightful Historie of Celestina the Fayre, Daughter to the King of Thessalie . . . done out of French into English by William Barley. Printed at London by A. I., 1596."

Hazlitt, *Handbook*, p. 80.

Mere's condemnation also includes a "history of *Celestina*," which was doubtless this romance, rather than a prose rendering of *Calisto and Melibea*.

¹⁵ Cf. above, p. 57.

¹⁶ *Handbook*, p. 511.

"*Parsimus*, The Renowned Prince of Bohemia. His most famous, delectable, and pleasant Historie. Containing his noble Battailles fought against the Persians. His Love to Laurana, the King's daughter of Thessaly. And his strange Adventures in the Desolate Island. With the miseries and miserable imprisonments Laurana endured in the Island of Rockes, and a Description of the Chivalrie of the Phrygian Knight, Polippus, and his constant love to Violetos. Imprinted at London by T. Crude for Richard Olive, 1598." Hazlitt, *Handbook*, p. 206.

"*Bellianis*. The Honour of Chivalrie, set downe in the most famous Historie of the Magnanimous and Heroicke Prince Don Beleanis: Sonne unto the Emperor Bellaneo of Greece. T. Creede, 1598." Hazlitt, p. 35.

"The Adventures of Brusanus, Prince of Hungarie. Pleasant for all to read, and Profitable for some to follow. Written by Barnabe Rich seaven or eight years sithence, and now published by the great intreaty of divers of his friends. London, for Thomas Adams, 1592."

"The Famous Historie of Chinon of England, with his straunge Adventures for the love of Celestina, daughter to Lewis, King of France. With the worthy atchievement of Sir Lancelot du Lake and Sir Tristram du Lyons, for faire Laura, daughter to Cador, Earl of Cornwall, being all Knights of King Arthur's Round Table."

This romance was the work of Christopher Middleton, and was entered on the Stationers' Register, January, 20, 1596. On January 3, of the same year Henslowe records that the Admiral's company presented "chinane of Inland" as a new play. We are not to suppose, however, that the romance was made from the play, but rather that the play was based upon the romance while the latter was still in manuscript.¹⁷

The above list makes no pretension to being complete for all late sixteenth century romances of chivalry, but it is sufficient to show that, for a considerable section of the Elizabethan public, at least, interest in the type was far from extinct. The picturesque life of the Middle Ages was still clearly discernible in many of the customs and traditions of Elizabethan England, while its common-

¹⁷ Cf. Henslowe's Diary, ed. by Greg, I, 179.

places and ugly realism had been so softened by time as to make its romantic glamour all the more appealing. The social and intellectual changes had not been so great that the past might not be easily and ideally reconstructed out of the stock of surviving tradition. It was for the masses that mythical era, "the good old days," before the spirit of the times became sordid and mean; the age when virtue and valor proceeded triumphant over all difficulties. For like reason, the past, softened and idealized through force of imagination, has always been a never-failing source of romantic inspiration.

It is not surprising, therefore, that men should still continue to find pleasure in these legends of heroic achievement. They were extravagant and improbable, but they were full of stirring action. They celebrated accomplishment, the dominating personality triumphing over the forces that hemmed him in. Such matters awoke a ready response among the Elizabethans. Nor did readers of that age trouble themselves greatly about questions of verisimilitude. They lived in an atmosphere of romantic exhilaration, in which the stubborn facts of life were readily forgotten. They could afford to allow wide limits to the probabilities of fiction so long as the actual experiences of their contemporaries in the domain of travel, adventure, war, and conquest challenged the license of romance.

With these facts in mind it is even more easy to understand that the romances of adventure should have been drawn upon freely to satisfy the great demand for material for dramatic representation which came with the rapid development of the romantic drama during the reign of Elizabeth. Such rambling, episodic narratives were little suited to the stage, to be sure, but the series of extravagant adventures through which their heroes passed were sensational and thrilling enough to gratify the tastes of the early Elizabethans in their craving for romantic excitement and stimulation. From our point of view, however, it seems incredible that such forms of romantic appeal should have been chosen apparently in preference to what to the modern mind is far more effective. For certainly the choice of these heroic themes was not due solely to a paucity of material; and no fact of literary history is more obvious than that of their continued hold upon favor long after the way had been found to something better. Acquaintance with the romantic literature of the south had begun before the

close of the reign of Henry VIII. The Italian novella, translated first as the single verse tale and later in prose collections, began to be current not long after 1560. Yet it was not until the late eighties and nineties that they came to be freely utilized by the English romantic dramatists. In the intervening period a vigorous romantic drama had grown up, based almost entirely upon the older conventional material. The dramatic staple was the heroic romance of the mediaeval pattern, and its selection seems to have been the result of no constraint, but of free choice. Such a predilection has perhaps already been sufficiently accounted for. The intrigue type of plot—the standard of the *novelle*—was less attractive to the early Elizabethan than the plot of adventure. The former had long been familiar to him through popular farce; the latter, while it possessed little of the interest of novelty, provided the stirring action in which his soul delighted, and threw emphasis upon the heroic and masterful personality. But whatever the explanation may be, the fact remains that mid-sixteenth century romanticism in England, as purveyed by the drama at least, was of that mediaeval kind which is addressed to the sense of wonder and awe, rather than the modern species which appeals to the sense that delights in contemplating whatever is remote from every day life, but still within the range of actual human experience.

Very little of this early romantic drama has been preserved for us, and our materials for judging it are meager indeed. Bare records of performances, which convey little information beyond mere titles, are practically all that we have, and quite possibly we know only a small part of these. Custom and tradition, however, had made the Tudor court a center of dramatic activity. To the masks and other forms of revelry with which it had long been the custom to celebrate the holiday seasons, was added in time the regular drama, and the providing of suitable plays and masks for royal entertainment was an official function which received more and more attention with the passing of time. The development of the tastes and interests which made the atmosphere of the court extremely favorable to the young romantic drama has already been considered; and while it is doubtless true that the popular stage was a most potent agency in providing material for these court performances, a royal predilection for plays of the romantic species is, during the reign of Elizabeth at least, indisputable.

It is upon the records kept by the Office of the Revels, moreover, that we must depend mainly for our knowledge of the English romantic drama during the period of its incubation. From this source we learn the names of fifty-two of a considerably larger number of plays which were presented before Queen Elizabeth in the period between 1570 and 1585. Of these, eighteen, judging from their titles, were based upon themes drawn from classical history and mythology; ten must have been surviving moral plays or domestic comedies; while the remainder, twenty-four in number, seem almost certainly from their titles to have been romantic. These include themes drawn apparently from practically all the conventional romantic sources,—decadent Greek novel, Italian comedy and novella, Spanish pastoral, secularized saints' legend, and—most numerous of all—mediaeval romances of chivalry. In most cases, the identification of a recorded play with a particular romance involves a large element of conjecture. We cannot, of course, be absolutely certain that a correspondence in title or in the names of leading characters means identity in theme or subject matter, though the assumption that it does is usually a fairly safe one. In a few instances, though unfortunately in only a few, the assumption is strengthened by entries of appropriate stage properties and other dramatic paraphernalia in the account rolls of the Revels office. At any rate, we can only conjecture as to the character of this large body of lost drama; and rational conjecture is both helpful and interesting, as indicating not only the source, but incidentally the type also, of the romantic drama during the period of its infancy.

Beginning with the decade 1570-1580, when the mediaeval romance of chivalry appears to have been the favorite dramatic staple, we find in the Revels accounts covering the period between December 1, 1571, and Shrove Tuesday, 1571-2, the following entry: "Paris and Vienna shoven on Shrovetuesdaie at Nighte by the Children of Westminster."¹⁸ The entries relating to the properties employed in the presentation of this play are as follows:

"To furryer—Sachary Benett for X dosen of Kyddes skynnes together with the workmanship by him and his servauntes doone upon the Hobby horses that served the children of Westminster

¹⁸ Feuillerat, *Documents relating to the Office of the Revels during the Reign of Elizabeth*, Louvain, 1908, p. 145.

in the triumphe (where parris wan the Christall sheelde for Vienna. at the Turneye and Barryers)—in all . . . xlij^s vj^d.”¹⁹

“Morris Pickering and William Jening for mony by them disbursed for the hier of certeine Armour for the playe of parris and vienna to furnish the triumphe therein and for Rewardes by them geven to the armorers that attended by thappoyntment of the seide Master . . . li^s vj^d.”²⁰

“Caparisons and furniture for the challengers and defenders with their horses, etc., and upon the targetts, weapons, garlandes, cronettes, and sondry other thinges.”²¹

Without the mention of the properties employed, we should be strongly inclined to associate this play with the “History of the noble and ryght valyant and worthy Knyght Parys and the fayr Vyene the daulphyns doughter of Vynnois,” translated from the French and published by Caxton in 1485; and the uncommonly explicit record of the stage accessories employed leaves no doubt in the matter. The choice of this particular theme for dramatic presentation is a conspicuous example of good judgment at a time when current fashions must have inclined to bombastic melodrama. *Paris and Vienna* has been called the most beautiful of all the romances of chivalry. Hazlitt, in the introduction to his reprint of the Caxton edition, in the Roxburge Library (1868), says: “In the whole compass of early romantic fiction of a chivalric character, I do not remember at any time to have met with a book so peculiarly simple and unaffected in its structure and style as this. I will scarcely go so far as to say that probability is never violated, . . . but assuredly there is freedom, with much charm, from many of the vices which beset such productions, extravagance of conceit, tediousness of digression, farfetched incidents, and turgid phraseology.”²² The romance is of Catalonian origin, having been translated into Provençal about 1430, and into French, by Pierre de la Sippade, in 1459.²³ Its early popularity is attested by the fact that by 1525 it had been translated into eight lan-

¹⁹ Feuillerat, *Documents*, p. 141.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 142.

²¹ *Ibid.* 135.

²² *Loc. cit.* p. v.

²³ The Old French version, with specimens of the Catalonian, Spanish, and Italian texts, has been recently (1902) edited, with a scholarly introduction and notes, by Robert Kaltenbacher, and published in *Romanische Forschungen*, XV, 321-688a.

guages; and it is extant in no less than twelve manuscripts and sixty-one distinct editions. Its bibliographical history is especially brilliant. "Parmi les romans de chevalerie que recherchent aujourd'hui les amateurs," says a modern editor, "il en est peu d'aussi rares que l'Histoire du chevalier Paris et de la belle Vienne, et cependant il n'en est point qui ait été plus souvent imprimé. Nous ajouterons qu'il n'en est aucun qui puisse se prévaloir d'une généalogie littéraire aussi complète. Les Perceval, les Tristan, les Lancelot même ne sauraient inscrire sur leur pennon bibliographique autant d'éditions ou de traductions que le chevalier Paris."²⁴

Paris and Vienna is a simple and affecting story of faithfulness in love between a brave and modest young knight and a high-born lady, without any of the clap-trap of giants and magicians which too often robs the romances of chivalry of their interest for modern readers. Its adaptability to dramatic representation may be judged by the following summary of its leading incidents:

During the time of King Charles of France there was in "Vyennois" a rich baron and lord of the land named Godefroy d'Alençon. He had an only daughter Vienna, named in honor of the country wherein she was born. At the same time there lived in Vienne a rich vassal of the Dauphin whose only son, Paris, was the flower of knighthood. The young knight soon came greatly to love the daughter of his lord, but out of consideration for the difference in their station, he cherished his passion in silence, only allowing himself the pleasure of singing beneath her window at night. The Dauphin, anxious to learn who these mysterious minstrels were, stationed ten armed men in his garden to apprehend them, but Paris and his friend Edward used their swords so bravely that they escaped unknown. Vienna thought much upon the matter, but the mystery remained as deep as ever.

The Dauphin proclaimed a tournament in honor of his daughter, and as the fame of her beauty was known in many lands, numerous great noblemen and illustrious knights assembled to take part in the contest. When the jousts were about to begin, two strange knights, clothed in white armour, and without arms or other insignia upon their shields, rode into the lists, and, after hours of terrific combat, emerged completely victorious. With

²⁴ Terrebasse, in the introduction to his edition of the romance (1835). Cf. *Romanische Forschungen*, XV, 321.

much courtly ceremony, Paris received the prize of the tournament—a crystal shield and a garland of roses—from the fair hands of Vienna herself, and the two friends departed as mysteriously as they had come.

The guests dispersed, and on their way homeward, they raised a heated discussion as to whether any lady in the world was more beautiful than Vienna, the dispute waxing hot between the partisans of Vienna, those of Constance, sister to the King of England, and those of Florienne, daughter of the Duke of Normandie. At the invitation of the King of France, it was determined that all should meet at a certain time in the city of Paris to decide the question by force of arms. Here again Paris, still in disguise, and accompanied by his faithful friend Edward, won the decision for his lady Vienna.

The burden of fruitless love has by this time worked a great change in this energetic young knight, and much to the chagrin of his father, who, like everybody else, is in ignorance of his recent splendid performances, he seems to languish and lose interest in knightly deeds of arms. Vienna fortunately learns the identity of the mysterious knight who has given such magnificent proof of his devotion, by finding in the private chapel of Paris, the white armour, the crystal shield and the garland which he has won for her, and she readily transfers to him all the love that has been growing in her heart for the heroic but mysterious champion. Encouraged by this, Paris prevails upon his father to intercede with the Dauphin for permission to wed her, but that royal gentleman is thrown into transports of rage at the proposal that his only daughter and successor should marry the son of his vassal.

The unhappy lovers determine to elope, but, halted by swollen streams, they are overtaken. Paris escapes, but Vienna is brought back and placed in a dark and gloomy prison by her irate father, who informs her that she will regain her liberty only by marrying according to his wishes. He urges the Duke of Burgundy as a suitable husband, and even goes so far as to bring him to the court for the wedding ceremonies; “but it availed hym nothing all that he dyd, for the wyll of her was more in Parys than in any other man of the world.”

Paris, in the meantime, had sought to forget his woes in a journey to the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, where “he sette all his courage in devocyon, and bycam so devoute that it was mar-

vaylle." From thence he passed "to the lands of prester John, where he dwelled a longe tyme." Learning the language of the Moors, he went into Egypt and came to the court of the Sultan, whose friendship and confidence he gained by restoring to health that monarch's favorite falcon, which had fallen sick. So, adopting the language, dress, and habits of the Moors, Paris decided to pass the remainder of his life in that country.

The King of France, having secured the consent of the pope to conduct a Crusade against the Saracens, sent the Dauphin in advance to reconnoitre. The Dauphin and his party were betrayed by certain of their Christian enemies, however, and fell into the hands of the Sultan, who imprisoned them at Alexandria. Paris, on hearing the news, at once saw his opportunity. Through his friendship with the Sultan he secured access to the prisoners; and after gaining from the Dauphin, who believed him to be a native Saracen, the promise of granting any request he might make in exchange for liberty, he aided him to escape, and together they set out for France. There they found Vienna still languishing in prison, but the time of deliverance was at hand. The astonished Dauphin was chagrined to learn that he owed his liberty to his hated vassal; but his word had been given. The long deferred marriage took place at once; and after the death of the Dauphin, Paris ruled in his stead.

Such is the substance out of which was constructed probably the first purely romantic play ever presented at the English court. Richard Edward's *Damon and Pythias*, which was performed before the Queen by the children of the Chapel during Christmas, 1564-5, though it treats the romantic theme of ideal friendship between men, with its devotion and self-sacrifice, and is completely free from didactic intent, is nevertheless a pseudo-classical tragic-comedy with heavy importations from vernacular farce. It has been conjectured that the "Tragedy of the King of Scottes," performed at court sometime between July 14, 1567 and March 3, 1567-8, may have been based upon a romantic story "such as that of Juan de Flores's History of Aurelio and Isabel, daughter of the King of Scots,"²⁵ but even if the conjecture be credited,

²⁵ Cf. Feuillerat, Documents, p. 119 and note. There is also a possibility that it was based upon older romantic material, such as the story of the intrigue between Meliadus and the Queen of Scots, told in chaps. 65-105 of the romance of *Meliadus of Lenmoy*.

the appearance among the properties of a "Castell of Prosperitie" would indicate a morality element. So far as we are able to judge, however, there was in the play of *Paris and Vienna* nothing which was inharmonious with a serious and dignified treatment of the theme of romantic love. It is interesting to observe, too, what features were given emphasis by means of properties and stage-setting. There was evidently an attempt at verisimilitude in the spectacular tournament scene "where Paris won the crystal shield for Vienna," as is proved by the expense incurred in providing hobby-horses, armour, "targetts, weapons, garlands, cronetts, and all the furniture for the challengers and defenders."²⁶

Sometime during the Christmas season of 1572-3 there was performed at court by an unknown company a play drawn from Heliodorus's Greek romance of *Theagenes and Chariclea*. The actual performance is not recorded in the accounts of the Office of the Revels, but under the head of "Propertymaker and parcells" there are entries for,

"An awltier for theagines . . . iij^s iij^d
ij spears for the play of Cariclea . . . xvi^d."²⁷

The date at which Heliodorus was first translated into English is in doubt. It appears that Underdowne's translation was first printed in 1577, several years after the performance of the play; and in the edition of 1587 Underdowne speaks in the preface of having undertaken the translation "not long ago." But the Stationers' Register shows an entry in 1569 licensing Francis Col-docke to print "the ende of the Xth boke of Heliodorus Ethiopean historye."²⁸ So there seems, after all, to have been an English edition early enough for the use of the dramatist. The romance was well known in Europe, however, having been first published in Latin at Basel, in 1534, and translated into French by Amyot, in 1547.²⁹

²⁶ Cf. Above, pp. 62-3.

²⁷ Feuillerat, *Documents*, p. 175.

²⁸ S. R. ed. Arber, I, 388.

²⁹ Cf. S. L. Wolff, *The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Fiction*, p. 237. The subject of Theagenes and Chariclea was probably the foundation for the play called *The Queen of Ethiopia*, which Northbrooke (*Treatise*, p. viii) mentions as having been acted at Bristol in 1578, and it is certainly the theme of the extant play by John Gough entitled *A Strange Discovery*, printed 1640.

It is difficult to conceive how the long-winded narratives of Greek romance, with their burden of episode, digression, and irrelevancy, could have been successfully adopted to dramatic presentation. It would seem that the wildest of the romances of chivalry would be preferable in comparison. The flight of a pair of lovers and the changes of fortune that befall them—shipwreck, adventures with pirates and robbers, separation, and final reunion—all this produces a profusion of monotonously similar incident through which it would seem impossible that a dramatist could find his way without being submerged. The avoidance of episode and concentration upon the narrative “high lights” would of course be the only method possible, and even then it is difficult to see how the extended narrative sequence could be manipulated so as to conform to the demands of dramatic structure and still remain intelligible to an audience.

It is probable that in the court play of 1572 dramatic emphasis was centered upon the great *ensemble* scene in the tenth book of Heliodorus, where the lovers, after their flight from Delphi and the wearsome chain of adventures that befell them on their travels, have fallen into the hands of Hydaspes, father of Chariclea, through his victory over Oroöndates at Syene. The “awltier” mentioned in the account rolls is probably the sacrificial altar upon whose heated golden bars the victims, Theagenes and Chariclea, are placed without any mark of injury, since in all their wanderings and in spite of many temptations, they have remained chaste and free from carnal stain. The “two spears for the play of Cariclea,” mentioned in the accounts, were probably intended to represent arms in the hands of Hydaspes’s exultant soldiers, who after the battle pressed about the captives and clamored for their immolation.³⁰ The scene had all the elements of sensationalism necessary to recommend it to dramatists of this period;—the daughter exposed in infancy and believed to be long dead, falling at last, along with her lover, into the hands of her parents, who unknowingly are about to consign both of them to death, the thrilling test of chastity to which they are subjected as a preliminary to their sacrifice, the escape of the sacrificial bull and its spectacular capture by Theagenes, the wrestling match wherein he further endears himself to the populace, and finally, in the nick

³⁰ It is at such puny efforts at realism that Ben Jonson sneers, in the Prologue to *Every Man in his Humour*.

of time, the arrival of Charicles, the recognition of Chariclea, and the rapid solution of all difficulties. With the nine books of antecedent action satisfactorily disposed of, the tenth book of Heliodorus is capable of being served up as tolerable melodrama.

The records of the Revels office for the period between February 12 and February 21, 1576-7 contain an entry for a play called "The Irisshe Knyght shoven at Whitehall on Shrovetundaie at night enacted by the Earle of Warwicke his servauntes."³¹ Professor Feuillerat suggests³² that the subject of this play may have been drawn from a Spanish romance entitled "Historia del Nobile and Valoroso Cavaliero Felice Magno," in which a character called Mariano d' Irlanda figures (chaps. 48-52). In view of the fact, however, that this romance had apparently never been translated into English at this time, a safer conjecture seems to be that the play had to do with some of the numerous heroic exploits of Morhoult of Ireland, a famous character of the Round Table. He plays an important part in the romance of *Tristram*, but figures most prominently in the romance of *Meliadus*, where his name appears in the title: "Les nobles faicts d'armes du vaillant Roy Meliadus de Lennoys. Ensemble plusieurs autres nobles proesses de chevalerie faictes par . . . le Morhoult d' Irlande, le beau Chevalier sus paour, Galehoult le Brun, Segurades, Galaad, que autres bons chevaliers estans au temps du dit roy Meliadus."³³ He is commonly called Morhoult of Ireland throughout the romance. That part of his career which would perhaps offer most opportunities to a dramatist is his treacherous imprisonment by Trarsin, on the grounds of an alleged love intrigue between Morhoult and the wife of that knight, which came about in this way: Pharamond, King of the Franks, after an incognito visit to the court of Arthur, where he is wounded in a tournament, is returning to his native land. After sailing for some time down a pleasant stream with beautiful scenery lining its banks, he stops at last for rest and refreshment beside a sparkling fountain situated in a grove of lofty pines. Having recuperated, he sends to Trarsin, lord of the coun-

³¹ Feuillerat, *Documents*, p. 270.

³² *Ibid.* p. 461.

³³ *Meliadus* forms part of the Great Romance of Palamedes, and was first printed at Paris in 1528 by Galliot du Prè. It was of course well known in England. Cf. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in Dept of MSS. Brit. Mus.* I, 364-69.

try, and asks that he grant him the courtesy of a trial at arms. Trarsin consents, and is overthrown by Pharamond. But he immediately encounters Morhoul of Ireland and is defeated by him in turn. While the two are exchanging knightly courtesies, a maiden arrives, purporting to come from the wife of Trarsin, the most beautiful woman in the Kingdom, inviting Morhoul to a rendezvous. This is really a ruse on the part of Trarsin, who wishes to induce Morhoul to make improper advances to his wife, that he may have an excuse for punishing them both. The treachery is effective, and Morhoul is imprisoned along with the lady of Trarsin, who prepares dire punishment for them. Brehus *sans pitié* attempts their rescue, but fails; and conceiving a violent hatred for all women because of the injury done Morhoul by the perfidious damsel, he strikes dead a lady whom he meets travelling with Yvain. Another effort on the part of Brehus results in the liberation of Morhoul, who in revenge upon Trarsin carries the lady off, but through the influence of Meliadus she is returned to her husband.

The play appearing in the records as "Herpetulus the blew Knighte and Perobia, playde by my Lorde Klinton's servantes the thirde of January, (1573—4) being the Sunday after the Newyeares daye there (at Whitehall),"³⁴ was in all probability a performance of the romantic species, though there is nothing upon which to base an assumption connecting it with any probable source in romantic fiction. Characters with names corresponding to those mentioned in the title are not known in any other connection. The caption, however, is redolent of folk heroics and fairy lore, the dramatization of which George Peele is supposed to have satirized in his *Old Wives' Tale*. The mention of the properties employed throws some light upon the probable character of the performance from a slightly different angle. We find in the account rolls entries reading as follows:

"One Baskett with iiij Eares to hang Dylligence in in the play of perobia."³⁵

"A Gebbett to hang up diligence."³⁶

³⁴ Feuillerat, *Documents*, p. 193.

³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 199.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 200.

"Paste and paper for the dragons head."³⁷

The last named item is a further indication that the play was based upon heroic romance or folk tale, while the the "basket" and the "gibbet to hang up Diligence" point strongly to the presence among the *dramatis personae* of a comic character belonging to the family of Subtle Shift, in *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*, and Common Conditions, in the play which bears his name,—double-dealing villains with a variety of *aliases*, whose cleverness is often barely sufficient to extricate them from predicaments of their own contriving.

The records for the period between February 12 and February 21, 1576-7, contain the entry of a play called "The Historie of the Solitarie Knight showen at Whitehall on Shrovesundaie at night enacted by the Lord Howards servauntes."³⁸ The items referring to properties employed are of little value in indicating the character of the performance, though the following may be noted as having some slight significance.

"To John Edwyn for the lone of certein Armour with a base and Targettes which the Lorde Howardes servantes used in their playe of the Solytarie Knight . . . vij^s."³⁹

"To John Drawater for money by him disbursed . . . for two glasse Voyalls for the Lorde Howardes servantes on Shrove-sundaie . . . ij^d."⁴⁰

"For bread which was used in the playe of the Solytarie Knyght . . . j^d."⁴¹

The assumption that the play was based upon romantic material is perhaps sufficiently justified by its title, though we can only speculate as to its probably source. The romances of chivalry are filled with instances of knights who for one reason or another—most often the unresponsiveness of their mistresses—abandoned their martial exploits for a time and adopted the life of a hermit. It is not improbable, however, that a recent translation served as the basis of the play. Dramatists of the period

³⁷ Feuillerat, *Documents*, p. 203.

³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 270.

³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 275.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 275.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 276.

were not slow to avail themselves of fresh material, provided it was in harmony with current dramatic fashions. A short time before the recorded performance there appeared *The pretie History of Arnalt and Lucinda*, translated by Claudius Holyband from Maroffi's Italian version of a pretended Greek original. It is in reality, however, the invention of the Spaniard Don Hernandez de San Pedro, and reached Maroffi through a French version widely known under the title of "Le Chevalier Melancholique."⁴² The tale proved to be popular in England, and passed through four editions between 1575 and 1608. In 1639 it was turned into English verse by Leonard Lawrence, and published under the title "A small Treatise betwixt Arnalte and Lucinda, entitled, The evill intreated lover, or The melancholy Knight . . . in English verse, by L. L., a well-wisher to the Muses."

"The "argument" of Holyband's prose translation reads as follows: "A noble Grecian, who riding to doe his businesse, being out of his way, came to a solitarie place, where a most valiant knight of Thebes named Arnalt, having buylded a dark and sadde Palace, . . . as an Hermite did dwell, in continuall sighs, lamentations, and mourning. Of whom he being courteously received and feasted, was fully informed of all his wofull and pitifull mishappe; and instantly prayed, that for the honour of gracious, mercifull, and honest women, and the profit of unwarie and too bolde Youth he should write it, and make it come foorth into the cleare lighte and knowledge of the worlde." The tale that follows is in keeping with this lugubrious introduction. It recites the dolorous woes of a love affair that had its inception in a funeral. While the burial rites are being performed for an eminent citizen of Thebes, Arnalt sees, and falls desperately in love with, his daughter, whose grief, to his view, greatly enhances her beauty. Though she remains unresponsive to his addresses, Arnalt hopes finally to win her favor. Despair overtakes him, however, when she bestows her hand upon his own false friend Yerso, to whom he had confided his passion. In the duel which follows Yerso is killed; Lucinda, heartbroken, retires to a convent, while Arnalt seeks the seclusion of a hermit's cell.

It is perhaps a work of supererogation to offer an alternative conjecture as to the subject of *The Solitary Knight*, but in view of

⁴² Cf. Collier, *Catalogue*, I, 456-7; Mary A. Scott, *Eliz. Translations from the Italian*, Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc., 1896, pp. 456-7; *Retrospective Review*, vol. IV, pp. 72-76.

the fact that the descendents of Amadis of Gaul were proving especially attractive to English dramatists of this period,—as will appear by examples to be noted later,—it may not be amiss to call attention to a hermit knight of Amadis literature whose exploits could have served as the basis of the English court play. The episode in question is to be found in the twelfth book of the French Amadis,⁴³ beginning with chapter 84 and extending through chapter 95. It does not occur in the Spanish original, which for the French twelfth book is Part Two of *Florisel de Niquea*,⁴⁴ but is an independent insertion of the French translator, Aubert de Poitiers.

The incidents of this engrafted narrative are in keeping, however, with the absurdity common to all the later books of the Amadis cycle, as will be evident from the following brief summary: The Prince Agesilan and his bride Diane, in company with several other princes and princesses, set sail from the island of Guindaye for Constantinople, where their marriage is to be celebrated. Before reaching there, however, they encounter a fearful storm. Believing that the ship will be lost, Agesilan and Diane entrust themselves to a small boat, and after many narrow escapes from drowning, they are cast upon a barren shore, where they fully expected to meet death by starvation.

While they are musing upon their ill fortune, they are astonished to see a knight in full armour come sailing through the air, seated upon the back of a flying monster. Descending, he picks up the unfortunate lovers, and carries them through the air to the *Isle Verde*, which is in the neighborhood; and while they refresh themselves with food and drink, he tells them something of himself. His name is Patrifond. He has had the misfortune to kill his own father, in a duel, not recognizing him until after the dreadful deed had been done. Then, crushed with sorrow and remorse, he turned forever from the society of men. Passing from one uninhabited island to another, he came at last to the Mountains of the Moon, in which the river Nile has its source. There, by a fountain, he found a cave, where he remained for some time studying Magic

⁴³ *Le douzième livre d'Amadis de Gaule* . . . Traduit d'Espagnol en François par G. Aubert de Poitiers . . . 1556.

⁴⁴ Don Florisel de Niquea. Parte tercera de la Coronica del muy excelente Principe don Florisel de Niquea. En la qual trata de las grandes hazañas de los excelentissimos Principes Don Rogel de Grecia, y el segundo Agesilao. Sevilla, 1546.

and Astronomy. At last, one day he captured a young animal which seemed to him to be the offspring of a griffin and a lion that he had killed as they came to drink at the fountain, and, therefore, he christened it Grifaleon. He trained it, accustomed it to saddle and bridle, and found, much to his astonishment, that it could move through the air with the grace and speed of an eagle. It was upon this mount that he first appeared to the awe-struck Agesilan. Upon one of his many journeys on Grifaleon, he discovered the *Isle Verde*, where he took up his abode in a dark and somber valley. Daily, for the purification of his soul, he dressed himself in his hermit's apparel, bathed his face and hands in the fountain, and kneeling, prayed to God.

But his unexpected guests bring disruption of this quiet life. He no sooner sees Diane than the weakness of the flesh proves stronger than all his piety. He loves her, and he is filled with despair because he believes her to be already the wife of Agesilan. In desperation he determines to turn to practical account the magic which he has studied through all his years of loneliness. At sunrise, on the morning after their arrival, Agesilan, on waking, sees a stag run by the cave in which they have slept, and, thinking to capture it for food, he gives chase. Diane awakes at this juncture, and, not seeing her lover, hurries out of the cave to seek him. Here she sees a horse with bridle and saddle, all ready to be mounted; and believing that she hears the voice of her lover, and that she catches sight of him vanishing through the trees, she mounts the horse, and rides hurriedly in that direction.

Now as might be readily suspected, this is only a ruse on the part of Patrifond to separate the two lovers. The stag and the horse are not real, but merely the creations of his art. Well pleased with the success of his scheme, he follows after the Princess, and, overtaking her, protests his affection with uncommon vehemence. At a critical moment for his own reputation as a pious anchorite, to say nothing of the lady's safety, corsairs bear down upon them and carry her away. Patrifond is powerless to recover her; and after allowing his feelings to subside, he regards the incident as the fortunate intervention of divine Providence.

Meanwhile Agesilan has given up the pursuit of the stag, and returned to the cave. Finding neither Diane nor Patrifond, he suspects treachery, and he loses no time in mounting upon Grifaleon,—fortunately left behind by Patrifond,—and setting out

in search of the princess. After many incredible adventures, through which it is certainly unnecessary to follow him, he finally rescues her, in the *Isle Desolee*, and together they proceed to Constantinople.

One's respect for the suggestion that this episode may have formed the basis of the play called *The Solitary Knight* is somewhat increased by the very strong probability that the next play performed at court, "The historie of the Rape of the second Helene, shouen at Richmond on Twelfdaie at nighte" (1578-9), found its source in the same romance, *Florisel de Niquea*.⁴⁵ In this instance, however, the dramatist has chosen to depict the exploits of the titular hero himself; that is, he has gone to the first part of the romance, the part corresponding to the tenth book of the Amadis cycle.⁴⁶ Florisel de Niquea is the son of Amadis of Greece and the Princess Niquea, six generations removed from his illustrious ancestor Amadis of Gaul. While visiting in western Europe, he inspires an irresistible love in the heart of a certain French princess named Helen, who, as a trouble-maker at least, is comparable to her more famous predecessor and namesake. She follows Florisel to the Eastern capital, when he returns, and thus the trouble arises. She has not been without admirers at home, to one of whom, Lucidor des Vengeances, she has even been betrothed. It was not to be expected, therefore, that he would tamely submit to being robbed of his lady, even though she preferred the rival suitor. Only war can wipe out the disgrace and avenge the wrong. The forces of France, Spain, Naples, and Venice, not to mention those of eighteen heathen kings, unite in an attack upon the capital of the Greeks. It is evident throughout that the author modeled his work upon the siege of Troy. Florisel is at first taken somewhat by surprise. On returning to Constantinople from Apollonia, he finds that the fair Helen has been seized by his enemies. The conflict begins in earnest. As an offset to the gigantic forces arrayed against him, Florisel counts among his hosts all the famous heroes of the house of Amadis,—the illustrious founder himself, Amadis of Gaul, Galaor, Florestan, Esplandian, and so on. Their keen courage and martial prowess have been in nowise impaired

⁴⁵ Cf. Feuillerat, *Documents*, p. 286 and note.

⁴⁶ The French version, the avenue by which it doubtless reached England, was the translation by Gilles Boileau,—*Don Florisel de Niquée qui fut fils d'Amadis de Grèce et de la belle Niquée*. a Paris, 1553.

by their long sleep in the grave. In spite of all this, however, the besiegers have the victory at last. But Lucidor des Vengeances, with fine scorn, abandons his faithless lady to the lover of her choice.

The obvious imitation in all this of the siege of Troy, and the application of the specific epithet "second Helen" to the French Princess, leave little doubt that it served as a basis for the English court play mentioned above.

There is a very strong probability that Spanish romance of chivalry also furnished the material for the play called *The Knight in the Burning Rock*, "shoven at Whitehall on Shrovetuesdaie (1579) at nighte enacted by the Earl of Warwikes servantes,"⁴⁷ as has been recently shown by M. Joseph de Perrot, writing in the *Reveu Germanique*.⁴⁸ This performance seems to have been marked by extraordinary elaborateness and scenic splendor. For no other play of the period have we such full and suggestive details of staging and dramatic accessories. We learn, for instance, that the action culminated inside a huge rock, so high that a ladder was required to mount it; that in its construction, building material sufficient almost for a house was employed, and that the exterior was covered completely with holly and ivy. Above the rock was a blue canopy representing a cloud, and fitted with a mechanism by which it could be raised and lowered, while within it tongues of flame, produced, it seems, by burning *aqua vita*, played about the hero, the burning knight, who was seated upon a stool. Such stage effects are surprisingly elaborate, considering the early date of the play, though masks at the court had for a century or more been presented with increasing splendor. The prosaic *minutae* of all this gorgeousness may prove interesting. The most significant items gathered from the account rolls are as follows:

"Jon Rose seniour for mony by hym disbursed. viz. for Lead for the chaire of the burnyng knyghte . . . ij^s.

"For certeyne parcells by him bestowed in and About A rock at the courte for A plaie enacted by the Earle of Warwikes servantes: viz

Longe spare poles of furre . . . vj^s x^d.
peeces of Elme cutt compasse . . . iiij^s.

⁴⁷ Feuillerat, *Documents*, p. 303.

⁴⁸ Vol. VII, pp. 421 ff.

"For nayles of sondrey sortes used abowte the Clowde and drawing it up and down . . . vj^s viij^d. *John Drawwater* . . . for . . . a hoope and blewe Lynnen cloth to mend the clowde that was Borrowed and cut to serve the rocke in the plaie of the burning knight . . . x^s.

"*Ulryck Netsley* for mending a scalling Ladder that served at the Rock . . . viij^d.

"*John Davyes* . . . for Ivie and holly for the Rock for the playe enacted by the E. of Warwikes servantes, iij^s ii^d.

"Aquavite to burn in the same Rock . . . iij^s.

"Rose water to Alay the smell thereof . . . xij^d."

An extract from *Le Chevalier du Soleil*, covering the episode of the Burning Knight, has been published by M. de Perrot in *Reveu Germanique*, as noted above. The original romance is the Spanish *Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros*, written by Diego Ortuñez, about 1562. A short while before the performance of the play at the English court, the romance had been translated into English directly from the Spanish original, with the title, "The first part of the Mirrour of Princely Deeds and Knighthood . . . newly translated out of Spanish into our vulgar English tongue, by M(argaret) T(iler). London, Thomas East, 1579!"⁴⁹ "The second part of the first book of the Myrrour of Knighthood" appeared in 1582.

The events leading up to the climax of the episode, the rescue of the Burning Knight, are recounted by the heroine to le Chevalier de l'Amour, who later performs the rescue. She tells him how her father, a famous magician, and brother of the king of the country, whose name is Palidarque, took up his abode within the solemn recesses of some lofty mountains; but not wishing his daughter to be deprived of the advantages of human companionship and association, he sends her to the court of his brother, the king. Here she meets the young Prince Lucinde, her cousin, who loses no time in falling in love with her. Being a very dashing young cavalier, who in valor and courtesy surpasses all the knights of the kingdom, he finds his wooing entirely agreeable to the lady, and under solemn assurance of marriage he works his will with his fair cousin.

Her father, having now grown old and knowing that he must soon die, is anxious to see his daughter cast anchor in the harbor

⁴⁹ Hazlitt, *Handbook*, p. 321.

of matronly safety, and returns from his mountain retreat to choose for her a husband fitting her rank and station. He soon learns the truth, and, seconded by his royal brother, he tries in every way to induce the Prince to yield to considerations of honor, and right the wrong he has done. But all entreaty is without avail. Determined that such unfaithfulness shall receive its just punishment, her father decides to have recourse to his powers of magic. He causes the Prince to be transported to a chamber filled with roaring flames, situated in a region so inaccessible that it can be reached by only one entrance, and that through a secret and dreadful cavern. Here in the midst of flame, the Prince sits helplessly upon a chair while all hope of rescue or relief dies in his soul. His suffering is dreadful. His cries chill the blood of all who hear them. And the magician upon whom he has brought dishonor has decreed that he shall find relief only when there shall arrive a knight who, for his valor, is worthy to drink at "la fontaine des Sauvages," who is wise enough to find the hidden entrance to the chamber, and bold enough to brave its terrors. Furthermore, he shall surpass the Prince in valor and shall overthrow him in single combat. Having delivered himself of this cheering prophecy, the magician dies, and leaves the lady, his daughter, with additional sorrow.

At this point the direct action begins. The lady has remained faithful to the Prince in spite of his perfidy, and feels his sufferings quite as keenly as he himself feels them. She has related her griefs to the Knight of Love in the hope that in him the liberator of her beloved Prince has been found. She is not deceived. The Knight of Love is deeply impressed with her story, and is of the opinion that the unfaithful lover has suffered long enough, and, moreover, that he will now prove amenable to reason. Fulfilling all the terms of the prophecy, he penetrates through rocky caverns until he reaches the chamber in which the Prince is imprisoned. A fearful fight ensues, each knight using his sword with great vigor, and raining blows upon his antagonist. The Knight of Love is finally victorious, and seizing the Prince, he drags him to safety. Upon reaching firm ground, however, he lays down the only condition upon which the Prince may escape with his life; namely, that he freely confess the truth, and repair the injury he has done the lady by making her his wife. The Prince assures him that he shall be only too glad to comply with this demand. "Lors le

Chevalier de l'Amour se leva, et luy tendit la main. Lucinde et la belle dame . . . s'embrasserent alors de grande amour, comme ceux qui s'aymoient parfaitement."

This completes the list of court plays of the decade 1570-1580 which appear upon good evidence to have found their material in romances of heroic adventure.⁵⁰ Of the remaining plays of the period whose titles are suggestive of romantic themes, it is of course impossible to speak with anything approaching assurance. Several however, appear to be of Italian origin. The play called *Cloridon and Radimante*, presented before the Queen by Sir Robert Lane's men on Shrove Tuesday, 1672,⁵¹ may have been founded upon the *Orlando Furioso*. In the thirty-second Canto of that work Clodion and Bradamante are important characters. There are many instances of the distorted spelling of proper names in the records of the Revels office. The names as they stand in the title are not met with elsewhere.

Mediaeval legend perhaps lay at the foundation of the "*Lady Barbara*; shoven by Sir Robert Lane's men on Saint Johns daie at nighte (1572)."⁵² It was probably a secularization of the theme upon which a large number of the saint's plays of the Middle Ages were based, the story of Madonna Barbara, who suffered martyrdom for her faith. Her fortitude, together with the tortures through which she passed, had all the romantic elements of wonder and awe common to the saints' legends. Creizenach records the performance of a play upon the theme in the Low Countries as late as 1568.⁵³ Two surviving plays dealing with the legend are described in the *Catalogue de la Bibliotheque Dramatique* of M. de

⁵⁰ Attention might be called in this connection to the play entitled *The Red Knight* performed at Bristol in 1576 (cf. Northbrook's *Treatise*, Shak. Soc. Pub. XII, p. x). It is quite unsafe to identify the knights of heroic romance on the basis of color, since some of them had the faculty of changing their hue as the occasion required. But one Red Knight is universally famous. He is the bold character who entered Carduel while Arthur was banquetting there, and bore of the King's cup, "none daring to hinder him." Cf. the Romance of *Sir Percival*.

⁵¹ Feuillerat, *Documents*, p. 145.

⁵² *Ibid.* Barbara is the name of the lady in Masuccio's version of the Fifth Evangel story (*The Novellino, of Masuccio*, ed. by Walters, pp. 34-44) but it is difficult to believe that this repulsive tale might have furnished the plot of the play.

⁵³ *Geschichte des Neuren Dramas*, III, 450.

Solienne.⁵⁴ M. Petit de Jullville⁵⁵ analyzes at some length one of the two extant French *mystères* which treat the legend of Saint Barbara. The play is "en cinq journées," and the *dramatis personae* include one hundred performers. The outline of the action is as follows:

Première journée. Dioscorus, king of Nicomedia, whose wife is but lately dead, seeks to forget his sorrows by directing the education of his daughter, the Lady Barbara. He employs as his aids two wise doctors and philosophers, Alphons and Amphoras. They read to the young girl from pagan authors and from Boccaccio, and expound the religion and philosophy of the heathen gods. Under this treatment the young lady falls asleep, and while she sleeps, the Holy Virgin prays God to enlighten her. The lesson is resumed, but this time the girl denies strenuously the existence of the pagan gods, and silences the wise doctors. Shortly after, the King makes a solemn sacrifice to appease them for such blasphemy, and while this is in progress, Barbara converses with an obscure Christian, whose words sow the first seeds of the Christian faith in her soul.

(Seconde journée). Rifflemant, Prince of Persia, becomes enamored of Barbara during the sacrificial ceremonies, and demands her in marriage. She refuses. As she dwells in a tower which her father has caused to be built, to safeguard her from evil influences, she receives secretly a Christian sent from Alexandria by Origenes, bishop of that place. Lucifer inspires Dioscorus with the idea of persecuting the Christians. He begins with an attack upon Alexandria, but is repulsed with loss by the Christians led by Origenes.

(Troisième journée). John the Baptist comes in person to baptize Barbara. Dioscorus returns, burning with fury against the Christians. The girl unfortunately chooses this moment to avow her faith. The king tries to pierce her with his sword, but she miraculously escapes,—is pursued, caught, and put in prison. Dioscorus delivers her to the brutal provost, Marcian, who is very cruel.

⁵⁴ I, 106-7.

⁵⁵ *Les Mystères*, Paris, 1880, T. II, pp. 478-86. This *mystère* is in manuscript only. A "Vie de Sainte Barbe, en deux journées," was printed at Rouen by Jehan Jehannot about 1520. It is much shorter than the former, and provides for only thirty-eight actors. Cf. *Les Mystères*, T. II, pp. 486-88.

(Quatrième journée). The torture of Barbara continues. She sings praises to God while her tormentors exhaust themselves with beating her. Among other punishments, she is condemned to be led naked through the streets of the city, but just as the journey is about to begin, an angel descends and envelops her in a robe. The jailers flee in terror, and report the matter to Dioscorus.

(Cinquième journée). The king devises new and more terrible punishments; but all proving unavailing, he drags his daughter by the hair to the top of a mountain, and prepares to execute her with his own hands. As the blow descends, he is struck dead by a thunder-bolt from heaven. His soul is carried away by demons, while that of his daughter is conducted by angels to Paradise. Then follows a scene in the infernal regions. The devils welcome Dioscorus with scoffs and jests as they dance about him in derision.

The plays for the year 1574 present a tangle which tempts one to interesting even though profitless speculation. Under the head of "Peruzing and Reforming of playes," in the records covering the period between November 1, 1574 and February 15, 1575 there appears the item: "The expences and charges wheare my Lord Chamberlain's players did show the history of Phedrastus and Phigon and Lucia together amounteth unto . . . ix^s iiiij^d."⁵⁶ How many plays were performed, one, two, or three? Collier sees in the entry two plays: "The history of Phedrastus" and "Phigon and Lucia."⁵⁷ Fleay is of the opinion that three plays were performed.⁵⁸ Professor Feuillerat, in commenting upon the entry, says: "It seems to me that this may just as well be the title of one single play, for the meaning of the sentence is, not that two or three plays were shown together, but that "the charges and expenses together amounteth to," a phrase often met with in the accounts, and synonymous with 'in all amounteth to.'"⁵⁹ The confusion is further increased by the entry for the year preceding, of a play called "Predor and Lucia, played by "Therle of Leceisters servants upon Saint stevens daye at nighte at whitehall aforesaide."⁶⁰ Feuillerat's suggestion that Phedrastus, Phi-

⁵⁶ Feuillerat, *Documents*, p. 238.

⁵⁷ *Hist. Dram. Lit.*, I, 226.

⁵⁸ *Biographical Chronicle*, II, 290.

⁵⁹ Feuillerat, *Documents*, p. 459.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 193.

gon, and Lucia refer to a single play seems, however, to be probable. The clerk is indicating the play simply by naming the prominent characters. But whether the other entries refer to this same play, is difficult to decide. It hardly seems likely that the play of *Lucia* presented before the Queen in 1573 would have been subjected to "peruzing and reforming" with a view to a second presentation in 1574. The following is offered as a possible explanation of the difficulty: The *Lucia* of 1573 is another secularized saints' legend, as was the *Lady Barbara* of the year before. Lucia was a martyr of the primitive church in Syracuse, who perished during the persecutions of the Christians by Diocletian. Her story was frequently presented by the religious drama of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.⁶¹ She rejected the pagan suitor that had been chosen for her, was denounced as a Christian, condemned to pass a certain time as a public prostitute, and then be put to death. She escaped a part, at least, of this punishment by dying in prison.

There is nothing improbable in the suggestion that these themes were utilized for secular presentation at this time. They had, in fact, much to recommend them. Their sensational incidents not only would appeal to the dull sense of wonder and awe, but their burden of cruelty and horror would prove tempting to tastes which we know to have been especially prevalent among the Elizabethans. There is plenty of evidence, moreover, that in a secularized form they continued to be popular both in fiction and in the drama. The legend of Dorothea, identical in its leading incidents with that of Lucia, was the subject of an early play by Dekker, which was refashioned by Massinger in 1622 as *The Virgin Martyr*. Fleay identifies both of these with the old Admiral's play of *Diocletian*, performed in 1594, which he says was itself an old play revived.⁶² *Fair Constance of Rome*, for which Henslowe "paid on behalf of the Admiral's men" five pounds to Dekker, in 1600,⁶³ was evidently the "persecuted wife" story which in its several versions was popular on the mediaeval religious stage. The entries in Henslowe's *Diary*, April, 1599, for money paid to Chettle "for his booke of Placidus" have been pronounced by Greg to be forgeries.⁶⁴ But we know that the legend of Placidus

⁶¹ Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, II, 631, also II, 181 ff.

⁶² *Chronicle*, I, 121 ff.

⁶³ *Henslowe's Diary*, Ed. by Greg, I, p. 214.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* I. 61.

was widely current in England during the sixteenth century. It was the subject of a play of the interlude type, written presumably by Nicholas Udall and presented in 1534 at Braintree, during Udall's vicarage there.⁶⁵ In 1566 appeared John Partridge's "Worthie Hystorie of the most Noble and Valiant Knight Placidus," which is reprinted by Collier in his *Illustrations of Old English Poetry*.⁶⁶ The story forms chapter cx. of the *Gesta Romanorum*, and is found also in Caxton's *Golden Legend*. It is perhaps better known under its mediaeval title of St. Eustace.

Now the other names associated with Lucia in the entries of 1574, Phedrastus, Phigon, and Predor, are not suggestive of the saints' legend. They savor rather of Italian comedy. A Plautine comedy entitled *Lucia* was written by an Italian schoolmaster named Giralamo Fondali, about 1547, according to Creizenach,⁶⁷ and acted repeatedly in Italy about that time. The play has since perished, however, only a few lines of the prologue having survived. It is possible that the Phedrastus-Phigon-Lucia play of 1574 was founded upon this or upon some adaptation of it—brought by the Italian players who are known to have been in England at this period; for in the accounts of the Revels from March to November, 1573, we find items covering the expenses "For the Progresse to Reading, etc. And Lykewyze for the Ayrings, Repairings, Translatings, preparing, fyttings, furnishing, Garnishing, Attending, and setting foorth of sundry kyndes of Apparell, propertys, and furnyture for the Italyan players that followed the progress and made pastyme first at Wynsor and after at Reading."⁶⁸

The *Philemon and Phelicia* given by the Earl of Leicester's men before the Queen on Shrove Monday, 1574,⁶⁹ was probably romantic, though no specific sources for it can be conjectured on the basis of the names which occur in the title.

"The hystorie of the Collyer shoven at Hampton Court on the Sunday following St. Johns Day" (1576),⁷⁰ by the Earl of Leicester's men, was perhaps, as Feuillerat suggests, a presentation of

⁶⁵ Chambers, *Med. Stage*, II, 192-3.

⁶⁶ Cf. also Collier, *Bibliographical Account*, II, 117.

⁶⁷ *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, II, 79.

⁶⁸ Feuillerat, *Documents*, p. 225.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p. 256.

Grim the Collier, a favorite character with the early English dramatists. The play in question may have been a re-presentation of Ulpian Fulwell's *Like Will to Like*, which was printed in 1568. The story of Grim furnishes an episode in Richard Edwards' *Damon and Pythias*, of 1564. The extant *Grim the Collier* is held by Fleay,⁷¹ who is followed by Dr. Ward,⁷² to be the *Devil and His Dame* mentioned in Henslowe's *Diary*, and said to have been published in 1600. But no edition of so early a date is extant, and as Farmer quite correctly observes,⁷³ the surviving play bears marks of unrestricted adaptation at the hands of some Restoration dramatist.

The story of Grim is to be called romantic only in origin. Like *Griselda*, it had long been popularized. The original of it appears to be the fourth novel of Giovanni Brevio, which in outline is as follows: All the souls who came to hell complained that they had been brought there by their wives. After a council in hell, it is decided to send the demon Belphegor to earth, have him choose a wife, live with her ten years, and then report in hell as to the benefits and burdens of matrimony. Ten years' experience as the husband of a shrew is enough to convince Belphegor that previous reports reaching hell have not been exaggerated.⁷⁴

"The charges and expences whare my Lord of Leicester's men showed their matter of Panecia"⁷⁵ may be a trace left upon the records of the Revels office by a pre-Shakespearean play upon the story of *Much Ado*. We have some evidence to support the theory that such a play once existed. The old German play by Jacob Ayren, *Die Schöne Phoenicia*⁷⁶ and *Much Ado* trace their plot material ultimately to the same source, *Bandello* 1.22. But both plays have details in common which are not found in *Bandello*, thus lending support to the theory that they had a common source in some older English play.⁷⁷ The Italian novel, a version of which is to be found in Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques*, occurs

⁷¹ *Chronicle*, I, 273.

⁷² *Eng. Dram. Lit.* I, 263.

⁷³ *Five Anonymous Plays*, London, 1908; pp. 315 ff.

⁷⁴ Cf. Dunlop, *History of Fiction*, II, 100-103.

⁷⁵ Feuillerat, *Documents*, p. 238.

⁷⁶ Printed in part by Cohen, *Shakespeare in Germany*, pp. 76 ff.

⁷⁷ For a discussion of this question, see Cohen, pp. lxxi ff. and Wodick, *Jacob Ayren's Dramen*, Halle, 1912, pp. 48 ff.

also in *Orlando Furioso*, book v, which was translated into English by Beverly in 1562. According to Harrington, whose own translation of Ariosto was made in 1591, this particular story had been told in verse by Turberville many years earlier.

"A pastorell or historie of A Greek maide, shewen at Richmond on the sondaie next after Newe yeares daie, (1579) enacted by the Earl of Leicester's servants,"⁷⁸ may have been a pure pastoral, or it may possibly have been founded upon the Greek pastoral romance of Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, a translation of which had been made by Amyot in 1559.

"The Duke of Millan and the Marquis of Mantua" was the title of a play presented before the Queen sometime during Christmas, 1579.⁷⁹ The title is redolent of Italian novelle, though no story is known from which the play may have come. There is in Lyly's *Euphues* a reference to an intrigue between the Duchess of Milan and the Marquis of Mantua, which may have some connection with the play, but the passage is too vague to be in any way illuminating.

"The historie of Titus and Gisippus, showen at Whitehall on Shrovetuysdaye at night, (1579) enacted by the Children of Powles"⁸⁰ was doubtless a dramatic rendition of the tale of romantic friendship bearing that title, which Boccaccio has told in the Decameron, tenth day, novel eight. The story was known in England under its Italian title even before its incorporation into *The Governor* by Sir Thomas Elyot.⁸¹ It was translated directly from Boccaccio into English verse by Edward Lowicke in 1562. The mediaeval story of *Athis et Prophilias*, which Boccaccio combined with a tale from Petrus Alphonsus, is believed to have been founded upon a lost Greek original.⁸²

This completes the list of lost plays drawn apparently from romantic sources, which were presented at court between 1570 and 1580. After the last-named date the fashion in romantic comedy seems to have changed somewhat, the dramatized heroic romance

⁷⁸ Feuillerat, *Documents*, p. 286.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* p. 320.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p. 270.

⁸¹ Bk. II, Chap. 12.

⁸² Cf. Wolff, *Greek Romances*, p. 137. Voretzsch, *Altfranzösische Litteratur* p. 379. "Titus and Gisippus" is the subject of a French drama by Hardy, entitled "Gesippe, ou Les Deux Amis."

and novella being superseded by the mythological-pastoral type of play introduced by Lyly and Peele, and the freer handling of romantic material as seen in the plays of Greene. The Felix and Felismena episode of Montemayor's *Diana* was the subject of a play presented before the Queen at Greenwich on Sunday after New Year's, 1585.⁸³ After this, the form of dramatic activity which we have been considering seems to have been abandoned for a while.

We have in these ten years a body of romantic drama that is certainly not insignificant in amount, whatever may have been its artistic quality. Its literary and dramatic merits we have small means of judging, since the plays themselves have almost all perished. But probably English literature has not suffered greatly in their disappearance. The period of development which the artistic drama was then passing through, together with the essentially undramatic character of much of the material put upon the stage, leads one to suspect that these plays represented, for the most part, crude and formless work. This conclusion is strengthened, too, by the reflection which we obtain of them in the criticism of the time. It is not unbiased criticism, to be sure. Much of it is simply an expression of the bitter hostility of early Puritanism toward the stage as the enemy of religion and morality. Other critical attacks come from men who are completely subservient to classical standards, and are therefore keenly intolerant of the exuberance and artistic aggressiveness of this youthful romantic drama. But with liberal allowance for classical prejudice and religious hostility, this criticism, together with such other information as is obtainable, leaves us with the distinct impression that the most significant aspect of this body of dramatic literature was its promise for the future.

⁸³ Feuillerat, *Documents*, p. 365.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY SURVIVING ROMANTIC PLAYS

The first period in the history of the Elizabethan court drama, which we may conveniently think of as ending about 1580 with the appearance of Lyly and Peele, is one of prime importance historically, though its actual contribution to the existing body of dramatic literature is comparatively slight. Not much of its vigorous productivity has escaped oblivion. Of the fifty or more plays mentioned in the records of the Revels Office between 1568 and 1580, there is a possibility that two or three have reached posterity in the shape of subsequent revisions or adaptations. All the rest doubtless perished with the rapid destruction of the rough manuscripts which served the purpose of the actors. The life history of most of them perhaps extended no further than a brief reign of favor upon the popular stage, from which, after censorship and revision by the Master of the Revels, they were chosen for presentation before the Queen.

Nor did they, when no longer available for the stage, succeed to the dignity of publication. We examine the Stationers' Register and the printers' lists in vain for a trace of a single one of the numerous romantic plays discussed in the preceding chapter. The consistency with which they were denied the honors of the press may be explained in various ways. It may have been due to their lack of literary merit; one would be slow to call in question any affirmation touching their crudity and want of art. It may have been that frequent presentation upon the stage had so familiarized their plots—their chief source of interest—and thus narrowed the circle of possible purchasers, as to make their publication an unsafe venture for the practical publisher. The most effective reason perhaps was one allied to, though not identical with, the last named consideration. As we have seen, the plots of these plays were drawn in almost every instance from some current romance, the dramatist usually taking advantage of a recent translation in order to avail himself of the natural interest attaching to novelty of incident and situation. The printed play would therefore not only have had to compete for popular favor with its original source, but would have had the additional handicap of its

own recent vogue upon the stage; and the latter was not yet, as it came later to be in the case of the mature literary drama, an advertising medium of more or less practical utility. In the case of the early dramas which exploited the older romantic and ballad heroes, the bombastic declamation of acting characters could be expected to offset somewhat the lack of novelty in subject-matter; but even this slender advantage would be in a large measure absent from the printed play. In view of these various considerations which must have operated in deterring publishers, it is hardly surprising that an account of the rise of Elizabethan dramatic literature must concern itself at this period with a large body of "lost" romantic drama.

We are fortunate, however, in not being absolutely without means of judging the character of the romantic drama during this period of its development. Two plays have reached us from the decade 1570-80, which, in type of subject-matter as well as in general dramatic method, we may safely assume to be fairly representative of the age and the species to which they belong. It might be argued that their survival in the midst of such wholesale destruction is evidence of some superiority in literary or dramatic quality which keeps them from being wholly typical; and such in fact may have been the case. We can not pass critical judgment, either absolute or relative, upon those plays which are no longer in existence. The argument is not conclusive, however. It is quite probable that these survivals escaped the common fate not because they were less crude in style and dramatic technique than their contemporaries, but because the material out of which their plots were constructed was not drawn from some popular current romance against which the printed play would have had to compete in its bid for public favor. As will be shown below, the two surviving plays might justly lay claim to the distinction of novelty in plot interest and general romantic situation. Their plots were not the invention of their author (or authors¹), it is true, but they were not readily accessible in narrative form, as was the case with almost all of the non-extant romantic play discussed in the preceding chapter. The two plays in question are the *Pleasant Comedy of Common Conditions*, and the purely heroic *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*; and whether we regard them as typical or not, there can be little question that they were called into existence by the same demands,

¹The probability of a common authorship will be discussed below.

were animated by the same spirit, and controlled by the same tastes, as were the large number of romantic plays that passed into the limbo of forgotten things when their brief stage career was ended. They constitute, then, almost our sole means of measuring the degree of development which the romantic drama had attained by the beginning of the last quarter of the sixteenth century; they possess, on that account, an interest entirely incommensurate with their absolute worth as dramatic literature, and deserve a more respectful consideration at the hands of scholars and critics than has usually been accorded them.

COMMON CONDITIONS

“An excellent and pleasant Comedie, termed after the name of the Vice, *Common Conditions*, drawn out of the most famous historie of Galiarbus Duke of Arabia, and of the good and evill sucesse of him and his two children, Sedmond his sun, and Clarisia his daughter: Set foorth with delectable mirth, and pleasant shewes,” is the formal caption of the earliest survival from the first period in the history of the Elizabethan romantic drama.² It was entered in the register of the Stationers’ Company to John Hunter, July 26, 1576, and this entry constitutes the sole trace left by it upon any contemporary record. Of the circumstances of its production upon the stage we know nothing whatever. Its “mirth and pleasant shewes” may have been represented for the delectation of popular audiences only, or it may have been one of the many unnamed court plays the performance of which has left indefinite traces in the records of the Revels’ Office for the period. Mr. Brooke suggests indeed that the uncertainty in which the audience is left at the close of the play may be due to the excision of objectionable matter by the Master of the Revels. At any rate, there is reason for thinking that the play had been in existence several years before the entry of it for publication in 1576. Evidences based upon versification, structure, and the employment of older dramatic conventions point to a date of composition not much later than 1570.

² A perfect copy, adding nearly five hundred lines to the form in which the play had formerly been known, was brought to light not long ago in the library of Lord Mostyn, Mostyn Hall, Wales. This is now in the Library of the Elizabethan Club of Yale University; and from it an excellent edition of the play has recently (1915) been prepared by Professor Tucker Brooke (*Elizabethan Club Reprints, Number One*), to whose Introduction and notes I am variously indebted.

Its author is likewise unknown. Fleay assigns it to the author of *Apilus and Virginia*, who is generally supposed to have been Richard Bower, and to the same hand he ascribes the anonymous *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*, to be noted later. A common authorship for the two plays seems, on the whole, fairly probable, whether they be attributed to the author of *Apilus and Virginia*, or to some other dramatist of the period. Substantial argument might be advanced to support the suggestion of Professor Kittredge that the presence of the "Cambyses" vein points to Thomes Preston as the author. A further consideration of the matter will be taken up in connection with the study of *Clyomon and Clamydes*.³

But whoever the unknown poet may be, he has shaken off the trammels of the morality, and stands frankly forth as an artist, in purpose if not in fact. Certain morality conventions are retained, it is true, in the persons of the vice, Common Conditions, and the three wandering tinkers bearing the names of abstractions, but these are given an essential function to perform in the development of the romantic plot, and are not allowed, as in the case of similar characters in *Cambyses* and *Damon and Pithias*, to work havoc with the mood of the story.

Moreover, we find in this play what may be termed the first independent and untrammelled expression of the romantic spirit in English drama, if we may venture to speak with this degree of assurance about a matter that is enveloped in so much uncertainty. In *Calisto and Melibea* the romantic element failed to free itself from the didactic. The faint tinges of romanticism discernible in *Thersites* and *Misogonus* are hardly deserving of the name, while the romantic emergence in *Damon and Pithias* is virtually smothered beneath the load of native farce and pseudo-classicism. But in *Common Conditions* its mastery is supreme. The theme of the play is the caprice of fortune in the affairs of lovers, the obstacles that stand in the way of the fulfillment of their desires, and the vicissitudes which they experience in trying to overcome these obstacles. Sentiment and adventure, then,—the universal themes of romance—are interwoven to form its plot, and no underlying didactic purpose interferes with their free expression.

³ See below, pp. 108-9

The combination of circumstances out of which the plot is constructed may be outlined as follows: Through the intrigues of *Common Conditions*, a double-dealing parasite at the Arabian Court, Galiarbus, a noble duke of Arabia, has fallen under the suspicion of the King, and is about to be sent into exile. Summoning his son and his daughter, Sedmond and Clarisia, he takes a sorrowful farewell of them, and proceeds into Phrygia, leaving his possessions behind. Immediately upon the departure of Galiarbus, *Conditions* approaches Sedmond and Clarisia, and falsely informs them that King Arbaccus, because of the enmity which he bears their father, is preparing dreadful punishment for them. He advises them to flee without delay, and obligingly offers to accompany them as their servant. So the three set out at once in the hope of finding Galiarbus. But as they are travelling stealthily through a dense forest, in order to escape the more easily, they are set upon and robbed by three rascally tinkers, Shift, Drift, and Unthrift. Sedmond rather unheroically flees at the attack of the robbers, the lady is bound to a tree by them, and *Conditions* escapes hanging at their hands only by promising that he will inflict this punishment upon himself. When he has ascended the tree, however, with the rope securely in his own hands, he refuses to carry out his agreement; and the robbers, disgusted at such unfaithfulness, and fearing that his derisive hoots will bring someone to the rescue, make a hurried departure. Sedmond escapes, and, proceeding into Phrygia, takes the name of Nomides, the better to elude the King, and becomes a "wandering Knight." Clarisia, accompanied by *Conditions*, continues her search for her father. If fortune frowns upon the children, however, she has at last begun to smile upon the sire. Galiarbus reaches Phrygia in safety, prospers, and soon becomes a rich and powerful lord. As a precaution against further molestation by the King of Arabia, however, he changes his name. The author stupidly neglects to tell us what name he now assumes, but it is clearly evident that Galiarbus and the *Leostines* of the later part of the play are one and the same. So we may safely conclude that the assumed name was *Leostines*. Otherwise we have the extremely awkward procedure of dropping Galiarbus before the play is one-fourth finished, and never mentioning him thereafter.

But to return to the fortunes of Clarisia. Upon entering Phrygia, she is met by Lamphedon, son of the Prince of that coun-

try, who is hunting in the forest, and the inevitable love-affair ensues, terminated promptly by marriage. Conditions, however, in sheer perversity of spirit, breeds domestic discord by stirring up jealousy between Clarisia and the Princess, mother of Lamphedon. In loyalty to his wife, but filled with sorrow over leaving his native land, Lamphedon sets out by sea with Clarisia, to take up residence at the court of the King of Thrace, who is a kinsman of Clarisia. Conditions once more proves himself an efficient maker of mischief, however. In negotiating for passage to Thrace, he has made the acquaintance of a band of pirates, and at their invitation has become their captain. So when the ship bearing Lamphedon and Clarisia is upon the high seas, he attacks it with his pirate crew. Lamphedon is thrown overboard. Clarisia is taken into captivity and turned over by common agreement to Conditions, who is to sell her for a vast sum to Cardolus, a tyrant, and owner of the Isle of Marofus. Instead, however, he repents of his rascality, and secures shelter for her at the home of Leostines, a wealthy knight (Galiarbus, her father, evidently, who of course does not recognize her), where she continues to dwell under the name of Metrea. Lamphedon, in the meantime, having saved himself from drowning, learns of the scheme to sell Clarisia to Cardolus, and, proceeding to the tyrant's castle, overthrows him and frees a large number of ladies who are being held in captivity, only to find that Clarisia is not among them.

The drama turns at this point to consider the fortunes of Sedmond, who under the name of Nomides, has been living in another part of Phrygia. Sabia, daughter of a wealthy Spanish physician, has fallen violently in love with Nomides, in whom, however, her declarations awake no response. Angered at his coldness, she prays that he may know the pangs of unrequited love; and her prayers are soon answered, for journeying to the city where Leostines lives, he meets his sister, now known as Metrea, and unmindful of her true identity, falls violently in love with her. But Metrea (Clarisia), passionately faithful to the memory of Lamphedon, whom she believes to have been drowned, will listen to no profession of love. Her benefactor, Leostines, points out to her the advantages which matrimony offers a defenceless maiden, and proposes to find a husband suited to the station which she will enjoy as the inheritor of all his possessions, but she begs to be allowed to live as a maid. She of course says nothing about her supposedly dead husband, Lamphedon.

At this point Lamphedon again appears upon the scene, having been conducted to Clarisia by Conditions, who for once allows himself to become the instrument of beneficent fortune. But he soon returns to his favorite rôle of mischief-maker. The affectionate meeting of Lamphedon and Clarisia, witnessed by Conditions and a female fool named Lomia, is reported to Leostines, who takes it as evidence of wantonness on the part of his ward, and the unfortunate pair are condemned to drink poison. For some reason they do not make known the true relations existing between them. Conditions, who knows the truth, does what he can to confirm the suspicions of Leostines. The poison is provided, and Lamphedon drinks off the portion assigned him. Clarisia is also on the point of swallowing the fatal draught, when she is commanded by Leostines to stay her hand, since he has decided to spare her life. Apparently divining the terms upon which she is to be saved, she replies that he has come too late to have her as his wife. Here the play breaks off suddenly, leaving matters in this uncertain state, the reason assigned in the Epilogue being lack of time to proceed further.

In considering the elements that enter into this plot, we note, first, a setting sufficiently vague and remote to fulfill all the demands of high romance; second, a personnel drawn mainly from the highest circles,—kings, princes, dukes, and other members of the courtly group; and, third, the recurrence of a type of motive and situation thoroughly characteristic of a group of romances widely current in both the east and the west, of which the story of *Placidus*, or the legend of St. Eustace, is probably the best known representative;⁴—a family dispersed into widely separated localities and suffering various vicissitudes of fortune in the search for each other, a wife parted from her husband by a catastrophe experienced during a voyage at sea, attacks by pirates and robbers, the varied romantic complications that arise when the scattered members of the family meet after a long period of time without recognizing each other, and finally the happy solution of all difficulties and the

⁴The generic name given to the group is that of the "Man tried by Fate." A study of the interrelations of its numerous members, so thorough and so admirable in method that it might serve as a model for all future work of the sort, is that by Gordon Hall Gerould, "Forerunners, Congeners, and Derivatives of the Eustace Legend," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, 1904 (N. S. 12), pp. 335-446. Other studies in the same field are, Philip Ozden, *A Comparative Study of the Poem Guillaume d'Angleterre* (1900), and Leo Jordan, *Die Eustacelegende*, etc., *Herrig's Archiv f. d. n. Sprichw.*, Bd. 121, ss. 341-358.

ample reward for all suffering. *Common Conditions* and *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes* are frequently spoken of together as surviving representations of the dramatized heroic romances. But this is not strictly true. The bonds of affinity which unite *Common Conditions* with the typical romance of chivalry are its atmosphere of blustering sensationalism, and the presence among its *dramatis personae* of a "wandering Knight"—who, after all, hardly qualifies for the distinction—and the tyrant Cardolus, who imprisons fair ladies in his castle on the Isle of Marofus. The other incidents out of which its plot is constructed belong to a distinctly different genre. The geography of the story, moreover, lies outside the realm usually traversed by the knight of mediaeval legend in his search for adventure, and the local color, what there is of it, is sufficient to give the story a distinct Oriental tinge.

From the point of view of the matter that enters into its composition, then, the play appears to be a sort of mongrel, possessing no strictly defined affiliation. We are told that the story was "drawn out of the most famous historie of Galiarbus." Are we to accept this statement in good faith? To what extent has the author modified the material appropriated from this source? We can only answer this question of course after "the most famous historie of Galiarbus" has been brought to light, and it has so far eluded the vigilance of the industrious source-hunter. There is convincing evidence in abundance, however, that the author did not transfer to the stage without material alteration a narrative already in existence. The union of the heroic element with situations foreign to the romance of chivalry has already been noted. Then the uncertainty of the dramatist, as if he longed to take the initiative, yet did not dare to trust himself to a timid invention, is variously evident. First, there is the failure to say specifically, what he evidently meant his auditors to understand, that Leostines is Galiarbus under an assumed name. Second, he seems to be uncertain whether to represent the relations between Leostines and Metrea as those of disinterested philanthropy, or romantic love. In the list of players' names Leostines is described as a "Knight that loves the Lady Metrea," yet he nowhere expresses a feeling stronger than mere fatherly affection. He specifically declares that he wishes to regard her as his "only daughter deare," (l. 1590) and begs her to accept him as her sire (l. 1598), unselfishly offering to provide her with a husband, "some knight of famous

stocke," to share the wealth with which he means to endow her.⁵ Wholly inconsistent with this attitude is the intimation of romantic passion in the closing lines of the play. When Metrea is about to drink the poison, Leostines commands:

"O stay thy hand, my Metrea deare, and I will save thy life."

And Metrea's reply is,

"In faith sir knight you come too late to gaine her as your wife."

As far as the reader is aware, the descriptive tag applied to Leostines in the list of *dramatis personae* is the only implication that he ever entertained such designs. The ambiguity seems clearly to indicate that the author is improvising upon an original only imperfectly remembered, or at least not strictly adhered to.

Further evidence pointing to the same conclusion is found in the indefinite and unsatisfactory manner in which the play is brought to a close. Nothing whatever is settled. The story of the Spanish physician and the amorous daughter for whom he proposes to purchase a husband is dropped in mid-action, and never resumed again. The final disposition of the main plot is hardly more satisfactory. A catastrophe seems to be imminent when the Epilogue steps forward with his lame excuse for breaking off the action, but somehow—perhaps by the prevailing comic mood of the play—the reader is left with the impression that a way will yet be found to avert the impending tragedy.

These anomalies and uncertainties show pretty conclusively that the author did not find the various elements of his plot already in combination in narrative form. He has evidently treated with considerable freedom the original which he designates as "the famous historie of Galiarbus." The necessity of modifying his borrowed matter doubtless arose out of the effort to adapt it to the composite and dramatically important rôle played by the titular character. Obviously, he is the dramatist's own creation, and has no connection with the original romantic source, except in so far as he typifies the vagaries of fortune in human affairs. He dominates the action from first to last. The direction of the plot is surrendered completely to him, and it might almost be said that for him the play was written. Hence the necessity of ordering events with an eye single to his functional importance.

⁵ Cf. ll. 1584 ff.

We need hardly expect, therefore, to find a source corresponding in every detail with the plot of the drama. But can we locate the narrative that probably served as the support of the author in the not altogether satisfactory exercise of his maiden invention? There is much discernment back of the suggestion offered by the reviewer of Professor Brandl's edition of the play in the *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft*,⁶ who says, "Der Stoff scheint in letzter Linie auf griechische Romane zurückzugehen, eine italienische Novelle dürfte dabei die Vermittlerrolle gespielt haben." There is, in fact, no mistaking the flavor of Greek romance in the type of motive and incident out of which the plot of *Common Conditions* is fashioned. As for the Italian novella that may have served as the immediate means of its communication to the drama, I am unable to offer one for which the claim can be indisputably made. In the eighth novel of the fifth day of Giraldis Cinthio's *Ecatommili*, however, we have, if not the original of the English dramatist's adaptations, an analogue which must undoubtedly go back to the same parent stem. The headnote of Giraldis's story reads: "Messer Cesare Gravina, fearing the anger of his King, flees from Naples with his two twin children, a son and a daughter. They are caught in a tempest, the husband and the wife are thrown into the sea, the two children remaining on the ship, the parents and the children both believing the others to be dead. In the end all of them meet again in a prosperous condition, and are again received into the favor of their King, and return contented to Naples."⁷ This story thus outlined may be given in summary as follows:

Untruthful reports spread by his enemies had caused Gravina, an upright and loyal citizen of Naples, to fall under the suspicion of the King, Alphonso; and fearing that the King meant to have him put to death, Gravina determined to make his way secretly out of the country. So having provided a ship, he collected a few of his possessions, and taking his family, which con-

⁶ Quoted by Brooke, ed. *Com. Cond.* (Eliz. Club Reprints) p. 59.

⁷ Messer Cesare Gravina timendo l'ira del suo re, con un figliuolo maschio ed una femmina, nati ad un parto, si fugge da Napoli. Sono assoliti dalla tempesta; cade il marito e la moglie nel mare; i figliuoli rimangono nella nave; e ciascuno di essiitene che l'altro sia morto. Si ritronono tutti in buona fortuna; e riavanta la grazia del re loro, se ne ritornano contenti a Napoli." Cf. Gio Battista Giraldis, *Gli Ecatommili*, Cugini Pomba E Comp. Torino, 1853, pp. 253-264.

sisted of his wife (Elisabetta) and the twins, Gaio and Hiulia, he set sail at night, directing the vessel toward Ragugia.

When they were upon the high seas, a storm came up unexpectedly, and the ship was threatened with destruction by the wind and the waves. The terrified sailors threw overboard the better part of the cargo, and at last lowered the life-boats, determined to leave the vessel to its fate. But in the excitement Elisabetta fell into the water. Gravina plunged in in an effort to save her, leaving the boy and the girl still on the ship. The sea was so disturbed that Gravina lost sight of his wife, and believing her to have been drowned, he grasped a table which he found floating on the water, and was at last carried by the force of the waves to Durasso, where, more dead than alive, he moaned the loss of his family, all of whom he believed to be drowned. But all had in fact been saved. Elisabetta had managed to seize some part of the floating cargo, and had been borne by the waves to Velona, where, ashamed of her fortune and wishing to conceal her identity, she gave it out that her name was Macaria. The ship on which the boy and girl had been left did not sink after all, but, drifting uncontrolled, it finally stuck in the sand off Ragugia. Two gentlemen, seeing it, came out to investigate, and finding the children almost dead of exposure and hunger, they carried them ashore and cared for them. The children, being too young to tell anything of their family and not knowing even their own names, were rechristened and given into kindly hands. The boy, now called Eugenio, was given to a gentleman of Velona, and carried by him to that city. The girl, under the name of Eufrosina, remained with a family of Ragugia.

Now as to the fortunes of each member of this scattered family during the ensuing years. Gravina, though grieving for the loss of his wife and children, gives thanks for his own miraculous deliverance. Proceeding to Patrosso, he hears that King Alphonso has set a price on his head and in order to conceal his identity, assumes the name of Nastagio. He associates himself with a gentleman of that place, and, making a law of necessity, lives his life in patience. Finally, the gentleman with whom he is associated dies, and Nastagio becomes "Sir" Nastagio, a person of dignity and consequence in the community.

As for his wife, under the name of Macaria, she remains in Velona, and takes service in the household of the gentleman into

whose hands Gaio (Eugenio) had fallen. Impressed with her quiet demeanor and virtuous behavior, this gentleman offers to make her his wife, and raise her above the rank of a servant. She thanks him, but refuses, preferring to remain true to the memory of her supposedly dead husband. The gentleman honors her all the more for her refusal. He asks her, however, to take charge of the bringing-up of Eugenio, which she agrees to do, without having the slightest suspicion, of course, that he is her own son.

Eufrosina is stolen by corsairs from her friends in Ragugia, and on being brought to Patrossa, is purchased by Nastagio for forty florins. She does not wish to make known the name which she has formerly borne, and is now called Eutiche. She has grown to be a very beautiful young woman, and her loveliness is enough to warm the heart of any man. Nastagio purchases her as a servant, but he soon comes to treat her as his own daughter, (which she really is, though of course neither suspects it). There is just a suggestion that Nastagio regards her with a feeling slightly warmer than paternal affection, but his true nobility of character is always uppermost in their relations.

While these events are happening in the life of his lost twin sister, Eugenio has himself been acquiring experience in worldly matters. Having grown to young manhood, he begins to take an interest in the girls about him. A certain Pino, wealthy citizen of Patrosso comes to Velona, bringing with him his beautiful daughter. Eugenio sees and falls in love with her, though being but a foundling, he says nothing of his passion.

When she has returned with her father to Patrossa, however, he determines to follow her; so, putting on female attire, the better to elude his Velonese master, as well as to aid him in carrying out certain other designs which he has conceived, he proceeds to Patrossa, and is employed in the family of Pino as companion and maid of the latter's daughter. In this way he comes to live on terms of intimacy with the object of his affections.

It happens, however, that the Pino residence adjoins the residence of Nastagio, and Eugenio sees in the course of his stay there the beautiful Eutiche, his sister. All his love for the daughter of Pino is now transferred to Eutiche. Quitting the service of Pino, he is employed in a similar capacity by Nastagio. All his intrigues come to nothing in this quarter, however. Eutiche is not only pure and virtuous, but she is very much in love with the son of the mayor.

This love-affair between Eutiche and the mayor's son produces further complications, and leads finally to a reunion of the Gravina family. In order to overcome the objections of both Nastagio and the mayor, these lovers decide to elope; and as an aid in carrying out their plan, Eutiche puts on male attire. In this garb she is seen by the Velonese master of Eugenio, who is abroad hunting for that young man, and, being mistaken for Eugenio, is locked up in prison. The usual confusion of identity between the brother and the sister follows,⁸ producing further mystification and complications, and in the curiosity thus aroused the true relations between these people are brought to light, and the family is united, the two pairs of lovers being in the end made happy in marriage.

The difference in atmosphere, in geography, and in the names given the characters helps decidedly to obscure the similarity in incident and situation between this story and the story constituting the plot of *Common Conditions*. At some points, it is true, they differ rather sharply, but the number of essentially identical characteristics which they have in common makes it difficult to believe that the resemblance is accidental. In comparing the one with the other, we may omit all consideration of the cryptic and indefinite ending of the play. This is obviously of the dramatist's own contriving—a bungling effort at invention which apparently he was unable to control, and which proves nothing whatever as to source relations. Fundamental, and perhaps organic, differences are seen in the fact that the play has no character corresponding to Elisabetta, wife of Gravina, and that it makes no use of the disguises employed in the story. Detailed comparison, however, shows the following important points of argument:

1. Both are evidently intended to be concrete illustrations of the same thesis: the strange tricks which destiny plays in the lives of human beings.

⁸ The assuming of the disguises and the confusion of identity between the brother and the sister reproduce the conventional situation in the analogues of *Twelfth Night*, but these need no further consideration here, as they have nothing else in common with the Gravina narrative. A much closer analogue of Cintio's story is the account of similar adventures happening to the family of Capece (Decameron 2. 6.) which Greene took over for his tale in "Perimedes, the Black-Smith" (Works, ed. Grosart, Vol. VII, p. 23 ff.), but that too may be omitted in the present connection, since all points of difference between Boccaccio and Cintio carry us still further from the plot of *Common Conditions*.

2. They are identical in fundamental motives and general frame work. False accusations of treacherous enemies cause a prominent citizen's loyalty to his king to be questioned. Fearing for his safety he and his family flee the country. They are separated, assume *aliases*, meet without recognizing each other, and after many adventures, are at last united (that is, they would have been if the play had been allowed to follow the course clearly determined for it by the logic of romantic comedy).

3. In each the exiled citizen prospers in his new home, and regains his wealth and social station.

4. In each, the citizen's supposedly lost daughter is delivered into his hands after having been captured by pirates. Without recognizing her, he takes her into his home, but soon comes to regard her as his daughter.

5. The lost son and brother appears at this juncture, and, unmindful of the identity of either the father or the sister, makes violent love to the sister; in each case, he is rebuffed.

6. In each a wife separated from her husband by shipwreck or attack by pirates, finds a haven with a man of noble character, who proposes to marry her (or see her married). She refuses, preferring to remain true to the memory of her lost husband, and her benefactor regards her all the more highly for the refusal.

7. In each a subordinate love story exists. The brother, in order to press his suit with the unrecognized sister, deliberately rejects a lady who has given proof of her love for him.

8. In the story, the brother, in order to gain access to the sister, puts on female attire. This is not true of the play, but it looks as if the dramatist might have had such a precedent before him. On meeting the lady Metrea's female fool, Lomia, through whom he hopes to gain his ends, Nomides inquires,—

“How sayst thou, my Lady Lomia, wilt thou change cotes with me?”

She replies,—

“No thinke not you have a foole in hand I waraunt yee.”

Whereupon Nomides rejoins,—

“Why Lomia, my cloke will become thee excellent and brave,”⁹
etc.

⁹ Cf. l. 1405 ff.

Whether or not we regard these indisputably close points of correspondence as sufficient to justify the assertion that the English dramatist knew and used the Italian novella, it can hardly be denied that the two stories belong generically to the same saga-group. It may be that he used an original—presumably Greek, certainly Eastern—of which the novella is an offshoot. The names and the geography lend support to such a theory; but if such an original ever existed under the title of the “Historie of Galiarbus,” it is not now traceable. There is nothing improbable, however, in the theory that the play was fashioned directly from the novella. *Common Conditions* belongs to a period, it will be remembered, before the dramatized novella came into fashion. The dramatic staple in the decade 1570-80 was the romance of chivalry, and the romanticized classical legend. Under the influence of current fashions, therefore, the dramatist may have infused his matter with the slightly inharmonious heroic strains noted above,¹⁰ and, being aware of its hybrid character, transferred it to the vaguely romantic environment of Arabia and Phrygia. The author of *Clyomon and Clamydes* took a similar liberty with both the names and the geography of his borrowed material. “The most famous historie of Galiarbus” mentioned in the title may have been only an effort to recommend the play to the reading public by attributing to it a romantic and high-sounding origin. If the “history of Galiarbus” had been current in England at the time, perhaps the play, which in that case could have pretended to no novelty of plot-incident, would never have been printed at all.¹¹ The discovery of such a story, however, may prove these conjectures to have been ill-founded.

The German reviewer quoted above wisely remarks that the flavor of Greek romance is strong in the plot material of *Common Conditions*. The indebtedness of the Italian novelists to late Greek prose fiction has long been recognized by scholars. Landau, in *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, says: “Eine andere Art griechischer, ebenfalls nicht antik classischer Werke, scheint auch einigen Einfluss auf manche Novellen des Dekameron gehabt zu haben. Es sind dies die griechischen Leibesromane, die zwar Boccaccio wohl nicht selbst gelesen hat, von denen er aber einige Kenntis gehabt zu haben scheint. Diese Romane, die grösstentheils zur

¹⁰ Cf. p. 94.

¹¹ It might be added that the Gravina story had not been translated into English.

Zeit der byzantinischen Kaiser geschrieben wurden, tragen das Gepräge ihrer Zeit, die Spuren einer abgelebten Civilisation und eines krankhaften Gesellschaftszustandes. Räuber, Entführungen, Scheintodte, die grössten Unwahrscheinlichkeiten und die unerwartetsten Glücksveränderungen bilden den Hauptinhalt dieser Romane, mit denen Boccaccio's Novellen von den drei Schwestern und ihren Liebhabern (I. IV. N. 3), von Pietro Borramozza (T. V. N. 3), und von der Familie Capice¹² (I. II. N. 6) verwandt sind."¹³

The characteristics which seem to indicate an affinity in materials and methods between *Common Conditions* and the Greek romances may be listed as follows:

1. The general frame-work, involving the flight of lovers or kindred from some threatened peril, the ocean voyage, the ensuing adventures, the separation, and final reunion;—the conventional outline of the Greek romances; cf. the flight of Dercyllis and Mantinia from Tyre, in *The Incredible Things in Thule*; the flight of Rhodanes and Sinonis from Babylon, in the *Babylonica*; the secret departure of Charicles from Delphi, carrying with him the lovers, Theagenes and Chariclea, in *Æthiopica*; the flight of the lovers in the effort to escape parental anger, in the *Clitophon and Leucippe*, and the similar wanderings and adventures of the lovers as decreed by the oracle of Apollo, in the romance of *Habrocomas and Anthia*.¹⁴

2. The use of attacks by pirates and robbers as the favorite means of producing the complications of the action. It is universal in Greek romance. Observe its monotonous occurrence in *Theagenes and Chariclea*: (1) When the lovers are fleeing from Delphi, under the protection of Charicles, they are seized by Trachinus, a pirate (V, xx-xxvi). (2) After their escape, while Chariclea is attending the wound which Theagenes received in the fight with Pelorus, they are taken by a band of robbers (I, i-iii). (3) Presently Thyamis, with his "Herdsmen," takes them from their first captors (I, xix; VII, ii). (4) Cneman is captured by pirates (VI, ii), and later by the "Herdsmen," commanded by Thyamis (VI, ii). (5) Thyamis is himself captured by a robber band (I, xxvii-xxx). (6) Thisbe is captured by Thermutis, outlaw-lieutenant of Thyamis (V, xiv). (7) A party of scouts capture Theagenes and Chariclea.

¹² The last named story, to which Landau assigns a Greek origin, is the nearest traceable analogue to Cintio's story of the Gravina family.

¹³ *Loc. cit.* P. 296.

¹⁴ Cf. Villemain, *Collection de romans grecs*; Chassung, *Les Romans grecs*.

and deliver them into the hands of Hydaspes (VIII, xvi-xvii). The other romances employ the device almost as freely. The subordinate action in *Clitophon and Leucippe* finds its motive in the abduction of Calligone by pirates (Book II, xiii-xix). Callisthenes, the lover, arranges the abduction through Zeno, a sturdy rogue who in many respects resembles Common Conditions, and, like Conditions, pretends that he was once a pirate himself. In *Habrocomas and Anthia*, Anthia is separated from her husband and carried off by bandits, from whom she is rescued by a nobleman named Perilaus, who wishes to marry her. (II, ii). She consents in order to avoid offending him, but, remembering her husband, she escapes this second marriage by drinking a soporific. She is pronounced dead, and placed in the tomb (III, 6). Pirates plunder the tomb for the treasure which it contains, and rescue her (III, 8). The list of instances in which shipwrecks and attacks by pirates are employed as a complicating force could be greatly extended. Its constant use by the writers of the Greek romances is probably due to the fact that they seemed not to understand how the movement of their plots could be effected through character and the influences of natural causation, but surrendered them to some mechanical agency.

3. In *Common Conditions*, Nomides speaks scornfully of love, and defies its power over him. Being untouched by any arrow from the little god's bow, he can ruthlessly turn from the pleadings of the amorous Sabia.¹⁵ But when he sees Metrea, he laments that he has ever spoken "defame" of love, and confesses that instead of being love's master, he has now become his slave.¹⁶ This is a typical instance of "Das Eros Motif" which Brunhüber attributes to the influence of Greek fiction.¹⁷ Nomides's experience is paralleled by that of Clitophon before he met Leucippe, and by Theagenes when he met his destiny in Chariclea (II, xxxiii).

4. The closing scene in *Common Conditions*, in which, without knowing it, a father condemns to death his own daughter and the man whom she loves, occurs in its essential details in the tenth book of the *Æthiopica*, when Hydaspes condemns Theagenes and Chariclea to the sacrifice. In each instance the seemingly natural disclosure of the true relations between the lovers is not made.

¹⁵ Cf. II. 786-885.

¹⁶ Cf. 1351-88.

¹⁷ *Sir Philip Sidney's "Arcadia"* und ihre Nachläufer, pp. 22-3.

In Heliodorus the impending tragedy is averted by the timely arrival of a *deus ex machina*; in *Common Conditions* the reader is left in uncertainty as to the final outcome.

It will be noted that most of these characteristics which show the kinship in matter and spirit between *Common Conditions* and the Greek romances are to be found also in the Cintio story of Gravina. But whether the Italian novella was the intermediate form in which they reached the English dramatist, or whether, through some romance not now known, he was in more direct contact with Byzantine fiction, can not be determined with certainty. It is fairly clear, however, that the play was not written in strict fidelity to any narrative original. The writer's willingness to experiment with his borrowed plot is evident at several points, particularly in the unsatisfactory denouement. The tricks of fortune with the family of Cesare Gravina, then, may not improbably have suggested the "good and evil successes" of the Galiarbus household.

The author of *Common Conditions* would have been credited with more perfect control over the technical factors of the dramatic art if a complete copy of his play had never been found. As long as it was known only in the mutilated form reprinted by Brandl and Farmer, his apparent inability to bring it to a definite and satisfying conclusion could not be urged against him. For this, however, the author, as Mr. Brooke suggests, may not have been responsible. Otherwise, the play is fully up to the level of what we should expect when we consider its early date. The writer did not profit by what his predecessors had taught him, of the advantage to be gained by the formal division of his material into acts and scenes; however, he exercises over it a fair degree of control. The complications are effected almost entirely through the agency of the Vice, "Conditions," whose machinations are without motive, as they are without consistency. This, however, is explained by the fact that he is not only performing the traditional functions of the Vice, but is also typifying somewhat allegorically the vagaries of fortune in human affairs. The engrafting of the comic features upon the romantic plot is also done rather successfully. "Conditions" is easily the most entertaining character of his class to be found in any play of the period. The greatest artistic weakness of the play is the use of the lumbering septenarius as the verse-form, though anything better could hardly have been expected of

a dramatic poet of the seventies who is so largely committed to tradition as is the author of *Common Conditions*.

SIR CLYOMON AND SIR CLAMYDES

The proportion of dramatized romances of chivalry among the court performances during the first period in the history of Elizabethan drama has already been noted. The absence of contemporary records for the popular stage at this time makes it impossible to speak with certainty as to its character, though the frequency with which such plays were presented at court is probably but a reflection of their popularity with the public. Their vogue is well-nigh fruitless, however, as far as permanent additions to dramatic literature are concerned. The whole class is today represented by a single example, which bears the characteristic title, "The Historie of the two valiant Knights, Syr Clyomon Knight of the Golden Shield sonne to the King of Denmark: And Clamydes the white Knight, sonne to the King of Suavia."

The exact date of the play can not be determined. No trace of it appears in the Stationers' Register, and the earliest extant printed copy bears the date of 1599. Every indication points to a date of composition very much earlier than this, however. In the first place, the title-page describes the play as having been "sundry times acted by her Majesties Players." This alone would preclude a date later than 1591, for this company appeared at Court only once after that year, namely, on January 6, 1594. Fleay lists *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes* among the plays acted at Court between 1587 and 1594.¹⁸ But even in that case it must have been enjoying the privileges of rejuvenated old age. It is difficult to read its sprawling, redundant septenarii without feeling that to assign it a date of composition not much later than the mid-seventies is to withhold from its author a charity to which he seems justly entitled.

However, the crudities of language and versification are rather less obvious than those of *Common Conditions*, with which *Sir Clyomon* has so many characteristics in common. It would therefore be difficult, it seems, to defend Dr. Greg's tentative suggestion that *Sir Clyomon* is the earlier of the two.¹⁹ Though evidences of versification and meter are never wholly convincing, in this

¹⁸ *History of the London Stage*, 89; *Chronicle of the English Drama*, II, 296.

¹⁹ *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*, Malone Society Reprint, Intro. p. vi.

case they point strongly to the opposite conclusion; and the rapidly changing metrical fashions of the period to which the two plays belong give to chronological arguments based upon them more than usual stability.

An examination of the dramatic meters in use during the period shows that they were prevailing of two kinds: the long doggerel line, consisting of an indefinite number of syllables, yielding to no uniform system of scansion, but following in the main an anapaestic pattern, and the seven-foot iambic line, or septenarius, written with more or less regard for regularity and uniformity. Besides these, short "Skeltonics," consisting of three accents, are sometimes met with, and various lyrical measures occur in impassioned soliloquies,²⁰ but because of their relative infrequency, these may be left out of account. The first of these measures, viz., the doggerel, rhyming usually in couplets, but sometimes alternately, was the standard for the drama up to 1560. About that date such non-dramatic work as Tottel's *Miscellany* began to exercise a decided influence for regularity. At this time, too, the uniform seven-foot iambic couplet, though not a novelty, was given wide currency through its use by Phaer in his translations of Virgil, and by Jasper Heywood and the other translators of Seneca.²¹ These influences began to show themselves in the drama almost immediately. The versification in *Gammer Gurton's Needle* (1559-60) exhibits a distinct iambic basis, with some approach toward regularity in the length of line. Much the same is true of *Damon and Pithias* (1564) and *Pacient Grissill* (1565). There is also a growing tendency in these plays to confine the doggerel to the humorous and less dignified characters, and with *Apus and Virginia* (1567-8), *Horestes* (1567) and *Cambyzes* (1569-70), the custom of developing the serious parts of the plots in couplets of fairly regular septenarii had become pretty well established. The old tumbling measures were not wholly displaced, however, even in serious passages, and their use by low and comic characters became a tradition which lasted until well-nigh the end of the century.

Common Conditions and *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes* both follow the metrical fashions that had come to prevail by 1570; that is, their serious and dignified characters almost invariably employ the seven-foot iambic couplet, while their comic clown

²⁰ See, for example, *Clyomon and Clamydes*, ll. 990-1006.

²¹ Cf. Bond, *Early Plays from the Italian*, Introductory Essay, p. lxxxii ff.

scenes are developed in couplets composed of the hobbling, irregular doggerel. Yet the quality of the versification in the two plays is not the same. In *Common Conditions* strict adherence to the standard fourteen-er is far less marked, the tendency to break away from it being quite noticeable in those passages which consist of a rapid interchange of speech among characters. Moreover, the line often moves with a freedom and a disregard for metrical precision which obscure the iambic pattern of the verse and make its scansion uncertain. Much the same crudities of language and the same uncouth expedients adopted to meet the demands of rhyme and meter are observable in both plays, though a slightly greater degree of sophistication may perhaps be claimed for *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*. At any rate, one gets the impression that there was some consistency of motive behind the linguistic and syntactical atrocities of the last-named play. The writer seems to have been ready to move heaven and earth in the effort to secure the necessary uniformity and balance of his line, and in carrying out his purpose he has forced the language into open rebellion against all the laws of grammar. Almost any contortion of phrase or absurdity in diction is admitted if it makes for regularity in the construction of the seven-foot couplet. Awkward expletives and various roundabout and redundant expressions are employed for this purpose, and words are made to assume strange and ungrammatical forms for the sake of rhyme and meter. It is not often that exigencies of the dialogue are allowed to interfere with his cherished design, but when an incomplete line is admitted, care is usually taken to have the succeeding line fill up the measure according to rule. And in his singleness of purpose, the writer has succeeded admirably. Most of his couplets are so rigidly symmetrical that one feels they would remain stable if stood on end, but they approximate very nearly to the well-defined type. The iambic meter, too, re-enforced often by alliteration and always supported by a strongly marked caesura, falls with a metallic click which leaves one no choice but to observe. The effect of the whole is mechanical, of course, and highly monotonous, but it indicates that the writer felt himself to be at least under certain metrical obligations.

The Middle-English ballad measure, then, made rigidly iambic in movement, and written in the form of a couplet, is the stiff and unwieldy unit with which both *Common Conditions* and *Clyomon*

and *Clamydes* are struggling to meet the demands of varied and natural dramatic expression. The entry of *Common Conditions* in the Stationers' Register fixes its date as not later than July, 1576, while a perceptibly greater maturity of style in the companion play points to a date of composition during the years immediately following. Its naïve artistry fails to obscure many crudities, however, and the metrical fashions which it exhibits argue strongly against a date much later than 1580.

The greatest interest which *Clyomon and Clamydes* has hitherto aroused among critics has been in the question of its authorship, and much speculation, though little convincing argument, has been advanced, fixing the responsibility upon various writers of the period. Dyce, in 1839, included it in his edition of the works of George Peele on the ground that "a manuscript note in a very old hand" upon the title-page of a copy of the play attributed it to Peele, though no copy bearing such a note is known to bibliographers today. This ascription was repeated by Ward²² and others, who made no attempt to verify it. But when critical attention was once fixed upon the matter, it was found to be easy to disprove Peele's authorship, and this has been done to the satisfaction of almost every one.²³ Various other conjectures as to its author have been made. Fleay at first inclined to the opinion that both *Clyomon and Clamydes* and *Common Conditions* were the work of Robert Wilson, but later decided to claim them for the "R. B." (supposedly Richard Bower) whose initials occur on the title-page of *Apilus and Virginia*,²⁴ while Professor Kittredge, chiefly on the basis of parallelism in language, assigns both plays to Thomas Preston, author of *Cambyses*.²⁵

The probability of a common authorship for the two plays has impressed almost every critic who has studied them, and others have followed Professor Kittredge in noting a general similarity in spirit and method between them and Preston's *Cambyses*. The argument, though plausible, is by no means conclusive, however. There are fairly close agreements in meter and vocabulary, as well

²² *History of Eng. Dram. Lit.*, I, 203.

²³ The most careful study of the question is that by L. Kellner, *Englische Studien*, XIII, 187-229. R. Fisher, *Engl. Stud.* XIV, 344-365, still argues in favor of the attribution to Peele.

²⁴ *Chron. Eng. Drama*, II, 296

²⁵ *Jrl. Gmc. Phil.*, II, 8 ff.

as in spirit and subject-matter, between a number of extant plays of the early Elizabethan period for which a common authorship is never claimed,—resemblances which may very well be due to current fashions in language and versification and to the use of long surviving dramatic conventions. The whole vexed problem is adequately disposed of by Mr. Tucker Brooke in his recent scholarly edition of *Common Conditions*. After pointing out the rather notable resemblance between certain details of *Cambyses* and *Conditions*, and the still more obvious resemblance between *Conditions* and *Clyomon*, he adds: "Whether these similarities, undoubtedly striking as they are, can be held to justify the assumption of common authorship for the three plays or for two of them, can only be fairly determined, I think, when we are more in a position than at present to estimate how far such devices belonged to the general repertory of dramatic writers at the time when the plays were produced."²⁶

But if we may not answer with finality the question of the authorship of *Clyomon and Clamydes* or the date of its composition, we are more fortunate with respect to another question that has proved both puzzling and interesting, namely, that of its source. As noted above, it is the single surviving representative of a large group of early Elizabethan plays which found their plot materials in the mediaeval romances of chivalry. Knightly ideals of love and honor, the staple of mediaeval fiction, are here supported by the time-honored machinery of flying serpents, magic forests, wicked enchanters, storms, ship-wrecks, and all the other paraphernalia with which the mediaeval repository was so liberally stocked. The *genre* to which the play belongs has always been absolutely beyond question, but the statement is sometimes made that the romance upon which it was based had been lost. Fleay characteristically sweeps aside all difficulty as to source by pronouncing both it and *Common Conditions* to be "long winded folk-lore romances."²⁷ The presence of certain incongruities in the motives and incidents of *Clyomon and Clamydes* has lent color to the suggestion that it was not a transference *in toto* of one of the rambling tales of the Middle Ages to the Elizabethan stage, but a more or less free adaptation of conventional material, either by the dramatist himself or by some contemporary romancer who could

²⁶ *Loc. cit.*, p. 85.

²⁷ *Chron. Of English. Drama*, II, 296.

still find inspiration in the traditions of feudalism and chivalry. But all difficulties of this kind disappear when the exact source of the play is known.

Its story is a veritable riot of adventure. In the opening lines we are regaled with the excitement of a shipwreck, through which Sir Clamydes, son of the King of Suavia, is driven upon the shores of Denmark. Meeting with the King's daughter, Juliana, he learns from her that a certain flying serpent has its habitation in a neighboring magic forest, called the Forest of Strange Marvels, from which it emerges to prey upon fair ladies. He obtains the additional interesting information that she has made a vow pledging herself to give her hand in marriage to the knight who will perform the feat of killing the serpent and presenting her with its head. Clamydes readily agrees to undertake this enterprise on condition that he first be allowed to return to the court of his father to receive the order of knighthood, and on his departure she presents him with a beautiful shield of silver, from which he thenceforth bears the name of "the white Knight of the Silver Shield."

In what should be Act one, Scene two of the play we are introduced to the first of the titular heroes, Sir Clyomon, Knight of the Golden Shield, and brother of Juliana, who is travelling in disguise in search of adventure, and who has resolved to reveal his name and kindred only on condition that he be overthrown in single combat. Subtle Shift, a knave who declares himself to be Knowledge, son of Apollo, appears at this juncture, and is retained by Clyomon as his servant. The two reach the court of the King of Suavia just as the elaborate ceremonies of conferring Knighthood upon Clamydes are in full progress. Clyomon is seized with a desire to receive knighthood at the hands of the King; so, standing by unobserved, at the proper moment he slyly kneels at the feet of the monarch, who with uplifted sword is repeating the adjuration to courtesy, valor, etc., and receives upon his own shoulders the stroke that was intended for Clamydes. Having been dubbed a knight, he mounts his horse and flees rapidly, followed by Subtle Shift. The King is naturally furious at this intrusion, and orders immediate pursuit. Subtle Shift, on being captured, at once renounces his former master, and enters the service of Clamydes. The King completes the interrupted ceremony of conferring knighthood upon his son, commands him to go in immediate pursuit of the unknown intruder who has robbed him of his honor, and not

to return to court until he has forced him to tell his name. Clamides sets out at once, and coming upon the object of his search, demands an explanation of his recent conduct. This of course the Knight of the Golden Shield refuses. The battle is joined, but after fighting furiously though indecisively for some time, they agree to meet fifteen days later at the court of Alexander for a final settlement of their difficulties. The White Knight decides to spend the intervening time in slaying the flying serpent, while the Knight of the Golden Shield continues his pursuit of adventures in whatever quarter they may be found.

Clyomon does not pursue a fruitless quest. We next see him some days later being put ashore by some mariners on the Isle of Strange Marches. He is dreadfully ill; furthermore, he is told by the captain of the vessel that it would require twenty days to reach the court of Alexander. He knows therefore that he cannot possibly keep his appointment with the White Knight, and that he will be accused of cowardice in consequence. Unable to proceed further, he falls prostrate upon the shore, where he is found by Neronis, daughter of the King of the Strange Marches. She has him taken secretly into the castle, and nurses him back to health, which of course leads to a love-affair of extraordinary strength and proportions. Neronis asks his name and lineage, but these he assures her he cannot give without breaking a solemn vow. His unavoidable delinquency in the matter of his appointment with the White Knight weighs heavily upon his mind; and so when able to travel, he sets out in haste to meet with that aggrieved cavalier at the earliest possible opportunity, agreeing to return to the Isle of Strange Marches in sixty days.

After his departure, the King of Norway comes to woo Neronis, but receiving little encouragement, he entices her on board his ship, and sails away. News of this rash deed reaches Clyomon in his wanderings, and he sets out in pursuit. Neronis meanwhile, escaping from her abductors, dons male attire and enters the service of Corin, an old shepherd. The Knight of the Golden Shield, overtaking the King of Norway, puts him to death, placing over his grave his own golden arms. Neronis, seeing these, thinks her lover has been slain, and is about to take her own life, when Providence appears to inform her that he still lives. The two then meet without recognizing each other, Neronis being still in her man's garb, and Clyomon wearing his helmet with closed

visor, as was his custom. The Knight inquires the name of the handsome young rustic. "*Couer Dacier*," is the reply. "What, Heart of Steel?" he says; "the name pleases me well." She is then retained as his page. News arrives that the King of Strange Marches has lately died, and that a dispute over the succession of the crown has arisen between the Queen and Mustantius, brother of the late King. The matter is to be decided by wager of battle, and Clyomon goes thither with the double purpose of obtaining news of Neronis and of serving as champion to the Queen.

In the meantime, Sir Clamydes, the White Knight, has been waging a losing fight against ill fortune. On leaving the Knight of the Golden Shield, accompanied by his servant, Shift, he plunges into the Forest of Marvels in search of the flying serpent. He soon learns that this forest contains another peril. Brian Sans Foy, a cowardly magician, dwells there, spending his time in charming travellers and shutting them up in prison. His chief desire is to cast a spell upon the knight who shall succeed in cutting off the head of the flying serpent, imprison him, rob him of his trophy, and thus through another's valor win for himself the fair Juliana, whom he is very desirous of possessing. These evil designs promise to succeed. Clamydes cuts off the head of the serpent according to program, but through the cowardly treachery of Subtle Shift, he is robbed of his trophy and imprisoned. The knavish servant repents of his treason at last, however, and liberates his master, along with several other imprisoned knights, on the very day set for the combat with Clyomon at the court of Alexander. The grief of Clamydes over the loss of the fruits of his valor, together with the white shield given him by Juliana, is further increased by the reflection that his failure to meet the Knight of the Golden Shield will be attributed to cowardice.

On being liberated, he sets out without any definite intentions, hoping that fortune will help him to recover his trophy and preserve his honor. He hears of the dispute over the succession of the crown in the Isle of Strange Marches, and proceeds thither. Offering himself as the champion of Mustantius, he is gratified to find himself confronted by Clyomon, who is serving in the same capacity to the Queen. Through the mediation of Alexander, however, the political dispute is settled without combat between the Knights. Their personal grievances are adjusted in the same way; and peace and amity being thus restored, they all set out to

the court of Suavia to thwart the wicked designs of Brian Sans Foy. On arriving, they find the fortunes of the enchanter prospering. Re-enforced by the shield and the serpent's head, he has been received as the real Sir Clamydes by Juliana, who is on the point of redeeming her pledge by bestowing her hand upon him. But upon being challenged to combat by Clamydes, Brian acknowledges that he is an imposter, and is allowed to escape. The real identity of Neronis, who as *Couer D'Acier* has all this time been serving Clyomon as a page, is at last revealed, and the nuptial celebrations follow in short order.

The original of this wildly romantic story is to be found in the French prose romance of *Perceforest*.²⁵ In Volume II, chapter 142 of that work, Perceforest, King of Great Britain, is represented as conferring knighthood upon his only son, Bethides, and three of his nephews, sons of the King of India. The ceremonies are interrupted through the boldness of an unknown Knight bearing no insignia except a plain golden shield, precisely as described in the play. This incident, which sets in motion the machinery of the entire story, may perhaps be quoted in full. How the Knight of the Golden Shield received the stroke is told in the romance as follows:

“Tandis que les damoiseaulx sarmoiert et que le roy estoit tout apparielle pour leur donner la colee il yssit de la forest qui assez pres estoit ung icune damoiseil arme de haulbergeon et de chausses de fer, mais son escu et son heulme pendoient a larson de la selle, et se portoit en sa senestre main une forte lance et ung esperons dorez. Si venoit se roidement quil sembloit quon le chassast a tuer, ainsi quil venoit tant quil pouoit: il regarde et voit ung chevalier arme de noires armes qui sapuyoit sur son cheual. . . . Le damoiseil sen Vint a luy et luy dist. Sire cheva-

²⁵ A Treselegante, Delicieuse, Melliflue et tresplaisante Hystoire du tresnoble, Victorieux et excellentissimi roy Perceforest, Roy de la grant Bretagne, fondateur du Franc palais et du temple du souuerain dieu. En laquelle le lecteur pourra veoir la source et decoration de toute Chevalerie, Culture de vraye Noblesse, Prouesses et conquestes infinies, accomplies des le temps du conquerant Alexandre le grant, et de Julius cesar au par avant la nativite de nostre soulueur Jesuchrist.” Folio, Black Letter, 6 vols. in 3. Galliot du Pré, Paris, 1528. The romance is difficult of access, especially to American students. A copy, formerly in the library of the Duke of Roxburghe and that of N. Yeminiz, has been since February, 1908, in the Library of Harvard University, from which I was able to secure it through the kind coöperation of the Library of the University of Chicago.

lier ie vous prie que me Vueillez ceindre mon espee et chausser mon esperons dorez, car ie seray tantost cheualier se ie puis. Le chevalier qui pensoit moult fort a une grosse besongne quil avoit affaire, quil ne veoit pas a sa volente: si estoit tout courrouce, et toutes-fois luy respondit et dist. Sire escuyer delivrez moy les esperons et lespee, et le ieune damoisel luy bailla, et le chevalier print les esperons et luy chaussa a cheval: et puis luy ceindist lespee et luy dist. Or vouz fault la colee. Sire dist le damoisel ie attens a recevoir la colee du plus preudhomme du monde. Lors brocha son cheval des esperons et sen alla cheuauchant grant erre. Moult fut lie le iouuencel quant il se sentit si aduance destre chevalier. . . . Lors regarda emmy la prayerie et veit quatre chevaliers armez a pied. Et ung chevalier arme qui adouboit trois damoiseaulx. Tantost qui les veit le cuer luy dist que cestoit le chevalier qui adouboit son filz et ses deux nepueux. Lors fut si lye quil tressailloit tout de ioye, et part angresse sailloit ius de son cheval, si lanca en la moyenne deulx et mist son col soubz la palme de la main du gentil roy quil auoit hault leue pour donner la colee a son filz. Et le roy ferit telle colee que toute la place en retentit en disant. Chevalier soyes preux et loyal, et le nouuel chevalier se leua et dist. Si seray ie si plaist dieu, et grant mercis de vostre doctrine ennuyt faicte au temple. Lors se retourna tout a ung faix, si saillit sur son cheval puis se fiert au tourney arme. . . . Quant le roy veit lestrange adventure il fut tout esbahy, lors dist tant en hault. Damoisel qui a supplante la colee a mon filz, et puis se departit de nous se soubdainement, . . . cest signe de grant valleur . . . Sire dist lung des chevaliers Indois faictes les damoiseaulx chevaliers car si vostre filz eust receu la colee il fust mort. Sire chevalier dist le roy ie le feray. Lors haulsa la paulme et luy donna une grande colee en disant. Chevalier soyez preux et hardy et loyal a meilleure heure que deuant neussiez este affin que iamais ne retourne du tournoy si me sache adire quel chavalier fut qui to supplanta la colee. Quant le roy eut ce dit Bethides le ieune chevalier respondit. Cher seigneur vostre mercis ie feray vostre commandement. . . . Bethides portoit armes toutes blanches . . . et le ieune chevalier qui portoit la colee premiere portoit unes armes toutes dor sans autre enseigne. Bien auez vous ouy comment le roy Perceforest fist son filz chevalier, et ses trois cousins, et comment le chevalier aux armes dor eut la premiere colee par sa grande tangresse quil auoit destre chavalier.⁷²⁹

²⁹ Volume II, chapter 142.

Le Blanc Chevalier loses no time in setting about the execution of his father's commands, and being once embarked on his mission, he must not again see "le roy son pere tant quil scauroit le nom du chevalier aux armes dor: qui depuis fut nomme le chevalier dore, pource que il vint au tournay couuert luy et son cheval de couuertures dorees sans autre congnoissance et son escu, et puis porta lescu si languement que luy en demoura le nom."

The first encounter occurs in the immediate neighborhood of the court. On seeing his enemy, the White Knight cries, "Sire Chevalier, arestez vous tout que vous me ayez dit vostre nom." "Comment, beau Sire," dist le Chevalier, "qui estes vous qui mon nom voulez scauoir?" "Je suis," dist Bethides, "ung chevalier a qui vous auez fait villennye." "Sire," dist le chevalier dore, "sachez vous que jay voue que mon nom ne diray a chevalier se je ne le tiens a la bataille meilleur chevalier que moy."³⁰

The issue being thus squarely drawn, they fight furiously for some time, but neither can gain the advantage. Owing to the unseasonable hour—it is midnight—the Black Knight, who is watching the conflict, suggests that the fight be discontinued, and that they meet fifteen days hence at the Pine of Marvels in the Forest of Darnant, to decide the question at issue. Both agree to this, and pledge their sacred honor to meet at the time and place specified. Each then goes his way.

The story is resumed in Volume three, chapter five. Le Chevaliere Dore goes abroad asking everyone how and where he can find "le pin de la fiere merveille." He gets no satisfactory reply until he puts the question to an ancient dame at whose house he has passed the night. Yes, she has heard of the Pine of Marvels. It is, she thinks, two days' journey from there, toward the rising sun. Proceeding as per directions, he reaches the pine on the day before that set for the meeting. Nailed to the tree he finds a scroll bearing an inscription to the effect that "Nul ne doit estre tenu pour chevalier sil na veille icy une nuycy pour y veoir les merueilles qui ef aduiennent." Of course he can not afford to ignore this challenge of his valor, and takes up his position at the foot of the tree. But shortly after nightfall he hears a roaring sound as if a storm were approaching, and when he regains consciousness, he finds himself lying alone and deathly sick in a meadow in an utterly unfamiliar country. Presently a beautiful young girl appears.

³⁰ Volume III, chapter 144, fol. 144 b.

and with the help of her companions, she removes him to a near-by castle, where for many weary days she ministers to him, and finally restores him to health. She tells him that he is in the land of the Strange Marches, and that she is Nerones, daughter of the King of the country. She asks about himself, but with deep concern lest he be thought discourteous, he replies that he has vowed not to reveal his name or state, unless overcome by force of arms. She is certain that he is of distinguished lineage, however, and declares her love for him. He assures her that the passion is mutual, but adds that obligations involving his honor must take him out of the country as soon as he is able to travel. He promises, however, to return in sixty days. She warns him that delay is dangerous, refers to several suitors who are more or less insistent, and mentions specifically the King of Norway, who is expected to arrive in the country to conduct his suit in person. He insists that he must first discharge some unnamed duty, however, and sets out, bitterly lamenting that fate has prevented his keeping faith with the White Knight.

Almost immediately the King of Norway appears in the Strange Marches and announces his suit.³¹ The King, father of Nerones, expresses himself as altogether favorable, but announces that the custom and usage of the country are that, when a King's daughter is to be married, the prospective husband must spend sixty days on the *Isle Despreuwe*; and if during this time any knight comes to fight with him and overthrows him, he must depart without seeing the princess again. The King of Norway, though not pleased, is forced to consent. The first night he spends on the Isle of Trial, he has a dream that a knight comes from Great Britain, takes him by the feet, and throws him into the river. This dream recurs every night until the fifteenth night, when he dreams that a cavalier bearing a golden shield comes and puts him to death. This terrifies him beyond measure. After consulting with some of his lords, he yields to the suggestion that Nerones be carried away at once by force, and the plan is speedily put into execution.

But preceding this, Nerones, becoming alarmed at the turn affairs were taking, despatched one of her maids to find the *chevalier dore*, and warn him that the King of Norway was already spending his time on the Isle of Trial, and that unless something were done, she would soon have to become his wife.³²

³¹ The story is resumed in Vol. III, Chap. 33.

³² The account of the meeting between the Chevalier Dore and this maiden, and the mutual shock they experienced on discovering that unknowingly they had

When the *Chevalier Dore* learns of this, he gives up the search for the White Knight, and returns to the Strange Marches, only to find that Nerones has already been carried away. He goes in pursuit. But Nerones proves a very troublesome captive for the King of Norway. She at last outwits him by feigning death, and is put into the tomb. But when the burial party has withdrawn, she steals out of the tomb, goes to a farm-house some miles away, and recounts her troubles. The lady in whom she confides suggests that, in order to elude the King of Norway, who is certain to discover the deception and begin search, she assume the disguise of a shepherd boy, and spend her time for a while in tending sheep. This pleases Nerones immensely, and she carries out the suggestion at once, the lady laughingly conferring on her, when she sees her dressed as a boy, the name of *Coeur Dacier*, in honor of her faithfulness to her lover.³³

In the meanwhile the Chevalier Dore has been pursuing the King of Norway. Overtaking him at last, he puts him to death, and with the help of a hermit who passes by opportunely, buries him. The incidents of this part of the romance—the finding of this grave by Nerones, her recognition of the shield of her lover, and her joy upon learning that he is still alive and searching for her—are essentially those of the play.³⁴ Upon leaving the hermit, the Chevalier Dore himself spends some time with the lowly people of the country, but his martial instincts reassert themselves, and he takes service as the squire of a knight named Pernehan, calling himself Tarquin, to conceal his true identity.³⁵ In this capacity he fights and overthrows a gigantic knight named Branq, “cousin germain au geant aux crains dorez”; and Pernehan, out of gratitude, fits him out with a horse and arms, so that he may continue his search for Nerones.

As he is taking leave of Pernehan, a young lad appears and asks permission to serve as his squire. “Sire,” il dist, “si il vous plaist je vous seruiray a mon pouoir bien et souffisamment et ne mespar-

passed a night together at the foot of an oak tree, is highly amusing, but too long to be given even in summary here. It is told in III, 34 fol. 88 b-94 a.

³³ “Par ma foy veycy ung beau valletan fendu, mais jen veulx estre la marraine, car desorenois le nommeray cueur dacier. Quant la pucelle se ouyt nommer cueur dacier elle commença a rire disant que le nom luy plaisoit bien.” III, 35, fol. 94 b.

³⁴ Vol. III, chap. 35.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Chap. 36.

gnez, car combien que je saye jeune, si ay je les membres fors et durs." Mais quant Tarquin eut entendu le jovencel, qui parloit si promptement, il le prisa moult, et dist, "Beau sire, vous soyez bien venu, or me dictez vostre nom." "Sire," dist le jovencel, lon me nom Cueur Dacier." "Cueur Dacier!" dist Tarquin. "Cest ung nom de hault emprinse." "Sire," dist il, "qui me vault avoir si me nomme ainsi." "Il me plaist tres bien," dist le Chevalier Dore" . . . Autant le Chevalier Dore print conge de Pernehan, il se mist a la voye de grant randon, car il estoit monte a lavantage, et si avoit tout autre serviteur quil ne cuydoit, car cestoit la belle Nerones quil ayroit mieulx que toutes les femmes du monde."³⁶

Nerones is equally in the dark as to the identity of her new master, however, since the Chevalier Dore no longer carries his golden arms, and continues his old custom of travelling always with closed helmet. Several days' association with him confirms her suspicion that she is serving her lover, however, though dread of the embarrassment of revealing her identity induces her to continue the disguise.

They travel on until they come to a country called Borrass, where there is a dispute over the succession of the crown. It having been decided to settle the matter by wager of battle, the Chevalier Dore offers his services to one of the claimants, and, as luck would have it, the Blanc Chevalier, who has been roaming all lands in search of his enemy, casts in his sword for the cause of the other.³⁷

With mutual lack of recognition, the two Knights confront each other in the lists. The battle is joined and waged with awful fury. The spectators are so moved by the valor of the contestants and the terrible punishment which each is receiving, that they ask the disputing parties to arrange a compromise. This is done. The political feud is settled. But the Blanc Chevalier, having discovered that his antagonist is really the Chevalier Dore, demands to know his name. This is refused of course, and the fight is renewed with redoubled fury. The decisive blow can not be delivered, though on the whole the Chevalier Dore has a little the better of it. During a lull in the conflict the young Knight Gaddifer, son of the King of Scotland, sees through a rent in the armor of Chevalier Dore a birthmark on his shoulder, by which he recognizes

³⁶ Vol. III, fol. 98 a.

³⁷ These events are related in Vol. III, Chap. 40.

in the Chevalier Dore his brother, Nestor, cousin of the Blanc Chevalier. This discovery of course brings about the solution of all difficulties. The Chevalier Dore can no longer conceal his identity, though he has not been forced to reveal it to a better knight than himself. The Blanc Chevalier can now return to his father's court, since he knows who his opponent is. In company with his squire, the Chevalier Dore goes for a visit to his royal parents in Scotland, where the clever disguise of Cueur Dacier is soon penetrated by the keen eye of the Knight's mother, and in the end all things turn out as is proper in the ideal world of romance.³⁸

It will be evident, of course, that the dramatist has reproduced the essential features of this narrative with strict fidelity. The material for the Clamydes-Juliana element of his plot he has treated somewhat more freely. In the flying serpent which preys upon fair ladies, the reward offered by Juliana for its destruction, the loss of the trophy through the machinations of the imposter Brian Sans Foy, his unmasking, and the final triumph of justice in the marriage of Clamydes and Juliana, we have a perfect version of a legend widely disseminated in literature and folk-lore, and known from its classic exemplar as the Rescue of Andromeda.³⁹ To Englishmen of the sixteenth century it was doubtless most familiar as the legend of Saint George.⁴⁰ There is no doubt, however, that the author of *Clyomon and Clamydes* used the slightly distorted version which occurs in the romance of *Perceforest*, though the influence of the popular tradition is seen in his apparent effort to restore it to the conventional form.

The outline of the story as it occurs in the romance is as follows:⁴¹ A Knight named Lyonnell du Glar is anxious to wed the

³⁸ The account of the unmasking of Cueur Dacier is such a happy blending of qualities not often found in the romances of chivalry—humor, pathos, and a charming naïveté which dispels every suggestion of immodesty—that I have been strongly tempted to quote it in full.

³⁹ This fact is called to my attention by Professor Baskervill. The most comprehensive study of the legend is that by E. Sidney Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, 3 vols. London, 1894.

⁴⁰ Besides the numerous folk plays on the subject, there had apparently been a dramatic rendering of the classic story in a court play,—the "Percius and Anthomeris," given by Mulcaster's children on Shrove Tuesday, 1574. See Feuillerat, *Revels of Elizabeth*, p. 208.

⁴¹ The story begins with Vol. III, chap. 33, and extends over chapters 47, 48, 55, 57, 58, 61, 74, 75, and 80.

Princess Blanche, daughter of the King of Scotland, and sister of the Chevalier Dore. He is told that her hand will be given only to him who shall slay a certain flying serpent, destroy two lions who are ravaging the Kingdom of the Strange Marches, and bring to her the head of the Giant with Golden Hair. Accompanied by his squire, Clamydes, Lyonnel sets out to accomplish all these feats. After incredible difficulties he succeeds in slaying the flying serpent and the two lions whose ravages have almost converted the Strange Marches into a desert. But in "le geant aux creins dorez" he has a still more dreadful antagonist. Arriving at the isle of the giant, Lyonnel and Clamydes find a woman weeping bitterly. On asking the reason, they are told that she is the wife of the giant, and has lived on the island with him fifty years. She is the daughter of a nobleman of Denmark, and fifty years ago she married a knight of that country, who for his great size and the beauty of his hair, "est appelle le geant aux cheveux dorez." Until the birth of their daughter nine years ago, she lived happily enough with the giant, but since then he has developed bad habits, and makes no secret that "si tost que sa fille sera en aage quil puisse gesir avec elle, quil me gequera en la mer." Moreover, "il mest autant des bonnes damoisselles de ceste yslle quil par sa vile luxure ravist pour faire sa volente, dont les il acoustre tellement quelles meurent tantost: car elles ne sont pas de grandeur pour le recevoir." Lyonnel and Clamydes decide that their time will be well employed in ridding society of such a repulsive creature, and soon have his golden head safe in their possession. Before leaving the island, however, Clamydes marries the daughter of the giant, who, though only nine years old, is taller than the tallest knight, and who, in marked contrast to her father, is of a very sweet and gentle disposition. On the return to Scotland "ung faulx chevalier" named Harban, through the aid of enchantments, gets possession of the "chef aux creins dorez," imprisons Lyonnel, and proceeds to court to claim the hand of the princess. His fraud is discovered, however, and he is exposed. Lyonnel falls victim of new dangers through the wiles of the cowardly magician, Bruyant Sans Foy. He is imprisoned, along with several other knights, but just as Bruyant is making ready to murder the entire company, they are rescued by friendly knights of the "Franc

Palais."⁴² Blanche is pleased to redeem her promise in marriage by the same ceremony that unites Nerones and the Chevalier Dore.⁴³

It will be noted that the English dramatist has transferred these adventures of Lyonnel—with slight modifications—to his Sir Clamydes, the White Knight, making them serve as an obstacle to prevent his meeting the Knight of the Golden Shield at the Court of Alexander. That this story, rather than some other version of the Andromeda legend, was his original, is proved, moreover, not only by his use of the name "Clamydes" for his White Knight, but also by his taking over the character "Bryant Sansfoy." In the romance the rôle of Imposter is assigned the "faulx chevalier" Harban. The dramatist has eliminated Harban and given both rôles to Brian. In representing Brian as a coward whose business is that of murdering knights whom he has put to sleep by magic, the dramatist follows the romance exactly. Bryant Sansfoy is a descendant of the enchanter Darnant who filled the land with terror before Alexander came to Britian with Betis and Gaddifer. Betis, at great peril, penetrated the magic forest in which Darnant had his abode, and slew him, for which feat he was christened Perceforest, King of Great Britian, by Alexander, who also established Gaddifer as King of Scotland. These two royal gentlemen become the fathers of the Blanc Chevalier and the Chevalier Dore, respectively. It was not to be expected, therefore, that Bryant, who still dwelled in the Forest of Marvels, should entertain any kindly feelings for Perceforest and his Knights of the Franc Palais. In fact, he hated them bitterly, but being a coward, he did no dare to meet them openly, and his malignant treachery had won him the title of Bryant "Sansfoy."⁴⁴

For the incidents of his plot, then, the author of *Clyomon and Clamydes* is wholly indebted to the romance of *Perceforest*, except for the slight modifications made here and there to accommodate the action to the conventional comic figure, Subtle Shift. Often, too, the language and the circumstantial detail of the original are plainly discernible in the ranting couplets of the play, as will

⁴² A chivalric association founded by Perceforest, and corresponding in general to the Round Table of King Arthur.

⁴³ Cf. Vol. IV, chap. 1. The account of these royal weddings is highly interesting from the standpoint of social history.

⁴⁴ The punishment which he so richly deserves comes at last in very strange fashion; he is slain by an infant only one year old, posthumus son of one of the many knights whom he had murdered in their sleep. Cf. Vol. IV, Chap. 14.

be evident from a comparison of certain passages. The indebtedness begins apparently with the prologue. The romance seeks to sharpen the intellectual palates of its readers as follows:

“Vous y verrez, O Magnifiques Seigneurs, le vaillant Perceforest et le noble Gaddifer son frere instituez roys par le conquerour Alexandre le grant. . . . Vous verrez lordounance du franc palais, ou nestoit laysible a cueur recree trouuer adresse. Vous verrez douze chevaliers tous fils de roys venir en estat priuue, dissimulans leur royalle origine pour plus a liberte exercer cheualerie. Vous leur verrez vouer douze veux, le moindre plus difficile que les douze labeurs du grant Hercules. Vous verrez ceulx veux acomplyz et mis a fin. . . . Vous verrez les desdultz de plusieurs amans, les peines martires et plaintifz deulz et delleurs amyes. Vous verrez les incroyables forces des enchantemens dont se couroit le desloyal Darnant en ses forestz. Vous le verrez suppediter et mettre a mort par le victorieux Perceforest. . . . Vous verrez Bruyant sans foy ennemy des chevaliers du franc palais plusieurs foys les decevoir. Et a la parfin le verrez vaincre et mettre a mort par Passelyon enfant dung an. . . . Brief vous verrez tant de merueilleuses entreprises, guerres, tournoys, adventures, layz, propheties, detectables propos, chevaleureuses doctrines, exemples salutaires.”

The dramatist is much less specific, but the similarity in matter and the parallelism in structure are hardly accidental. He says:

“As lately lifting up the leaves of worthy writers workes,
Wherein the noble acts and deeds of many hidden lurks,
Our Author he hath found the Glasse of glory shining bright,
Wherein their lives are to be seen, which honour did delight,
Wherein the froward chances oft, of Fortune you shall see,
Wherein the chearefull countenance of good successes bee,
Wherein true Lovers findeth joy, with hugie heapes of care,
Wherein as well as famous facts, ignomius placed are:
Wherein the just reward of both, is manifestly showne,
That virtue from the root of Vice, might openly be known,” etc.

Whatever basis of comparison is chosen, it soon becomes evident that the Englishman has not improved his borrowed material. Indeed, in every instance the change from the simple prose to the uncouth metrics is accompanied with a distinct loss in force and dignity. Let us take, for example, the reported meeting of the two

knights after the interrupted ceremonies at the court of Perceforest. As the romance has it,—

“Damp Chevalier, (dist Bethides) supplanteur dau truy honneur, gardez vous de moy iouster conuient. Le chevalier dor respondi courtoisement et dist. Sire chevalier, amender pouez vostre parolle sil vous plaist, car ie ne suis supplanteur dau truy honneur, et se ie me suis aduance pour mon honneur, et iay receu la colee que oncques ne fut a tort, car elle estait mienne. . . . Sire Chevalier, dist Bethides arreztez vous tant que vous me ayez dit vostre nom. Comment, beau sire, dist le chevalier dore, qui estes vous, qui mon nom voulez scauoir. Je suis, dist Bethides, ung chevalier a qui vous auez fait villenye, et vrayement sil fust heure vous lamendissiez. . . . Sire, dist le chevalier dore: Se aucunement vous auoys meffait lamende ne seroit pas oultrageuse, mais tant veulx que vous sachez que iay voue que mon nom ne diray a chevalier que moy.”⁴⁵

It is interesting to note how the tone of dignified courtesy here used is changed to one of vulgar raillery when the incident is transferred to the drama:

- Clamy.* Stay thou cowardly knight,
that like a dastard camst, to steal away my right.
- Clyo.* What, what, you raile sir prinkocks Prince me coward
for to call.
- Clamy.* Well for what intent camst thou my honour to steal
away?
- Clyo.* That I tooke ought from thee, I utterly deny.
- Clamy.* Didst thou not take the honour which my father
to me gave?
- Clyo.* Of that thou hadst not, I could thee not deprave.
- Clamy.* Didst thou not take away my Knighthood from me?
- Clyo.* No, for I had it before it was given unto thee.
And having it before thee, what argument canst thou
make,
That ever from thee the same I did take?
- Clamy.* Well, what hight they name, let me that understand,
And wherefore thou travailedst here in my father's
land
So boldly to attempt in his court such a thing?

⁴⁵ Vol. II, fol. 151 b.

Clyo. The bolder the attempt is, more honour doth it bring:
But what my name is desirest thou to know?

Clamy. What thy name is, I would gladly perstand:

Clyo. Nay, that shall none never know, unlesse by force of
hand

He vanquish me in fight, such a vow I have made,
And therefore to combat with me, thyself do per-
swade," etc.⁴⁶

A comparison of these passages shows a rather close correspondence between them in the minor matters of detail, with a distinct lowering of the stately pitch in passing from the romance to the play, and this may be said to be the case throughout. The way in which the narrative matter is fitted into the dramatic mould is perhaps worth one more illustration. When the King of Norway learns that Nerones has eluded him, he soliloquizes thus:

"Ha Nerones faulse et doubliere qui eust cuyde telle subtillesse en vous, il a euidenment appareu en vostre fait que vous sentez de la haulte Bretagne ou toutes les femmes sont enchantresses, . . . il n'ya nul remede elle ma bien trampe: mais se iamais ie la puis trouuer, tout lor du monde ne les scauroit garantir de mort." He is discovered by the Chevalier Dore, who cries,—“Ha faulx et desloyal roy, nas tu honte de fuyr deuant ung seul chevalier. Tu as disrobe a ta malle sante la pucelle Nerones en son hastel, et au gyron de son pere . . . tu mourras ains tu meschappes. . . . Faulx traistre et mouuais ravisser de pucelles, le jour est venu que tu rendras compte de ta trahison. . . . Le roy qui estoit fort et puissant et qui estoit en son meilleur aage environ quarante ans . . . print la parolle en disant. Notre maistre qui nestes que une poupee selon vostre aage ou auez vous prins le hardement de moy suyuir: se ieusse cuyde que chevalier de tout petite me eust chasse . . . si te demande comme a celluy qui est deuenu chevalier deuant son term, qui tu es, et se tu es celluy qui se dit lamoureux de Nerones. Par ma foy malheureux roy respondit le chevalier dore. Je suis in tout honneur seruiteur a la pucelle, laquelle le dieu souuerain vueille garder ou que elle soit. Se te diz pour toutes choses que iamais de mes mains ne eschappes tant que ie te auray mis a mort.”⁴⁷

⁴⁶ ll. 440-468. The remarks of Subtle Shift are omitted.

⁴⁷ Vol. III, fol. 92 a.

In the drama this becomes,—

Thras. Oh subtil Neronis, how hast thou me vexed?
 Through thy crafty dealings how am I perplexed?
 Did ever any winne a dame, and lose her in such sort?
 The maladies are marvellous, the which I do support
 Through her deceit, but forth I will my company
 to meet,
 If ever she be caught againe, I will her so intreate,
 That others all shall warning take, by such a subtil
 dame,
 How that a Prince for to delude, such ingins they
 do frame.

Enter Clyomon Knight of the Golden Shield

Clyo. Nay, Traytour, stay and take with thee that mortall
 blow or stroke
 The which shall cause thy wretched corps this life for
 to revoke.
 It enjoyeth me at the hart that I have met thee in
 this place.

Thras. What varlet darest thou be so bold, with words in
 such a cace,
 For to upbraide thy Lord and King? What art
 thou soone declare?

Clyo. My Lord and King, I thee defe, and in despite I dare
 Thee for to say thou art no Prince, for thou a traytour
 art,
 And what reward is due therefore, to thee I shall impart.

Thras. Thou braggest all to boldly still, what hight thy name
 expresse?

Clyo. What hight my name thou shalt not know, ne will
 I it confess:
 But for that thou my lady stolest from fathers court
 away,
 Ile sure revenge that trayterous fact upon thyself
 this day.

Since I have met so luckily with thee here all alone,
 Although as I do understand, from thee she now is gone,
 Yet therefore do defend thyself, for here I thee assaile,

Thras. Alas poore boy, thinkest thou against me to prevaile?
Here let them fight, the King fall downe dead."⁴⁸

From these illustrations it will be evident that the French romance of chivalry has undergone no improvement in the transformation into English heroic drama. The contrary is in fact the case. The original itself promised little enough in the way of successful dramatic presentation, and the employment of an absurdly inappropriate medium of expression made virtual failure a foregone conclusion. Certainly to this more than to any other one thing is due the impression of crudity. But his material contained possibilities that the dramatist evidently did not recognize. Nor is the fact surprising. In obedience, doubtless, to popular demand, he seems to have been mainly intent on preserving—and *heightening*—the screeching heroics of his original,—ranting soliloquies and contests in personal abuse carried on between the leading protagonists. Whatever is incapable of adaptation to the vein of boistrous melodrama is either passed over in silence or else so blunted and dulled in the presentation that its original charm is quite lost. Out of much that is irrational and extravagant in the romance of *Perceforest*, the dramatist has chosen an episode of intrinsic literary merit,—the love story of Neronis and the Chevalier Dore, and while his dramatic version is not without a crude interest, it fails to preserve even the naïve simplicity of the original. The masculine disguise of Neronis yields only melodrama. It would be highly uncharitable to remind the reader of Viola and Rosalind.

It should also be noted in this connection that, although Neronis is found for a time in the company of shepherds and meets her knightly lover amid country scenes, the pastoral element in its true sense is wholly lacking. These incidents bring no breath of sylvan freshness, but become simply the occasion of a bit of unentertaining clownage. Corin is not the shepherd of poetic imagination, but a vulgar yokel, speaking the dialect of Hodge and Diccon the Bedlam, and living a life of repulsive immorality. The romantic blending of courtly and country life, so happily affected by writers like Sidney and Greene, was still absent from English comedy when *Clyomon and Clamydes* was written. The presence of Corin in the play is due to the same cause that begets Subtle Shift,—the carrying on of earlier dramatic tradition. They are the conventional figures of low comedy, as are the similar characters in *Cambyses*, *Orestes*, *Damon and Pithias*, and *Common Condition* s

In connection with the discussion of the source of *Clyomon and Clamydes*, it might be well to add that certain incongruities which commentators have noted in the setting and atmosphere of the play are perhaps adequately accounted for when once the source is known. The presence of Alexander the Great as the adjudicator in the quarrels between the princes of western Europe, and the facility with which the action shifts back and forth between Denmark, Macedonia, and the mythical Kingdom of the Strange Marches, have been censured as working havoc with both space and time, to say nothing of the violence done to our sense of historical relations. Besides this meeting of the east and west in the setting and in the *dramatis personae*, the play contains other slightly incongruous elements. The enveloping atmosphere is of course that of feudalism and chivalry, but there is a trifle more than the impression of mere habit of speech in the frequent allusions to the characters of Grecian mythology. The Olympian deities are often mentioned, both individually and collectively. The references to fortune, too, as the controlling power in human destiny are still more frequent. Into her hands the characters commit themselves with prayers for her favor. Upon her shoulders they place the responsibility of their acts and blame her for the results which these acts have caused. In consequence the matter of mediæval romance is given a faintly perceptible classical tinge.

But in all these matters the author of the play is only following his original. The presence of Alexander and the other marks of eastern affiliation are derived directly from the romance of *Perceforest*, the six folio volumes of which were conceived as a sequel to the *Voeux du Paon*. That the continuity may be made clear, a full abstract of the *Voeux* is given in the first volume of *Perceforest*. The romance begins with the meeting of Alexander and Cassanius, and the war with Claurus. After the consummation of the marriages which were arranged in the *Voeux du Paon*—Gadifer and Lydaine, parents of the Chevalier Dore, and Betis and Ydorus, parents of the Blanc Chevalier—in company with Alexander, they all set out to visit the temple of Venus, but a supernatural tempest drives them upon the shores of Great Britain. For his feat in slaying Darnant, Betis is established as King of Great Britain, with the name of Perceforest. The Kingdom of Scotland is bestowed upon Gaddifer. In the romance, Alexander does not actually participate in the incidents appropriated by the author

of *Clyomon and Clamydes*, but he is taken over as a sort of superhero, and the final meeting between the knights is set to take place at his court rather than at the Pine of Marvels, as provided in the original.

The historical importance of *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes* in the development of the English romantic drama depends to a great extent upon the date of its composition, and of this we can not be certain. If, as seems altogether probable from internal evidence, it is correctly assigned to the middle or late seventies, then, as a measure of the degree of maturity which the romantic species had attained by that time, and as an exemplar, presumably, of the large number of plays upon similar themes which are known to have been produced during this decade but which have not been preserved, it is of tremendous importance historically, for it shares with *Common Conditions* alone the distinction of being the representative of its period and type. As measuring the approach to the artistic drama, we find the attempt, with the handicap of a crude and unwieldy verse-form, to present seriously and with the single end of giving pleasure, a story of love and adventure deliberately chosen from a romantic source. The love element, though prominent and treated with seriousness and dignity, is nevertheless somewhat cold and perfunctory, depending for its romantic appeal upon the external and the incidental rather than inner psychological probability. The assuming of male disguise by the heroine—probably the earliest appearance of this popular motive in Elizabethan drama—is not wholly ineffective, though unfortunately for itself, it suggests comparison with similar situations devised by Shakespeare, the exquisite charm of which makes us all the more intolerant of heavy-handed bungling. Of characterization in the strict sense, there is none in the play, and whatever interest it is able to command must grow wholly out of the incidents of its plot. The two titular heroes themselves are without even the shadow of individuality, or internal trait by which they may be distinguished from each other. The fidelity with which the author of the play adhered to his original source makes it superfluous to speak of his power over his material. His one bit of initiative consisted in transferring the Andromeda legend from a different part of the romance and engrafting it on to his principal story. Everywhere else—except in the names, some of which he seems to have invented—he is wholly dependent upon his original. But

in spite of its extravagant subject-matter and crude style, if its tortured language and versification may be so called, *Clyomon and Clamydes* is deserving of respectful attention from the student of Elizabethan drama. Historically, if not intrinsically, its claim to distinction is well founded.

CHAPTER V

THE EARLY ROMANTIC DRAMA IN CONTEMPORARY CRITICISM

One of the most striking anomalies in the history of English literature is the attitude of open hostility or contemptuous neglect which contemporary criticism assumed toward the Elizabethan romantic drama. What the well-nigh unanimous verdict of all later times has pronounced the *magnum opus* of the English Renaissance found no sponsor among the critics of its own age. With the public, to be sure, it was taken, even in its crude beginnings, into immediate and enduring favor, but among the judicious it received, at the most, only the apologetic approval as a thing beloved of the crowd. The mere conflict between critical pronouncements and popular taste is of course not surprising. Many parallels will at once occur to every one who reflects for a moment upon the history of criticism. But that an age which was so distinctly romantic in spirit should have given no sort of critical justification to an art-form which it brought to perfection, is an instance of critical perversity for which the history of literature scarcely contains a parallel.

The explanation of course lies in the fact that formal and even incidental criticism in England began in complete subservience to classical standards. It was, in fact, an importation pure and simple. The sources from which Elizabethan creative literature drew its inspiration were, on the other hand, as various as the diverse influences which moulded the English Renaissance. It was inevitable, therefore, that this literature should come into sharp and frequent conflict with the rigid principles of classical criticism. The drama in particular was the form for which classicism had established fixed conventions; and it was with respect to the drama that English classicists adopted the most uncompromising attitude. For both comedy and tragedy, the pathway which English dramatists should follow was too plain to be missed. The theory of Aristotle, with the example of Seneca, Plautus, and Terence, left no room for doubt as to what constituted sound dramatic practice. The criteria thus adduced were accepted as a matter of course by all upon whom the light of scholarship had shed its illuminating rays. *Ralph Roister Doister* and *Gammer*

Gurton's Needle are the results of their application in the domain of school comedy; while *Gorboduc* and *Jocasta* are less perfect examples of the same principles applied to tragedy.

But side by side with this child of aristocratic lineage, there was growing up another youngster, uncouth but vigorous, upon whom the disparaging glances of schoolmasters and scholarly critics made very little impression. For notwithstanding the favor shown it at Court, the Elizabethan romantic drama was in a literal sense a child of the people; and, having none of the traditions of respectability to preserve, it enjoyed in consequence a natural and untrammelled development. Like most things of common origin, its early history is shrouded in obscurity. Its primitive examples were seldom regarded as worthy of preservation even by its friends; and, as has been said, the period of its greatest brilliancy raised up for it almost no defenders among those whose tastes were regarded as having been properly formed. As a result, we are compelled to depend largely upon the sneering references of hostile critics for our knowledge of it during the formative stages of its existence. Even such purely incidental remarks are few and meager. It was generally regarded as beneath the dignity of criticism, and is usually mentioned as an instance of the barbarity of popular taste. For many years it was silently ignored by the advocates of the classical drama, who contented themselves merely by producing in the vernacular and in Latin examples written in accordance with accepted classical principles.

The earliest recorded attack upon the romantic drama for its artistic shortcomings is that made by George Whetstone in the preface to his *Promos and Cassandra*, published in 1578. Whetstone, it will be remembered, was thoroughly committed to the doctrine that the drama should not forego its splendid opportunity of teaching a lesson. At a time when the "defenders" of poetry were marshalling their resources to repel the Puritan onslaught, any preface that rested its case upon the modest plea of poetry for its own sake would have been regarded with suspicion even in the camp of its friends. Whetstone is at pains, therefore, to show that *Promos and Cassandra* can justify its existence on the score of social utility; and as a moralist he takes a fling at the contemporary dramatists of Italy, France, and Spain, who, he alleges, are "so lascivious in their comedies that honest hearers are grieved at their actions." As an artist, however, he protests against the

dull sermonizing of the German playwrights. But the Englishman is more culpable than any of his continental brethren, since he offends against both moral and artistic propriety; and in pronouncing his censure, Whetstone is speaking strictly as a classicist who has been disgusted with the absurdities of the romantic drama. The Englishman's fault he declares to be fundamental,—his "quality," wherein he is "most vaine, indiscreet and out of order." The sum of the charges which Whetstone brings against the romantic dramatist in the exercise of unwarranted liberties is that he has had no regard whatever for the so-called classical unities. He has crowded the lives and actions of two generations into the space of three hours, and in the same brief period he has "run through the world," bringing gods from heaven and devils from hell. With all these sins to answer for, he has offended still further by violating the sacred principle of decorum, and, for the sake of vulgar laughter, has made a clown companion to a king, using one order of speech for all persons.

The interest of Whetstone's preface is not that it announces any new principle. In insisting that Englishmen follow the formal example of the classics, he is only repeating what the humanists had advocated from the beginning. Equally familiar also is his demand that the drama justify its existence on other than purely artistic grounds. But in attacking existing evils, he writes a little chapter in the history of the romantic drama at a period when contemporary records are either silent or else too meager to afford a satisfactory account.

The same is true in an even greater degree of the famous attack of Sir Philip Sidney in the *Defense of Poesy*. Though becoming somewhat hackneyed by repeated quotation, this celebrated passage has lost none of its importance to the historian of the early English drama, and may not improperly be subjected to one more reproduction. After decrying the violation of the unities of time and place in even so good a play as *Gorboduc*, he continues: "But if it is so in *Gorboduc*, how much more in all the rest? Where you shall have Asia of the one side and Afric of the other, and so many other kingdoms that the player, when he comes in, must ever begin by telling where he is, else the tale will not be conceived. Now shall you have three ladies walk to gather flowers, and then we must believe the stage to be a garden. By and by we hear news of a shipwreck in the same place, and then we are to blame if we

accept it not for a rock. Upon the back of that comes out a hideous monster with fire and smoke, and then the miserable beholders are bound to take it for a cave; while in the meantime two armies fly in represented by four swords and bucklers, and then what hard heart will not take it for a pitched field?

"Now of time they are much more liberal, for ordinary it is that two young princes fall in love; after many traverses she is got with child; delivered of a fair boy; he is lost, groweth a man, and is ready to get another child, and all this within two hours space; which, how absurd it is in sense, even sense may imagine. Lastly, if they will represent a history, they must not, as Horace saith, begin "ab ovo," but they must come to the principle point of that one action which they will represent. . . .

"But besides these gross absurdities, how all their plays be neither right tragedies nor right comedies, mingling kings and clowns, not because the matter so carrieth it, but thrust in the clown by the head and shoulders, to play a part in majestical matters, with neither decency nor discretion; so as neither the admiration and commiseration, nor the right sportfulness, is by their mongrel tragicomedies obtained. I know Apulius did somewhat so but that is a thing recounted with space of time, not represented in one moment: and I know the ancients have one or two examples of tragicomedies, as Plautus hath *Amphytrio*. But, if we mark them well, we shall find that they never, or very daintily, match hornpipes and funerals."¹

Taking this unsympathetic characterization in connection with Whetstone's preface, and making the necessary allowance in each case for the classical prejudice of the writer, we are able to draw certain dependable inferences regarding the extensive body of romantic drama which is known to have been produced during the first twenty-five years of the reign of Elizabeth, but of which we have not much more than the titles remaining. Of its crudity and extravagance, we may be quite certain, even after allowing generously for the animus of Whetstone and Sydney. We see in their strictures the embryonic species struggling to be born; the perplexity of the dramatist in his failure to discriminate between matter that is essentially narrative, and that which may be made to serve the purposes of the drama; his inability to begin otherwise than "ab ovo," and his imperfect success in trying to bring within

¹"Defense of Poesy," G. Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, 1, 59-60.

working compass the unwieldy materials of heroic romance; and, most clearly of all, perhaps, his readiness still further to encumber himself with unassimilated matter from the morality and from popular farce. A conglomeration of horse-play and rude melodrama must have been the usual result. Such survivals as have reached us from this and the period immediately preceding that in which Sidney was writing gave little promise of the splendid transformation which the despised form was to undergo before the end of the century; among them, however, we fancy that we recognize some of the particular atrocities which moved the critic to scorn. In his sarcastic sketch of the lives of two generations of romance heroes Sidney must have been thinking of *Amadis*, beloved of Don Quixote; but while episodes of the cycle had furnished the subject-matter for court plays on at least two different occasions, a longitudinal treatment, such as Sidney's words would seem to imply, is not indicated by existing records. But the number and character of such plays that may have found their way upon the popular stage, we have no means of knowing. It seems certain that they were more numerous than has generally been supposed. We are not to infer, however, that it was merely the entertainments of the unlettered public against which Sidney is directing critical shafts. The few surviving members of the class,—such plays as *Damon and Pythias*, *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*, and *Common Conditions*, two of which are known to have been presented before the Queen,—are full of the very excesses of which he complains. Dragons and monsters, with the accompanying pyrotechnics, found their way into the most aristocratic circles. In the Revels accounts for 1572-3, among the properties employed for "setting forth sundry playes . . . with other sportes and pastymes for her Majesties recreation in Christmas and Shrovetide at Hampton Coorte and Greenwitche," there is an entry for a monster costing twenty shillings.² Again in the expense accounts for the office of the Revels from November 1, 1581 to October 31, 1582—the very period at which Sidney was writing—we find the entry: "To John rose for a mount with a castell upon the top, a dragon and an artificial tree . . . £C. To him for an artificial Lyon and a horse made of wood . . . £VI."³ Elsewhere for the same period we read: "The mount, the dragon with the fyer works, Castell with

² Feuillerat, *Documents relating to the Office of the Revels*, p. 175.

³ *Ibid.* p. 345.

the falling sydes, Tree with shields, hermitage and hermit, Savages, Enchanter, Charryott, and incydents to to these . . . CC m."⁴ These properties were used in a play of which we do not know the name, but there is no mistaking the awe-inspiring paraphernalia of mediaeval romance. And it is the substitution of classic simplicity and rationalism for such Gothic splendors and terrors that Sidney and Whetstone are contending.

These appear to be the sole instances in contemporary criticism in which the rising romantic drama is attacked for its artistic short-comings. Other assailants there are, to be sure, bitter and uncompromising, but their hostility proceeds from a different motive. They are the Puritan moralists, inheritors of a tradition of hostility toward the drama which proceeds in direct line from Chrysostom and Anastasius. The inexorable logic of the more extreme members of this party is typically expressed by Stubbs: All plays are either of div'ne or profane matter. If divine, they are superfluous, because men have the Bible; they are sacrilegious, because the word of God is to be handled reverently, gravely, sagely. But if they are of profane matter, they are intolerable, for they tend to the dishonor of God and the nourishing of vice.⁵ There is, however, nothing unique either in the contention or in the point of view of the sixteenth century Puritan assailants of the drama. Nash describes their position not inaccurately when he says of them, "These men inveigh against no new vice which heretofore by the censure of the learned hath not been sharply condemned, but teare that peicemealwise which long since by ancient writers was wounded to the death."⁶ The Puritan attacks, however, which speedily grew in violence and frequency with the appearance of the public theaters and the rapid rise of the drama in popular favor, are infinitely rich in matter pertaining to social and literary history. The vigorous popular drama, whose existence before this time is largely conjectural, begins to be indistinctly seen through the mists and fogs of controversy.

The critics in this instance are looking at the drama not from the artistic, but from the moral point of view. They say very little from which we may draw conclusions touching the progress

⁴ Feuillerat, p. 345.

⁵ Philip Stubbs, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, New Shak. Soc. Series VI, 4, 6, Part 1, p. 140.

⁶ T. Nash, "Anatomie of Absurditie," Smith, *Elizabethan Crit. Essays*, I, 325.

that was being made in the evolution of an artistic popular drama. But in their arraignment of the theater for its alleged immorality they make it clear that the great body of this popular drama was romantic in theme, and, we may very safely assume, unclassical in technique as well. Stephen Gosson, in the second of his series of controversial pamphlets, "Plays Confuted in Five Actions" (c. 1581), informs us specifically as to what its sources were. "I may bo'dly say it," he declares in the oft-quoted passage, "that the *Palace of Pleasure*, *The Golden Ass*, *The Ethiopian History*, *Amadis of France*, *The Round Table*, and bawdy comedies in Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian have been ransacked to furnish the play houses of London." This list contains representatives of every important source of romantic material save one,—the Spanish pastoral romance, whose vogue was even then beginning. Blended with the materials and atmosphere of Greek romance, it formed in the works of Sidney and Greene the literary fashion that followed hard upon the heels of Euphuism, and left many traces upon the drama written around the end of the century. From Gosson's remarks, we know that the generation immediately preceding Shakespeare had discovered the rich quarry of dramatic material afforded by the Italian novelle, which had reached England first as the single verse tale and later in Painter's *Palace of Pleasure* and similar collections. The "Romeus and Juliet" which Arthur Brooke testifies to having seen upon the stage (c. 1561) is an early instance of the utilization of this material for dramatic purposes. Elsewhere in Gosson's tract the plays derived from heroic romance are singled out for disparaging allusion. "Sometimes you shall see nothing," he says, "but the adventures of an amorous knight passing from country to country for the love of his lady, encountering many a terrible monster made of brown paper, and at his return so wonderfully changed he could be known but by some posy in his tablet, or by a broken ring or a handkerchief, or a piece of cockle shell." Various entries in the account books of the Revels office come into our minds at the mention of monsters made of brown paper. The type of play here suggested,—of which the surviving *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes* is probably a fair example,—was doubtless a favorite with popular audiences; and we have evidence in Henslowe's *Diary* that their vogue continued until the end of the century.

As a university man and a former play-wright, Gosson's Puritan prejudices were probably intensified by something of the artist's contempt for these formless productions. Certainly it is the wretched technique of the contemporary history play that called forth the following comment: "If a true history be taken in hand, it is made like our shadows, largest at the rising and falling of the sun, shortest of all at high noon. For the poets drive it most commonly into such points as may best show the majesty of their pens in tragical speeches; or set their hearers agog with scoffs and taunts; or wring in a show to furnish forth the stage when it is too bare." This bit of criticism derives additional interest from the fact that it is purely gratuitous,—a remark by the way upon a feature and a species of the drama which we would suppose to have been least objectionable to Gosson. For it will be remembered that he was not of those extremists who objected to the theater *per se*. In the *School of Abuse* he conceded that there are "good plays and sweet plays"—plays worthy even to be "sung of the muses." When he stops thus in the midst of his polemic to point out the faults in the dramatic methods pursued by his opponents, we are inclined to attach all the more significance to his criticism. His words suggest also that the mongrel type produced by the blending of history and romance, as illustrated in *Edward III* and Greene's *James IV*, where the poet stops amid war-like speeches to "set his hearers agog with discourses of love," were known even in the early "eighties." The criticism that writers of chronicle plays direct their themes so as to "show the majesty of their pens in tragical speeches" suggests the bombast of *Lochrine* and *Selimus*; while their readiness to leave the historical matter and "paint a few antics to fit their own humours" might be aptly illustrated in the excessive clownage of *The Famous Victories of Henry V*. Indeed all that Gosson says on this head applies very forcibly to our earliest extant chronicle plays, though, so far as we know, none of them had been produced at the time he was writing. The conclusion is that they have preserved the general characteristics of even cruder examples of the same type which went before them.

The subject-matter of the young romantic drama can be easily seen as the chief support for the charge of gross and flagrant immorality which the Puritan reformers brought against the English theater. Thus, when Stubbs, in the *Anatomie of Abuses*, declares

that, "Of Comedies the matter and ground is love, bawdrie, cosenage, flattery, whoredome, adultrie," and that "the Persons, or agents, are whores, queanes, bawds, scullions, knaves, curtezans, lecherous old men and amorous young men,"⁷ etc., we perceive that he is transferring to the drama the sentiments, and something of the language, which Ascham had expressed some years earlier concerning the whole body of romantic literature, whether of mediaeval romance or later Italian novella. It was probably the romantic comedy of intrigue that Stubbs had particularly in mind in this denunciation,—the "bawdie comedies in Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian," which Gosson declared had been "ransacked to furnish forth the English stage." English adaptations of this *genre* begin with *Calisto and Melibea*, which came from the press of John Rastell when the century was still young. *The Bugbears* (1561), a translation of Grazzini's *La Spirita*, Gascoigne's more famous adaptation of Ariosto, *The Supposes*, and Munday's *Two Italian Gentlemen*, are the extant representatives of Italy's contribution to this species of romantic drama. There were also several translations from Italian into Latin for performance upon the English university stage. Gosson's own *Captain Mario*, described as a "cast of Italian devices," may have been of the same affiliation, while the *Frederick and Basilea*, which exists in "platte" among the papers of Edward Alleyn, probably belonged to the species known as the *commedia dell'arte*, in which a story was acted by means of improvised dialogue. Several lost court plays of the period were very probably adaptations of Italian dramatic originals. When we add to these the direct dramatization of the work of the Italian novelists, we see that the number of romantic plays founded upon the various motives of intrigue must have been considerable; and there is small wonder, on the whole, that they should have aroused the bitterest hostility of the Puritans. The less tolerant replied with mockery and derision when it was urged that the stage might be turned to good account in instructing men in matters of conduct and right living. Hear Stubbs on the subject of the ethical instruction to be obtained at the theater: "If you will learne falsehood; if you will learne cosenage; if you will learne to deceive; if you will learne to play the Hipocrit, to cogge, lye, and falsify; if you will learne to play the vice; to swear, teare, and blaspheme both Heaven and Earth:

⁷ *Anatomic of Abuses*, New Shak. Soc., Series VI, 4, 6, Part 1, p. 143.

If you will learne to become a bawd, uncleane, and to devirginate Mayds, and to deflower honest Wyves; if you will learne to murder, flaye, kill, picke, steal, robbe and rove: If you will learne to rebel against Princes, to commit treasons, to consume treasures, to practise Ydleness, to sing and talke of bawdie love and venery; if you will learne to deride, scoffe, mock and flowt, to flatter and smooth; if you will learn to play the whore-maister, the glutton, Drunkard or incestuous person: if you will learn to become proude, hawtie, and arrogant; and, finally, if you will lerne to condemn God and all his laws, to care neither for heaven nor hel, and to commit all kind of sin and mischief. you need go to no other school."⁸

The foregoing passages are typical of the references to the early romantic drama, both in criticism proper, and in the Puritan attacks. As actual historical data, they leave much to be desired; yet in the present state of our information they are invaluable to the student of the early drama. The one incontrovertible fact that shines through them is, that upon the romantic drama in particular were heaped the contempt and ridicule of the classical critics and the most virulent abuse of the Puritan reformers. But other matters of particular significance are present by implication. From this welter of vituperation and ridicule the following inferences may be safely drawn:

1. That by 1580, the body of dramatic literature upon romantic themes was much larger than the number of surviving plays and the evidence of contemporary records would seem to indicate.
2. That these plays were called into being, for the most part, to meet the demands of popular audiences.
3. That the various sources of romantic literature had been drawn upon for this material, and that the several types of romantic drama were already familiar.
4. That the heroic play, founded upon the mediaeval romance of adventure, was a favorite, especially with popular audiences.
5. That judged from a technical and literary point of view, these plays were, as a rule, of a low order of merit, having but slight regard for the boundary line between comedy and tragedy, and catering to the public taste with liberal admixtures of popular farce and sensational melodrama.

⁸ *Anatomic of Abuses*, p. 145.

We have said that the hostile attitude assumed toward the English romantic drama by the exponents of classical culture was due to the fact that the classical drama and the classic theory of dramatic art had been favorite subjects of study among the English humanists from an early day. The rules and principles of Aristotle, with the additions which they received at the hands of the sixteenth century humanists, were thoroughly known and greatly revered. Such shameless monstrosities, therefore, as the nondescript tragicomedies, which in three hours' time "ran through the world" and encompassed the whole life of man—which belonged to no category and recognized no law—were unfit even for the gross appetites of the rabble. Such unquestionably is the import of the language of Cheke, Ascham, Whetstone, and Sidney. But in view of the fact that what obtained in actual practice was a vigorous and headlong romanticism, the question arises whether, after all, the classicists' objections were not largely academic, and not much more vital than the insistence upon classical meters. How much of the expressed hostility to the romantic drama was due to the fact that it had long been the fashion in learned circles to sneer at whatever lacked the flavor of classical antiquity? How sincere was the insistence upon strict regularity in matters of form? What was the critical attitude toward imaginative literature in general, and particularly toward the unflinching source of romantic ideas and inspiration, the Middle Ages?

Whatever answer we might find for these questions, it is quite clear that the native dramatic impulse was too strong to be made to yield, except in a minor degree, to the restraints of classical precedent. The actual number of plays which conform to humanistic standards is comparatively small, and these are represented largely by the artificial Latin drama of the universities. Even the greatly beloved Senecan tragedy yielded to the inspired genius of Marlowe and Kyd. The sober and stately *Gorboduc* is held up by Sidney as an example of romantic license. Whetstone, it is true, sought to strengthen precept by example in making his dramatized Italian novella conform to the Aristotelian principles of structure, and the Arthurian legends are made by the young scholars of Gray's Inn, to yield "a truly Thyestian history of a noble house devoted for its crimes of insolence to ruin." But the force of these examples was no more effective than the ridicule of Sidney in staying the on-coming flood of romanticism. Whatever the canons of criticism might approve, the temper of the public was fiercely and aggressively unclassical.

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Ellison, L.M.
Early Romantic
at the English Court

DATE:

Oct. 14/48
9 Nov 46
Nov 12/51

NAME OF BORROWER.

Robert Morrison
Russett & Morrison
F.O. Heeney

