

THE LITERARY CAREER OF THOMAS LODGE, 1579-1596:  
STUDIES OF THE PLAYS, PROSE FICTION AND VERSE

by

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## Synopsis

This thesis consists of studies of Lodge's writings in the major genres during his literary career, from 1579 to 1596. The first chapter is a biographical sketch, with particular attention to that period. The literary career is seen as a diversion and a postponement of his real vocations, medicine and Catholicism. The sixth chapter comments briefly on the pamphlets and the later works. The four main chapters treat, respectively, plays, prose fiction, lyric poems and sonnets, narrative and satirical verse. The studies include description of little-known works, structural and prosodic analysis, critical assessment, some textual criticism, source study and consideration of Elizabethan literary history as it impinges upon Lodge's writings. The bibliography is part of the thesis and is intended as a research tool in its own right. It consists of classified lists of essential materials for scholarly and critical work on Lodge. The thesis is thus partly exploratory and preparatory.

The main critical contention is that Lodge's literary reputation has suffered from its subsidiary relationship with Shakespeare's. Lodge excelled as a poet, particularly as a lyricist, and ought to be regarded primarily as such, rather than primarily as a prose romancer (i.e., author of Rosalynde). It is urged that editions of Lodge's works, beginning with the verse, are needed.

Approximate length: 90,000 words

## Preface and Note on Texts

I began this thesis, rather naively, as a general critical survey of all Lodge's works. It has become something else, and I wish to say here what the final product comprises. The more I have learned, the more I have pared away, until the scope has been reduced to the period of his main literary activity, from about 1579 to 1596, and within that span, to the writings in the major genres, namely, drama, prose fiction and poetry. 'Critical surveying' soon turned into various sorts of scholarly investigating. It became clear that the number of books on Lodge was misleading: all were critical biographies or more cursory surveys of the man and his works. The narrative of the events of his life, as they are known, was almost always the primary objective and the writings were commented upon, sometimes perceptively, sometimes less so, en passant. I wanted to leave the 'life' aside, fascinating though it is, and concentrate on the works. It is, after all, because he wrote that we know of or care about Lodge in the first place. So I have not written a biography. The first chapter recounts in summary fashion the known events of Lodge's life up to 1596 when, in a real sense, one life ended and another began.

The chapters which follow are studies of the works by genre, with the poetry divided into lyrics and sonnets, and narrative and satirical verse. This arrangement has meant long chapters: the alternatives were many very short chapters, one on each work, which would in any case have become impossible with the short poems and made for fragmentation in the treatment, or a chronological scheme with arbitrary divisions. The groupings I have used are natural ones and, furthermore, they allow comparisons of each of Lodge's own performances with the others in each

genre and with those of other writers.

My aims are several and vary in relative importance in the various chapters. Criticism remains a principal purpose, and a number of Lodge's works receive close scrutiny for the first time here. Simple description is resorted to for little-known works, particularly some of the prose fiction, lyrics and shorter narrative poems. Examination of Lodge's ways with his remarkably numerous and diverse sources in the narrative and dramatic works and with his foreign models for many poems figures prominently in all chapters. The early publishing history and bibliographical peculiarities of individual works are noticed. Lodge's literary relations with his contemporaries, questions of influence both on and by him, and the historical interest attaching to many of the works are considered. Embedded in the text and notes are selective comments on the history of Lodge scholarship and criticism. The notes section is large: since much of the work I have done is investigatory in nature, many leads have been raised which cannot be pursued within the confines of the present thesis. It has seemed proper to leave these along the way as signposts. Some of the notes might have been suppressed if this were being offered as a 'finished' piece of criticism. The bibliography is intended to be part of, not an appendage to, the thesis: a list of essential materials for a scholarly and critical edition of Lodge's works. Finally, I have done a fair amount of editing and commenting on textual problems, particularly in Chapters 4 and 5, on the poetry. This leads to the matter of texts of Lodge's works, which has loomed large throughout the preparation of this thesis.

There is no edition of Lodge in the modern sense of the word. What has passed for one for nearly a century now is the collection of reprints supervised by Edmund Gosse for the Hunterian Club of Glasgow in

the 1880s. The motive was clearly antiquarian: facsimiles of the original editions insofar as modern printing would allow. Roman type replaced blackletter, small capitals replaced the Roman of the originals. Long s was reproduced. No emending of the texts was done: misprints, mixed and inverted founts, mispaginations and other errors of all kinds, and the vagaries of Elizabethan spelling and punctuation were carefully recreated. Inevitably, new errors were introduced in the resetting. Gosse borrowed whatever copies he could of the early editions and gave them to the printer with instructions to deviate not an em. Sometimes he was obliged to use an inferior edition, such as the 1598 second quarto of A Looking Glass for London and England. Such texts, while making available Lodge's works (except the three big translations and those of Luis de Granada), clearly have no privileged status.

Since my main purpose in quoting from Lodge is to illustrate critical observations, I have used reliable modern editions in modern spelling whenever they are available; the edition used, with full details, is always indicated in the first reference to it. When good modern editions are available, but only in old spelling I have, in quoting, normalized spelling and punctuation in accordance with present-day usage, clearly indicating the edition that is being thus altered. For the majority of Lodge's writings no reliable editions, in old or modern spelling, are available. For these I have returned to copies of the earliest editions, on microfilm except in the case of Wit's Misery for which I have used a Scolar Press facsimile. These I have edited, again modernizing spelling and punctuation, but retaining Lodge's words except where there are obvious errors; attention is called to emendations of such errors. Archaic forms, even when not required by rhyme or rhythm, such as sprite for spirit, cyne, tho, lite for little, are retained;

spelling is sometimes simplified to make them more recognizable (e.g. sprite for spright). This editing exercise serves a double purpose, putting into more readable form passages, including a number of complete poems, which in some cases have never been edited, and making sample tests of the problems to be encountered by an editor of Lodge. When the early editions are used, signature references are given, followed by a reference to Gosse's collection for the reader's convenience. The form of such references will be: signature; Works, volume, short title, page. When the work concerned is obvious from the context, the title will be omitted from the Gosse reference: Works, volume; page. Each work is paginated separately in Gosse's volumes; his page numbers are those at the bottom. For the sake of uniformity, quotations from old-spelling editions of authors other than Lodge are also modernized on the same principles.

The second part of the first section of the Bibliography (I.ii) lists editions of Lodge's works since 1800 seen during the preparation of the thesis. An asterisk denotes those which are my reference texts. Full bibliographical details of editions to the end of the seventeenth century are given by Allison (see below).

The following abbreviations are used:

Allison	A F Allison, <u>Thomas Lodge 1558-1625: A Bibliographical Catalogue of the Early Editions (to the end of the seventeenth century)</u> , Pall Mall Bibliographies 2 (Folkestone and London, 1973)
<u>Archiv</u>	<u>Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen</u>
<u>CBEL</u> , I	<u>The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature</u> , 5 vols, I, edited by George Watson (1974)

<u>D.N.B.</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u>
<u>EA</u>	<u>Etudes Anglaises</u>
<u>ES</u>	<u>English Studies</u> (Amsterdam)
<u>HLQ</u>	<u>Huntington Library Quarterly</u>
<u>MLN</u>	<u>Modern Language Notes</u>
<u>MLQ</u>	<u>Modern Language Quarterly</u>
<u>MLR</u>	<u>Modern Language Review</u>
<u>MP</u>	<u>Modern Philology</u>
n.s.	new series
<u>N&amp;Q</u>	<u>Notes and Queries</u>
<u>O.E.D.</u>	<u>Oxford English Dictionary</u>
<u>PQ</u>	<u>Philological Quarterly</u>
<u>PMLA</u>	<u>Publications of the Modern Language Association</u>
<u>RES</u>	<u>Review of English Studies</u>
<u>ShQ</u>	<u>Shakespeare Quarterly</u>
<u>STC</u>	A W Pollard and G R Redgrave, compilers, <u>A Short- Title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scot- land and Ireland, etc. 1475-1640</u> (1926; repr. 1963)
revised <u>STC</u>	second edition, revised by W A Jackson, F S Ferguson and Katharine F Pantzer, vol 2 (1976) ( <u>STC</u> numbers cited are those of the first edition)
<u>SB</u>	<u>Studies in Bibliography</u>
<u>SEL</u>	<u>Studies in English Literature 1500-1900</u>
<u>SP</u>	<u>Studies in Philology</u>
<u>SSF</u>	<u>Studies in Short Fiction</u>
<u>TLS</u>	<u>Times Literary Supplement</u>
<u>YES</u>	<u>Yearbook of English Studies</u>

Titles of other journals cited will be given in full. Place of publication of books is London unless otherwise indicated.



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ILLUSTRATION

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Musical setting of 'Now I find thy looks were  
feigned' from Phyllis.

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## CHAPTER 1

### Lodge's Literary Career

We know more about Thomas Lodge's life than about that of any other Elizabethan author of comparable stature. There are several reasons for this. First, Lodge came from a prominent family, one which left its own records and which figured in the records of others. The paucity of information regarding the parentage and early history of many literary figures of the period is notorious. Then Lodge himself was a member, at various times in his life, of institutions, societies or professions where his membership is recorded or occasioned correspondence which has survived. It would be possible to retrieve as much of the biography of Lodge as we now have had he never written a single poem. Lodge lived a long time, sixty-seven years, so the chances for his existence and his activities to have left traces are greater than they are, for example, for the authors with whom he is usually associated who died relatively young: Marlowe, Greene, Kyd, Nashe, Peele. Finally, the Lodge family was extraordinarily litigious. The heroic labour of C J Sisson in unearthing the web of lawsuits in which the Lodges, especially Thomas and his brother William, were involved affords us not only a close-up view of the operations of Elizabethan justice in several courts, but an insight into family relations and dealings.

A boom of interest in Lodge in the 1920s produced several theses in both England and America, several of which were published, wholly or in part, in the 1930s. All of these researchers - N Burton Paradise, Alice Walker, Sisson, E A Tenney - concentrated on the life, although Walker and Paradise, particularly, made substantial contributions to literary scholarship as well.<sup>1</sup> Prior to this the only thorough scholarly

examination of the life or the works had been a German thesis by Richard Carl written in 1887 at Leipzig; a version of it was published the next year.<sup>2</sup>

'Lodge's Lives' effectively began with Anthony à Wood's paragraphs in his Athenae Oxonienses of 1691. He briefly surveyed Lodge's career, commenting that late in life he was as much 'cried up' for physic as before he had been for poetry. Wood also mentions several plays which he says were written with Greene, and closes his account of Lodge: 'His memory is celebrated by several poets, whose encomiums of him being frequent, I shall for brevity sake pass them by now'.<sup>3</sup> J P Collier took Lodge into his dubious charge and published a series of articles on his life and works, embroidering on the former now and then. C M Ingleby showed up Collier's forgery in the Henslowe papers which purported to prove that Lodge was an actor.<sup>4</sup>

Until the 1920s little in the way of serious research was done on Lodge's life or works and he was appreciated mainly as Shakespeare's predecessor and foil. The 'Memoir' that Gosse prefixed to the Works contained some new material, including a letter. The 'Memoir' is interesting as much for Gosse's own opulent style and as a fine example of nineteenth-century impressionistic criticism as for his comments on Lodge. It was as a 'typical' Elizabethan that Gosse appreciated Lodge, though he had high praise for the lyric poetry.<sup>5</sup> This interest in Lodge as a man of his time, 'the very type and exemplar of a man of letters in the irregular and romantic age of Elizabeth', seems to lie behind the researches of the 1920s and 1930s; the subtitle of Paradise's book is 'The History of an Elizabethan'. Sir Sidney Lee's D.N.B. article, first published in 1893, fairly represented the state of knowledge about Lodge at the end of the last century.

Since the 1930s no major studies have appeared and little new information has come to light. Pat M Ryan, Jr., published a quartercentenary 'Garland for Goldey' in 1958 (see n.4). Ryan admits that he 'venture[s] no claim upon the painstaking scholarship of others' (p.7); his survey of scholarship is useful and balanced, but ultimately unreliable due to the appallingly bad printing of the volume by the aptly-named Shoe String Press. The only other book-length publication on Lodge is Wesley D Rae's faulty survey.<sup>6</sup> Nothing new on Lodge's life is brought forward and Rae is extremely careless on several matters of fact; the criticism is superficial. Two scholars, one in America and one in Scotland, discovered almost simultaneously material relating to the period in Lodge's life about which least was known, roughly the first decade of the seventeenth century. Joseph W Houppert published extracts from a series of letters addressed by Lodge to William Trumbull, secretary to Sir Thomas Edmondes, the ambassador to Brussels; Trumbull became the British agent there when Edmondes was posted to Paris. James George drew upon these letters and other manuscript material to fill in the story of Lodge's whereabouts and activities between 1604 and 1613.<sup>7</sup> The four publications of the 1930s and these two articles contain, I think it is safe to say, the totality of present published knowledge about Lodge's life. Add to these for their historical interest the pieces by Wood, Gosse and Lee, and the next biographer of Lodge will have a quantity of material and of information on where to search for material which is copious by the standards of biographical knowledge of other non-noble Elizabethan authors. Eliane Cuvelier of the Sorbonne is preparing a thèse d'état on l'homme et l'oeuvre which will doubtless take account of the facts known to date. My own very brief survey, published in 1973, was originally a lecture and does not purport to advance Lodge biography.<sup>8</sup>

I propose to give in the remainder of this chapter a succinct account of the main events of Lodge's life, as we know them, to 1596. It is to be understood that I am drawing upon the work of the modern-day scholars mentioned above. On one or two matters I shall have suggestions to make based on my own investigations.

Lodge was born, probably in London, in 1557 or 1558; the latter year is usually given. His lifetime thus conveniently spans exactly the reigns of Elizabeth and James: Lodge died in September, 1625, presumably a victim of the plague which he, unlike many of his colleagues in the medical profession, had not fled. He was the second son of Thomas and Anne Lodge. Both had been married once previously. Lodge, of Shropshire stock, was a Grocer who became Master of his company, and eventually sheriff, then Lord Mayor of London and knight in 1562. His second wife Anne was a Loddington (or Luddington), another family of Grocers, and had married first William Lane, yet another Grocer. Her step-father was Sir William Laxton, Grocer, Lord Mayor in 1544 and founder of Oundle School. Sir Thomas Lodge plunged from zenith to nadir in one short year: ironically, it was in the year of his mayoralty, 1562/3, that he went bankrupt. The scandal was recorded by Stow (cited by Sisson, p.19).

The Lodges' second son Thomas served in the household of Henry Stanley, Earl of Derby, at some time during his childhood, a fact to which he alluded years later in the dedication of A Fig for Momus to William, the sixth earl. Lodge entered the Merchant Taylors' School in 1571. There he came under the tuition of Richard Mulcaster, the renowned schoolmaster. Lodge's introduction to dramatic writing and performance may well have taken place under Mulcaster's tutelage. Two years later he went to Trinity College, Oxford, where he was exposed to the brilliant young scholar, Edward Hoby. Hoby, also of Trinity, was already M.A. by

the time he was fifteen. In the dedication to Rosalynde Lodge speaks of having been a 'scholar in the university under that learned and virtuous knight'.<sup>9</sup> In 1577, Lodge was admitted Bachelor of Arts; the Determination which confirmed the degree took place the following year. Immediately after having disputed during Lent, 1578, he was admitted as a clerk of Lincoln's Inn. This association is proudly announced on the title-pages of five of Lodge's publications, from 1584 to as late as 1595 when he had long since ceased being an active member of the law society.

Lady Anne Lodge died in December, 1579, leaving Thomas a handsome legacy in the form of property. However, a codicil to the will placed the legacy for safe-keeping in the hands of a trustee, Sir William Cordell, Master of the Rolls, and Lodge's elder brother William, as executor, until Lodge was twenty-five. Early in 1583, the year he would turn twenty-five, Lodge signed a release to William of all responsibilities to himself imposed upon William by their mother's will (Sisson, p.94). This suggests that William had already advanced him the equivalent of the estate's value in cash; a drawn-out proceeding in Chancery later arose out of the legacy issue. An epitaph for Lady Anne Lodge was entered in the Stationers' Register on 23 December 1579, the first record of Lodge's literary activity; the poem is lost.

His literary career presumably began shortly after his return to London from Oxford in 1578. It is likely, however, that connections made at Oxford facilitated his entrée in the literary and theatrical milieu of the capital. The earliest extant work by him is the pamphlet which he wrote, probably before November 1579, in reply to Stephen Gosson's attack on plays and players (see Ch.6). After this comes the first of several 'silent' periods: the next publication did not appear until early in 1584. The only trace of literary production from the intervening years is a

prefatory poem by Lodge for the first part of Barnabe Rich's Don Simonides, published in 1581. These verses contain hints of some personal difficulty:

My head such pleasure cannot brook, by gis [sic],  
Whose long distress hath laid his Muse to rest,  
Or dulled his sprites, or senses at the least.

...

I leave thee now, my Muse affords no more,  
A doleful dump pulls back my pleasant vein.

(The straunge and wonderfull  
adventures of Don Simonides, sig.A4  
Works, IV; 'Misc. Pieces', pp.3-4)

These lines and the address to the readers of An Alarm against Usurers, which begins: 'Let it not seem strange unto you that he which hath long time slept in silence, now beginneth publicly to salute you', have led biographers to surmise that Lodge may have been in a debtors' prison. His life around this time certainly seems to have been unsettled: Sir William Cordell and Sir Thomas Lodge agreed that the property from his mother should not be settled upon him 'because ... he did take such a disordered Corse of lyffe' (Sisson, p.96). The 'tried experiences of worldly abuses' recounted in An Alarm are very likely Lodge's own. Sir Thomas Lodge died in February 1584, a few weeks after his son's fictionalized confessions were published. The father had doubtless given up hope for the wayward son: the younger Thomas Lodge is not mentioned in the elder's will.<sup>10</sup>

Another 'silent' period ensued. The next publication was Scilla's Metamorphosis late in 1589. During those years Lodge was certainly writing plays, at least part of the time. I argue in Chapter 2 that The Wounds of Civil War was probably written in the mid-1580s; there must have been others. He also made a sea voyage some time before Rosalynde was published late in 1590. The date of the voyage is relevant to the



composition of both Rosalynde and A Looking Glass for London and England. As this is one of the events of Lodge's life about which a good deal of guessing has been done, I want to examine the evidence and alternatives in some detail.

All we really know is what Lodge tells us in the dedication of Rosalynde to Lord Hunsdon. He speaks of 'falling from books to arms' and continues:

Having with Captain Clarke made a voyage to the island of Terceras and the Canaries, to beguile the time with labour I writ this book; rough, as hatched in the storms of the ocean, and feathered in the surges of many perilous seas.

(Rosalynde, ed. Greg. p.xxvii;  
see Ch.3, n.21)

In the preface addressed to the 'Gentlemen Readers', Lodge carries on in a swaggering, swashbuckling tone with allusions to ships and weapons, but adds no further specific details (p.xxix). Various proposals have been made as to the date of the voyage, with 'Captain Clarke' the peg on which arguments are hung.

Fleay conjectured that Clarke was with Drake at Cadiz in April 1587, Lee thought 1588, Gosse did not enter into speculation.<sup>11</sup> Paradise was the first to offer evidence of any sort (pp.36-7). He found that a John Clarke captained one of the ships, the Roebuck, on Sir Richard Grenville's voyage to Virginia in 1585, an expedition sponsored by Raleigh. The ships called at the Canaries en route. One of the gentlemen named as remaining in Virginia for a year was Thomas Luddington, Lodge's cousin on his mother's side; another gentleman on the voyage, probably captain of one of the ships, was Thomas Cavendish. Paradise deduces from this that Lodge was on the voyage, though he may have gone only as far as the Canaries and turned back, since one would have expected him to mention America if he had been there. Alice Walker (pp.428-9) and Sisson (p.86)

accept Paradise's proposed date, though with reservations, particularly on the part of Miss Walker. She observes that Clarke, whoever he was, must have made other voyages than the one with Grenville, which is recorded by Hakluyt. This caution was well advised.

The next proposal came from Tenney. He claimed to have found 'the only known voyage of Captain Clarke', in the Golden Noble which set out on 1 November 1586, took several prizes and probably returned the following summer (pp.96-7). Tenney commits the elementary petitio principii: 'From Lodge's account they appear to have gone by way of the Canary Islands and the Azores' (p.97). This assumes, of course, what is supposedly being proved, namely, that this is in fact the voyage that Lodge was on. Tenney's evidence is a deposition in the High Court of Admiralty by the merchant owner of a French barque spoiled by the Golden Noble - hardly grounds for claiming this as 'the only known voyage' of Clarke. For want of anything better, however, Tenney's candidate, 1586/7, has generally held the field since.<sup>12</sup>

Indirect support for Tenney's date is brought by Paula Burnett who edited Rosalynde for her Oxford B.Litt. . She examined Lodge's dedication in which he mentions Lord Hunsdon's sons Edmund and Robert Carew with whom he had been a student at Oxford, and Sir Edward Hoby, their tutor.<sup>13</sup> Based on the titles used for the people mentioned, Mrs Burnett concludes that the dedication and hence Rosalynde itself were written before mid-1587. Since the dedication contains Lodge's reference to his voyage, it must have taken place before then; in view of the immediacy conveyed by Lodge's language, especially in the preface, Tenney's proposal is the most plausible (pp.xxxv-xxxvi).

Mrs Burnett's argument (there is further evidence, reviewed in Chapter 3) for the dating of Rosalynde is also plausible, though it entails,

among other things, a delay of more than three years between writing and publication. It is not conclusive, however; there might be many trivial explanations for the inclusion or omission of titles in Lodge's dedication: carelessness, for one. In the meantime, I have learned of another voyage made by John Clarke which ought, I think, to be mentioned as long as there is less than certainty - and there is considerably less than that - about any of the other dates hitherto proposed.

First of all, the Grenville expedition to Virginia in 1585 and the privateering venture of 1586/7 in the Golden Noble are not the only known voyages of Captain John Clarke. Kenneth Andrews, an authority on Elizabethan privateering, mentions a capture made early in 1585 by Raleigh's Roebuck under Clarke, on what looks like a shakedown cruise before the Virginia voyage on which Clarke again commanded the Roebuck.<sup>14</sup> But there is also record of a voyage which Clarke made in 1590 in Cavendish's Galleon Dudley (Andrews, Eliz. Priv., p.263). The record consists of a claim for damages made by the English owners of a cargo of salt sunk with the Flemish vessel that was transporting it when Clarke attacked the ship. The letter of complaint, dated 24 December 1590, reads in part: 'About X monethes past as the said shipp was returning out of Spaine ... shot and hurt the said shipp, ... took away and rifled the said money and victuells, ... and afterwards suffred the shipp and salte to sinke'.<sup>15</sup>

To a request for such further information as he had on the Clarke voyages of 1586 and 1590, Dr Andrews replied as follows:

The 1586-7 voyage in the Golden Noble (alias Golden Phoenix) of London (240 tons) started from London in December 86 with C[larke] as captain and Jacob Whidden as master. They took a number of prizes and at one stage, in March and April 1587, put into Santa Cruz, Barbary (Atlantic Morocco). Since they went there it [is] almost certain they would have been in the Canaries too, but whether they visited the Azores I cannot say.

With respect to the 1590 voyage in the Galleon Dudley of Cavendish's I don't know any more than you can find in my thesis (except that the Flemish hulk was taken "thwart of Lisbon" in March or April) but it is quite likely that this was one of the privateers with Frobisher at the Azores that year, when F. was definitely at Terceira. So both possibilities are open, though I would tend to favour the latter.<sup>16</sup>

Here then is a voyage by Captain Clarke a few months before Rosalynde was entered in the Stationers' Register (6 October), 'every line wet with a surge'. I do not put this alternative forward as necessarily more likely than Tenney's. It is, however, one possibility that has not heretofore been considered. In Chapter 2, I argue that A Looking Glass was probably written in 1590 or 1591. If Lodge's voyage had been as recently as 1590, his memory of nautical technology and jargon would be fresh enough for him to write the scenes in the play where that specialized knowledge is displayed. The Dudley belonged to Cavendish. Perhaps the success of a privateering venture under his auspices whetted an appetite for seafaring which Lodge was able to indulge within the year.

The period from 1590 to 1593 was the most productive of Lodge's career. In that time six separate publications appeared under his name, he wrote a play with Greene and he was the principal contributor to a poetry miscellany, The Phoenix Nest. He also made a second voyage. There is no doubt about when Lodge set sail, but considerable doubt about when he returned. Five ships under Cavendish's command set out from Plymouth on 26 August 1591: the flagship Leicester, the Desire, the Roebuck, the Black Pinnace and the Dainty. Unfortunately we do not know which of the ships Lodge was in. The plentiful documentation of this eventful voyage does not include full lists of the gentleman-adventurers.<sup>17</sup> Lodge's only reference to it is in another preface to another prose tale, A Margarite of America, published in 1596, which he claims was written, like Rosalynde, at sea but under rather more adverse conditions:

Some four years since, being at sea with M. Ca[ve]ndish (whose memory if I lament not I repent not), it was my chance in the library of the Jesuits in Sanctum to find this history in the Spanish tongue, which as I read delighted me, and delighting me, won me, and winning me, made me write it. The place where I began my work was a ship where many soldiers of good reckoning finding disturbed stomachs, it cannot but stand with your discretions to pardon an undiscreet and unstaide pen, for hands may vary where stomachs miscarry. The time I wrote in was when I had rather will to get my dinner than to win my fame. The order I wrote in was past order, where I rather observed men's hands lest they should strike me, than curious reason of men to condemn me. In a word, I wrote under hope rather the fish should eat both me writing and my paper written than fame should know me, hope should acquaint her with me, or any but misery should hear mine ending.

(A Margarite of America, sig.A2<sup>v</sup>;  
Works, III; p.4)

The likelihood of all this is discussed in some detail in Chapter 3.

One ship, the Desire, is known to have landed in Ireland on 11 June 1593. Lodge, however, was back in England earlier than that: in a Star Chamber proceeding against William, Lodge claims that he was ambushed by William's men near the latter's manor of Rolleston in Nottinghamshire in February 1593. Sisson argues that Lodge must have been aboard the Dainty which deserted the expedition in January or February 1592, just after the fleet left Santos, Brazil (Lodge's 'Sanctum'). We have independent evidence that Lodge was at Santos (see Ch.3, n.104). He may thus have been back in England by the late spring of 1592. But the Roebuck and the Leicester both returned safely as well, and are mentioned as being together at Portsmouth by March, 1593.<sup>18</sup> Lodge may indeed have endured the hardships in the Straits of Magellan of which he writes, and the trip to Rolleston may have occurred immediately upon his return.

Sisson documents a succession of legal actions in which Lodge was involved during these years and afterwards. His apparently continuous state of penury may have been the impetus for both seeking wealth in privateering and seeking relief in the courts. The 1591 expedition ended

calamitously for everyone (Cavendish himself died on the return voyage) and by 1593, Lodge was probably in dire financial straits. One senses a turning point about 1594 or 1595. Nothing in the way of publications survives from 1594 (except the two plays written earlier), after the outpouring of lyric verse of 1593. A Fig for Momus appeared in 1595, different in mood as well as in style and form from anything before. It seems a sort of valediction, mature, sober, sad too. Then the literary career ended suddenly in 1596 with a shower of publications. The last appeared at the very end of the year and in January 1597, Lodge was in Avignon embarking upon a new career and, indeed, a new life.

The remaining twenty-nine years of Lodge's life are really another story. It is easier to reconstruct than the earlier period, thanks to documents, including letters and yet more legal records. At some point, in the late 1590s probably, Lodge married a widow, Joan Aldridge or Aldred who was some years older than he (Sisson, pp.145-8). She was Catholic, apparently an intimate acquaintance of the Countess of Arundel to whom, much later, Lodge dedicated his last work, a medical handbook called The Poor Man's Talent.

What those last three decades or so contain that is of interest to the student of Lodge the author I mention in Chapter 6. Lodge had several 'lives' - author, young gentleman of the world, adventurer, Catholic recusant and exile, physician. But the reason we know or care about Lodge the physician and refugee and all the rest, is because he was first, and most importantly for us, an author. His career as an author, if 'career' is the right term, lasted some eighteen years. It is time to turn to what he wrote in those eventful, fertile years.

## CHAPTER 2

### The Plays\*

Whatever Lodge's reputation today, it is not as playwright that we first think of him. There is little to go on: only one play known to be his and one other written in collaboration. Paradise lists twenty-one other plays which have been assigned to him by various scholars (p.157n.). Fleay, for example, gave Lodge parts of The Troublesome Reign of King John, King Leir, 2 Henry VI, and all of Mucedorus, A Warning for Fair Women and A Larum for London.<sup>1</sup> The last two attributions Fleay admitted were conjectural, 'founded less on positive evidence than on the method of exhaustions'. For the others, Fleay's 'positive evidence' consists of the phrases 'cooling card' and 'razors of Palermo' which occur once each in The Wounds of Civil War. Lodge uses the phrases, says Fleay, 'not once or twice, like other men, but persistently in his works.' Unfortunately for Fleay's attempted proofs of authorship, the very fact that other men used the phrases at all vitiates their usefulness as evidence for his hand in any play in which they occur.<sup>2</sup>

Schelling too found Lodge the most likely candidate for author of Mucedorus, and added that it would be a pleasure to believe King Leir, 'much of the manner of which is so like his, the work of so accomplished and graceful a writer as Thomas Lodge.'<sup>3</sup> Schelling found support for ascribing King Leir to Lodge in an unpublished doctoral thesis of 1898 by one M N E Fraser which he cites several times. For Mucedorus he too relies on internal evidence, though his arguments are more general and, on the whole, more persuasive than Fleay's. Despite these and other attempts, Allardyce Nicoll could safely assert as long ago as 1925 that

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\*Some of the material in this chapter was published as 'The Plays of Thomas Lodge', in Cahiers Elisabethains, No.4 (Octobre, 1973), 3-14.

'Lodge has left nothing save The Wounds of Civill War ... and a portion of A Looking Glasse for London and England'.<sup>4</sup> Since then no further decisive evidence has come to light and for the purposes of this study, Lodge's dramatic oeuvre will be considered to include only these two plays.

Francis Meres's inclusion of Lodge as one of 'the best for Comedy amongst us', however sceptical we may be of Meres's critical judgment, indicates that Lodge was recognized in his own day.<sup>5</sup> Whether it was A Looking Glass for London and England that Meres had in mind, or something else now lost, we do not know. The evident popularity of that play might well have been enough to gain Lodge a place in Meres's pantheon; entries in Henslowe's diaries and several reprintings attest to its success.

Of the success of The Wounds of Civill War. Lively set forth in the true Tragedies of Marius and Scilla we know nothing. The title page claims that it was acted in London by 'the Right Honourable the Lord High Admiral his Servants'. Published in 1594, the play was certainly written earlier.<sup>6</sup> It cannot be precisely dated. If it was written for the Lord Admiral's Men, its earliest probable date would be about July, 1585, when Charles Howard, Baron of Effingham, became Lord High Admiral, though it would not be impossible that the play had been written and in possession of his company before they took that name. Howard's appointment had been generally expected since the death of the incumbent, the Earl of Lincoln, in January, 1585. Howard's biographer assumes that he would not have had his own company of players while he was Lord Chamberlain, from New Year's Day, 1584, until his appointment to the Admiralty.<sup>7</sup> But Howard's successor as Chamberlain, Lord Hunsdon, certainly had his own company while in office. Besides, Howard's tenure as Lord Chamberlain was meant to be only temporary, until the Admiralty, for which he was



the obvious candidate, should become vacant, which it did just a year later.

Lodge had been in London since 1578, when he entered Lincoln's Inn. It would seem that he already had some association with the theatre, at least indirectly, as early as the end of 1579, when the pamphlet Honest Excuses was probably written. Theoretically, The Wounds of Civil War could date from the early 1580s. We have recourse once again to the title page claim that the play was performed in London by the Lord Admiral's Men, who are known to have been playing under that name as early as June, 1585.<sup>8</sup> This seems a reasonable terminus a quo.

Another factor to be taken account of in attempting to date Lodge's play is its relation to Tamburlaine. Most scholars have agreed, usually without question, that The Wounds of Civil War is a feeble imitation of Marlowe's play.<sup>9</sup> The basis for the assumption is simply that Lodge, obviously inferior to Marlowe as a dramatist, must have pilfered from his superior, who also wrote for the Admiral's Men. No one seriously considered the possibility of the priority of Lodge's play until Paradise. J Churton Collins, writing about A Looking Glass for London, went this far:

What is quite clear is this, that there is very little resemblance between the blank verse of this play and the blank verse of Lodge's Marius and Sulla, which is much heavier and far more monotonous. This is perhaps to be explained by the fact that Marius and Sulla was probably composed before the appearance of Tamburlaine.<sup>10</sup>

J P Collier who, in adding Lodge's play to his edition of Dodsley's Old Plays in 1825, reprinted it for the first time, gave the one piece of evidence cited by all who place The Wounds of Civil War after Tamburlaine:

The Wounds of Civil War was not written until after 1586, as the greater part of it is in blank verse. One circumstance which may lead to the opinion that The Wounds of Civil War was not performed long after the

appearance of Marlowe's Tamburlaine the Great, is that it contains a scene imitated from, and intended to rival one in that most applauded production. It is in Act iii., where Sylla returns victor over Mithridates, and, seated in a triumphant car, is drawn upon the stage by Moors and captive Princes.<sup>11</sup>

Paradise was the first to make a thorough assessment of The Wounds of Civil War. He was convinced that, sensitive as Lodge was to new styles, he could not have written a play so unlike Tamburlaine in tone if Marlowe's play had already appeared. To read the play with Tamburlaine in mind is to see its potential as an imitation of Tamburlaine, a potential which remains unrealized. Scilla, Lodge's boasting conqueror, must surely have sounded more like Tamburlaine had the Scythian preceded the Roman on the London stage, Paradise argues (p.133).

As for the chariot scene (III.3.), proof for Collier and nearly everyone else that Lodge copied Marlowe, Paradise observes that there are such scenes in the first and last dumbshows in Jocasta, Gascoigne's and Kinwelmershe's Gray's Inn drama of 1566.<sup>12</sup> Jocasta, a version of Euripides's Phoenissae via Dolce's Italian translation of a Latin translation, was printed in Gascoigne's A Hundreth Sundry Flowers in 1573 and 1575, and so would have been available to Lodge. Paradise, pointing out that in Gascoigne's and Lodge's plays the chariot is drawn by four prisoners and in Marlowe's by only two (Tamburlaine, Part Two, IV.3), argues that it would be more likely for Lodge to have gotten the idea from Gascoigne and then Marlowe from Lodge, than for Lodge so feebly to have imitated Marlowe's famous spectacle, changing, for no apparent reason, the number of captives from two to four. This could be special pleading on Paradise's part. Is the likelihood of Lodge's doubling the number of chariot-drawing captives any less than that of Marlowe's halving it? Maybe Lodge liked Marlowe's idea and thought it would be twice as spectacular with twice the number of human horses. Marlowe

does have four captive kings, two of whom are being held in reserve for the following day. Marlowe differs further from Lodge in naming the kings; in Lodge's play the chariot of Scilla is drawn by 'four Moors'. There are some general similarities in the plan of the two scenes. In neither do the persons actually harnessed to the chariot speak; Lodge's four Moors and Marlowe's kings of Trebizon and Soria appear only in the scene headings. Marlowe's other two kings and Lodge's Arcathius and Aristion, Scilla's principal captives, participate in the scene, though they respond in opposite ways to their humiliation, Marlowe's characters swearing and cursing their captor in good Marlovian fashion, Lodge's submitting meekly and begging Scilla to spare them.

The similarities are only general though, and do not in any case enable us to decide which author was borrowing from the other. The two scenes are far apart in language and in dramatic effect. There are no verbal parallels. Marlowe's ringing lines, from 'Holla, ye pampered jades of Asia!' to the final 'To Babylon, my lords, to Babylon!' owe nothing to Lodge's pedestrian verses, and as Paradise observes concerning the whole play, Scilla's awkward bombast in this scene hardly shows the influence of Tamburlaine. Tamburlaine is in every way the centre of the scene, while in Lodge's play Scilla, the visual centre, busily calls attention away from himself, to the audacity of Marius, Lucretius's rashness, some letters, Fortune, the wars, a soldier who performed a feat of bravery, the humiliation of captivity, Roman stoicism, finally the Mithridatic War which is the business at hand. The initial visual impression made by the striking entry is dissipated. Marlowe focuses upon Tamburlaine and Tamburlaine focuses upon himself. Spectacle, imagery, language all converge on him. If Marlowe got anything in this scene from Lodge, it was just the suggestion of the chariot idea which he

adapted to his own purpose, adding the names, pairing the kings, repeating the spectacle in the next scene (V.1) where the second pair of kings are bridled and harnessed as promised. Lodge's 'four Moors', like Gascoigne's 'four Kings' and 'iiiij. noble personages', are not integrated into the scene, appearing rather detached and pointless, though Scilla does refer to the chariot later in the scene, indicating that Aristion and the others are to have their turn in harness. Paradise's guess is, I think, a good one. In any case, I fail to see in Lodge's scene that proof of his borrowing from Marlowe that most critics before and after Paradise have either seen or assumed.

Paradise attempted to demonstrate that Marlowe knew and used Lodge's play. We can be fairly certain that The Wounds of Civil War was written before Marlowe's Edward II and that he made use of it there, though Tucker Brooke thought otherwise.<sup>13</sup> A striking example occurs in Edward II:

Immortal powers! that knows the painful cares  
That waits upon my poor distressed soul,  
O level all your looks upon these daring men  
That wrongs their liege and sovereign, England's king.

(V.4.37-40)<sup>14</sup>

In Act IV, scene 2 of The Wounds of Civil War, Anthony says:

Immortal powers that know the painful cares  
That weight upon my poor distressed heart,  
O bend your brows and level all your looks  
Of dreadful awe upon these daring men.

(11.87-90)<sup>15</sup>

No such close parallels exist, however, between The Wounds of Civil War and Tamburlaine. Paradise gives some examples of what he takes to be echoes from one play to the other:

- 1) Brighter than is the silver Rhodope

(Tamburlaine, Part One, 16  
I.2.88)

And know these hairs that dangle down my face  
In brightness like the silver Rhodope

(WCW, I.1.198-9)

- 2)                   forgett'st thou I am he  
That with the cannon shook Vienna walls,  
And made it dance upon the continent

(Tam., Part Two, I.219-11)

And make whole cities caper in the air

(Tam., Part Two, III.2.61)

That first will make the towers of Rome to shake  
And force the stately Capitol to dance

(WCW, I.1.89-90)

- 3)                   Raise cavalieros higher than the clouds,  
And with the cannon break the frame of heaven;  
Batter the shining palace of the sun,  
And shiver all the starry firmament

(Tam., Part Two, II.4.103-6)

I'll make her streets that peer into the clouds,  
Burnish'd with gold and ivory pillars fair,  
Shining with jasper, jet and ebony,  
All like the palace of the morning sun

(WCW, I.1.218-21)

It will be noticed that all the passages from Lodge's play come from the first scene of the first act, while the corresponding passages from Marlowe are scattered through the two parts, each coming from a different scene. The phenomenon would seem to suggest the recollection by Marlowe of passages from Lodge's opening scene, at different moments in the composition of the two parts of Tamburlaine.<sup>17</sup>

I would call attention to one further such resemblance, this

time in Lodge's chariot scene (III.3) and the second of Marlowe's (V.1):

But come, Arcathius, for your father's sake  
Enjoin your fellow princes to their tasks

(WCW, III.3.66-7)

Come, Asian viceroys; to your tasks a while,  
And take such fortune as your fellows felt.

(Tam., Part Two, V.1.136-7)

The problem is that arguments based on internal likenesses can operate in either direction, something that the majority of scholars seem to have forgotten in the case of The Wounds of Civil War and Tamburlaine. So while I incline to concur in Paradise's opinion that Lodge's play preceded Marlowe's, I find his arguments on its unlikeness to Tamburlaine more persuasive than any which takes as evidence some possible borrowings on Marlowe's part, even though that possibility may be thought to be strengthened by our knowledge that he did apparently draw upon The Wounds of Civil War when writing Edward II. The very dissimilarity of the chariot scenes in the two plays, the much greater degree to which the device is incorporated into the action in Marlowe's version as compared with its almost appendical presence in Lodge's, suggests, as does the larger unlikeness of Scilla and Tamburlaine, that Marlowe took a simple device in Lodge's play and made of it the impressive spectacle we have in Tamburlaine. One feels the weight of Paradise's impressionistic argument. Surely Lodge (mediocre dramatist though he was, he was not utterly incompetent) could not have made so little of so much. Is it not easy, on the other hand, to credit Marlowe with making so much of so little?

Paradise also observes that The Wounds of Civil War owes nothing to the other famous spectacular play of about the same time, The Spanish

Tragedy. Lodge has no insanity, no ghosts (only Scilla's Genius who summons him in Latin verse), no dumbshows, subplots, plays-within-the-play so popular after Kyd. Paradise employs the same argument as before: it seems unlikely that Lodge would not have made use of some of these devices if their public success were already achieved. We shall see that A Looking Glass for London has plenty of that kind of sensationalism. There is ample opportunity for such things in The Wounds of Civil War, as there is for the rodomontade of a Tamburlaine, but they are not there.

If we can accept as reasonably likely the priority of Lodge's play to Tamburlaine and The Spanish Tragedy, we can arrive at a fairly precise latest possible date for the composition of the play. If we accept too the well-known reference in Philip Gawdy's letter to his father, dated 16 November 1587, as being to a performance of the Second Part of Tamburlaine, then Lodge's play would have been written some time before this.<sup>18</sup> In any case, the reference by Greene to 'that Atheist Tamburlan' in the epistle to Perimedes the Blacksmith, entered in the Stationers' Register the 29th of March 1588, is surely to Marlowe's hero (Jump, pp.xi-xii). Thus we can be reasonably certain that both parts of Tamburlaine had been written and were in production by late 1587. Evidence points to a 1587 date for The Spanish Tragedy as well.<sup>19</sup> Finally, the motto which appears on the 1594 quarto title page of Lodge's play is 'O vita! misero longa, foelici brevis', used elsewhere only in An Alarm against Usurers and Scilla's Metamorphosis, both published in the 1580s. We may therefore take mid-1585 to mid-1587 as the period during which Lodge probably wrote his play, leaning perhaps towards the latter part of that span of time if the suggestion of Marlowe's recollection of phrases from Lodge's play is a reasonable one. Even if Lodge made his voyage to the Azores and Canaries during that

time, as Paradise and others have surmised, but which is by no means certain, it would have lasted a few months at most, leaving ample time for the composition of a play.

Lodge's immediate dramatic heritage is in the decades after Gorboduc, which is not to say that The Wounds of Civil War was in the line of Sackville's and Norton's Inns of Court play, a line which was, in the words of A P Rossiter, 'as foredoomed ... as that of the undistinguished monarch whose fall it sang with burdensome Senecan solemnity'.<sup>20</sup> By the time Lodge wrote his play, the Senecan amble across the English stage had become a limp, and Sidney had already written scornfully of that peculiarly English 'mongrel tragi-comedy' with its indecorous admixture of classical subject and morality farce. Lodge's play is clearly in this latter tradition. It is helpful to remember that London's first public theatres had been built a decade earlier and were flourishing by the time The Wounds of Civil War was written.

Which plays Lodge knew and might have drawn upon is difficult to discover; there seem to be few verbal echoes in The Wounds of Civil War from the plays now extant from which he might have borrowed. Lodge cited Robert Wilson with approval in Honest Excuses, and if we had Wilson's play about Catiline which Lodge preferred to Gosson's - 'short and sweet if I were judge, a piece surely worth praise' - we might find in it a direct dramatic influence for Lodge's own Roman play (sig. C6; Works, I; p.43).<sup>21</sup> The language of The Wounds of Civil War is sometimes similar to that of some of Wilson's, but the only one of his extant plays which we can be fairly certain preceded Lodge's is The Three Ladies of London (c.1581), and this is a very different kind of play, more akin to A Looking Glass for London than to The Wounds of Civil War. Some of Lodge's favourite words, such as froward, the verb brave and its variants, and



the verb brook, which occurs eleven times in his play, are to be found rather frequently in Wilson's play. This can scarcely be considered evidence of influence, however. There is a foreigner, Mercatore, in The Three Ladies of London, who speaks broken English like that of Pedro the Gaul in The Wounds of Civil War.

Paradise notes other resemblances between Lodge's play and Wilson's (p.135). He finds that the blank verse of a number of plays of roughly the same period, such as The Misfortunes of Arthur, Selimus, Lochrine, as well as those of Wilson, seems to be at about the same stage of development as Lodge's. It is clear that Paradise wants to mark the appearance of Marlowe on the scene as a watershed in the history of English drama. Implicit in his evolutionary concept, is the realization that imitation is a vital element in any epoch of literary history. That is, writers are influenced by, borrow from, imitate their contemporaries, and this cross-fertilization is more immediate, more conscious at any rate, than the absorption by a sort of natural osmosis, of ideas, styles, forms, from what we call 'the tradition'. Dramatists like the authors of The Misfortunes of Arthur, Selimus, The Three Ladies of London, The Wounds of Civil War, Paradise would argue, all wrote blank verse which was similar, if in no other way, in being at about the same remove from and exhibiting about the same degree of improvement over, that of Sackville and Norton, Gascoigne and Kinwelmershe. Thus the 'evolution' of blank verse. Shortly a great leap forward was to be made by Marlowe, which would leave behind and render primitive by comparison all that had preceded. Lodge wrote blank verse that sounded like that of plays written at about the same time because he and their authors were writing at the same time, and none of them was a genius like Marlowe who could single-handedly revolutionize dramatic poetry. Paradise's concept denies

such genius to any but a Marlowe or a Shakespeare; he does not say what it is that accounts for the improvement in the dramatic blank verse of the 1580s over that of the 1560s. If Lodge had had Tamburlaine to imitate, his blank verse would sound more like Marlowe's; the proof is that blank verse written after Tamburlaine, Lodge's included, does sound more like Marlowe's.

Were our judgement based solely on the poetry of The Wounds of Civil War, it would not be unjust to deny to Lodge any degree of genius. 'Monotonous' is the word most often used to describe the verse of the play. Paradise tallied the large number of end-stopped lines (all but seventy-three in the entire play), the small proportion of feminine endings (39), and the relatively large number of couplets (198) (p.132). All of this points to an early date of composition, Paradise concludes, since we get similar statistics for other plays of the mid-1580s.

The blank verse of the play is monotonous. There are, however, none of the interminable speeches such as are found in Gorboduc and Jocasta and even the later Misfortunes of Arthur, approximately contemporary with The Wounds of Civil War. As remarked previously, Lodge's play does not belong to that strain. The longest speech is Marius's soliloquy in III.4, of fifty-three lines, and this upon examination is seen to consist of a sonnet followed by four six-line stanzas in Lodge's frequently-employed ababcc scheme, then an echo passage. This latter device was popular and was used by Wilson in his The Cobbler's Prophecy. With this variety, the speech, not surprisingly, contains the best poetry in the play; most of it is not blank verse. More than a third of the feminine endings in the entire play are found here; the last eighteen lines before the echo contain ten of them. Here Lodge slips into a sylvan mood appropriate to the setting:

Long years misspent in many luckless chances,  
Thoughts full of wroth, yet little worth succeeding,  
These are the means for those whom fate advances.  
But I whose wounds are fresh, my heart still bleeding,  
Lives to entreat this blessed boon from fate,  
That I might die with grief to live in state.  
Six hundredth suns with solitary walks  
I still have sought for to delude my pain,  
And friendly Echo answering to my talks  
Rebounds the accent of my ruth again.  
She, courteous nymph, the woeful Roman pleaseth,  
Else no consorts but beasts my pains appeaseth.  
Each day she answers in yond neighb'ring mountain;  
I do expect reporting of my sorrow,  
Whilst lifting up her locks from out the fountain,  
She answereth to my questions even and morrow,  
Whose sweet rebounds my sorrow to remove,  
To please my thoughts I mean for to approve.

(III.4.21-38)

It is not merely the verse form that recalls Scilla's Metamorphosis, published in 1589. The next dozen lines, which contain the echo device, are reminiscent of those in that poem where Lodge uses the same trick (697-714).

For the most part, the blank verse of the play is best when it is most abstract, that is, when the characters are reflecting or philosophizing, and Lodge can vary the pace with images and rhetorical devices such as the repetition in the speeches of the orator Anthony (e.g., II. 1.161-77). As Marius does most of the reflecting and Anthony most of the philosophizing, they have the best speeches. The following two passages, from speeches by Anthony and Marius respectively, illustrate that Lodge was capable of writing respectable blank verse:

Ay, but the milder passions show the man.  
For as the leaf doth beautify the tree,  
The pleasant flowers bedeck the painted spring,  
Even so in men of greatest reach and power  
A mild and piteous thought augments renown.  
Old Anthony did never see, my lord,  
A swelling shower that did continue long,  
A climbing tower that did not taste the wind,  
A wrathful man not wasted with repent.

I speak of love, my Scilla, and of joy  
To see how fortune lends a pleasant gale  
Unto the spreading sails of thy desires,  
And loving thee must counsel thee withal;  
For as by cutting, fruitful vines increase,  
So faithful counsels works a prince's peace.

(II.1.145-59)

These stales of fortune are the common plagues  
That still mislead the thoughts of simple men.  
The shepherd swain that 'midst his country cote  
Deludes his broken slumbers by his toil  
Thinks lordship sweet, where care with lordship dwells.  
The trustful man that builds on trothless vows,  
Whose simple thoughts are cross'd with scornful nays,  
Together weeps the loss of wealth and friend.  
So lordship, friends, wealth, spring and perish fast,  
Where death alone yields happy life at last.

(III.2.22-31)

The latter extract, part of a passage of twenty-one lines, is interposed between stychomythic exchanges between Marius and his gaoler on the pleasures and perils of high estate, a scene which Paradise finds similar to one in The Misfortunes of Arthur (p.136).

But once the characters turn back to business, the verse drops back too to its regular workaday rhythm. Lodge was not good at fustian, which accounts for the distinction that one can make between Marius and Scilla. Whether by accident or design, Marius, as remarked above, has most of the reflective speeches, the eddies in which the unbending stream of Lodge's verse slows and his talents as a lyric poet show through. Scilla rants and thunders, and it is impossible not to be reminded of Tamburlaine, not because Scilla sounds like him, but because Scilla ought to sound like him. Though Scilla has nearly half again as many lines as Marius (638 to 441), and the latter dies offstage in the fourth act, leaving the stage to his rival, it is Marius, if anyone, who as Collier said, too enthusiastically perhaps, 'absorbs the interest of the

reader'. Scilla's favoured place as Fortune's chosen one is emphasized repeatedly and Lodge probably meant for him to be the major character, giving him the larger part and a whole act almost to himself. But Marius remains, in my opinion, the more interesting of the two protagonists, and this interest derives from the better poetry Lodge wrote for him. Scilla is a cartoon tyrant, while Marius almost comes to life, is almost three-dimensional.

The play is cluttered with characters. There are forty-nine speaking parts in a play of just over 2500 lines (in Houppert's edition) and consequently there is little hope of continuity or of individuation beyond that of Marius and Scilla. Young Marius and Anthony come closer than any of the others to being interesting. MacCallum found the former 'the most consistent and sympathetic person in the piece'.<sup>22</sup> But each speaks fewer than 200 lines and the pullulation of characters, beginning in the first scene of the play, in which eleven persons speak, prevents their standing out. The dozens of others are a mere list of Roman names, indistinguishable one from another.

Lodge tried to enliven the play and provide diversion by introducing the comic characters Curtall and Poppey in the final scene, a collage of all the things he wanted to work in before the end. Taking a brief remark from Appian (see Houppert, p.103), Lodge embroidered this incongruous low-comedy scene. Two burghers, who anticipate Dogberry in their malapropian prose, alternating with doggerel verse, insult Scilla, who has just renounced the dictatorship in a sudden loss of hubris (V.5.77ff.). Like Pedro, Marius's would-be assassin who flees in terror upon seeing his intended victim's eyes, calling anachronistically upon Jesus and Mary (III.2), Curtall and Poppey interrupt the march of the blank verse. They are just such clowns as Sidney complained of, 'thrust

in ... by head and shoulders, to play a part in majestic matters, with neither decency nor discretion'.<sup>23</sup> They are noticed because they do divert and not because of any interest they have as characters; nor are they essential to the plot as Dogberry and his watch are to that of Much Ado About Nothing. We must fault not Lodge's imagination for having made this scene out of Appian's remark, but his sense of dramatic propriety for having so ludicrously thrust it in.

This lack of restraint on Lodge's part betrays his inexperience as a dramatist (we shall see that A Looking Glass for London is a much better-made play), but something else must be kept in mind in discussing the shortcomings of The Wounds of Civil War. Lodge was attempting to dramatize true historical events in Roman history, of the period 88-78 B.C., as recorded by chroniclers. This was a departure, and if The Wounds of Civil War was not the first classical history play - the lost Catiline plays of Gosson and Wilson, for example, may have been of the same sort - it is the earliest now extant. The numerous plays drawn from legendary history and classical mythology of the two or three decades preceding Lodge's are obviously not the same kind as one in which the author closely follows accounts of actual history, producing in effect a chronicle play.

Lodge's sources were Appian and Plutarch. For a long time, the latter was thought to be the only source.<sup>24</sup> Appian was first brought forth by John Dover Wilson, taking a hint from the original text: 'The words "Appian solus" which now stand like a stage direction must seemingly have originated in a reference to an authority, namely the "Civil Wars" of Appianus, an Alexandrian historian of the second century.'<sup>25</sup> The words appear between the heading 'Actus secundus. Scena prima' and the stage direction indicating the entrance of Scilla and his entourage.

They were obviously taken by the printer as a stage direction and printed as such. What Lodge meant by them, assuming it was his manuscript the printer used (the addition of the words by a prompter or an actor would be puzzling), is unclear. Act II, scene 1, does not follow Appian very closely, nor Plutarch either for that matter. The scene is the one in which Scilla, having driven Marius and his faction from the city, sounds most like Tamburlaine in the opening speech in which he 'imagine[s] thoughts more greater than a crown'. If the scene, at 225 lines the fourth longest of the fifteen in the play, is based on Appian, Lodge has greatly expanded the account. Appian gives a general report, in some twenty lines, of Sulla's measures to secure his position and deal with his enemies. The name of the character who bravely defies Scilla in the play, Granius, occurs in Appian's list of those who accompanied Marius into exile. Plutarch is even more cursory here, and the enigmatic 'Appian solus' may well indicate that Lodge got from Appian the idea for the scene.<sup>26</sup> The preceding one, a short battle scene (I.2), is based on Appian as well, and the notation may have referred to it and have been printed out of place.

Lodge's fairly close dependence upon his sources probably accounts for such faults as the nimety of characters. Only with the discovery of Appian as the principal source, could it be seen that Lodge was too faithful to his account rather than too free in his adaptation of history, as had previously been charged (Paradise, p.140). His inexperience, the experimental nature of such a play, and his admittedly limited skill as a dramatic craftsman all figure in the assessment of the piece as unsatisfactory drama. Lodge missed some opportunities of clear dramatic potential, such as Plutarch's anecdote about Sulla's taking refuge in Marius's house. At the same time, he used his imagination in expanding

very brief accounts into full scenes and the two longest scenes in the play, IV.1 and V.5, are largely his own invention (see Houppert, p.xvii).

The Wounds of Civil War is a history play, a tragedy, but above all, perhaps, from the author's standpoint, it is, as the title indicates, meant to convey a warning. The character of Anthony is made the vehicle for frequent admonitions against civil strife, as in this speech from the first scene:

Unhappy Rome and Romans thrice accurst  
That oft with triumphs fill'd your city walls  
With kings and conquering rulers of the world,  
Now to eclipse in top of all thy pride  
Through civil discords and domestic broils.  
O Romans, weep the tears of sad lament  
And rend your sacred robes at this exchange,  
For Fortune makes our Rome a bandying ball  
Toss'd from her hand to take the greater fall.

(I.1.298-306; see also II.1,  
III.1, IV.1, IV.2)

It would be interesting if we could know exactly when in the tense years of the 1580s Lodge wrote The Wounds of Civil War. After the discovery of the Throckmorton plot in October, 1583, the fierce feelings which resulted in the Bond of Association and subsequent anti-Marian legislation, and the severe anti-Catholic measures of the Act of 1585, made civil war a very real possibility in England.<sup>27</sup> This atmosphere was the immediate context in which Lodge wrote his play. The Babington conspiracy in the summer of 1586 and the execution of Mary Stuart in February, 1587, occurred in that period in which The Wounds of Civil War was probably written.

David Bevington has discussed the conservative political philosophy of the play; Anthony, though of Scilla's faction, pleads with all sides to preserve order and stability. Willard Farnham has remarked upon the medieval emphasis on the role of Fortune, brought out in Anthony's



speeches and even more insistently in Scilla's.<sup>28</sup> The play's most sympathetic critic is Wolfgang Clemen, who singles out Lodge's experimentation in speech-writing for special attention.<sup>29</sup> He finds the set speeches 'much more closely attuned to the interlocutor than in Selimus, even more so, indeed, than in Tamburlaine'. Lodge manages to make his set speeches more than decorative inserts; they produce an effect on the characters who hear them and set action in motion. Clemen points out that Young Marius's speech at III.4.55-65, when he is wandering in the Numidian desert seeking his father, is a rare example in pre-Shakespearean drama of the playwright's conscious use of the natural setting, here the desert, as a mirror of the speaker's mood, Young Marius's desolation.

Given the extant examples of English drama between Gorboduc and Tamburlaine, excepting Lyly's court plays, The Wounds of Civil War is not so risible a performance as it looks from our vantage point, with Marlowe, Shakespeare and Jonson dominating the field of view. This early, faltering attempt to write a chronicle play was quickly overshadowed and forgotten. It has little history, apart from those possible borrowings by Marlowe. Published in 1594, it remained unreprinted for well over two centuries, until Collier added it to Dodsley's collection in the nineteenth century. It seems to have had no influence upon subsequent plays on the same subject.<sup>30</sup> Thomas Otway drew upon Plutarch and Romeo and Juliet for his Tragedy and Fall of Caius Marius (1680), as odd a patchwork as that pair of sources might suggest. The American playwright Richard Penn Smith might have known Lodge's play in Dodsley, but his Caius Marius (1830) owes nothing visible to The Wounds of Civil War; it owes a great deal, including many lines of verse, to Otway's play.<sup>31</sup>

With Lodge's other play, A Looking Glasse for London and England, we come to a work which is in all respects superior to The Wounds of Civil War. Dating is as problematical as for the other, though more attention has been given to the problem in this case, due to the play's being in the Greene canon. Settling on a date for the play would seem, theoretically at least, to be more likely than for some others, since what we know of the careers and productions of two authors must be considered and two sets of vectors plotted. In fact however, it is possible to set date limits for A Looking Glass for London with even less confidence than for The Wounds of Civil War.

It is obvious that A Looking Glass was written well before its publication date, since Greene was dead by early September, 1592; this makes it, incidentally, among the earliest plays written for the popular stage which are known to be collaborative.<sup>32</sup> The play was entered in the Stationers' Register 5 May 1594, two and a half months before The Wounds of Civil War. The year 1594 saw the printing of a number of plays, including 2 Henry VI, Richard III, and Edward II, as acting companies sold their scripts following forced inactivity during outbreaks of the plague in 1592 and 1593. The popularity of A Looking Glass is attested to by several reprintings, in 1598, 1602, c.1605 and 1617.<sup>33</sup>

We have testimony to its success on the stage in Henslowe's entries of performances in March, April, and June 1592. Four performances are noted during those months, including one at Easter (27 March) which took in fifty-five shillings.<sup>34</sup> The play is listed by Henslowe as among those performed by 'my lord stranges mene'; Lodge had written The Wounds of Civil War for the Admiral's Men who combined with Lord Strange's Men in 1589 (Chambers, II, 136). Thus the play may originally have been the Admiral's Men's and passed into the possession of Strange's upon the

dissolution of the Admiral's, for a period of several years, in 1591 (Chambers II, 138-9).

The various opinions and guesses as to the date of A Looking Glass almost invariably refer to other plays which it is supposed to have been influenced by or which it is supposed to have influenced (Paradise, pp. 142-7, esp. p.143n.). Presumed imitations have been found in it as in The Wounds of Civil War. Again it is Marlowe's works which figure prominently. It is generally agreed that A Looking Glass was written after Tamburlaine, and this time the consensus appears to be more justified. It is not so much that there are verbal echoes, though they are found occasionally as, for example, in the two lines which end Rasni's opening speech, 'For be he God in heaven, yet, viceroys, know,/ Rasni is god on earth, and none but he' (p.117,c.1), which are similar to Tamburlaine's 'The God that sits in heaven, if any god,/ For he is God alone, and none but he' (Part Two, V.1.199-200).<sup>35</sup> The interval of several years which probably separates A Looking Glass from Tamburlaine may account for the fewer and dimmer verbal likenesses we find in the two plays than were apparent when comparing Marlowe's play with The Wounds of Civil War. What critics see in A Looking Glass is rather a Tamburlainean mood in the speeches of Rasni, his wooing of Remilia and Alvida, and his own boasting and self-glorification as in the first speech of the play, quoted from above. Rasni compares himself to Jove and Mars and Remilia to Juno and Venus (p.117, c.2; p.118, c.1); the same similes for Tamburlaine and Zenocrate abound in Tamburlaine (e.g. Part One, V.2 passim). Rasni promises to scour the earth to find fit treasures for Remilia (p.118, cc.1-2); Tamburlaine does the same for Zenocrate (Part One, I.2.82-105). Rasni at least tries to sound like Tamburlaine, something Scilla could not do.

However, Doctor Faustus is the play with which A Looking Glass has most in common. It is possible that here again a play by Lodge furnished Marlowe with material. W W Greg in his edition of the two versions of Doctor Faustus marshals the evidence for a late date of composition, that is 1592/3. Earlier, C F Tucker Brooke and F S Boas, among others, had also decided in favour of a late date. In a review of Greg's edition, Harold Jenkins cast doubt on Greg's conclusion and reasserted the probability of an earlier date.<sup>36</sup> The two opinions, not later than 1590 and not before 1592, both seem to have strong claims and it is not feasible here to go into the arguments. The fact that a recent Marlowe critic and a recent editor of Doctor Faustus, after considering the evidence, each inclines towards a different side of the fence, indicates that the problem is yet unresolved and is perhaps best left alone in a study which is not primarily concerned with Marlowe.<sup>37</sup> To express my own inclination toward the later date for Doctor Faustus will perhaps look like special pleading; I should like to be able to assert with confidence that those passages in A Looking Glass for London and Doctor Faustus which so resemble each other originated with Lodge, making Marlowe his debtor. Paradise did so assert, but he believed A Looking Glass to have been written very early: 'The probability is that it was written in 1587, shortly after the appearance of Tamburlaine but before the threat of a Spanish invasion became <sup>m</sup>minent' (pp.151-2).<sup>38</sup> I believe, however, that Lodge's and Greene's play may be placed later than this on other grounds, even though its priority to Doctor Faustus cannot be established beyond doubt.

Paradise cites a number of examples of parallels between the two plays and they are far more striking than those he adduced from Tamburlaine and The Wounds of Civil War (pp.147-8). Among them are the following:

- 1) Let your Balio and your Belcher come here and I'll knock them, they were never so knocked since they were devils. Say I should kill one of them, what would folks say? 'Do you see yonder tall fellow in the round slop? He has killed the devil!' So I should be called Kill-Devil all the parish over.

(Doctor Faustus, 11.406-411)<sup>39</sup>

Then may I count myself, I think, a tall man, that am able to kill a devil: now who dare deal with me in the parish? or what wench in Nineveh will not love me, when they say, "There goes he that beat the devil"?

(Looking Glass, p.138, c.2)

- 2) Who buzzeth in mine ears I am a spirit?  
Be I a devil, yet God may pity me;  
Yea, God will pity me if I repent.

(Doctor Faustus, vi.14-16)

Methinks I hear a voice amidst mine ears,  
That bids me stay, and tells me that the Lord  
Is merciful to those that do repent.

(Looking Glass, p.142, c.2)

- 3) See where God  
Stretcheth out his arm and bends his ireful brows.  
Mountains and hills, come, come, and fall on me,  
And hide me from the heavy wrath of God!  
No, no: Then will I headlong run into the earth.  
Earth, gape! O; no, it will not harbour me.

(Doctor Faustus, xix.150-56)

Hell gapes for me, heaven will not hold my soul.  
You mountains, shroud me from the God of Truth:  
Methinks I see him sit to judge the earth;  
See how he blots me out o' the book of life!  
O burden, more than Aetna, that I bear!  
Cover me, hills, and shroud me from the Lord.

(Looking Glass, p.142, c.2)<sup>40</sup>

In the last two pairs of passages, the quotations from A Looking Glass are from the same scene, the same speech, while their opposites in Doctor Faustus occur thirteen scenes apart. When noting the same phenomenon in The Wounds of Civil War and Tamburlaine, I posed more or

less rhetorically the question in which direction the borrowing, if borrowing there was, would more likely have been, Lodge from Marlowe or vice-versa, and suggested that the phenomenon seemed to point to the latter. Here again it is passages in widely separated scenes of Marlowe's play which strongly resemble passages only a few lines apart in Lodge's. Here the passages are more alike than were those in The Wounds of Civil War and Tamburlaine. A closer examination of that scene in A Looking Glass (p.142, c.2) and the two scenes in Doctor Faustus (vi and xix) which contain passages so reminiscent of it may reinforce the supposition that here too it was Lodge's play which provided Marlowe with material.

The Usurer's repentance scene in Lodge's play is the only one likely to have contained useful material so far as Marlowe was concerned;<sup>41</sup> Rasni's repentance is very short and he speaks more as King of Nineveh than as a conscience-stricken individual (p.142, c.1), and Alvida's (p.142, cc.1, 2 - p.143, c.1) is primarily of the sins of vanity and luxury. The Usurer's repentance, however, is a single speech of thirty-three lines, divided into two parts by the appearance of the Evil Angel who tempts him with knife and rope. It is from the first part of the speech that the last passage quoted above comes, with the apostrophe to mountains and hills so like that of Faustus's final terrified attempt to escape his fate at the end of Marlowe's play (xix). The other Doctor Faustus scene, (vi), which is not a true 'repentance scene' since Faustus does not repent, has further similarities to Lodge's. In A Looking Glass, the Evil Angel tempts the Usurer to suicide; in Marlowe's, Good and Evil Angels confront Faustus. The Usurer and Faustus alike hear the voice of damnation:

In life no peace: each murmuring that I hear,  
Methinks, the sentence of damnation sounds,  
"Die, reprobate, and hie thee hence to hell."

(p.142, c.2)

Scarce can I name salvation, faith, or heaven,  
But fearful echoes thunders in mine ears,  
'Faustus, thou art damn'd!'

(vi. 19-21; the last two lines  
occur in the A-text only)<sup>42</sup>

While in A Looking Glass, the Evil Angel silently offers the Usurer the instruments of suicide, Faustus sees 'guns and knives,/ Swords, poison, halters, and envenom'd steel' laid before him.

There is further support for the view that the repentance scene originated with Lodge. Concerning the last two pairs of passages quoted above, Paradise follows Collins in citing Lodge's Alarm against Usurers (1584). Near the end of this prose work, Lodge predicts the woe of the real usurers whom he is addressing:

The Lord shall pity the fatherless and comfort the afflicted when that dreadful day shall come, in which the heavens shall be opened and the son of man shall come to judgment. How will the case then stand with you? Shall your wealth then acquit you? No, no, the Judge is not partial, he is just in all his doings, and true in all his sayings. In that day the horror of your conscience shall condemn you, Satan whom you have served shall accuse you, the poor afflicted members of Christ shall bear witness against you, so that in this horror and confusion, you shall desire the mountains to fall upon you, and the hills to cover you from the fearful indignation of the Lord of Hosts and the dreadful condemnation of the Lamb Jesus. When it shall be found out that you were rich, yet relieved none; that you were of wealth, yet comforted none; that you rather replenished the prisons than released the prisoner; that your life be found sauced with cruelty and no one action savouring of mercy, the Lord shall place you among the goats and pronounce his Ve against you, he shall thunder out this sentence: 'Go you cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.'

(Sigs. F4-F4; Works, I,  
Alarm, pp.51-2)

To show the full resemblance between this passage and the Usurer's repentance in A Looking Glass, there follows the beginning of the speech

in the play, up to the passage quoted earlier which begins 'Hell gapes for me ...':

Groaning in conscience, burden'd with my crimes  
The hell of sorrow haunts me up and down.  
Tread where I list, methinks the bleeding ghosts  
Of those whom my corruption brought to naughts,  
Do serve for stumbling-blocks before my steps;  
The fatherless and widow wrong'd by me,  
The poor oppressed by my usury;  
Methinks I see their hands rear'd up to heaven,  
To cry for vengeance of my covetousness.  
Whereso I walk, all sigh and shun my way;  
Thus am I made a monster of the world.

(Looking Glass, p.142, c.2)

Collins, seeing the scene as 'little more than the versification of a passage in the Alarm against Usurers', vacillated, assigning it first to Lodge (I, 141) then inexplicably, to Greene (II, 2). He was surely right the first time. The Usurer in the play goes, almost step by step, through the whole range of guilt, horror and remorse imagined by Lodge in the Alarm passage. He does indeed call down mountains and hills to shroud and cover him, and hears the voice condemning him into everlasting fire: 'Die, reprobate, and hie thee hence to hell.' Paradise argues that 'it seems improbable that Marlowe should have dramatized a passage from Lodge's Alarm against Usurers and that Lodge, in turn, should have borrowed his blank-verse version of the very passage' (p.149). For Paradise, this is further evidence for an early date of composition, 'when Lodge's mind was still on his Alarm against Usurers' (p.150). But what are the criteria for determining precisely how long after writing something an author's mind ceases to be on it? Whenever Lodge wrote a passage like the one in the play, he might very well recall his own previous phrasing of a similar situation, even perhaps get it out to look at it again, whether it were three or four or eight or nine years



since. We know that usury was a subject of major concern to Lodge throughout his writing career, due perhaps to his own bitter experience. We find a vivid portrait of Usury in one of his maturest works, Wit's Misery and the World's Madness, published in 1596. Though this work was influenced by Nashe, as Lodge acknowledges, who is to say that his mind was not even then on the Alarm, his own, very personal attack on that social vice from which he had suffered so severely?

There is an undeniable logic to Paradise's argument that Lodge probably wrote the Usurer scenes in A Looking Glass, drawing upon his own earlier tract, and that Marlowe's scenes which sound like Lodge's must owe something to them. If either the arguments for the priority of A Looking Glass to Doctor Faustus or those for the priority of The Wounds of Civil War to Tamburlaine are convincing, it seems to me reasonable to suppose that, on account of the parallel, noticed above, between the two cases - passages occurring in a single scene of Lodge's plays being similar to widely separated passages in Marlowe's - the borrowing was in the same direction in both cases, that is, Marlowe from Lodge. This still leaves us with the initial problem, that of the date of the Lodge-Greene play.

The lack of reference to Spain or the threat of invasion in A Looking Glass persuaded Paradise that the play was written before the threat of Spanish invasion became imminent. But he felt too that it must have been composed after Tamburlaine had appeared in 1587. Depending upon just what Paradise meant by 'imminent', the span of time which he allows for the writing of A Looking Glass may be very narrow indeed, even non-existent. England had news of Spanish preparations for an expedition as early as 1585; in May of that year British ships had been seized in Spanish ports, a patently unfriendly gesture on the part of

Philip II.<sup>43</sup> By the early spring of 1587 there was positive evidence that Spain was amassing an invasion fleet at Cadiz, and Drake was commissioned on 15 March to wreak as much havoc as he could by catching the Spaniards unawares.<sup>44</sup> Invasion may well have been thought imminent then. The point is that rumour was rife from late 1585 that Spain was preparing for war and any playwright who wanted to allude to that, especially in such a clearly allegorical play as A Looking Glass could have expected his audience to catch the allusion. But there are in the play only the most general suggestions of possible enemy attack, occurring in a list of dire predictions of the consequences of Nineveh's persistence in sin, as in Jonas's 'The foe shall pierce the gates with iron ramps' (p.142, c.1). None can be taken as a reference to Spain or to any particular threatened invasion. Might not this absence be as well explained by supposing the play to have been written some time, even several years, after the Armada when invasion was no longer an imminent threat and the event itself was settling into history?

One of the more recent attempts to date A Looking Glass for London is that of Waldo F McNeir.<sup>45</sup> His conclusion is that the play is the first of Greene's series of repentance writings and must be placed in late 1589 or early 1590. McNeir's argument that the play precedes Greene's other repentance works is based on a number of references to Nineveh and Jonas, tantamount for McNeir to references to A Looking Glass, in Greene's Vision and Mourning Garment. But Dickinson was surely right in observing that allusions to Nineveh were so commonplace in Elizabethan literature as to be of little aid in dating a work.<sup>46</sup> Nineveh is the prototype of the sinful city which, given a last chance by the Lord, repents in time and is spared. Whenever Green's 'repentance period' began - Dickinson contends that he used the repentance motif from the very beginning of his

literary career (p.xvi) - he could most naturally have referred to Nineveh in any context in which repentance was the theme, whether or not he had just helped write a play about it. Indeed, the references to sackcloth in Greene's Vision and Mourning Garment could have been found in the original Biblical account (Jonas III. 5,6) as well as in A Looking Glass.<sup>47</sup> But McNeir takes them to be references to the play and concludes that it had been written and perhaps performed before Greene wrote those pamphlets in 1590. A glance at the passages in Greene's pieces shows them to be such general references to Nineveh and Jonas that it is imprudent to declare, as McNeir does, that they are based directly on A Looking Glass. In any case, Greene's personal 'confessions' and a patently hortatory play based on a Biblical text and addressed to the city of London are not exactly the same kind of repentance literature. Furthermore, the notion of a 'repentance period' is highly dubious in view of the spate of gony-catching pamphlets produced by Greene in 1591 and 1592.

Some scholars, including Grosart, Dickinson and Paradise, have set 22 September 1589 as the terminus ad quem for any plays written by Lodge.<sup>48</sup> The reason for doing so is that Lodge apparently forswore writing for the theatre in the final lines of Scilla's Metamorphosis which was entered in the Stationers' Register on that date. The relevant lines are these:

then by oath he bound me  
To write no more of that whence shame doth grow  
Or tie my pen to penny-knaves' delight,<sup>49</sup>  
But live with fame, and so for fame to write.

Paradise takes the abjuration literally and seriously: 'Lodge declared that he would write no more for the theatre after 1589, and there is nothing to show that he did not keep to his resolution'. It is probably

unwise, however, to accept this apparent renunciation so literally. Even if we interpret it as meaning that Lodge did intend to give up writing for the theatre (and is it certain that 'penny-knaves' refers to a playhouse audience?) he could have been persuaded otherwise subsequently. It is surely naive to expect consistency, let alone constancy, in Elizabethan authors writing for popular consumption, no matter how genuine a burst of resolution may appear; witness Greene's protestations of righteous indignation in the cony-catching pamphlets, for example. Within Lodge's own corpus we have his defense of plays and dramatists in Honest Excuses, then this apparent recantation in Scilla's Metamorphosis; and there is A Looking Glass for London, a Biblical play, then his vigorous denunciation of the use of Scripture in stage-plays in Wit's Misery (sig. F4<sup>v</sup>; Works, IV<sup>8</sup>, p.46).

Another possible interpretation of the lines in question, assuming that dramatic writing is the subject, is that Lodge was not renouncing it completely, but only that which was done sheerly for the satisfaction of vulgar tastes. The 'penny-knaves' would not be the entire audience of a playhouse after all. Their delight might be stimulated by vulgarity or coarseness - 'that whence shame doth grow' - but that is not to say that everything in a play is of that nature. And if the play is one like A Looking Glass for London and England where the Biblical story and blatant moral purpose make it as respectable as anyone might wish (it was performed at Easter), an author might well not feel guilty of tying his pen to penny-knaves' delight. This might be particularly so if he were not personally responsible for the low comedy scenes in the play, as is quite possibly the case with Lodge and A Looking Glass. Such a play could be, and has been, seen as nothing more or less than a dramatized sermon. Whatever impelled Lodge to write those lines at the end

of Scilla's Metamorphosis, sincere regret at having stooped to crowd-pleasing or a passing pique over his relative lack of success as a dramatist, A Looking Glass for London might not necessarily have constituted a relapse.

This interpretation is perhaps too ingenious; I offer it only as a possible alternative. The point is that, in any case, we are not justified in setting so much store by these lines as to construe them as a barrier to consideration of a post-1589 date for A Looking Glass.

One further peripheral matter to be taken into account is the famous reference by Greene in his Groatsworth of Wit to 'young Juvenal, that biting satirist, that lastly with me together writ a comedy'. Here again, scholars have divided over the question of 'young Juvenal's' identity: Nashe or Lodge? Formerly, Lodge was the choice of the majority, including Tyrwhitt, Malone, Fleay and Collins. Subsequent opinion favoured Nashe; Grosart and McKerrow argued his case, and Gosse, Dickinson and Paradise all agreed. G R Hibbard tacitly accepts Nashe.<sup>50</sup> A thorough examination of all the reasons for leaning and not leaning either way has been made by Philip Drew.<sup>51</sup> He concludes that such positive evidence as there is favours Lodge, but that Nashe seems to us the more likely; 'biting satirist' is an appellation which fits the Nashe we know much better than the Lodge we know. Whether Greene thought as we do is the question, and that we cannot know. By the standards of the day, the works of Lodge that Greene would have known - Honest Excuses, An Alarm against Usurers, Truth's Complaint over England, 'The Discontented Satyr', 'Commendation of a Solitary Life', Catharos, even the ironic-parodic side of Scilla's Metamorphosis - may well have entitled him to that sobriquet in Greene's opinion.

One of the things which makes it easy to see Lodge in Greene's

cryptic address is that there is ready to hand a play which can be taken to be that comedy they wrote together. A Looking Glass for London, despite Gosse's emphatic assertion to the contrary (Works, I, Memoir, 29), is a comedy in the classical sense, as the people repent and the city is saved in the end. If 'young Juvenal' is taken to be Nashe, an unknown play by him and Greene must be postulated; such postulates have been made (Drew, p.57). However, doing so has sometimes constituted a circular argument: the identity of the anonymous collaborator whom Greene addresses is said to be established by positing a work on which that person collaborated with Greene. Occam's razor is a useful precept to keep in mind in literary hypothesizing as in philosophical; to let our hunch that 'young Juvenal' ought to be Nashe lead us into wishing into existence a play for which we have no evidence is not very dangerous but may be superfluous. It cannot be determined, of course, that A Looking Glass is the play to which Greene refers, nor can we go any further than Drew has gone in the quest for 'young Juvenal'. He has at least resurrected Lodge as a credible candidate.

Drew discusses the possible meanings of 'lastly' in Greene's allusion (Drew, p.62). If it means 'recently', it cannot have been any more recently than about a year. The Groatsworth of Wit must have been written very shortly before Greene's death in early September 1592. It was entered in the Stationers' Register on 20 September, having been prepared for publication by Chettle. We know that Lodge sailed with Cavendish on the latter's second and ill-fated attempt to circumnavigate the globe. The expedition left Plymouth on 26 August 1591. Lodge was back in England by February 1593 (Paradise, p.44).<sup>52</sup> Exactly when he returned is unknown, but it would most likely have been after Greene's death. So August 1591 is a reasonably definite posterior limit for the

writing of A Looking Glass.

It has been generally agreed that the play must have been written after Lodge's first sea voyage. The reason for this assumption is that Act III, Scene 1 (Dyce, p.129, c.2-130, c.1) and Act IV, Scene 1 (p.134, cc.1-2) contain a good deal of nautical jargon. It is felt, rightly I think, that only first-hand familiarity with sailors and sailing, celestial navigation and the parts of a ship, could have furnished Lodge with this precise technical terminology. The question is when this voyage took place. The problem of the date of Lodge's first voyage is discussed in the first chapter. If, as I think possible, Lodge's voyage was later than has been conjectured heretofore, perhaps as late as 1590, the span of time during which A Looking Glass was probably written is narrowed to about a year, between his return from the first and his departure on the second voyage with Cavendish. This would put the play later rather than earlier in the Greene canon, between Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay and James IV perhaps, and such a late date some Greene scholars would find unacceptable. However, most scholars have assumed an earlier date for Lodge's voyage - 1585 (Paradise, Houppert), 1586 (Tenney), 1588 (Fleay, Collins, Dickinson) - and all of these are open to dispute. If the scenes displaying knowledge of marine technology are taken to indicate familiarity with the subject, a reasonable supposition, and if a later date for Lodge's voyage is at least as plausible as an earlier one, the conclusion must be that the play could as well have been written later, that is, 1590-91, as earlier. This is perhaps less difficult to accept if we take the play as being primarily Lodge's product; the priority of his name on the title-pages of the quartos may be significant. Comparison with The Wounds of Civil War also suggests that A Looking Glass is the production of a considerably more mature poet and dramatist.

That the verse of A Looking Glass shows an improvement over that of The Wounds of Civil War is clear. While it has not throughout the liquidity even of Greene's earliest dramatic verse - compare the proportion of end-stopped lines with that of Alphonsus, King of Arragon, for example - there is a smoothness of which Lodge was incapable when he wrote The Wounds of Civil War.<sup>53</sup> There is also what looks like the influence of Tamburlaine, as in Rasni's opening speech, cited above, and that may account for some of the additional body in the verse of A Looking Glass. Rasni's conceit, Remilia's vanity, Radagon's filial cruelty, Alvida's sensuality, the Usurer's repentance, are all expressed in poetry rich in imagery, well suited to his or her peculiar quality. This kind of differentiation of character was barely noticeable in The Wounds of Civil War, and may have been accidental when it was. The changes in tone from scene to scene, from high characters to low, show a sensitivity lacking in Lodge's earlier play. Nevertheless, the language of most of the verse parts in, for example, the use of adjectives and verbs - fair, clear, concave, compare - as nouns, is closer to that of The Wounds of Civil War than of Greene's early plays, Alphonsus and Orlando Furioso, where such usages occur rarely if ever.

In structure too A Looking Glass is superior. The decadence of Rasni's court, the Usurer's dishonesty, the corruption in the courts of law, the moral anarchy of the citizens, Jonas's disobedience succeed one another, punctuated by the prophet Oseas, who turns the mirror to London in unequivocal terms. Court scenes and street scenes parallel each other: a drunken ruffian kills his companion over a tavern wench (p.127, c.1), an adulterous queen poisons her husband (p.128, c.2).<sup>54</sup> Similarly the repentance of each estate and promises of rectification and reform are shown in turn in the last act. Either Lodge had learned something about



dramatic construction since The Wounds of Civil War, or Greene is responsible for the relative neatness of A Looking Glass. Collins's condemnation of the play as 'a wild and silly medley' is surely too harsh.<sup>55</sup>

The scenes with Adam, the Smith's man, six in all, look like Greene's work.<sup>56</sup> Adam, or the clown, bears a family resemblance to Tom in Orlando Furioso, Miles in Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, and Slipper in James IV. Lodge's only previous effort that we know of at a comic scene in prose, that of Curtall and Poppey in The Wounds of Civil War, is no preparation for Adam and the Devil. The former are stick-figures in comparison. I believe that these scenes are Greene's main substantive contribution to the play. If we agree with Collins that the Usurer scenes (I.3, II.2, IV.5, V.2), those marine scenes discussed previously (III.1, IV.1), and the speeches of Oseas, Jonas and the Angels (though the evidence for these, internal only, is not conclusive) are Lodge's, and give him some, at least, of the verse scenes with Rasni, Remilia, Radagon, the Priests (I.1, II.1, III.2, IV.3, the latter with Alvida's song whose line 'Wanton thou, and wilt thou, wanton' recalls Rosalynde's madrigal 'Love in my bosom like a bee'), Lodge is responsible for a major portion of the play (Collins, I, 140-41). Fleay assigned 'most and best' of the play to Lodge; another point of view might be that Adam's scenes are the redeeming virtue of an otherwise tiresome, painfully didactic play.<sup>57</sup>

It is my opinion then that A Looking Glass is largely Lodge's work. The spectacular business - Oseas's entrance in a throne from above, Remilia's being struck dead by thunder in her arbour which has risen magically from the ground, Radagon's disappearance into a fissure amidst a sudden flame, Jonas being cast upon the stage by the whale - may have been Greene's contribution, especially if he had already dabbled in such

trickery in Alphonsus and Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay. But after The Spanish Tragedy anyone, including Lodge, could have incorporated such sensationalism in a play. The usurer's entrance (p.142, c.2) with a dagger and a halter is most reminiscent of Hieronimo's appearance with the same instruments in Kyd's play (III.12). As spectacle, the devices in A Looking Glass rival the best that could be seen on the stages at the time; one tries to imagine what might have appeared at the terse stage direction 'A serpent devoureth the vine' (p.144, c.1).

It could be that Lodge left the play in near-complete form when he departed on the Cavendish expedition in August 1591, and that Greene inserted the comic scenes, perhaps other touches here and there, before passing it on to the actors; he was to perform a similar service for Lodge in February 1592, writing the dedication for Euphues' Shadow and seeing to its publication. There is a possible difficulty in placing the play this late: Henslowe's record of performances by Lord Strange's Men as early as 8 March 1592 may be incompatible with productions by a different company, the Queen's Men, for whom Greene wrote, as recently as August or September 1591.<sup>58</sup> The reference in Jonas's epilogue to 'Romish Anti-Christ' does not square with Lodge's allegiance to Catholicism. But he may not yet have joined the Roman Communion, and even if he had, but were absent, Greene or the players themselves might have added that further bit of sentiment to a passage of patriotic piety:

O turn, O turn, with weeping to the Lord  
And think the prayers and virtues of thy Queen  
Defer the plague which otherwise would fall!  
Repent, O London! lest, for thine offence,  
Thy shepherd fail, whom mighty God preserve,  
That she may bide the pillar of his church  
Against the storms of Romish Anti-Christ!  
The hand of mercy overshadow her head,  
And let all faithful subjects say, Amen!

(p.147, cc.1-2)

It is an appropriate finale for the Queen's Men if not for a devout Roman Catholic.

The suggestion that Greene may have completed the play after Lodge's departure in August 1591 is only a suggestion, and must be tentative. Whenever the first voyage occurred, 1590/1 seems the most likely period in which to place the play.<sup>59</sup>

Dickinson described A Looking Glass as 'the last full flowering of English religious drama' (p.lix). 'Religious drama' is a broad category and if it is stretched to include morality plays and their Elizabethan and Jacobean descendants, it becomes too inclusive to allow the signal honour accorded Lodge's and Greene's play by Dickinson. Taken more narrowly to mean Biblical drama, and plays which, while not actually dramatizing scripture, draw upon it for their themes (such as the numerous Prodigal Son plays of which Gascoigne's Glass of Government is an example), the genre is delineable, and Dickinson's judgment is fair. So late in the sixteenth century, only Peele's David and Bethsabe comes to mind as a possible rival.

A Looking Glass is certainly in the morality tradition as well. It differs from its predecessors and even from such contemporaneous specimens of the genre as Robert Wilson's Three Ladies of London, Three Lords and Three Ladies of London, written for the Queen's Men, and The Cobbler's Prophecy, in having characters with real names instead of allegorical ones. In Adam there is a full-fledged Vice and Greene provided a Devil for him to beat. A dimension is added to the sin-and-repentance theme in the character of Jonas, the recalcitrant prophet. Following the Biblical story, Jonas evades his duty, flees to Joppa, takes ship for Tharsus, is cast overboard, as we learn from the sailors (whose conversion to the Hebrew's God (Jonas I.16) is not omitted) and

is deposited on stage by the whale. Even the man of God is disobedient, complementing the utter turpitude of Nineveh's citizens of every rank and station. He repents and becomes the instrument of Nineveh's repentance and salvation. During Jonas's disobedience and hence unfitness, Oseas provides the commentary and draws the morals. Even after Oseas is taken away by the angel at the end of Act IV, Jonas remains a character in the play; he becomes angry with the Lord for sparing Nineveh and is chastened in the episode of the vine and the serpent (p.144, c.1). Oseas had been outside the action, speaking to the audience, but not until the epilogue does Jonas address the audience directly. Thus Jonas himself, God's reluctant messenger, was dramatic material, as few other Old Testament prophets would have been; most of them are unwaveringly faithful. Lodge and Greene saw the drama inherent in this particular Biblical story and made the most of it.

The play includes many details from the Biblical account. The forty days' grace before the destruction of the city (p.139, cc.1,2; p.141, c.2) is based on Jonas III.4; the city's size, 'Even three days' journey's length from wall to wall' (p.117, c.1) on Jonas III.3; the king's laying aside his robe and crown and his decree that all the people fast in sackcloth and ashes (p.142, c.1) on Jonas III.5-7. There are as well, passages which echo the language of the Biblical version, as for example, Jonas's prayer (p.135, cc.1-2) from Chapter II of the Old Testament book. Especially striking is the Angel's speech of remonstrance:

Thou hast compassion, Jonas, on a vine,  
On which thou never labour didst bestow;  
Thou never gav'st it life or power to grow,  
But suddenly it sprung, and suddenly died:  
And should not I have great compassion  
On Nineveh, the city of the world,  
Wherein there are a hundred thousand souls,

And twenty thousand infants that ne wot  
The right hand from the left, beside much cattle?

(p.144, cc.1-2)

This is very close to the final two verses of the book of Jonas in the  
Bishops' Bible:

10 Then said the Lord, Thou hast had compassion on the gourd, about  
the which thou bestowedst no labour, neither madest it grow, which came  
up in a night, and perished in a night:  
11 And shall not I spare Nineveh that great city, in the which are more  
than sixscore thousand persons that know not their right hand and their  
left, and also much cattle?

There are to be sure minor errors and inconsistencies. Tharsus, to  
which Jonas tries to flee, is apparently a confusion of Tarsus, a city in  
southern Turkey, with Tarshish in southern Spain, which is his intended  
destination in the Biblical version. The point is that Tarshish was as  
far as possible in the exactly opposite direction from Nineveh, the Assyrian  
capital, where Jonah had been commanded to go by the Lord. We cannot be  
too hard on Lodge, however: both the Bishops' Bible (Jonas I.3, gloss)  
and Josephus make the same error.<sup>60</sup> Nineveh's 'six hundred towers  
that topless touch the clouds' (p.117, c.1) become 'three hundred towers  
[that] do tempt the heaven' (p.135, c.2). We need not cavil at the  
incongruity of Jonah and Hosea being made contemporaries; little is known  
about the former. He is referred to in one of the Hebrew chronicles  
(II Kings XII.25). He probably lived about the mid-ninth century B.C.,  
a century or so before Hosea, who prophesied in Israel, rather than Judah  
(whose capital was Jerusalem) as implied in the play (p.140, c.1) during  
the reign of Jeroboam II.

Paradise (p.154) suggested that in addition to the Bible, Lodge  
may have used another ancient source, namely Josephus's history of the  
Jews, a translation of which along with other works of the Jewish historian

he was to publish in 1602. This is quite possible, as the first entry in the Stationers' Register for what looks like Lodge's translation was made on 12 October 1591. He may thus have been already at work on the translation at the time the play was written. The name of Rasni does not occur in the book of Jonah, and may have come from Josephus where it occurs, as 'Rasin', in another context. However, there are references elsewhere in the Old Testament (II Kings XV and XVI; Isaiah VII and VIII) to Rezin, king of Syria, who allied himself with Pekah, king of Israel, to attack, unsuccessfully, the southern kingdom of Judah during the reign of Ahaz (c.730-715 B.C.). Rezin's contemporary in Assyria was Tiglath-pileser. If it is this Rezin who gave his name to Lodge's Ninevite king, his allusions to his overthrow of Jeroboam (p.117, c.) would be at least chronologically possible, as his reign probably overlapped that of Jeroboam II in Israel. However, the only reference to Jeroboam's military operations in the Biblical chronicles indicates that he recovered Damascus, the Syrian capital, obviously not the defeat at the hands of Rasni alluded to in the play.<sup>61</sup>

Given these historical confusions, one might wonder why Lodge did not choose a more famous pagan king from the Bible, such as the real Assyrians, Tiglath-pileser or Ashurbanipal, or the Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar. That he apparently confused Syria with Assyria, and made Rezin, a Syrian, king of Nineveh in Assyria, but was accurate in other details, suggests that he was looking at some source other than the Old Testament. Furthermore, the kingdoms of Paphlagonia, Cilicia, and Crete whose kings are characters in the play, do not appear in the Old Testament. Josephus must be the source for some of the historical detail in the play. Paradise (p.154) cites several scholars who put forward as possible sources for A Looking Glass various ballads whose titles are suggestive. As

these are lost, however, it is fruitless to speculate on their possible relation to the play.

An account of the sources for A Looking Glass would not be complete without mention of Lodge's own Alarm against Usurers, whose probable contribution to the Usurer's repentance scene has already been discussed. In addition, we might note that Thrasybulus, the Usurer's young victim in the play, has received of him, for a loan of forty pounds, ten pounds in cash and thirty pounds' worth (supposedly) of lute strings. Lodge had used these precise figures and this same commodity in giving an example of the usurer's practice in the Alarm (sigs. D4<sup>V</sup>-E; Works, I; pp.36-7).

In his close reliance on sources (for factual matter), the Lodge of A Looking Glass for London is the same as the Lodge of The Wounds of Civil War. The later play, despite its didacticism, is bigger in scope than the earlier. The poetry has improved, the dramatic structure is much better, the characters are more credible, the comedy is full-blooded. If it is Greene we have to thank - or if we see it Sidney's way, condemn - for the latter, it is nevertheless evident that Lodge had progressed both as poet and as dramatist since he wrote The Wounds of Civil War. If it be protested that the poetry of A Looking Glass is still too far beneath that of some of the exquisite lyrics of Rosalynde with which my suggested approximate date for the play would make it roughly contemporary, I quite agree. But Lodge the poet was above all a lyric poet. We cannot accord the verse of his plays anything like the praise his best lyrics have rightly received. Alvida's song (p.136, c.1) from which a line was quoted earlier, if by Lodge, is fine enough to be classed among his best. But as dramatic verse, Lodge's dramatic verse, that of A Looking Glass is better than that of The Wounds of Civil War. Such an improvement would suggest, I think, a span of several years between the writing of the one

and the other.

Replacing Lodge's two plays in historical perspective, we see that curious incongruity, or conjunction of opposites, which marks his work, that is, his being so often one of the first and equally often among the last to write in a particular form or genre or style. The Wounds of Civil War is perhaps our earliest true chronicle play, precursor to the masterpieces of Shakespeare. A Looking Glass for London and England is apparently our last real Biblical play, with an ancestry reaching back six centuries. And they are separated by a few years at most, the works of the same man.



## CHAPTER 3

### Prose Fiction

Lodge's half-dozen prose romances, published over a period of thirteen years, defy attempts to trace development in style or any other literary quality. Each is different from the others; each can legitimately be called a romance, but each belongs to a different branch of the ramified romance tree. Sometimes the branches intertwine. Lodge is usually written of as a euphuist, with the qualification that he was able to adapt euphuism, master it, employ it as decoration, rather than slavishly and indiscriminately.<sup>1</sup> Rosalynde is cited as evidence of his independence. There especially, it is said, euphuism is under control and in good taste. But Euphues' Shadow published just sixteen months after Rosalynde, contains some of the worst examples of euphuistic excess that the period produced and is, furthermore, a close imitation of Euphues itself. And the next year, Lodge issued a collection of prose tales, William Longbeard, in which the euphuism is both mild and scarce.

To class Lodge among Lyly's legatees is appropriate. He was certainly influenced by Lyly's books and their style. To the extent that any writer who ever wrote in Lyly's style or attempted to do so is a euphuist, Lodge must be considered one.<sup>2</sup> But even Paradise's characterization of his prose style as 'modified euphuism' (p.78) is prejudicial. While granting Lodge a degree of individuality and admitting that he was never a pure euphuist - presumably only the author of Euphues could have been that - Paradise nevertheless declares Lodge 'the most consistent of the euphuists' (p.87). This is because examples of the characteristic devices are to be found in all of Lodge's prose fiction and in some of the non-fiction as well. The class of 'euphuists' becomes very comprehensive indeed, however, if anyone who ever employed regularly any of the rhetorical

devices found in Euphues is included. Many authors before Lyly would qualify, as would someone like Sidney who, we know very well, abhorred and eschewed such a style. C S Lewis's definition is useful, though knowing where to draw the line may still be a problem in some cases: 'What constitutes euphuism is neither the structural devices nor the "unnatural history" but the unremitting use of both. The excess is the novelty: the euphuism of any composition is a matter of degree.'<sup>3</sup>

A reading of the romances with which this chapter deals reveals not only their differences in kind, but the wide disparity in the degree to which euphuism is employed in each. Lodge may have tried deliberately to avoid imitating the euphuistic manner on at least one occasion, and on others, he was concerned with other things than style; in the latter cases, the occurrence now and then of patches of euphuistic writing is incidental. Paradise's assertion of Lodge's consistency as a euphuist is misleading. The proof is that we remark the differences in style as well as those in kind of narrative and mood among the romances.

#### Forbonius and Prisceria

If Lodge was among those who rode the wave of popularity created by Lyly with his two prose works of 1578 and 1580, he was strangely slow in getting aboard. His first published work of prose fiction appeared only in 1584. It was, furthermore, the second item in a three-part compilation of which An Alarm against Usurers is clearly the feature attraction; the romance's inclusion in the volume may even have been an afterthought: the catchword on the last page of the Alarm (F4<sup>V</sup>; Works, I; p.52) is 'Truths', indicating that the poem Truth's Complaint over England was originally intended to follow immediately afterwards. However, it is Forbonius and Prisceria that begins on sig.G.

The work is scarcely in the Euphues mould at all. It belongs to the family of pastoral romance (with qualifications), derived ultimately from the late Greek pastorals, of which the Ethiopian History of Heliodorus is the best known. Lodge's first response to Euphues, if it is such, is certainly milder than those of other writers such as Gosson, Saker, Greene and Munday, all of whom had works owing something to Lyly in hand or published by 1580.<sup>4</sup> A comparison with early works of those authors, whose euphuism and structural debt to Lyly are more obvious than Lodge's in Forbonius and Prisceria, might suggest that he was deliberately working from a different model. Yet a decade later, when the vogue was becoming the subject of literary jokes, Lodge was still trying to capitalize on its moribund popularity by putting 'Euphues' in the titles of his own books.

Literary historians have noticed a Heliodorian allusion at the beginning of Lodge's tale: the heroine is granddaughter of Theagenes and Chariclea, principal characters in the Greek romance.<sup>5</sup> Thomas Underdowne's English version, via the Latin of Stanislaus Warschewiczki, had seen a second edition by 1577, presumably before Sidney began writing his Arcadia. A French translation by Jacques Amyot had been available since 1547. Further evidence of Lodge's familiarity with Heliodorus is seen in his borrowing of the names of Sisimithres the soothsayer and Hidaspes, King of Ethiopia. These worthies are transplanted to Memphis where, in Lodge's story, they become head priest and governor respectively. These references to the Greek romance would have been appreciated by a knowledgeable reader and would have served notice that Lodge meant his work to be considered as belonging to that family. But Lodge's tale, unlike Sidney's, is the merest sketch, in thirty-two pages, of the pastoral motif of exile, disguise and reunion in the idyllic world of contented

flocks and shepherds equally contented though often love-lorn. There are, as Baker observed, no Heliodorian complications (p.115). While the Ethiopian History and Arcadia wend their devious ways through numerous books and chapters and dozens of characters, Forbonius and Prisceria conducts the reader to the inevitable happy conclusion of its simple plot without digression. The only characters who count are the lovers and Prisceria's father, Solduvius. The 'gymnosophist' Appollonius and the old shepherd Sotto, literary forebear of Corydon in Rosalynde, are types, the one adding a touch of supernatural mystery, the other the flavour of rusticity to the tale. Appollonius also functions as the aged counsellor, a stock figure whose immediate model is perhaps the old man of Athens, Eubulus, in Euphues, and who reappears in several of Lodge's works.

Forbonius and Prisceria has been criticized for the sudden and unconvincing change of heart undergone by Solduvius one page from the end of the story (Baker, p.115). As the tale was apparently included as filler in the 1584 volume, it is possible that Lodge just decided to end it at that point; it could have gone on, with countless obstacles placed athwart the lovers' path to happiness. There is no internal reason for Solduvius to capitulate when he does; it is not suggested that Forbonius's speech moves him:

The discourse of Forbonius thus ended, Solduvius began thus, after that he had somewhat digested his choler: 'Although, Forbonius, the injuries thou hast offered me, together with former displeasures, be sufficient to continue my resolution, yet weighing with myself that it is vain to alter that which is prefixed by destiny, won by reason which directeth all men and by the tender love I bear my daughter, which should prevail with a father, I yield thee thy love to enjoy in chaste wedlock, and whereas thou lookedst I should be thy tormentor, lo, I am now contented to be thy unlooked-for father.'

(Sig. K4; Works, I, Alarm, p.83)<sup>6</sup>

If the dénouement is precipitous, there is something to be said for the straightforwardness and singleness of purpose which Lodge manifested in this early effort. Perhaps he was yet unready to try anything more complicated. Pruvost found it a tale 'full of idyllic charm and freshness' (p.212); he considers it important as 'one of the very first English pastoral novels' (p.214). Walter R Davis has described it as 'a brief, diagrammatic version of the pastoral action'.<sup>7</sup> The incipient pastoralism is perhaps the most interesting feature of the work, but it is almost incidental. Lodge is exploring here that idiom which was to remain among his favourites and certainly one of his happiest throughout his professional writing career. He exploited it in three of the prose romances, to varying degrees in several of his longer narrative poems, as the ostensible motif in the sonnet sequence Phyllis, in the 'eclogues' of A Fig for Momus, and in numerous lyrics.

Forbonius and Prisceria is obviously different from both Euphues and Arcadia. It has neither the stylistic extravagance and didacticism of the former, nor the complexity of the latter. The story is more important than in Lyly's work, and unlike Sidney's is unencumbered with digressions. It is 'a simple plot of separation in the city resolved by union in the country'. It is not, as Davis goes on to say, that the countryside is ideal; it possesses no mystic healing powers as the forest of Arden seems to do. Indeed, as Prisceria's place of imprisonment, the country is contrasted unfavourably with the city:

A place for the solitariness more fit for a Timon than convenient for a beautiful lady, the only company there being shepherds, who upon the vast mountains recorded the praise of the country favourer Pan, and the rural amity between them and their country lasses. Thus from stately court, from the regards of her sweet friend, from the pleasures that follow the city, her companions were rural maidens, her retinue frolic shepherds, whose slight capacity not yielding any comfort to allay the gentlewoman's sorrowings, made her (to her more heart's grief) continue her pensiveness,

and sup up her conceived sorrow in silence.

(Sig. H4; p.67)

'Frolic shepherds' of 'slight capacity' are a far cry from the Latin-speaking, versifying swains of the neo-classical tradition. Despite the court-country contrast suggested in the passage above, the latter does not function fully as the pastoral place. It is not Arcadia or Arden. It is rather a place of sequestration and deprivation, an obstacle which Forbonius overcomes with the help of a magician and the connivance of Prisceria's guard, the old shepherd. Forbonius's disguise as a shepherd is incidental, used only to gain entrance to Prisceria's prison; he might have adopted another. Old Sotto does the rest by inviting 'Arvalio' to sing his 'delectable eclogues' to his unhappy mistress. Prisceria recognizes him at once and he knew all along who she was. Disguise is not an element of the plot, as in Arcadia, Rosalynde, Euphues' Shadow and Greene's Menaphon.

We would most expect to find euphuism in the love letters exchanged by the hero and the heroine, by means of his magic mirror ('a practie in prospective'), and it is surprising to see how uneuphuistic they are. There is little alliteration and none of the rhetorical decoration characteristic of Lyly's work (H<sup>v</sup>-H2<sup>v</sup>; pp.62-4).<sup>8</sup> The soliloquies are less euphuistic than that of the father of the young man fallen victim to the usurer in An Alarm (B4<sup>v</sup>-C3; pp.20-25). Lodge may have been trying to imitate Lyly's style, but if so he had not yet grasped its essence, the very excess of which Lewis speaks. The elegance is lacking, the consistency of over-rich cream with which Lyly's most typical passages flow is absent. There is too much flat prose between the hesitant gestures towards embellishment. The style of the tale might have been as it is had Euphues never been written. The beginning of

Solduvius's speech, when he hears his daughter calling the name of Forbonius in her sleep, is typical:

O my Prisceria, let it not seem strange unto thee to behold thine aged father's unaccustomable access, since he is now perplexed with unacquainted fears. Alas my daughter, thy father seeing thee beautiful, is not careless of thy comfort, neither can he that laboured to bring thee to light, suffer thee to pass thy days in loathsome mislike. At this instant when I entered thy chamber, in thy dream (as me seemed), thy soul betokening (as it should seem) some day's sorrow or pleasure, exclaimed thus: 'O fortunate Forbonius!' Thou knowest how hateful the person thou didest name is to thy father, who if he be fortunate in the dowry, I love him. I shall esteem him unfortunate in the favour thou wilt assure him, who being a collop of my flesh, wilt not allow of that which is loathsome to thy father. O Prisceria, Solduvius seeth and thy secret dreams bewray that the fortunacy of Forbonius is either unfortunate for thyself or not allowable by thy father's opinion.

(Sig. H3; p.65)

'Unaccustomable access' and 'unacquainted fears' are presumably meant to balance each other, but the clauses in which they occur are not balanced in any other way, and the weak initial rhyme on 'unac-' is all the parallel there is. The playing on 'unfortunate' in the latter part of the passage again seems an attempt at cleverness, but it too is feeble, unsupported by syntactic balance and other rhetorical figures. Any possibility of effect is lost as the last clause peters out. Lodge seems unable to finish a sentence with a clause to balance the one with which he began. Lyly's syntax, on the other hand, is metronomic in its regularity and one can often guess almost exactly the phrase which is coming in the second part of the sentence.

As for the 'unnatural history' similes which are among the prominent features of euphuism, there are none in Forbonius and Prisceria. 'As the winding ivy about the stately oak' occurs on the first page, but is a variant of the common elm-and-vine topos rather than an example of the euphuistic device.<sup>9</sup> This feature too is more noticeable in An Alarm

against Usurers than in the romance published with it. Neither proverbs nor exempla occur. Classical allusions are rare, though Lodge was fond of them and used them liberally in many of his other works. Rhetorical questions, even in soliloquies, are infrequent. The style of the work is precious, awkward and uncertain. An earlier 'euphuist', George Pettie, wrote a more accomplished prose. His tale of young lovers from rival families thwarted by parental opposition, 'Admetus and Alcest', is far livelier reading than Lodge's tale. Pettie shows more humour than either Lyly or Lodge, the rhetorical passages being offset by the author's urbane intrusions.<sup>10</sup> Lodge's style improved, and he came to be a good euphuist when he wanted to be. But he could also be a good non-euphuist. Even his earliest published essay in prose fiction is clearly a romance, and belongs, neither by its style, its form, nor its content, with the spate of imitations which followed hard upon Euphues and its sequel.<sup>11</sup>

F L Beaty believes that Lodge owed a direct debt to Arcadia, indeed that he imitated Sidney's work in several ways.<sup>12</sup> The near-absence of euphuism would thus be deliberate on Lodge's part. He would have had to know Arcadia in manuscript as it was not published until 1590. This is quite possible, as the work seems to have circulated widely in manuscript before and after Sidney's death in 1586. Beaty's argument is supported by internal evidence which suggests that Lodge was hoping to please Sidney, not only by dedicating the volume to him, but by emulating the style of Arcadia itself. Beaty finds similarities, for example, between soliloquies in the two works; as observed above, the soliloquies in Lodge's work are not especially euphuistic. They sound much like those of Philoclea and Pyrocles in the Old Arcadia (Beaty, p.43). The long poem in Forbonius and Prisceria (I<sup>V</sup>-I4<sup>V</sup>; pp.70-75), one of two verse interludes in the work, contains a classical blason du corps féminin



which Beaty finds much like Sidney's song 'What tongue can her perfections tell' in the unusual order of the catalogue of the woman's physical attributes.<sup>13</sup> The other poem in Lodge's romance is written in six-line stanzas rhymed ababcc, a form which was to become almost his trade mark, and which Sidney used several times in the Old Arcadia (Beaty, p.41).<sup>14</sup> It is reasonable to infer that Lodge was familiar with the original Arcadia and that he intended to flatter its author to whom he so confidently dedicated his first major publication (A2-A2<sup>v</sup>; pp.3-4). This supposition would help to explain the relatively uneuphuistic style. The allusions to Heliodorus would have been calculated to please Sidney too; Lodge would no doubt have known of Sidney's approbation of the Greek romancer.

The unpolished style of Forbonius and Prisceria is due to neither Lyly nor Sidney. It is the work of a novice. Lodge had become a master of his craft by the time his next prose romance was published six years later. Rosalynde is the flowering of the pastoral romance with which Lodge had begun modestly to experiment in his first published work of prose fiction.

### Rosalynde

Whatever the reason for the lapse of time between the publication of Forbonius and Prisceria and Rosalynde, the romance that Lodge brought out in 1590 has just claim to being the finest example of the pastoral romance genre from the Elizabethan period. Only the narrative poem Scilla's Metamorphosis was published between the Alarm against Usurers volume of early 1584 and Rosalynde which appeared in the autumn of 1590. His first voyage, of which Lodge tells us the little that is all we know in the dedication and epistle to the romance, took place in that interval.

The various proposals for dating the voyage around 1585 to 1587 leave room to wonder why, if he wrote Rosalynde on the voyage as he says he did, he waited so long to publish it. The most plausible date suggested, 1586/7, would mean a gap of well over three years between the voyage and publication of the book.<sup>15</sup> That this was indeed the case and that Greene revised Rosalynde before it was published is the hypothesis of Paula Burnett (see reference in Ch. 1, n. 13).

Mrs Burnett bases her argument on a clue in Lodge's dedication: he refers to 'Master Edmund Carew', but as Mrs Burnett observes, Carew was knighted by Leicester in the Netherlands some time between June and November 1587. Does Lodge omit the title since he is alluding to his and Carew's student days together at Oxford in the 1570s? But he also refers to Sir Edward Hoby, who was knighted only in 1582, after Lodge and Carew had left Oxford. Lodge would hardly have taken care to give his proper title to Hoby, son-in-law of his dedicatee, Lord Hunsdon, and not to Hunsdon's own son, Edmund Carew. Thus, Mrs Burnett concludes, the dedication and hence the romance must have been written before mid-1587. Furthermore, in that year a creditor of Lodge's appealed to Hunsdon for redress, implying a relationship of some sort between them at that time. Tasso's Il Re Torismondo, which may have furnished Lodge with the names of his two kings in Rosalynde, was published in 1587, and Lyly's Gallathea which may also have been an influence, was probably performed in 1586/7. Tenney's proposed date for the voyage would coincide with the other evidence.

Mrs Burnett devotes a large part of her introduction to demonstrating that Greene revised Rosalynde (pp. lxxxvii-cxcviii). The evidence is very detailed and can only be mentioned here. It consists of phrases and expressions, 'Greenisms' which he used in other works, but

which Lodge did not use elsewhere. This is the sort of thing, only far more exhaustive and methodical, that H C Hart did years ago to the same end.<sup>16</sup> The work of Greene's that shares more such phrases and expressions with Rosalynde than any other is Never Too Late, published in 1590, the same year as Rosalynde. Furthermore, it was printed by Thomas Orwin for Nicholas Ling and John Busby, the printer and publishers of Rosalynde. Greene may have persuaded Lodge to let him retouch his romance, having brought out his own essays in pastoral romance, Pandosto and Menaphon, in 1588 and 1589. Greene was associated with Robert Carew, Edmund's brother whom Lodge also mentions in his dedication, and Robert was the dedicatee of Greene's Farewell to Folly (1587) and Orpharion (written 1588/9?). Lodge's re-connection with the family may have been through Greene.

While Mrs Burnett's dating argument is plausible and well-supported, it cannot, I think, be taken as absolutely conclusive, so long as there is any possibility that Tenney's proposal of 1586/7 for the voyage might be wrong and that it may not have taken place before 1590, or that the anomaly of the reference to Carew without his knight's title may have some such simple explanation as carelessness. That Greene had a hand in Rosalynde is, on Mrs Burnett's one hundred and ten pages of evidence, credible.<sup>17</sup> She does not suggest, however, that the plot, the humour which arises from Rosalynde's disguise, the idyllic ambiance and the poetry are not Lodge's. Greene's contribution is at the level of style and, more specifically, of proverbial and formulaic expression. One may, I think, continue to speak of the work as Lodge's.

Rosalynde. Euphues golden legacie (STC 16664) was entered in the Stationers' Register to Ling and Busby on 6 October 1590. The first edition omitted the 'Schedule annexed to Euphues' Testament' which fleshes out the allusions in the subtitle and epilogue. The 'Schedule' was added

to the second edition in 1592; Busby, who was party to the publication of the first two editions, may have seen to it that the omission was rectified, since Lodge was absent on the South American voyage. The work was reprinted eight more times in the next half-century. A fourth edition had appeared by 1598, probably before Shakespeare wrote his play based on the romance, thus assuring its immortality.

Sidney and Spenser have been mentioned in connection with Lodge's first prose romance. Some attempt has been made to pick out episodes and situations in Rosalynde which Lodge borrowed from Arcadia.<sup>18</sup> Whatever the extent of such direct debts may be, the mood and ambiance of Arcadia are present in Arden. Lodge does not imitate the Heliodorian complexity of Sidney's work; there are even fewer characters in Rosalynde than in Shakespeare's dramatic adaptation. Several stories are not kept going at once, and the reader has no problem in keeping straight which characters belong to which plot. In this respect, Rosalynde is akin to Forbonius and Prisceria. The former is superior in every way and the pastoralism, barely limned in the early tale, is there developed to the fullest. But in the relative simplicity of the plot, Lodge is following his own example and not that of Heliodorus and Sidney. Greene, not Lodge, was their disciple in plot-weaving, as he and not Lodge, was Lyly's truest disciple in style.

Even if Greene's hand had not been detected, his influence is surely present in Rosalynde, although, if Lodge wrote his romance as early as Mrs Burnett thinks he did, it may have influenced Greene's decision to try adding pastoral to his prose tales. Whether Pandosto and Menaphon preceded or followed Rosalynde, Lodge surely knew Greene's other writings. Greene himself owed so much to Longus via Angel Day, to Sidney and Lyly that it would be difficult to separate and isolate the individual strands

which converge in Lodge's work. It is inevitable that euphuistic similes and Latin tags should be repeated. It is hardly surprising that two authors who collaborated on a play and did each other such favours as writing commendatory verses and seeing works through the press, should echo each other now and then. But in both style and mood, Rosalynde is markedly different from Greene's pastoral romances.

Spenser's immediate influence on Rosalynde is at least as great as Sidney's. If Lodge was rendering homage to Sidney in Forbonius and Prisceria, Spenser might almost be considered the implicit dedicatee of Rosalynde. The name of Lodge's heroine recalls that of Colin Clout's scornful mistress in The Shepheardes Calender.<sup>19</sup> Fleay suggested that the 'Sailor's Calendar' which Lodge promises in the epilogue, but which appears never to have been published, was meant as a 'pendant' to Spenser's work.<sup>20</sup> It is difficult to avoid the impression that Lodge had Spenser's poem in mind when writing 'A pleasant eclogue between Montanus and Corydon', for example. The opening line, 'Say, shepherd's boy, what makes thee greet so sore?', employs the same archaism as Thenot's 'Tell me, good Hobbinol, what gars thee greet?' with which the 'April' eclogue begins.<sup>21</sup> Other archaic words, such as 'hery' and 'arede', occur in 'Corydon's Song' (pp. 161-2), and the refrain, 'Heigh ho ...', is that of the singing contest between Perigot and Willy in Spenser's 'August' eclogue. Lodge's Corydon might have lived as happily in Spenser's pastoral world as in Arden; the courtly poetry and euphuistic lovers' laments of Montanus and Phoebe betray other ancestry. The names of Lodge's shepherds, while not from Spenser, are clearly in the pastoral tradition: a Corydon figures in the fourth idyll of Theocritus, and in two of Virgil's eclogues (II and VII), and is one of the major characters in the first three of Alexander Barclay's Eclogues (c.1515). A Corydon

appears also in Barnabe Rich's Don Simonides (1581) for which Lodge had written a prefatory poem. Montanus is a love-lorn shepherd in Montemayor's Diana who is entangled in a disguised-lover plot even more complicated than that in which his namesake in Rosalynde is involved. Phoebe is the type of the scornful nymph and Lodge's shepherdess announces her allegiance to her goddess namesake when she tells Montanus, 'I speak not this in pride, but in disdain; not that I scorn thee, but that I hate love' (p.121).

Spenser continued a pastoral tradition in poetry of which Virgil's grafting of topicality and satire onto the idyll was the beginning. The 'pure' pastoral of Theocritus and the other Greek bucolic poets was adulterated by Virgil and it was the adulteration which survived. It was perhaps inevitable. Peter V Marinelli has observed: 'Satire, moralizing and allegory are merely the inborn tendencies of pastoral rendered overt and explicit'.<sup>22</sup> The virtual loss of Greek in the Middle Ages and the adoption of the Virgilian eclogue as a vehicle for satire and allegory by Petrarch and Boccaccio insured that it was the Virgilian pastoral and not the Theocritan which was inherited by Renaissance poets, Continental and English. Mantuan's Eclogues (1498) were imitated or translated by Barclay, Barnabe Googe (1563), and George Turberville (1567), and were certainly imitated by Spenser, as 'E.K.' frequently reminds readers of The Shepheardes Calender.

While Arcadia was the main conduit by which Lodge received the pastoral tradition adapted to prose fiction, that is not to say that he did not know other important works in the genre. Another Greek romance which must be included among the influences on English pastoralists of the period is Longus's Daphnis and Chloe (fourth century?), translated by Angel Day in 1587. It had a direct influence on Greene at least.<sup>23</sup> And while Mantuan was the great Renaissance continuator of the Virgilian eclogue, it was Sannazaro who, setting his poems in a prose frame and re-

discovering Arcadia (1504), laid the foundation for much later pastoral fiction. Sannazaro himself was no doubt influenced by Boccaccio's Ameto (c.1343).

'Pure' pastoral, pastoral not explicitly employed in the service of satire or allegory, was reborn in the prose fiction and later the drama of the Renaissance, while pastoral poetry, except the lyric, continued to serve the ulterior purposes of its practitioners through Spenser to Milton and Marvell. But already in Montemayor's Diana (1559), the complications of romance are joined to the simplicities of pastoral. Diana is the prototype of the true pastoral romance of which Arcadia, Menaphon, and Rosalynde are the most notable English examples, and was the most immediate influence on Sidney. Lodge must have known Diana; it went through twenty-six editions in Spanish and eleven in French translation by 1600. It is surprising, considering its popularity and influence, that no English translation was published before that of Bartholomew Yong in 1598. Yong had apparently completed his work by 1583, and it is most likely that it circulated in manuscript.

Pastoral drama, such as Beccari's The Sacrifice (1554), which is set in Arcadia, and Tasso's Aminta (1573), no doubt contributed to the vogue. It had an early start in Italy with Politian's Orfeo, produced in Mantua in 1480. All of it - poetry, prose, drama - testifies to the Renaissance fascination with Arcadia. But by 1595, Henry Chettle was combining a Hellenic pastoral motif with very contemporary satire in Nashe's vein in his Piers Plainness.<sup>24</sup> Not long afterwards, Shakespeare overlaid As You Like It with satire of the very conventions of pastoral romance, among other things. Already, pastoral was losing its hold on the imagination. Fletcher's The Faithful Shepherdess, written in the first decade of the seventeenth century, is so 'pure' as to have an almost nostalgic air, as if trying to recapture something which had passed.<sup>25</sup>

None of the works of prose fiction referred to as 'pastoral romances' is only pastoral. 'Romance' implies a whole set of conventions distinct from those of pastoral. Daphnis and Chloe and Sannazaro's Arcadia are not really romances. Montemayor's influence on Sidney, and that of both of them, as well as of others who have been mentioned, on Greene and Lodge would have sufficed for those two writers to create their pastoral romances. If the genre is delimited still further, to 'euphuistic pastoral romance', it will include a not very large body of English prose fiction, produced in a brief span between the mid-1580s and the mid-1590s, of which Greene's and Lodge's works would be the major examples. All of the works in this category derive from the common traditions of pastoral, romance and euphuism. It would be difficult if not impossible in most cases to identify particular literary sources outside that common heritage to which their authors were indebted. In the case of Rosalynde, however, another source is known.

The Tale of Gamelyn is the best-preserved of all the extant Middle English romances.<sup>26</sup> No fewer than twenty-five copies exist, all in manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales. Gamelyn was long thought to be Chaucer's Cook's Tale, which explains its presence in so many fifteenth-century Chaucer manuscripts. It was not printed, however, until John Urry included it in his edition of Chaucer in 1721.<sup>27</sup> Urry could not understand why earlier editors like Thynne and Speght had not printed Gamelyn since it was in the manuscripts. But they had all followed Caxton and not the manuscripts and Caxton had not printed Gamelyn. Skeat suggested that its presence in so many Chaucer manuscripts makes it seem likely that it had been among Chaucer's papers and that he may have intended revising it for his own use. If so, says Skeat, it was probably



intended for the Yeoman. Its designation in many manuscripts as the Cook's Tale is obviously erroneous since we have a fragment of the Cook's Tale which has nothing to do with Gamelyn (Skeat, p.xv).

Lodge thus must have known Gamelyn in manuscript. The supposition is not at all improbable, given the large number of copies extant even today; there must have been many more in the sixteenth century. Skeat observed that Lodge must have used a manuscript which gave the name of Gamelyn's father as 'Sir John of Bordeaux' since this is the name of the father in Rosalynde. In most versions of Gamelyn, the father is 'Sire Johan of Boundys' (l.3). In only one of the twenty-five extant manuscripts, Cambridge Ii.3.26 (c.1430-50), is the father called 'John of Burdeuxs'. It is tempting to imagine that this is the very manuscript Lodge must have seen, but unfortunately nothing in the known history of Cambridge Ii.3.26 allows more than sheer speculation on that point.<sup>28</sup> Lodge may well have seen a copy of Gamelyn apart from a manuscript of the Canterbury Tales. Many people must have copied parts of borrowed manuscripts for their own use, and the copy of Gamelyn that Lodge used could have been at third or fourth remove from one of the manuscripts of Chaucer's work.

That Lodge based the first part of Rosalynde on The Tale of Gamelyn has not been disputed.<sup>29</sup> Skeat, in his plot summary of Rosalynde, gives line references to Gamelyn at points where Lodge's version reflects the original (pp.xviii-xxiii). He notes some forty details which come from the medieval tale, enough to convince one of Lodge's debt. Such minutiae as Rosader's 'perceiving his beard to bud' (Rosalynde, p.11), his brother's fleeing to a loft when attacked by Rosader (p.13), 'Adam Spencer, an Englishman' (p.23), and the 'five-and-twenty tall men' who come with the sheriff to subdue Rosader (p.55; compare 'four and twenty

3onge men that heelden hem ful bolde', 1.553), demonstrate Lodge's familiarity with Gamelyn. Even when following his source, however, Lodge was no slavish copier. He introduces his own variations quite early on, and fashion required that he insert euphuistic set-pieces and poetic diversions frequently. Thus Sir John's legacy and the 'Schedule' which he gives his sons occur in the first few pages. There are no women in the verse romance, while Lodge's heroines are introduced at the wrestling match, to which Rosader goes at Saladyne's urging rather than on his own initiative as Gamelyn did. Lodge's romantic plot begins to take shape already at this point, scarcely one-tenth of the way into the story. Gamelyn provided Lodge only with the plot of the wronged younger brother, so he had to leave it aside when he turned to the other main thread of the early part of his tale, that of Rosalynde and Alinda and their banishment.

Up to the point where Rosalynde is introduced and described in classical fashion (p.16), Lodge follows the story of Gamelyn, making such alterations and additions as noted above, including the notable one of having Saladyne bribe the Norman wrestler to kill Rosader; Gamelyn's brother simply 'bysoughte Iesu Crist · that is heven kyng, / He mighte breke his nekke · in that wrastelyng' (11.193-4). From the introduction of Rosalynde until he leaves Gamelyn altogether once Rosader and Adam Spencer have joined the outlaws in the forest, Rosalynde-Alinda episodes are intercalated with Rosader-Saladyne episodes. The wrestling match in Gamelyn, from the hero's arrival to his departure with the prize, occupies just ninety lines (195-284); Lodge gives some five or six pages to the event which includes Rosader's distraction by the sight of Rosalynde and, following his victory, his composing a 'sonnet' to her. Lodge substitutes narrative for the direct discourse of the ballad, where the exchanging of

taunts between Gamelyn and the champion is prominent. A very long break in the Rosader-Saladyne narrative occurs, beginning with 'Rosalynde's passion' just after the tournament, through her banishment and flight with Alinda to their meeting with the shepherds and settling down to the pastoral life (pp.24-52). In Gamelyn the story moves directly from Gamelyn's return with his friends after his triumph to his brother's taking him by surprise, then persuading him to let himself be bound in order to impress the brother's friends (ll.290-384). In Rosalynde the binding episode occurs after the long interlude of the girls' flight.

The Tale of Gamelyn is not without humour of the grim sort typical of medieval ballads and romances. But its humour was not appropriate for the kind of tale Lodge was writing. Most of the humour in Rosalynde is generated by Rosalynde's disguise and is seen largely in the girls' teasing of each other and in Rosalynde's play-acting in the scenes with Rosader and Phoebe. In Gamelyn it is the narrator's commentary and choice of expression which furnish comic relief. For example, when Gamelyn's brother has bound him (as he thinks) and invited friends to a feast to see the supposed madman, much is made of the guests all being clergymen. This is the occasion for ironic humour, as well as rendering more odious their refusal to help Gamelyn and their abuse of him. When Gamelyn and Adam Spencer attack the company, 'Gamelyn sprengeth holy-water with an oken spire' (l.503). Further on, the guests complain that they would have been better off staying at home 'with water and with breede', and 'Gamelyn made ordres · of monkes and frere' (ll.532-3). The anti-clericalism of this episode adds a satirical dimension to Gamelyn; perhaps that is one thing that attracted Chaucer. Lodge had no use for it, and his guests are simply friends of Saladyne who, becoming drunk, 'began in

satirical speeches to rail against Rosader' (p.54). Again Lodge relates in a few sentences action which in Gamelyn is enlivened by dialogue. Lodge's aims were so utterly different from those of the medieval author that qualifications must be made when speaking of his 'use' of The Tale of Gamelyn when writing Rosalynde.

In fact, the ballad contributed only a small part to Lodge's complete romance. We have seen how he introduced the romantic plot very early on. Once Rosader has escaped to the forest with Adam Spencer, Lodge drops the Gamelyn plot, which goes on to a climax of revenge and retribution, with the hero then becoming Chief Justice of the king's forests and wedding 'a wyf bothe good and feyr'. The Robin Hood motif is clear. Lodge follows Gamelyn then to about line 695, or approximately three-quarters of the way through the poem of 902 lines. Rosader's meeting with Gerismond in the forest and joining his band occurs about two-fifths of the way through Rosalynde, and Saladyne's repentance and his wandering off in search of his brother is recounted immediately afterwards. The rest of Lodge's tale bears no resemblance to Gamelyn. C S Lewis was right to credit him with 'considerable invention', and Rosalynde is certainly 'further from Gamelyn than As You Like It from Rosalynde' (p.423).

It has been noticed that Rosalynde is different from the other pastoral romances with which it is grouped. It has not the complicated plot of Sidney's and Greene's romances. Lodge frequently softens the violence and coarseness of Gamelyn. Although his Norman wrestler has a harsher fate than his original in Gamelyn or Shakespeare's Charles, Lodge's language is markedly euphemistic - 'the Norman yielded nature her due' - in place of the vivid lines of the ballad: 'And kaste him on the lefte syde . that thre ribbes tobrak,/ And thereto his oon arm . that gaf a gret crak.' The deaths are not gratuitous in Rosalynde. That of the ~~the~~ wrestler, who

is not killed in Gamelyn, is his just reward for his villainy in killing the franklin's sons, whose deaths provide Rosader with ample justification as well as with the occasion for demonstrating his valour in another's cause. Torismond, irremediably wicked, dies in battle trying to defend his ill-gotten throne. This is the world of chivalric romance, not of romantic comedy. It has been observed that Saladyne has reason to be discontent with his father's settlement of the largest share upon the youngest son (compare Orlando's 'poor a thousand crowns'), and that his jealousy, if not his cruelty towards Rosader, is in some measure understandable.

By contrast, Greene's later romances contain kidnapping, unjust imprisonment and mental cruelty especially towards women and children, marital jealousy, murder, attempted infanticide, combats between father and son, and overtones of incest.<sup>30</sup> Pandosto, especially, is 'dark' and ends not with marriages all round, but with Pandosto's suicide, 'to close up the comedy with a tragical stratagem'. As Lewis observes, 'there is a coldness, even a brutality, about Greene's mind, which unfits him for telling this sort of tale' (p.423).

Lodge, on the contrary, has a light touch, a sentimentality, and gentle humour (the latter frequently missed by critics<sup>31</sup>) which make Rosalynde, like the play which it inspired, 'golden'. In Rosalynde the pastoral setting is more than a purely decorative literary convention. The pathetic fallacy operates at large. The forest and its environs, cool, refreshing, peaceful, are conducive to reconciliation, repose, light sport, and the dallying and versifying which have always been Arcadia's pastimes. Once Lodge has brought his characters to Arden, he lets the pastoral ambiance take over. Those who come in from outside - Gerismond and his retainers, Rosalynde, Alinda, Rosader, Adam, Saladyne - adapt themselves to the pastoral/forest setting, literally becoming

forester, shepherdess, or country swain. Thus for a major portion of Rosalynde - some three-quarters of the whole - the entire action takes place in Arden; all of the characters except Torismond are there. In fact, after the first part of the book which is set in Bordeaux and at the court, there are only two brief excursions, both for the purpose of bringing other characters to the forest, first Rosader and Adam, then Saladyne.

In this respect, Rosalynde is more thoroughly pastoral than the other romances where much of the action occurs outside the pastoral locale. Arden is not just a backdrop; things happen there which could not happen outside. The forest is thus instrumental, or at least catalytic, in the reconciliations, reunions and resolutions which take place. Even in Arcadia, forest and field serve mainly as setting for a complicated romance. Arden is the pastoral world par excellence, where persons escape from the 'real' world where disorder and discord reign - usurpation, filial cruelty, injustice, dissimulation, trickery, frustration of love. Once everyone is in the forest, everything is sorted out. At the end wickedness (Torismond) is punished, justice (Gerismond) triumphs, and virtue (all the rest) is rewarded.<sup>32</sup> The pastoral of Rosalynde is as near to 'pure' pastoral as we find in the English romances. It has besides an element of medieval pastourelle: Saladyne, a man of high birth falls in love with a supposed shepherdess, and the 'Wooing Eclogue' of Rosader and Rosalynde is in the pastourelle tradition of the lovers' dialogue. Satire and allegory are not Lodge's purpose; even moralizing on the country-versus-court theme is heard only in Corydon's set-piece (p.47).

Characters from outside return from Arden to the world whence they came. Mlle. Cuvelier speaks of the therapeutic effect of the forest. We

should notice however that all the characters who come to Arden are innocent victims: Gerismond has been deposed and Rosalynde and Alinda wrongfully banished, Rosader and Adam are fleeing for their lives, Saladyne, who has repented and reformed already and is thus a 'good' character before he comes to the forest, has been banished by Torismond, the usurper, on an ulterior motive. These characters are not in need of curing. Arden is more a refuge than a sanitarium. Order and harmony reign in the forest and allow people to establish or re-establish personal relationships: Saladyne-Rosader, Saladyne-Alinda, Rosader-Rosalynde, Gerismond-Rosader, finally even Montanus-Phoebe; or to recover them (Rosalynde-Gerismond). Once evil in the outside world in the person of Torismond has been vanquished, order and harmony can be restored there as well. There is thus no further reason to remain in Arden. We might compare with this the Duke's eulogy of rural life in As You Like It and his companion's affirmation:

And this our life, exempt from public haunt,  
Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,  
Sermons in stones, and good in everything.

AMIENS: I would not change it.

(II.1.15-18)

But in the end, they do change it. Remaining in the pastoral world is not admissible in true romance. Shakespeare adds a non-romantic dimension in As You Like It in the characters of Jaques and Touchstone who decide to remain, as Chettle and Lodge himself in Euphues' Shadow had done, though the reasons for remaining are not the same in each case.

That Arden is also a locus amoenus is not incompatible with its idyllic nature; being in love is one of the traditional occupations of Arcadians. The many allusions to classical myth and Ovidian themes, as

in the description of the bower, or arbour, where Rosalynde and Alinda first see Corydon and Montanus (p.39), remind us that Lodge had published Scilla's Metamorphosis just the year before. When outsiders come in and voluntarily adopt the pastoral way of life, they become susceptible to love if they were not so before (e.g., Saladyne, pp.128-9), and manifest its classic symptoms such as giving vent to their feelings in euphuistic soliloquies and pasting sonnets on trees.

The convention of inserting verses into a prose work is one Lodge practised from the beginning, as we have seen. In Rosalynde, there is such an abundance as to make it one of the outstanding features of the work. No fewer than twenty-one poems (counting the long 'Wooing Eclogue' as one) are interspersed throughout the narrative. This is a particularly high occurrence in a prose work which is ostensibly not a mere framework upon which the author exhibits his poetic talents. There are more poems in A Margarite of America, but there they are much less integral, in any case less appropriate to the narrative, and at one point, Lodge is clearly putting on a show, reeling off ten poems one after another.

In a recent study, Esther Garke has remarked the different occasions on which songs are performed in various Elizabethan romances.<sup>33</sup> In Rosalynde songs occur in a variety of contexts, as wedding entertainments and as lovers' laments. Only six of the inset poems are indicated by Lodge as being sung. Montanus' 'Sonnett' (p.116) is a 'mournful ditty' and Phoebe's 'sonnet' in reply is sung. But Rosader's several 'sonnets' and that of Saladyne (p.127) are simply read from a written copy. 'Sonnet' is thus used indiscriminately for both songs and poems read or spoken. Apart from the 'Wooing Eclogue', those verses which are sung - Rosalynde's madrigal, 'Love in my bosom' (p.27), Montanus' 'Phoebe sat' (p.49), the ex-



change of sonnets by Montanus and Phoebe just mentioned, and Corydon's song at the wedding feast (p.161) - are clearly lyric in form, with short lines, short stanzas, and refrains. Also lyric, though not sung, is 'Rosalynde's Description' (p.70) with its refrain 'Heigh ho, fair Rosalynde ... Heigh ho, would she were mine'.

Lodge had already experimented with various verse forms; the poems appended to Scilla's Metamorphosis are a sort of poet's workbook. 'Love in my bosom' and 'Phoebe sat' are among his best lyrics. The startling short line and repetition in the latter produce a lilting effect:

Phoebe sat,  
Sweet she sat,  
Sweet sat Phoebe when I saw her;

White her brow,  
Coy her eye:  
Brow and eye how much you please me!

Words I spent,  
Sighs I sent,  
Sighs and words could never draw her.

Oh, my love,  
Thou art lost,  
Since no sight could ever ease thee.<sup>34</sup>

The other poems, whether true sonnets or not, are rather conventional.<sup>35</sup> They are, however, well incorporated into the tale. The 'eclogue' of Montanus and Corydon is overheard by Rosalynde and Alinda from hiding.<sup>36</sup> Spenser's influence on this and on Corydon's song at the end has already been noticed.

There is often commentary, frequently witty, which incorporates the inset poems into the narrative. An example is when Rosalynde, as Ganymede, remarks upon the lines of Rosader's, 'Since for her fair there is fairer none,/ Nor for her virtues so divine':

'Believe me', quoth Ganymede, 'either the forester is an exquisite painter, or Rosalynde far above wonder; so it makes me blush to hear how women should be so excellent, and pages so unperfect'. (p.72)

Lodge's humour, for lack of which he has been unjustly taxed (see above, n.16), is delightfully displayed in the ensuing exchange, in which Alinda takes advantage of Rosader's presence to twit Rosalynde who cannot retort in her own person, but acquits herself well in the circumstances:

'He hath answered you, Ganymede,' quoth Aliena, 'it is enough for pages to wait on beautiful ladies, and not to be beautiful themselves.'

'O mistress,' quoth Ganymede, 'hold you your peace, for you are partial. Who knows not, but that all women have desire to tie sovereignty to their petticoats, and ascribe beauty to themselves, where, if boys might put on their garments, perhaps they would prove as comely; if not as comely, it may be more courteous.'

The obvious example of poetry being part of the narrative is the 'Wooing Eclogue' between Rosader and Rosalynde-Ganymede-Rosader (pp.86-9). Here the poetic interlude advances the plot, in that Rosader, who thinks he is only playing a game, is actually wooing Rosalynde. One might object that Rosalynde and the reader have known all along that she would give herself to Rosader, but looking at it from Rosader's point of view and willingly suspending disbelief, we can hardly expect him to know what he is really doing. Rosalynde devises the wooing game to keep Rosader from leaving, and afterwards in a heavily ironical passage, demands: 'Have I not fitted your turn? ... Did not Rosalynde content her Rosader?' to which Rosader replies that make-believe is all very well, but the shadow is no substitute for the substance. Aliena again makes much of the situation, bringing a blush to Ganymede's cheek by urging a make-believe marriage. Lodge, never one for keeping up suspense, cannot forbear assuring us: 'And so with a smile and a blush, they made up this jesting match, that after proved to a marriage in earnest, Rosader full little

thinking he had wooed and won his Rosalynde' (pp.90-91).

As Miss Garke observes (p.26), Rosader speaks directly, in his own person, as if he were addressing Rosalynde; his pleas are direct and personal and he calls her by name several times. He stumbles and stammers, whether in real confusion or in playing well his part in the game: 'Sweet Rosalynde, my love - would God, my love - / My life - would God, my life - aye, pity me!' Rosalynde replies in highly abstract, rhetorical terms marked by alliteration and anaphora, not addressing Rosader personally. Lodge remembers that he has not Rosalynde speaking in her own person to Rosader, but Rosalynde disguised as Ganymede playing Rosalynde; her speech seems appropriate to a boy playing the part of the disdainful mistress and saying what he imagines a woman ought to say in the circumstances. Still speaking on a personal level, Rosader tries flattery where an attempt to gain sympathy has failed. When Ganymede begins another conventional reply, 'The hardened steel by fire is brought in frame', Rosader interrupts and the speeches give way to stichomythia in which he counters each objection put forward. We are meant to believe, I think, that it is now Rosalynde speaking in her own person. The whole eclogue is operatic, with each character singing a recitative before the duet.

It is also highly conventional. Miss Garke shows how it follows the traditional love-duet pattern (pp.48-9). Ganymede comments upon the convention in asking:

'Have I not played the woman handsomely, and showed myself as coy in grants as courteous in desires, and been as full of suspicion as men of flattery? and yet to solve all, jumped I not all up with the sweet union of love?'

Rosader's employment of, first, the pitiful lover convention, then that of the praise of the beloved, has been mentioned. The ironic context provided by Rosalynde's disguise and Rosader's ignorance affords Lodge an occasion

both for writing a perfectly conventional wooing duet and for commenting humorously upon the convention.

The eclogue is also a very regular sequence of poems, the forms of which are obscured by the dialogue structure. The whole passage consists of five sonnets, the first, third, and last of which are expanded to eighteen lines (four quatrains + couplet). Rosader's first two speeches are eighteen-line sonnets; Rosalynde's first reply is a regular sonnet, the conventional form subtly reinforcing the formal, rhetorical language of her speech. The last two sonnets, of fourteen and eighteen lines respectively, are divided into dialogue. The eclogue should properly be considered a song, as Ganymede announces: 'And while we sing of love, Aliena shall tune her pipe and play us melody'. The refrain, slightly varied, occurs throughout as the final couplet of each of the sonnets. In this long verse passage, composed of several poems in more or less conventional form strung together, Lodge has succeeded in writing better poetry than when he attempted to write individual sonnets; there is a similar example in The Wounds of Civil War (III.4) (see Ch.2, p. 24).

The foregoing discussion of the 'Wooing Eclogue' illustrates what I take to be the cardinal point in a critical appreciation of Rosalynde, that is, Lodge's use of convention. We have seen how conventional and formal the entire eclogue is, and how Lodge yet makes it fit well into the narrative. The irony of the context in which the wooing game is played carries over into the verse itself; Lodge has heightened the irony, or rather added a dimension to it by employing a formal romance convention in such a context, where the disguise itself is, of course, another convention. J D Hurrell, in a very illuminating analysis of Rosalynde, finds that it 'achieves its success not by defiance of the conventions of romance, but by an acceptance of them'.<sup>37</sup> Lodge's sensitivity, lightness of touch,

and above all, sense of humour, says Hurrell, enable him to make of the conventions available to him a superior romance.

It is humour more than wit that plays over Lodge's tale. Lyly had written his Anatomy of Wit; Rosalynde is nothing of the kind. Lodge's humour is unsophisticated and unselfconscious, arising from situations rather than being spun out by the intellect. Rosalynde and Alinda are sometimes witty, as when they tease each other about being in love, but they are a far cry from Shakespeare's heroine and from Jaques and Touchstone. As Jusserand observed:

If, in Lodge, she [Rosalynde] has not all the ready wit that Shakespeare has given her, she is by no means slow of speech; she possesses besides much more of that human kindness in which we sometimes find the brilliant page of the play a little deficient.<sup>38</sup>

As in a number of Lodge's other works, including those which are ostensibly satirical, we have the impression of a man closer in temperament, in 'humour', to Gascoigne and Dekker than to Greene and Nashe. It helps explain his failure as a satirist; it also helps explain the mellowness and warmth of Rosalynde.

Lodge provides the basis for much of the humour by continuing to refer to Rosalynde and Alinda as Ganymede and Aliena once they have taken on their new roles, and is sometimes quite clever in the way that he reminds the reader of Rosalynde's ambivalent status: 'his flocks ... her sweetheart' (p.108). He slips occasionally, and the second disguise, or adoption of roles in Arden, Aliena as a shepherdess and Ganymede as a country swain, is not always respected: Rosader sometimes addresses Ganymede as 'page', sometimes as 'swain' or 'shepherd'; Lodge himself is not very rigorous with regard to the distinctions between lady and page and shepherdess and swain.<sup>39</sup> When they are alone together, the girls

carry on the game and so does the author; Rosader, the next time he sees the girls after the wooing episode, addresses Ganymede as 'Rosalynde' and recalls the mock marriage. We see the two young women amusing themselves at make-believe, even when there is no one else present and thus no need to keep up the masking (e.g., p.73). From the start of their sojourn in Arden the two friends take advantage of Rosalynde's masquerade to tease one another. Seeing Montanus's 'passion' carved on a tree, Ganymede makes a mock-attack on hard-hearted mistresses: 'You may see what made cattle you women be'. Aliena retorts, 'And I pray you if your robes were off what mettle are you made of that you are so satirical against women?' Rosalynde allows that if she were in a petticoat she would change her tune (p.37). The following scene is quite similar, Ganymede mocking women, Aliena reminding her of the superficiality of her page's guise (p.38).

Rosalynde's constant reversion to the subject of herself in conversation with Rosader is psychologically credible. In Hurrell's opinion this realistic portrayal of the girl behind the boy's mask constitutes a 'rare feat' in Elizabethan romance:

'I pray thee tell me, forester, what is this Rosalynde for whom thou pinest away in such passions?' (p.68)

'But where lives Rosalynde now? at the court?' (p.69)

'But hast thou not ... written more sonnets in commendations of thy mistress?' (p.72)

She even pretends to urge Rosader to forget Rosalynde and turn his attentions to Aliena (p.78); here again Lodge fits a conventional theme, the testing of the lover's fidelity, into the comic situation created by the disguise. When Rosader declines, Ganymede has the grace to reply, 'Venus is to blame, forester, if having so true a servant of you, she reward you not with

Rosalynde, if Rosalynde were more fairer than herself'. There are other unexpected intrusions of realism into the stylized world of Arden, as when Rosader, wounded in rescuing the girls from the bandits who would have carried them off, interrupts the pleasantries being exchanged by Saladyne and Alinda:

'Away with these quirks and quiddities of love', quoth Rosader, 'and give me some drink, for I am passing thirsty, and then will I home, for my wounds bleed sore, and I will have them dressed'.

There is a neat reversal when Aliena rouses Ganymede early in the morning, then denies that she is in love when her companion divines the reason for her restlessness: 'Ah, ah, is the wind in that door?' (pp.112-13). Earlier it had been Ganymede 'who, restless all night, had tossed in her passions' who woke Alienda, 'saying it was then time to go to the field to unfold their sheep'. Aliena had replied: 'Ah, my good page, is there fancy in thine eye, and passions in thy heart? ... That it is that hath raised you so early this morning' (pp.75-6). The two scenes are parallel in every way; in each, the friend of the love-smitten one gives a long speech on love for the benefit of the other; in each, the other retorts, denying that she is in love, then comes round and admits it. Lodge was obviously working very carefully here and elsewhere throughout the work, giving attention to details which raise it above the level of the more ordinary specimens of the genre.

Hurrell has noted other such details as the names of trees in Arden (p.339)—'a grove of cypress trees' (p.35); 'the bark of a pine tree' (p.35); 'the bark of the tall beech tree' (p.37); 'pine trees, interseamed with limons and citrons' (p.39); 'a myrtle tree' (p.66) - which contribute to the finesse of the tale, if not to its verisimilitude. Lodge's geography, developed from a one-word cue, 'Bordeaux', in Gamelyn, is as

startling as Greene's, whose famous seacoast of Bohemia in Pandosto Shakespeare, to the chagrin of so many, failed to suppress. Saladyne, banished from Bordeaux and the court, wanders 'up and down in the forest of Arden, thinking to get to Lyons, and so travel through Germany into Italy' (p.93). Jusserand supposed that Lodge was referring to the Ardennes and quips that it seems to have been located in Gascony in Lodge's day (p.206): 'Rosader and Adam, knowing full well the secret ways that led through the vineyards, stole away privily through the province of Bordeaux and escaped safe to the forest of Arden' (p.56). Indeed, the forest seems to be located nowhere on earth: the characters who have been banished by the usurping King of France find refuge there, the king's power apparently has no sway there, and yet it is situated somewhere near Bordeaux in France. This vagueness contributes to the imaginary, fairy-land quality of Arden.

It may be such detail and specification which has led some critics to doubt that Lodge had sufficient imagination to produce Rosalynde without other help than The Tale of Gamelyn. Skeat was such a sceptic: 'It is not impossible that he had it from some Italian novel; for I should hardly be inclined to suppose that it was, after all, of his own invention' (Gamelyn, p.xviii). Most, however, would give Lodge the benefit of the doubt. Hurrell is quite positive: 'He added, in fact, the basic ingredients of Elizabethan romance, and for the purpose of aesthetic criticism Rosalynde may be judged as though it were a wholly original composition' (p.328). I have indicated some of the respects in which Rosalynde is not only original but unique among Elizabethan prose fiction.

Euphuistic it certainly is. For Lodge, euphuism is a decorative device, employed, like inset poems, for special effects; it is not the style itself. It is used for 'meditations' and 'passions'. The author



himself does not often write euphuism; his characters, including shepherds, speak it when the occasion demands, in soliloquies and set speeches on love or fortune, but not in ordinary dialogue of which there is a great deal in Rosalynde. While the opening paragraph may recall that of Euphues with its antithesis of Nature and Fortune, the styles diverge quickly as Lodge gets on with his story. Any paragraph in Euphues might be selected at random to illustrate euphuism; this is not the case with Rosalynde. Critics who label it simply as 'euphuistic' would select those 'meditations' and 'passions' of which there are a dozen or so (including only one letter), as illustrative of Lodge's style. To do so would be misleading, for they are not what one retains from a reading of the tale; the poems, the light humour, the gay dialogue, the pastoral ambiance are more memorable.

It is hard to imagine that it was its euphuism, twelve years after Euphues, that attracted readers to Rosalynde. It has been noticed that four editions had been published by 1598, probably before As You Like It was written. Lodge's romance stood on its own feet. Since As You Like It was apparently not published until 1623 when it was included in the First Folio, it is to be doubted that the three further editions of Rosalynde (1602, 1609, 1612) in the interval between the composition and performance of Shakespeare's play and its publication are due to the recognition the romance may have gained from being Shakespeare's source. Yet it must have been general knowledge that the dramatist had used Rosalynde. In fact, the frequency of publication of Rosalynde is lower after As You Like It was written: four editions in nine years (1590-98); three editions in the next twenty-five years; three more from 1623 to 1642, then no further editions in the seventeenth century.<sup>40</sup> Subsequent publications of the play in the Second, Third, and Fourth Folios seem not to

have revived interest in Lodge's romance. Thus, though the main reason for Rosalynde's fame today may be its Shakespearean connection, it would be wrong to suppose that in its own day its popularity was parasitic upon that of As You Like It.<sup>41</sup>

What Shakespeare did to Rosalynde has been discussed by many scholars and a study of Lodge's writings is in any case not the place to undertake another survey of such well-trod ground.<sup>42</sup> Recalling Lewis's remark that Shakespeare did less to Rosalynde than Lodge had done to Gamelyn, it is clear that the sort of invidious comparison~~s~~ engaged in by nineteenth-century bardolizing critics is pointless. To say that As You Like It is better than Rosalynde (or vice-versa) is to commit the common fallacy of applying a single standard to two incommensurables. A stage play and a prose romance belong to different literary genres. Nor do critics who say that Shakespeare did not understand what Lodge was doing, or that he did understand and did the same thing better, or that Lodge had been trying to do what Shakespeare later did but did not succeed, clarify matters.

Rosalynde and other works which Shakespeare used are unlikely ever to get a truly objective evaluation.<sup>43</sup> So in the habit are we of reading such works and speaking of them as 'Shakespeare's sources' (in itself natural enough) that very competent scholars can misread Rosalynde by the light of As You Like It, ascribing to the former situations which hold only in the latter. A case in point is that of the rank and relationship of Gerismond and Torismond. Geoffrey Bullough, among others, observes correctly that Shakespeare made his two dukes brothers, creating a parallel between two pairs of brothers, one of each of whom wrongs the other;<sup>44</sup> Shakespeare repeated the situation of a pair of brother dukes, one deposed by the other, in The Tempest. In Rosalynde however the two are kings,

not dukes, and are not brothers, nor are they said to be related at all, despite the similarity of the names.<sup>45</sup> Rosalynde and Alinda are only friends, not cousins, as is amply demonstrated in the passage in which Alinda comforts Rosalynde after they have been banished: Lodge uses the words 'friend(s)' and 'friendship' six times in three pages (32-4) where he certainly might have spoken of them as cousins had he meant for them to be. Greg himself commits the double error, speaking of 'the banished duke and his usurping brother' (p.xix). He is far from being the only one.<sup>46</sup>

It is a minor point, of course, and the errors are venial enough. But when they are made the basis of a demonstration of parallelism between the Gerismond-Torismond and Rosader-Saladyne plots, such mistakes become more embarrassing. Such is the case in two recent studies of Rosalynde. Walter R Davis, discussing the plot structure and its bearing upon 'the relation between the ideal and the disguise', begins:

We have, first, the "envelope plot" of Gerismond and Torismond: the selfish brother usurps the good brother's throne and drives him to Arden, where he recovers, reconstructs a government on the natural Robin Hood model, and emerges to reinstate himself. The Saladyne-Rosader plot reinforces this one, paralleling it on the private level: the avaricious elder brother first oppresses and then exiles the good brother, but finally repents in response to the latter's generosity and reinstates him.<sup>47</sup>

But Gerismond and Torismond are not brothers, so the Saladyne-Rosader plot does not reinforce or parallel theirs, at least in that respect. In any case the supposed parallel is only the very general one that two persons have taken by force what was not rightfully theirs. If Gerismond and Torismond were brothers, the former would obviously be the elder, making the younger brother the usurper in this case, while the reverse is true in the case of Saladyne and Rosader. Saladyne's repentance occurs while he is in prison, before he has experienced Rosader's generosity in saving

his life from the lion, and the themes of his repentance are his own guilty conscience and his fear of retribution, God's and his brother's (pp.64-5). Saladyne can hardly reinstate Rosader since his possessions have been seized by Torismond and Saladyne himself is an exile; to make the 'reinstatement' parallel, Davis has conflated Saladyne and Rosader to compare with Gerismond. Finally, of course, Torismond and Saladyne have quite different fates.

Elaine Cuvelier observes the same 'parallel' and sees thematic significance in it:

Parallèlement à l'usurpation domestique et en relation d'analogie avec elle, est perpétrée l'usurpation politique: le mal est plus grave, car les conséquences de la méchanceté sont à la mesure de la place occupée par le coupable dans le corps social; l'usurpation du trône fait de Torismond un véritable tyran.<sup>48</sup>

Domestic usurpation and political usurpation there both are, and had Mlle. Cuvelier stopped there, she would have been on safe ground. But she continues:

Il bannit le souverain légitime, son frère Gérismont, puis sa mère [sic]<sup>49</sup> Rosalynde, et même sa propre fille Alinda, qui choisit, par amitié, de partager le sort de sa cousine. Remarquons au passage, l'identité de la faute de Saladyne et Torismond, tous deux commettant l'injustice envers leur frère: c'est le schéma des intrigues parallèles, familier aux contemporains de Shakespeare.

That it is not simply a momentary lapse into wishful thinking in the heat of making the argument for parallelism is seen in the several allusions elsewhere in the article to the family relationship of Gerismond and Torismond and their daughters (pp.59, 63, 65, 66).

The recurrence of the same simple errors is symptomatic of a kind of blindness due to overexposure. Greg expresses the very cause of this misprision only a few lines after having been a victim of it himself:

There are, of course, points of difference in plot and dissimilarity in the characters between the romance and the drama, but as regards the formal skeleton, so to speak, they are of comparative unimportance. They will be obvious to anyone who, with a recollection of Shakespeare's work, will read the present novel. (pp.xix-xx)

They may be of comparative unimportance but the truth is that they are often not obvious precisely because 'the present novel' is too often read with too much 'recollection of Shakespeare's work'. Thus scholars reading and criticizing Rosalynde presumably in its own right unwittingly attribute to the romance features which must be subconscious recollections from prior knowledge of the play. The white light of Shakespeare can be too dazzling. In this case, it is a disservice to Lodge's reputation not to read and evaluate his book on its own terms, for Euphues' Golden Legacy has its own lustre. The puzzle is that Lodge was unable or did not care to create so luminously again.

#### Robert, Duke of Normandy

Though we cannot know whether Lodge was 'encouraged in his literary aspirations by the favourable reception accorded to Rosalynde' as Paradise supposes (p.93)—a second edition did not after all appear until 1592 — or was moved by financial need, he would seem to have been particularly busy in the months between the publication of Rosalynde and his sailing with Cavendish less than a year later, in August 1591. Catharos and Euphues' Shadow were left to be seen through the press by Busby and Greene respectively, and A Looking Glass for London was probably written at this time as well. Rosalynde was followed by another prose romance. The dedication of The Famous, true and historicall life of Robert second Duke of Normandy, sur-named for his monstrous birth and behaviour, Robin the Divell is dated 'from

my Chamber 2. maij. 1591'. There is no Stationers' Register entry; in this it is unique among Lodge's works published between the suppressed Honest Excuses, probably of 1579, and William Longbeard and Phillis of 1593, for neither of which is there an entry.

Unlike Rosalynde, The Life of Robert, Duke of Normandy apparently had little popularity; there were no subsequent editions and it has remained unprinted, except by Gosse, to this day.<sup>50</sup> The tale is very unlike Rosalynde. If Lodge was indeed striking while the iron was hot in response to a favourable reception of Rosalynde, he certainly did not follow his friend Greene's practice of repeating a good thing until it was worn out. This inconsistency, which at times seems almost a perverse attempt not to repeat himself, is one of the remarkable features of Lodge's literary career. If any of his subsequent prose romances looks as if it were intended to follow Rosalynde, it is Euphues' Shadow, which is in fact a close imitation of Euphues written much earlier.

About the only thing Rosalynde and Robert, Duke of Normandy have in common, besides the euphuistic fillips which are so decorous in the one and so incongruous in the other, is the fact that both have medieval sources. What prompted Lodge to turn from the Tale of Gamelyn to a saint's legend in his search for material is impossible to guess. Though Robert the Devil had long been a subject for romance by the time Lodge took up the story, it is most likely that his immediate source was a chronicle rather than one of the several romance versions of the legend. Even if Lodge did not say so himself, referring to 'old and ancient antiquaries' ([A2]<sup>V</sup>; Works, II, Robert; p.4), 'the Norman antiquaries' ([C]<sup>V</sup>; p.14) and affirming 'the famous, true and historical' character of his account in its title, the great detail as to names, places, dates, numbers, distances and durations would suggest a chronicle source rather than either a medieval

verse romance or a popularized prose version such as that published at Lyon in 1496 and reprinted frequently. Wynkyn de Worde printed a translation of the French prose version, Robert the Devyll (1502?). This version has often been taken to be Lodge's source.<sup>51</sup> But a comparison of the two shows considerable differences. Not only are many particulars, instances of Robert's devilry, for example, not given in one or the other version at all, but the few events which could be said to be common to both occur with variations and at different places in the respective narratives. Discrepancies outnumber similarities enough to suggest that Lodge and de Worde's translator (if it was not he) were using sources from different strands of the original legend.<sup>52</sup>

Other literary renditions which Lodge might have known are also at considerable variance with his highly detailed account. The thirteenth-century French romance Robert le Diable; a Latin version by Etienne de Bourbon, also from the thirteenth century; the French Miracle de Nostre Dame de Robert le dyable, a dramatic version of the same period; and a fourteenth-century English version of the legend, the tail-rhyme romance Sir Gowther, are all much more sparing in detail than Lodge.<sup>53</sup> Another late thirteenth-century French version, a prose conte, formed part of the introduction to the Croniques de Normandie which was first printed at Rouen in 1487; the two oldest copies differ somewhat in arrangement. There were further editions in 1500, 1558 and 1578; the latter was reprinted in 1581 and 1589.

As might be expected, the version in the Croniques is much more detailed than the romances. A number of the many manuscript and printed copies begin as follows:

[C]ombien que les vrayes croniques racontent que Rou fu le premier duc de Normandie, aucunes autres escriptures nous racontent que, ou temps due bon roy Pepin, frere [sic] de Charlemaine, il out en Neustrie, qui à present est appellée Normandie, un duc qui avoit nom Aubert.

Cestui Aubert avoit un chastel près ou jouxte Rouen, que on appelloit Tourinde; et avoit le gouvernement de toute Neustrie soubz le roy Pepin, et prenoit le tiers des revenues.<sup>54</sup>

Some manuscripts give other details, such as the name of Aubert's wife, in the summary of the contents at the beginning:

Et premierement parle du duc Ausbert, premier duc de Normandie, de Yde, sa femme, et de Robert, leur filz, qui par sa grande cruaulté fu aucun temps appellé Robert le Deable.<sup>55</sup>

Lodge's tale begins thus:

In the populous and plentiful dukedom of Normandy (in times past called Neustria), at such time as Pepin the father of the great king Charlemagne governed the flourishing kingdom of France, Aubert, the duke of that country, by some supposed to be Ron of Denmark, began to signorize in the same about the year of our Lord 750.

(Sig.B; Works, II; p.5)

The similarities are obvious. Such precision - the ancient name of Normandy, reference to Pepin the Short and Charlemagne, the name of Robert's father and the allusion to an antiquarian's surmise that he was a Dane, the exact year, 750 - is the stuff of chronicles. Francisque Michel remarked: 'On trouve dans la Chronique de Normandie une foule de détails et des anecdotes que l'on chercheroit vainement ailleurs' (p.xxviii).<sup>56</sup> It would seem beyond doubt that Lodge found his materials in one of the sixteenth-century editions of this work, and we would probably be justified in supposing that he had seen one of the reprints of the 1578 edition.<sup>57</sup>

Lodge's title has given rise to some confusion, due to the fact that Robert I, Duke of Normandy (1027-35), father of William the Conqueror, was called 'the Devil' as well as 'the Magnificent'. While it is no doubt



pointless to try to track down the original of Robert the Devil, it is clear enough that Lodge thought he was writing, not about an eleventh-century Norman duke, but about a Carolingian ruler of Neustria, son of the first duke, Aubert. The dukedom of Normandy came into existence only in 911, given in fief to Rollo, a Norseman, by the Frankish king, Charles the Simple.<sup>58</sup>

Lodge was doing the same kind of thing here that he had done in The Wounds of Civil War, adapting chronicle material to current fashion. In the case of Robert the Devil the adaptation was the more awkward as his source material was not only legendary or pseudo-historical, but also overlaid with a religious message. Lodge by lengthening the tale considerably, adding romance episodes such as that of the bois du temptation [sic] (F3-F4; pp.41-3), and inserting verses and euphuistic passages, attempted to make a modern prose romance out of rather unlikely material. While he obviously had in mind something besides the simple retransmission of a saint's legend, that aspect of his source material remains, keeping company awkwardly with the trappings of Elizabethan prose romance. Robert, like a number of Lodge's other works, is an experiment and, like them, contains individual successes while achieving less than full success on the whole. Davis observes (p.195) that Robert is the first work of Elizabethan fiction based on real or legendary history. While it would be absurd to speak of it as a forerunner of the historical novel, we may, if it was indeed the first of its kind, again credit Lodge with taking an established genre in new directions.

His source material was not, after all, entirely unsusceptible to romance treatment. The story itself is fantastical. The characters - Robert, a disguised nobleman; an emporor's daughter who is dumb but miraculously speaks in the nick of time; a pagan rival who seems until

the very end to have triumphed - the supernatural in abundance, battles, personal combats, heroism, a happy ending (not found in most other versions of the legend<sup>59</sup>), all are familiar romance conventions. If it were not for the explicit motif of sin, conversion, repentance, penance and reward, and the frequent interventions of hermits, the tale could be read as a pure roman d'aventure.

As well as adding and inserting, Lodge stretched the story in such ways as to heighten the romance. For example, he takes some sixteen pages to get Robert from the point at which his repentance begins to the commencement of his penance proper in Rome (E-G; pp.29-45); in the de Worde edition, this interval spans barely six pages (180-86), even though Robert's effort to persuade his band of ruffians to follow his example, which includes some lively dialogue, and his slaying of them when they remain obdurate is there related in greater detail than by Lodge. The latter has a hermit recount the episode, in four lines, to Duke Aubert and his court (F; p.37). The corresponding passage in Robert le Diable occupies a scant thirty lines of verse (ll.460-89), and in Sir Gowther about the same number (ll.232-61). Lodge's account of Robert's repentance differs significantly from that of other versions. Usually Robert, provoked by some incident or other, such as the townspeople fleeing at his approach which causes him to wonder why he is so diabolical, demands of his mother the story of his conception and birth, threatening her with death if she does not tell him the truth. She relates how, grieving at her barrenness, she had prayed to the devil for a son (or consecrated her unborn baby to the devil) soon after which Robert was born.<sup>60</sup> Lodge's Robert, sorely wounded in an ambush by the Duke of Constance whose son he had murdered, wandering dazed and alone in the forest, suddenly contracts 'a hidden affliction of the mind' (E; p.29) which leads him, through a series of

theological reflections and a mildly euphuistic 'ecstasy' (E<sup>V</sup>; p.30), to repentance. By 'omitting the Devil's share' in the tale, as Lewis complained (p.424), Lodge made the repentance more psychologically credible: the stimulus is Robert's mortal fear. He is rescued and nursed, physically and spiritually, by a hermit who sends him after seven days' recovery to Rome. The hermit takes the news of Robert's reformation to his father's court and delivers the keys to Robert's hideout, the Castle of Thuringue; in the de Worde translation Robert's stronghold is not named, and to signify more strikingly his change of heart, the messenger is the abbot of a monastery that Robert has previously violated (pp.185-6). The latter version and others preserve details which emphasize the religious motif, details which Lodge, while not systematically minimizing or suppressing, was not in the main concerned to accentuate.

When we come to a passage like the following, we are sure that we are in the world of romance:

Three days travelled he with restless toil, till at last being overburdened with extreme weariness, he sat him down by a clear fountain, cooling his thirst, instead of a courtly cup, in a homely clapper. And after he had taken such repast as the herbs of the field afforded him, he sat him down under a pine tree and beholding the bark thereof, which with smoothness invited him to write, and the cool shade which gave him shelter against the sunny heat, with a little pencil he engraved this his devout passion in the thickest thereof.

(Sig.F2; p.39)

What follows is 'Robert's Meditation', in Lodge's familiar six-line stanza. The couplet of the first two stanzas rises to a certain fervent power: 'O pity, God, sweet God, some pity take,/ And cleanse my soul for Jesus Christ his sake.' The conventional introduction to the poem, which might have come from Rosalynde, jars with the unequivocally pious 'meditation'. Indeed the poem is not entirely appropriate for Robert. A line in the third stanza reads 'My youth misspent and worn by women's guile';

this was hardly the cause of his misspent youth. In the very next passage Lodge describes Robert's state of despair, again employing a stock romance convention:

These verses were written with a zealous spirit, accompanied with fervent sighs, hanselled with scalding tears, witnessing his constant contrition; but being troubled in spirit and desirous to mitigate his martyrdom, he attempted further, writing this madrigal in the bark of a cyprus tree.

(Sig.F2<sup>V</sup>; p.40)

The language is ambiguous: all of the symptoms ascribed to Robert as well as his behaviour in writing his 'Madrigal' on a tree could apply to any love-lorn swain in any pastoral romance. The specification of the kind of tree, here and in the previous passage, recalls similar dendrological details in similar circumstances in Rosalynde (ed. Greg, pp.35, 37, 66). Only from the context do we know that Robert's agitation is in his soul and not his heart. This illustrates the unstable alloy of sermon and romance that Lodge forged.<sup>61</sup> He could write fine romance and superb lyrics as Rosalynde amply testifies, and he could write dignified devotional prose as in some of his later tracts. It is the attempt to mix them which does not come off. Romance cannot flourish in such austere surroundings, and the religious meditations and hermits' exhortations are euphuistic, windy and rhetorical, laced with classical allusions.

In the second part of the tale, from Robert's arrival in Rome, Lodge's material was more congenial, providing him with romance matter of its own. There Robert, living at the emperor's court, disguised as a fool, vowed to seven years' silence, and eating only what is thrown to the dogs, has occasion to prove himself in terms both of heroic prowess and of Christian devotion. In disguise, he twice saves the day and thus the emperor, Rome, and the Empire from the Saracens. Here prowess and piety are fused in the paragon of Christian heroism, the Crusader. The

figure of the Christian knight is hardly unsuitable for romance. What complicates matters in Robert the Devil is the fundamentally homiletic nature of Lodge's source material. While the situation might lend itself to treatment as romance, Lodge has to cope with the problem of a hero who is doing penance and thus cannot indulge in the normal activities of a romance hero. So we find Robert going through some of the motions, such as writing poems on trees, but as the poems are religious meditations, the convention is sabotaged. Then when Emine, the emperor's daughter, falls in love with Robert, he cannot respond in the proper fashion. To have allowed him to dally while performing his penance would have been in bad taste.

Yet, flawed though it is, Robert, Duke of Normandy is a romance. The romantic dénouement has been mentioned. Lodge made other alterations in the interest of romance. In his version, it is the dumb princess Emine who supplies Robert with horse and armour that he may go to the rescue of the emperor's forces; in the de Worde version, horse and armour appear miraculously and a voice commands Robert to enter the battle, and in others an angel arms him and leads him into battle (Löseth, p.xxv). The battles themselves are the result of thwarted love, that of the Sultan for Emine. His offer having been refused by the emperor,

He furiously called for arms, swearing all his princes by solemn and inviolable oaths, never to depart out of Christendom till they had ruined the Empire and recovered his love. And hereupon he embarked himself as soon as the next spring appeared, accompanied with eleven kings, eighteen princes and 300 mesulmahs. His army consisted of 300,000 horse and foot. His barks and galleys choked the sea and the billows, groaning under the burden, began to wonder at the wood of stately pine which laboured upon their bosoms.

(Sig. H4; p.58)

In the de Worde version, the rival is the emperor's own seneschal,

turned traitor and enleaguening a host of Saracens in his cause (p.192). Lodge makes the rival himself an infidel, enlarging the basis for conflict: the emperor can oppose his daughter's marriage to the Sultan on religious grounds, and the romantic rivalry for Emine (though Robert is, until the very end, a passive rival) becomes as well a confrontation between pagan and Christian champions. In Robert le Diable, the Turkish invasion is unrelated to the love plot; the treacherous seneschal enters only toward the end.

Lodge interpolates a ten-page passage in which the scene is Babylon (G3-H3<sup>V</sup>; pp.49-58). The Sultan, become a slave to his passion for Emine to whom he has erected a temple and composes verses, languishes so that his courtiers urge him to reveal the cause. He replies, 'Princes, wonder not: Theagines, a Greek, loved Chariclea, a Moor, and your Sultan, a Mahometist, his Emine, a Christian' (p.52).<sup>62</sup> Behenzar is entrusted with a message to the Roman emperor; his failure is the signal for war. In this section, Lodge creates a credible romantic rival for the love-plot as well as giving personality to the traditional Saracen foe. The space given to the Sultan and his passion may be a measure of the problem Lodge had in making his material fit into the conventional romance mould. Since Robert could not serve, Lodge made the Sultan into a full-fledged romance lover with all of the trappings.

The relatively small number of inset poems (seven, including the three 'sonnets' in the Sultan's scene just mentioned) may be another indication of Lodge's recognition of the intractability of the material with which he had to work. Three of the poems are of a religious cast, and another is the Hamadryad's song, 'Pluck the fruit and taste the pleasure' (F3<sup>V</sup>; p.42), which follows hard upon Robert's 'Meditation' and 'Madrigal'. This song, with its haunting refrain, 'After death when you are gone,/'

Joy and pleasure is there none', is as delicate an expression of the carpe diem theme as 'O mistress mine' in Twelfth Night. Here, as Paradise says, is 'pure Elizabethan lyric'. Five of the seven poems, including the Sultan's third 'sonnet', are in the ababcc stanza.<sup>63</sup>

Robert, Duke of Normandy is an instructive case for the student of Elizabethan literary history. It stands athwart several genres. Lodge did not finally succeed in amalgamating the genres to which his source material belonged and that in which he wished to write.<sup>64</sup> Laura Hibbard proposed a useful grouping system for medieval romance, based on subject-matter: chivalric, heroic, or edifying.<sup>65</sup> By the fifteenth century, the Robert the Devil legend in its various literary forms already partook of all of these, though the chivalric, as opposed to the heroic, is not elaborated. It is only latent in the subplot of the seneschal and the emperor's daughter. Lodge brings out this element, as we have seen, and brings it up to date besides, with euphuism, classical allusions, soliloquies and songs. The heroic remains, in the battle scenes and the pagans' boasting and taunting of the Christians. The edifying is still very much present, coexisting uncomfortably, as we have observed, with the Elizabethan romance elements.

Malory's reworking of the Grail legend affords an apt comparison to Lodge's tale. The heroic and the edifying were present in the French prose version; Malory added the chivalric, or retouched the story in such ways as to enhance the figure of Lancelot who in Malory's *Arthuriad* is the paragon of chivalry. The increased emphasis upon Lancelot's role in the Grail Quest brings in, by association and implication, the love story. It is clear, furthermore, that Malory considered the Grail Quest to be a chivalric quest as well as a spiritual one.<sup>66</sup> Likewise Lodge, by different means and to different ends to be sure, took a homiletic heroic

legend and romanticized it. Malory's is doubtless the better work. He rewove while Lodge patched.

E A Tenney saw Robert as the product of Lodge's increasing pre-occupation with 'the problem of religion' (p.104). It is hardly a watershed, however, as a number of his subsequent publications are thoroughly secular in character. Tenney suggested that two of the poems, 'Robert's Meditation' and the Hamadryad's song, 'may be taken as symbolizing Lodge's inner conflict. Was he to continue to subscribe to the delicious Epicureanism of the Hamadryad, or was he to renounce it for the austere creed of the Roman Catholic Church?' (p.107). Tenney's enthusiasm for conjectural biography leads to some dubious speculation. But the two poems in question are in any case illustrative of the ultimate incompatibility of the elements which Lodge tried to combine.

Some critics agree with Tenney in finding the prose of the meditations and the hermits' homilies of some merit, and Paradise and Ryan see the very heterogeneity of the work as a positive quality.<sup>67</sup> What merit Lodge's contemporaries may have found in his experimental prose tale is difficult to know. Paradise considers it a 'reasonable assumption' that it suggested to Drayton the idea for his Tragicall Legend of Robert Duke of Normandy surnamed Short Thighe eldest Sonne of William the Conqueror (p.95n.). Drayton's poem, published in 1596, is about the real Duke Robert II of Normandy, however, who is clearly identified in the title. The sixteenth-century editions of Lydgate's Fall of Princes, such as that to which the earliest edition of the Mirror for Magistrates (c.1555) was appended, are a more likely influence on Drayton.<sup>68</sup> The Elizabethan taste for history and legend in poetic form dated at least from the first appearance of the Mirror for Magistrates. But history, pseudo-history, replete with real place names, historical personalities,



precise dates and figures, delivered in the form of a euphuistic prose romance is unknown before Robert, Duke of Normandy.

Donna B Hamilton believes that Lodge's Robert was a direct source for King Lear:

Three thematic and structural areas to which Lodge gives particular attention beyond what exists in de Worde and for which there exist significant counterparts in King Lear are (1) the pattern of confession, trial, and reward, (2) the interest in defining the source of the wickedness in life, and (3) the tension created when the God-fearing Christians and the atheists are in opposition to each other.<sup>69</sup>

The thematic parallels adduced are quite broad ones and the case would be difficult to prove. The danger in positing common themes is that common details in support of them are often too eagerly sought and too readily claimed as found.<sup>70</sup>

The varying opinions of Robert and frequently ambivalent judgments by individual critics reflect the disparate elements in the work. If Lodge had succeeded in welding them together to produce a decorous whole, the rough edges and incongruities would not leap out as they do. As it is, he left an artefact of considerable interest to the literary historian, rather less for the critic.

#### Euphues' Shadow

C S Lewis remarked, with reference to another of Lodge's works, that the literary historian 'rubs his eyes', wondering if he has 'blundered into the eighteenth century' (p.469). Coming upon Euphues' Shadow: The Battle of the Senses after reading Lodge's three previously published prose romances, one might well wonder if the date '1592' on the title-page is not a misprint for '1582'. For nowhere, among the many reflections of Lyly's two prose works that appeared in the 1580s, is there anything so

like the very shadow of Euphues. The first question that one is obliged to pose is how, in 1592, a year which saw the publication of prose works so radically different from Lyly's - Greene's cony-catching series and Nashe's Piers Penniless for example - Lodge, assiduous mode-follower that he was, could bring out so retrograde and démodé a piece as Euphues' Shadow.

Already in 1589, one Henry Upchear had written, in a poem prefixed to Greene's Menaphon:

Of all the flowers a Lily once I loved  
Whose labouring beauty branched itself abroad  
But now old age his glory hath removed,  
And Greener objects are mine eyes' abode.<sup>71</sup>

In Menaphon, Greene indulges in some mockery of the very style that he had appropriated so readily several years before. But lest the historian leap too quickly, on such evidence, to judgements about 'the drift from Lyly' and 'a larger drift of Elizabethan taste', the printing history of Lyly's book affords clear proof that they were not just a fading memory by the early 1590s: Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit had been reprinted in 1585 and 1587, and Euphues and his England in 1586, 1588 and 1592. Despite the jibes of Greene, Nashe and others, Euphues and euphuism were far from dead in 1592. Even so, it is difficult to imagine Lodge turning back deliberately, after Rosalynde and Robert, Duke of Normandy, to write a book so blatantly imitative of Lyly's. The circumstances in which Euphues' Shadow was published suggest that Lodge may have been cleaning house before setting out on his long voyage with Cavendish.

We know that he left England in August, 1591. Euphues Shadow. The Battaile of the Sences was entered in the Stationers' Register on 17 February 1592 and it was Greene who saw to its publication.<sup>72</sup> The dedication to Robert Ratcliffe, Viscount Fitzwaters, and the preface 'To the gentlemen readers' are signed by Greene. In the dedication he says that

Lodge

who now is gone to sea with Master Cavendish, had bestowed some serious labour in penning of a book called Euphues' Shadow, and by his last letters gave straight charge that I should not only have the care for his sake of the impression thereof, but also in his absence to bestow it on some man of honour.

(Sig.A3<sup>V</sup>; Works, II, Euph. Sh., p.5)

Greene was suspected by Collier of being rather less than the helpful friend and of having written rather more than the dedication and preface of Euphues' Shadow, but scholars have been unanimous in finding Collier himself the deceiver rather than Greene.<sup>73</sup> Had Greene foisted off on Lodge one of his own early efforts which he was ashamed to acknowledge, we might have expected a disclaimer from Lodge on his return, even though Greene was dead by then. If, as I have suggested, the two were collaborating on A Looking Glass shortly before Lodge's departure and he left the play for Greene to finish, it is reasonable enough to suppose that Lodge asked his friend to see a book through the press as well. Perhaps he hoped for a better response from a dedicatee of Greene's choosing than had been forthcoming from his own nominees. In view of the date, and the different kind of writing that Greene was engaged in at the time, it is more difficult to suppose that he performed a similar sort of rewriting to that for which Mrs Burnett has found evidence in Rosalynde.

The publisher was John Busby who, alone or with Nicholas Ling or Thomas Gubbins, published five of the six works by Lodge which appeared in the years 1590 to 1593, plus the second edition of Rosalynde in 1592; the sole exception is William Longbeard. Of Greene's works, on the other hand, Busby published during Greene's lifetime only Never too Late in 1590, with Ling. Busby calls Lodge 'dear friend' in the dedication to Catharos, published by the former shortly after Lodge's departure in 1591, and was clearly very active on Lodge's behalf at this period in his literary career.<sup>74</sup> It seems unlikely that he would knowingly participate in a fraud using Lodge's name behind his back. It is more likely that Lodge had already sold Euphues' Shadow to Busby and thrust it into Greene's

hands for delivery before his departure.

While, as Paradise observes, there is 'no evidence that Euphues' Shadow belongs to Lodge's apprentice years except that Rosalynde is so incomparably the better piece of work' (p.101), it is tempting to regard it as just that, apprentice work. This cannot be proved, of course, and we have seen that Forbonius and Prisceria, contrary to expectation, is surprisingly free of euphuism, as is Munday's Zelauto. Thus proximity in time to Lyly's works is not sufficient to insure that an Elizabethan prose fiction work will be euphuistic. But the striking similarities to Lyly's works that are the most prominent feature of Euphues' Shadow go far beyond the simple stylistic imitation that marks the works we call 'euphuistic'.

Both Lodge and Greene borrowed the names of Lyly's characters in titles and prefaces more than once. Both carried on too their own imaginary versions of the story of Euphues and Philautus from where Lyly left it at the end of Euphues and his England. Lodge concocted a rather elaborate frame for Rosalynde, calling it Euphues's legacy to Philautus's sons, saying that it was found after his death in Euphues's cave at Silixedra and that he, Lodge, had fetched it from the Canaries, and referring to Euphues and his legacy again in the epilogue. The 'Schedule annexed to Euphues's testament', ostensibly addressed by him to Philautus, refers to Camilla whom Philautus marries at the end of Euphues and his England. Lodge resumes the fiction in Euphues' Shadow with a preface from 'Philautus, to his sons living at the court', in which Philautus says that he has 'shapen out Euphues Shadow, by the substance of his first youth, limning out under the figure of Philamis the fortunes of Euphues'. This preface, at least, was written after Rosalynde: Philautus refers to Euphues's legacy.

While overt allusions to Lyly's work are limited to the title

and the preface, the material resemblances begin on the first page of the tale itself:

At such time as Octavius possessed the monarchy of the whole world and Rome the majesty of all wealth and wisdom, there dwelt at Ravenna, a famous city in Italy, a young gentleman who had as great reach in wit as riches, and as many perfections as possessions. Beautiful he was, and this was Nature's benefit; rich he was, and that Fortune's bequest. In brief, Nature and Fortune, striving to exceed each other, strained so far as Fortune could impart no more wealth, nor Nature no more worth. But as the beast Varius hath a rich skin but a rank flesh, and the bird Struchio a big body but weak wings, so Philamis, having a ripe wit had a running head, placing his felicity in travel, not in temperance, in seeking foreign countries, not hearing fruitful counsels. For which cause, gathering together much wealth and neglecting his welfare, forsaking his friends to trust to foreigners, after he had travelled many countries, he entered into Austria.

(Sig.B; p.9)

The opening lines of Euphues are strikingly similar (ed. Bond, I, 184).

It is not primarily the Nature-versus-Fortune motif in Lodge's opening lines that recalls Lyly's work; this is common enough. It is that we are introduced to a young man from exactly the same mould as Euphues himself: more witty than wise, preferring amusement to study, who quits his own country, etc.<sup>75</sup> Just as Euphues is accosted and harangued by an old man of Naples, Eubulus, on the subject of his dissolute ways, Philamis is lectured by a senior citizen of Passau, Anthenor, on the same head. The two speeches are of the same length and, while differing in the particular classical authorities cited and in the 'natural history' exempla employed, both end on the same note, anticipating Polonius:

Let thy attire be comely without prodigality, thy behaviour courtly without peremptoriness. Let thy companions have more wit than words, let thy diet savour more of philosophy than superfluity, let thy reason be thine eye's master, thy God the governor of thy reason. So shall thou work according to his will, and will no less than I wish.

(Euph. Sh., B3-B3<sup>V</sup>; pp.13-14)

Let thy attire be comely but not costly, thy diet wholesome but not excessive. Use pastime as the word importeth, to pass the time in honest recreation. Mistrust no man without cause, neither be thou credulous without proof. Be not light to follow every man's opinion, nor obstinate to stand in thine own conceit. Serve God, love God, fear God, and God will so bless thee as either heart can wish or thy friends desire. And so I end my counsel, beseeching thee to begin to follow it.

(Euphues, ed. Bond, I, 189-90;  
modernized)

As Euphues finds a bosom friend, Philautus, so Philamis finds Philamour. Both pairs of friends are estranged later, but here Lodge departs from his model: Euphues deliberately betrays Philautus, taking Lucilla from him, whereas Philamis is the innocent victim of Philamour's unfounded jealousy. In fact, after the introduction of Philamis in the first page, little comes of his 'ripe wit' and 'running head', except his short-lived and, in the event, harmless infatuation for Eurinome. Lodge enlarges Lyly's triangle (Philautus loves Lucilla who loves Euphues who returns her favours): Philamour loves Harpaste who loves Philamis who loves Eurinome who remains disdainful until it is too late; when she softens, Philamis has long since forsaken the world of folly and the flesh. This change alone suggests that Lodge had other interests than Lyly's. For all of the formal resemblances between their works, Lodge's partakes nearly as much of romance as it does of the rhetorical love-debate 'anatomy' of the Euphues ilk.<sup>76</sup>

It would be tedious to comment on all of the parallels. A simple table of correspondences will serve to show the major ones, as well as Lodge's compression of the main story of the two parts of Lyly's work into a tale of just over a quarter of their combined length!

Euphues (both parts)

Euphues' Shadow

Athens	Ravenna
Naples	Passan
Euphues	Philamis
Philautus	Philamour
Eubulus (old man)	Anthenor
Lucilla + Camilla	Harpaste (rejects, tests, then accepts Philamour)
-----	Eurinome (rejects Philamis, then repents and dies of grief)
Livia (no romantic involvement)	-----
Curio (wins Lucilla)	-----
Surius (Philautus's rival for Camilla)	----- (Philamour believes that Philamis is his rival for Harpaste)
Feast given by Lucilla where Euphues begins to court her; love-debate after dinner (no poems)	Feast given by Harpaste where Philamis woos Eurinome with a 'barginet' and Philamour Harpaste with a 'madrigal'; love-debate follows songs
Euphues wins Lucilla and loses Philautus's friendship	Philamour, jealous of Harpaste's attentions to Philamis, challenges him, wounds him and leaves him for dead.
Euphues and Philautus reconciled after Lucilla rejects Euphues	Philamis and Philamour reconciled only after both have nearly died; many mis-adventures, magical interventions, etc.
Fidus, old beekeeper, who counsels Euphues and Philautus upon their arrival in England, in <u>Euph.</u> and <u>his England</u>	Celio, old, deaf goatherd who helps Philamour and moralizes to Philamis in 'Deaf Man's Dialogue' at end
Callimachus - young man, directed to the path of virtue by his uncle Cassander in inset tale told by Euphues to Philautus	Climachus - name adopted by Philamis as hermit
Cassander - reformed rake, now wise hermit, in Euphues's tale	Callimander - young shepherd aided by hermit Climachus in episode related by Celio to Philamour
Philautus finally marries Camilla and Euphues retires from the world to Mount Silixsedra	Philamour finally marries Harpaste and Philamis returns to his retreat in mountains of Stiria



These elements are selected from a number that might be cited to show that Lodge was indeed working from Lyly's pattern, though he did not hesitate to take liberties with it when he decided to make his tale a true romance.<sup>77</sup> The structure of Euphues' Shadow, with allowance made for such departures, is a miniature of that of Lyly's two-part work; Lodge also pares details and shortens or omits sections in his compression. For

example, he suppresses many of the soliloquies that are so characteristic of the euphuistic manner, and reduces to three the number of letters; all of them come within a space of twelve pages (F4<sup>V</sup>-H2; pp.48-59) in the middle of the work. The Anatomy of Wit is followed by a number of appendages: 'A Cooling Card for Philautus and all fond lovers', 'To the grave Matrons and honest Maidens of Italy', 'Euphues and his Ephoebus', 'Euphues to the Gentlemen Scholars in Athens', 'Euphues and Atheos', then 'Certain Letters writ by Euphues to his friends' (seven in number, one of which is to Euphues), then Lyly's 'To my very good friends the Gentlemen Scholars of Oxford'. The total length of these appendages is considerably greater than that of the main part. Euphues and his England is followed by 'Euphues' Glass for Europe' and an exchange of letters between him and Philautus, then Lyly's epilogue.

Lodge was either impatient with all of this or simply did not finish. After the tale proper, he adds 'Philamis and his Athanatos, containing the 'Deaf Man's Dialogue' (nothing is 'contained'; there is only the dialogue, between Philamis and Celio), and one letter, 'Philamis to Anthenor, to comfort him in his exile'. The whole - dialogue, letter and a short epilogue - is scarcely one-fifth of the entire work. The letter, addressed to the old man who counsels Philamis at the beginning of the tale, contains no reference to that episode; Euphues, both in a meditation near the end of The Anatomy of Wit, (ed. Bond, I, 241) and in an appended letter to Eubulus (p.310), recalls the old man's advice and repents not having heeded it. The letter in Lodge's work is extraneous, a mere imitative after-thought; the idea for it comes from that of Euphues to Eubulus and the content from another, 'to Botonio, to take his exile patiently', which it echoes more than once.<sup>78</sup> The idea of the dialogue no doubt comes from Lyly's 'Euphues and Atheos'; the contents of



both dialogues are overtly, even ecstatically, Christian. Here, however, Lodge links his dialogue to the tale proper, as Lyly did not, making Celio, the old, deaf goatherd, Philamis's interlocutor. Lodge's transition parallels Lyly's:

Philamis, in that he knew his friend was too much besotted with the world, and might forget himself soonest through security, to restrain the dis-temperate enormities of his life, he left him in his study this grave admonition which he termed 'The Deaf Man's Dialogue', which I have here-under inserted and leave unto your censure.

(Euph. Sh., L3<sup>V</sup>; p.86)

Euphues, to the intent he might bridle the overlashing affections of Philautus, conveyed into his study a certain pamphlet which he termed 'A Cooling Card for Philautus', yet generally to be applied to all lovers, which I have inserted as followeth.

(ed. Bond, I, 246)

Despite such similarities, Euphues' Shadow is finally not just an imitation. It is a romance and it contains, furthermore, an inset tale that is pure romance in the medieval mould. We have already seen that Lodge added to the main plot a disdainful lady who repents too late, goes mad, and dies of grief. Philamis and Philamour fight and the former is left for dead by his erstwhile friend. Philamis is rescued and healed by a shepherd. Philamour, repentant and in despair at the impossible tasks imposed upon him by his lady,<sup>79</sup> is attacked and wounded by robbers while seeking Philamis and he too is saved and healed by the shepherd. Thus pastoral is added to romance: healing, enlightenment and reconciliation occur in the Stirian hills, as in the forest of Arden. Finally Philamour wins Harpaste thanks to chance and magic: chance that leads Philamour to Philamis whom he believed to be dead, and magic that enables Philamis, as the hermit Climachus, to achieve Philamour's Herculean labours. This is a far cry from Euphues, where a blush or casting down of the eyes

counts as high action.

Not content with turning Euphues into a romance, Lodge inserts another by way of example, giving it a separate title: 'The lamentable and pitiful torments of a constant lover, serving a cruel lady, with the strange and woeful penance and death she endured' (D3; p.29). The narrator of the tale, Claetia, concludes by stabbing herself and falling upon the corpse of her too-faithful lover Rabinus. This spectacle is witnessed by the assembled company who had been playing a love-debate game when interrupted by the arrival of Claetia, 'attired all in mournful colours of black, her golden hair scattered along her goodly shoulders; in the one hand she bare a light taper, in the other a naked sword'. Up to this point, Lodge's narrative has followed Lyly's rather closely.

Claetia's account of Rabinus's adventures includes knights and combats, a wicked enchanter, a fair damsel to be rescued, a charmed wood, wild beasts, and a monster who 'cast forth ... foison of poison' (F; p.41). The tale of Claetia and Rabinus itself contains a brief story, recounted by a knight whom Rabinus meets in his quest. The knight, who guards the tomb of his kinswoman Servatia, relates, in the manner of many an Arthurian knight, the reason he has vowed to challenge all comers. Digressive inset tales are not foreign to Lyly's works; Euphues and his England contains not only the tale of Cassander in which he in turn recounts his life to his nephew Callimachus, but also the long interlude of Fidus, who tells the story of his life and love to Euphues and Philautus. But it is in the matter that Lyly's and Lodge's inset tales differ. In both works, the tales are seen to be related to the main narrative as exempla, but whereas Lyly's are courtly, formal, presenting in miniature, images of the relationships, manners and morals of the main tale, Lodge's are different in tone

and mood from his main tale (though the main tale itself is part romance as Lyly's is not), abounding in the marvels and prodigies of medieval romance. There euphuism is a hindrance to him and he is verbose at the wrong moments. He occasionally puts together a phrase worthy of Lyly himself: 'we are woe-men because women, feeding them with toying and foiling them with coying' (F2<sup>V</sup>; p.44); or 'having killed him with unkindness in love, how gladly would I with kindness have kissed him alive' (F3<sup>V</sup>; p.46). Lodge carries over the romance of the Claetia episode into the main narrative, by having her tell her tale and then die before the very eyes of Harpaste and her guests. The spectators are all affected and the event provides matter for a letter and conversation afterwards. There is no reference to it later, however, where one might expect it, when Harpaste like Claetia, makes outrageous demands on her lover.

The pastoral in Euphues' Shadow is more than mere decor. It recalls that of Rosalynde at several points. Clorius, the old shepherd who rescues both Philamis and Philamour, plays a leading role in the country holiday festivities: 'Clorius as an ancient, was a chief at the feast' (K; p.73); his counterpart, Corydon, at the multiple marriage celebration in Rosalynde, 'bestirred himself as chief stickler in these actions' (ed. Greg, p.149). There is a description of the shepherds' festival attire similar to that of Corydon's 'holiday suit', though less detailed. Old Celio, the goatherd, has no counterpart in Rosalynde (though he may have left his trace in the 'old religious man' who converts Shakespeare's Duke Frederick). He is both the aged counsellor and the wise rustic, 'a cluncfoot of the country';<sup>80</sup> he directs Philamour to Climachus and returns in the 'Deaf Man's Dialogue' as an apologist, not for the country life per se, but for that of Christian contemplation.

Celio's learning includes not only the usual classical and ecclesiastical authorities, but Ariosto and Tasso as well (K<sup>V</sup>; p.74) - and this 'at such time as Octavius possessed the monarchy of the whole world'.

The dialogue begins in amusing fashion, the deaf Celio thinking that Philamis wants to bargain for a kid, whereas it is philosophical conversation that Philamis seeks. Celio dismisses one profession after another in epigrammatic replies to Philamis's questions. Poets are not spared:

PHILAMIS: What deem you of poets?

CELIO: To run on the letter, they are penniless, studious to make all men learned, and themselves beggars; and whilst they lament all men's want of science, they are supplanted by all men in substance. They write good tales and reap much taunts, and are answered with, 'Oh, it is a proper man, but never a rag of money'.

PHILAMIS: And why is that? Is it not for their corrupt life?

CELIO: Seest thou that pad in the straw? Truly, Philamis, thou sayest well. Some are excellent, of good capacity, of great learning, whose pastoral pleasance includeth much wit and merits much reward, but for the rest, I would they might shift more and shift less.

PHILAMIS: How mean you this shift? Methinks it needs some sifting.

CELIO: I would they had more shift in shirts, and less shift in subtlety. In brief, Philamis, their lives is miserable. Look on every man's way, it is either wickedness or wretchedness.

(Sig. M<sup>V</sup>; p.90)

Lodge no doubt placed himself among those whose 'pastoral pleasance includeth much wit and merits much reward'. The mood becomes more sober and the subject matter more weighty as the dialogue turns into a sermon, with occasional interjections by Philamis. Celio, as his name implies, is in his element.

Yet it is risky to speak of a 'progression' in Lodge's realization of the pastoral potential, as Davis does (pp.80, 82-3), from Forbonius and Prisceria through Rosalynde to Euphues' Shadow, as long as there is not

certainty that the last was not written first. Lodge wrote pastoral prose fiction at least as early as 1583 and perhaps as late as 1590. The presence of pastoral in Euphues' Shadow, whether it functions as in the other works or not, cannot constitute evidence for either an early or a late date of composition. It smacks of petitio principii to claim that because there is disguising and role-playing in the pastoral worlds of Forbonius and Prisceria and Rosalynde and none, or at least not the same kind and not for the same ends in the pastoral world of Euphues' Shadow, Lodge had, by the time he wrote the latter, 'very little interest' in such toys and was concerned instead with 'the ideational content of the pastoral place'. For the pious sentiments of 'The Deaf Man's Dialogue', Lodge need have gone no further than 'Euphues and Atheos'. Given the very evident imitation of Lyly's works in Euphues' Shadow, it would be unwise to read 'The Deaf Man's Dialogue' as a revelation of its author's spiritual preoccupation at the time he wrote it. From the time Philamour wounds Philamis, the tale is a romance; until that point, it is primarily a euphuistic 'novel of manners' or debate-tale, with the deviations from the pattern already noted. Lodge knew both parts of Euphues by 1580 and may have known the old Arcadia in manuscript soon afterwards (see above, p.62). With these two beacons to guide him, a Euphues' Shadow, as well as a Rosalynde and a Forbonius and Prisceria, was well within his powers. There is thus no reason to doubt that it could have been written in the early 1580s.

The paucity of inset poems may suggest an earlier rather than a later period for the work's composition. Euphues' Shadow is like Forbonius and Prisceria and Robert, Duke of Normandy in containing relatively few inset poems. Robert, though late, treats a subject which did not easily allow for the insertion of love poems; Lodge's diffi-

culties on this score have been discussed. The other later romances - Rosalynde, William Longbeard, A Margarite of America - are noteworthy for the quantities of poems they contain. Euphues' Shadow, second longest of Lodge's prose romances, is noteworthy for their scarcity: there are only four. Three of them occur within eight pages in the earliest part of the tale, that is, in the part where Lodge is following the plan of Euphues rather closely. After his long admonition to Philamis and the latter's cocky retort, Anthenor, 'Sorrowing at the young man's inconstancy, and wondering at his discourtesy, repaired to his study, where he wrote this item to all young Gentlemen'; there follows a poem in ten six-line stanzas. Lyly's Eubulus was not driven to verse by his concern for Euphues's state of moral health. The next two poems are also inserted at points which parallel closely the Euphues narrative; they have, of course, no counterpart there. 'Philamis' Barginet' and 'Philamour's Madrigal' are sung to their respective ladies in the course of the evening's festivities (C3-C4; pp.21-3). The first of the two is a charming lyric, unjustly neglected by modern anthologizers, which exhibits that delicacy of touch characteristic of Lodge's best songs. Here he uses a tetrameter line, varies the rhyme-scheme of the sixain (abbacc), and employs feminine rhymes frequently:

Happy Phoebus in thy flower,  
On thy tears so sweetly feeding,  
When she spieth thy heart bleeding,  
Sorrow doth her heart devour.  
Oh that I might Phoebus be,  
So my Clitia loved me.

When with glory thou dost rise,  
Forth her<sup>81</sup> fair to show she putteth;  
When in west thy glory shutteth,  
Clitia shuts, her beauty dies.  
Were my mistress such as she,  
Oh that I might Phoebus be.

Phoebus' beauty did allure  
His fair flower at first to love him,  
And till time from heaven remove him,  
Clitia's glory shall endure.  
Oh that I might Phoebus be  
So my Clitia loved me.

Thou that holdest in thy hand,  
Nature's glory, Phoebus' treasure,  
Now observe the selfsame measure,  
For I burn in selfsame band.  
Were my mistress such as she,  
Oh that I might Phoebus be.

'Philamour's Madrigal' and the fourth poem, 'The Epitaph of Eurimone',<sup>82</sup> (I2<sup>v</sup>-I3; pp.68-9), are inferior to 'Philamis' Barginet'. The distribution of the poems led Brinsley Nicholson to suppose that Lodge had begun inserting them and had not finished them before leaving the book to Greene (Nicholson, p.23). None of the poems seems to have been written expressly for Euphues' Shadow except the 'Epitaph' which is inserted in its obvious place, at some distance from the others. Nicholson's supposition is not improbable. If Lodge included poems even where his model did not, in the first part of the book, he might reasonably have been expected to put in some more in the later part which is more overtly in the romance mode. We need not speculate as to where they might have occurred; as William Longbeard and A Margarite of America show, he was not averse to scattering poems whenever he had some to scatter.

Appropriately enough, Euphues' Shadow remains an enigma: either it was written early in Lodge's career and was rushed out years later in a partly-revised state, perhaps to help finance his voyage; or, for some reason which we cannot hope to discover, he chose deliberately and shamelessly to model his new prose work on the now-waning fashion of a decade before. The former supposition seems to me the less improbable, though a supposition is the most that may be ventured. If this should

be the case, we would have to revise somewhat the assumption that Greene's essays in pastoral romance, Pandosto and Menaphon, were the immediate stimulus upon Lodge in the creation of Rosalynde.<sup>83</sup> With Forbonius and Prisceria and Euphues' Shadow behind him, the one an Arcadian romance in miniature, the other a Euphues redivivus, the apprentice work requisite to the forging of Rosalynde would have been done. As it is, he left another curiosity for the literary historian to puzzle over.

William Longbeard (1593)

In 1593, following his return from the abortive Cavendish expedition, Lodge brought out two works. That year also saw the publication of The Phoenix Nest in which there are more poems by him than by any other identifiable contributor. Neither Phyllis nor The Life and Death of William Long Beard, the most famous and witty English Traitor, borne in the City of London (STC 16659) was entered in the Stationers' Register. The latter was printed by Richard Yardley and Peter Short; Yardley is not connected with any other work by Lodge, while Short is among those to whom the Josephus translation was entered, for the second time, in 1598. The work is dedicated to Sir William Web (or 'Webb') who was Lord Mayor in 1591. After mentioning the 'general care which you have had in the fatherly government of the City', Lodge praises Web for 'seeking by your wisdom to establish the estate of poor citizens' sons decayed, and renew[ing] that by your care which they have lost through unadvisedness'. It is reasonable to suppose that Lodge himself had been a beneficiary of Web's 'care' and that this dedication is his thanks. It is not surprising that William Longbeard shows signs of being hastily thrown together. In 1593 and 1594, Lodge was embroiled with his brother



William in a tangle of lawsuits in both the Court of Chancery and the Star Chamber, as well as another unrelated proceeding in Chancery involving a debt contracted some years earlier (Sisson, pp.84-100). The endless series of pleas, counterpleas, depositions and affidavits must have left little time for literature.

Baker (II, 118) and Lewis (p.424) both stigmatize William Longbeard as 'bookmaking'. The titlepiece itself is only thirty-odd pages long, or half the volume. The remainder is made up of eleven 'most pleasant and pretty histories', translations of tales from the Nuova Seconda Silva di Varia Lettione (1587) of Giglio.<sup>84</sup> These short tales, varying in length from one to six pages, are mere padding.

Lodge was again trying to turn chronicle material into a popular romance. His subject this time, however, was genuine English history, not pseudo-history cum saint's legend as in Robert, Duke of Normandy. William Fitzosbert was of a prominent civic family and was active during the reign of Richard I, whom he apparently knew personally.<sup>85</sup> A number of the events included by Lodge in his tale are veridical. For example, William did accuse his elder brother of treason (A<sup>v</sup>-A2; pp.6-7) in 1194, and the number of William's confederates who were hanged with him, nine (D2; p.31), is agreed upon by several early chroniclers. He was an eloquent speaker, winning over the mob easily, and he had some knowledge of the law which enabled him to plead the cause of the poor against the city authorities; he appears as both prosecutor and judge in one episode in the tale. He was clearly a figure of some prominence; his sway with the populace was such that no less a personage than Richard's justiciar (later chancellor under John), Archbishop Hubert Walter, intervened personally, ordering the firing of St. Mary-le-Bow church in which William had taken refuge.<sup>86</sup>

Alice Walker first named Fabyan's Chronicle as Lodge's source, pointing out that he, like Fabyan, gave the wrong year, 1197 rather than 1196, as that of William's major activity.<sup>87</sup> Fabyan's work, first published in 1516 and reprinted in 1533, 1542 (revised) and 1559, was as he called it a 'concordance of histories'.<sup>88</sup> His account of William Longbeard is gleaned from several of his predecessors', primarily those of Roger de Hoveden, William of Newburgh, Matthew Paris, Ralph de Diceto and Gervase of Canterbury. It has been thought that Lodge used Stow, whose chronicles were more recent than Fabyan's. Stow, in his Summary of English Chronicles (1565), simply abbreviates Fabyan's account of William Longbeard, often quoting directly and acknowledging his source; he corrects Fabyan's dating, placing William under the year 1196. In his fourth edition (1570), Stow added details not in Fabyan (or Lodge) such as William's family name and the legend that his family affected beards in disdain of the Normans.<sup>89</sup> Stow does not mention Fabyan by name in the 1570 Summary, but cites William of Newburgh. In his Annals (1592), he expanded his account, taking further details from Fabyan and Grafton as before but citing neither. Instead he lists a number of earlier chroniclers as his sources, including Hoveden and Paris.

In Lodge's episode of Robert Besaunt and Peter Nowlay, a cobbler, Besaunt(or 'Besant') is referred to as 'sometime bailiff of London' (A3, A3<sup>v</sup>; pp.9, 10). Later on Lodge mentions Gerard de Antiloche as one of the bailiffs who dispersed the mob which had rallied round William (D; p.30). Antiloche is listed by Fabyan as bailiff in 1198, Besaunt in 1197. Stow alters these dates several times, giving 1195, 1196 and 1194 (in the 1565 and 1570 editions of the Summary and the Survey of London (1598) respectively) for Besaunt and 1196, 1197 and 1195 for Antiloche.<sup>90</sup> Peter Nowlay, Lodge's cobbler, no doubt derives from the Peter Nowlay

(Fabyan) or 'Newley' or 'Neuelon' (Stow, Survey), who was bailiff in 1191 (Survey) or 1193 (Fabyan; Summary, 1570); Lodge just borrowed the name. Though it would be difficult to prove that Lodge did not consult Stow, or even one of the medieval chroniclers, Fabyan is certainly his major source. In addition to the evidence adduced by Alice Walker, occasional verbal similarities can be found, and Lodge mentions the miracle-working chain with which William was bound (D3<sup>V</sup>; p.34), a detail that Fabyan had from his sources but that Stow omits.<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, Lodge opens his tale with a muddled version of Fabyan's recital of the portents which occurred in the third year of Henry II's reign, the supposed year of William's birth. Fabyan mentions two suns seen in England and three in the west in Italy; the following year three moons were seen. Lodge conflates this: 'two suns appeared in our horizon in England, and three moons were discovered in the West in Italy' (A; p.5).

Lodge's tale is, as Tenney says, 'the most historical' of his prose works (p.131). He follows closely the events as Fabyan relates them, returning after each fictitious insertion of his own to the precise point in the chronicle narrative at which he had diverged. William Longbeard is a more clear-cut example of Lodge's way with a chronicle source than Robert, Duke of Normandy. For one thing, the story of William itself is far more concise than that of Robert, and Lodge's own version of it much shorter than his version of the Robert the Devil legend. The breaks from the chronicle narrative and the insertion of episodes of his own invention, the embroidering of William's relations with his 'lemman' Maudline (the chronicles mention a concubine), complete with poems, are all clearly visible, the stitches in Lodge's cutting and sewing job.

He admits, if not to patchwork, at least to something less than satisfactory tailoring. His comments on the 'new fashions' are reveal-

ing: 'No conceits are held worthy commendations', he complains, 'but such as have copy of new-coined words and matter beyond all marvel'. He had returned to England after an absence of perhaps a year or more, to find the literary scene considerably changed. In the interim, Greene's highly popular flood of cony-catching pamphlets had appeared and Nashe's Pierce Penniless had seen three editions in rapid succession in 1592.<sup>92</sup> Lodge's own recent prose works - Robert, Duke of Normandy, Catharos, Euphues' Shadow - had hardly been resounding successes. Even Rosalynde, reissued in 1592, was not 'of the new stamp'. In the conclusion of his brief epistle to the reader, Lodge seems to be saying that he is willing to move with the times and give the public what it wants, but that for the moment an imperfect product is the best he can manage:

Since therefore the time is such and judgements are so singular, since the manners are altered with men and men are in thralldom to their fashionate manners, I will with the dyer prepare myself to wash out the spots as soon as they are spied, and borrow some cunning of the drawer to cover an imperfection so well as I can, till such time I have cunning to cut my garment out of the whole cloth.

( $\pi^2$ <sup>v</sup>; p.4)

Such subsequent productions as Phillis (if indeed it came after William Longbeard), A Fig for Momus and Wit's Misery and the World's Madness would seem to be Lodge's effort to make good his promise. And his next piece of prose fiction, A Margarite of America, was to be in a different vein altogether, a tragedy of lust, blood and pervasive evil.

To stretch out Fabian's bare narrative, Lodge added episodes illustrating William's ambition, demagoguery and arrogance. Getting the names from proximate pages in his source, he invented the story of Peter Nowlay the cobbler and his poor widow, victim of the grasping and dishonest Robert Besaunt, and William's championship of the widow (A3-B2<sup>v</sup>;

pp.9-16).<sup>93</sup> Lodge intervenes to comment that such a practice as Besaunt uses is 'in these our days ... the very poison of this world, and in that time was no small pestilence' (A3<sup>V</sup>; p.10). Margaret Schlauch sees this episode as demonstrating Lodge's concern with the social evils of his own time: 'Such episodes are based on direct knowledge of contemporary abuses, and they reflect some understanding of the plight of the poorer folk. But Lodge is unequivocal in condemning William's aims and methods' (Antecedents, p.236). That Lodge condemns William is certain, but he withholds nothing in his account of William's popularity, cleverness and self-confidence. It seems likely to me that in taking William Longbeard as his subject, Lodge had in mind the success of Greene's recent series of pamphlets in which the heroes are the villains whom the author pretends to be denouncing, all the while multiplying the examples of their quick-wittedness and nimble-fingeredness. Lodge, however, is not guilty of Green's duplicity, shedding crocodile tears over the victims and clucking his tongue at the villains. Rather he poses a genuine moral dilemma: William uses questionable methods and his defence of the poor is calculating and self-serving, but the evils he combats are real ones; he does defend the poor and weak against the rich and powerful. Nevertheless Lodge's conclusion is unambiguous:

Thus endeth the life of William Longbeard: a glass for all sorts to look into, wherein the high-minded may learn to know the mean, and corrupt consciences may read the confusion of their wickedness. Let this example serve to draw the bad-minded from Bedlam insolence and encourage the good to follow godliness. So have I that fruit of my labour which I desire, and God shall have the glory, to whom be all praise.

(E; p.37)

In Lodge's hands, William becomes a romantic swain as well as

a social activist. As in Robert, Duke of Normandy, the juxtaposition of prose romance conventions and the source material results in something less than the happiest of mélanges. Once William has won his 'fair lemman', Maudline, he begins 'to prank it in the bravest fashion, wresting his wits to make an idol of her worth' (B3<sup>V</sup>; p.18). This is the introduction to a string of poems, as we might expect. Lodge seems aware of the incongruity of Italianate sonnets and madrigals in a moralistic tale about the rise and fall of a twelfth-century rabble-rouser. Once he refers to William's love poems as 'these his effeminate follies of youth, wherein he so ungraciously passed his time' (C3; p.25). He makes excuses, like 'since they are of some regard', or 'I could not find in my heart to forget', or 'I dare not forget in that the poesy is appertinent to this time'. He makes much of appending some of William's prison poems, 'which if you peruse will notify unto you his singular wit'. Following William's epitaph, Lodge intervenes again: 'I have hereunto annexed likewise some other of his spiritual hymns and songs, whereby the virtuous may gather how sweet the fruits be of a reconciled and penitent soul'.

There are thirteen poems, more than in any of the other romances except Rosalynde and A Margarite of America, both of which are several times longer. Only in William Longbeard and A Margarite of America does Lodge resort to thrusting in whole blocks of poems; here the sheer quantity is even more apparent in view of the relative brevity of the work.<sup>94</sup> There are no fewer than seventy-one poems in Lodge's six prose romances, so William Longbeard, with thirteen, has just over the average number; in length, however, it is on the scale of Forbonius and Prisceria which contains only two poems. Six of the poems are sonnets and six (but only one of the sonnets) have been shown to be translations: of two of Ronsard's Odes, three madrigals by Livio Celiano, and a sonnet by Paschale.<sup>95</sup> The

sonnet following the translation of Paschale, 'Such dark obscured clouds at once encumbered' (D4<sup>V</sup>; p.36), is in the Italian octave-sestet form and may have a yet-undiscovered original. The sonnet 'Ye brain-begotten deities agree you' is of a sensuality rare in Lodge (B4; p.19).<sup>96</sup> The first inset poem, and the only one not attributed by the narrator to William, is a lullaby sung by Peter Nowlay's widow to her hungry children. This is preceded by another conventional device, the euphuistic soliloquy, in which the widow bemoans her plight (A3<sup>V</sup>-A4; pp.10-11). Thus the invented episode not only serves to fill out the story, but affords Lodge the opportunity to entertain in his favourite familiar ways.

An interesting example of Lodge's rhetorical embellishment of matter taken directly from his source is William's sermon or 'exhortation' upon the theme Haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus salvatoris. I give Fabyan's text, then Lodge's version:

'That is to mean, ye shall draw in joy waters of the wells of our Saviour.' And to this he added, 'I am', said he, 'the saviour of poor men; ye be poor and have assayed the hard hands of rich men. Now draw ye therefore healful water of love of my wells, and that with joy, for the time of your visitation is come. I shall', said he, 'depart waters from waters; by waters I understand the people. Then shall I depart the people which is good and meek from the people that is wicked and proud, and I shall dissever the good and the evil, as the light is departed from the darkness.'

(Sig. bbii<sup>V</sup>)

'Which is as much to say, as, "You shall draw waters with Joy out of the fountains of our Saviour."' 'For', quoth he, 'my worthy and faithful friends, who have more courage than coin and ability in arms than possibilities of wealth, I am the saviour of you that are poor and the sovereign of such as are penniless. You that have assayed the hard hand of the rich shall be succoured by the happy hand of the righteous.

Now therefore draw your happy fountains of counsel out of my words, and turn the troubles you have to assured triumphs, for the day of your visitation is at hand. I shall depart waters from waters: I mean the proud from the poor, the merciless from the merciful, the good from the evil, and the light from the darkness. I will oppose myself against all dangers to prevent your damage, and lose myself but you shall have living. Be confident, therefore, and bold, for such as have courage

are seldom conquered. Let the greatest upbraid, they shall not bite: we have weapons to withstand as well as words to persuade, we are as courageous as our enemies are crafty. Stick, therefore, unto me who will strive for you. Let me be suppressed, you are subdued; let me flourish, you are fortunate. But if sinister chance threaten, why, Alea iacta est: una salus victis nullam sperare salutem'.

(C3<sup>V</sup>-C4; pp.26-7)

Lodge not only lengthens the speech, but adds euphuistic fillips, simple alliterations and balancing phrases, to Fabian's text.

We also find, as in Robert, Duke of Normandy, incongruous passages of florid description in odd places:

No sooner was the gay mistress of the daybreak prepared in her roseate coach, powdering the heavens with purple, but the bailiffs repaired to the prison, leading forth William and those of his other confederates to their execution.

(D3; p.33)

Sunrises were a favourite of Lodge's.

As remarked earlier, in William Longbeard the seams show rather more than in the other prose works where a specific main source is known. This, and the slightness of the work, requiring the padding out of the volume with the 'pleasant and pretty' bits, have earned for it the near-unanimous condemnation of critics.<sup>97</sup> It is worth recalling that Nashe and Deloney also used native chronicle material for the purposes of prose fiction. The Unfortunate Traveller, Jack of Newbury and Thomas of Reading are different in many ways from William Longbeard. Nashe and Deloney each broke new ground. It is characteristic of Lodge that, writing at the same time as these 'moderns' and going, like them, to chronicles for his matter, he should try to fit it into the old mould. Here again he stumbled forward while looking backward.<sup>98</sup>



A Margarite of America

The year 1596 saw no fewer than four new publications from Lodge. It seems reasonable to assume that he was winding up his affairs, including literary ones, prior to leaving the country.<sup>99</sup> He was to remain an exile for a good part of the next fifteen years. His efforts to cater to fashion, pursued so assiduously and with such varied results for some eighteen years, ceased abruptly. His subsequent publications might have been the work of another man; in a sense they were. Devotional tracts, medical treatises, weighty translations of edifying works by Seneca, Josephus, Luis de Granada and Simon Goulart - these were the products of the last three decades of his life. A clear and deliberate break occurs in 1596. Not only did Lodge leave England and enter upon an altogether new profession, but he refers to his previous writings in the most deprecatory terms in the introductory epistles to Prosopopeia and The Devil Conjured. In the latter he addresses the reader:

Courteous, sith you have long time drawn the weeds of my wit and fed yourselves with the cockle of my conceits, I have at last made you gleaners of my harvest and partakers of my experience.

([A2]; Works, III, p.3)

This does not prevent him, however, from immediately bringing out another romance in prose, no less full of wit and conceit than earlier ones, and more so than some. The dedication to Lady Russell is dated 4 May, less than three weeks after that of The Devil Conjured. A Margarite of America, like the other books of that year, was not entered in the Stationers' Register. It was published by Busby.<sup>100</sup> Lodge's statement that the book was being printed in his absence ([A2]<sup>V</sup>; p.4) cannot allude to his final departure for France: he was still in England

on 5 November 1596, the date of the dedication to Wit's Misery and the World's Madness, and in the dedication to Prosopopeia he alludes to the beginning of a new year, presumably 1597.<sup>101</sup>

The title 'A Margarite' is a pun on the name of the heroine, Margarita: a 'margarite' is a pearl or any precious stone, by extension, anything precious (O.E.D.). Lodge's title announces that he has brought back treasure from America, where an Elizabethan adventurer would expect to find it (see also n.104 below). Lodge's claim that A Margarite of America is a translation of a Spanish book found by him in Brazil has been the subject of some minor controversy. Baker believes that Lodge is 'pretending'; D B J Randall too is sceptical: 'Until our information is fuller, we may suspect it is Lodge's own invention'.<sup>102</sup> Lewis's argument against the existence of the Spanish original is paradoxical: he disbelieves Lodge's debt 'precisely because he acknowledges it' (p.424). Noting what he sees as Lodge's plagiarism in other works, Lewis suggests that 'a writer who hides his real debts would be quite likely to boast a false one if it lent an exotic flavour to his work'. Margaret Schlauch dissents, however, and believes that Lodge depended on an original (p.199n.). While accepting Randall's reservation as to the lack of corroborative evidence, one may be content to take Lodge at his word. He was on the Cavendish expedition which called at Santos where the gentlemen-adventurers were lodged with the Jesuit community.<sup>103</sup> It is not so improbable that he found a Spanish romance there or that the work has not been identified. Furthermore, all of his other romances have identifiable sources or models. His habits of composition in the genre make credible his account of the Spanish tale behind A Margarite of America. And why make such a point about America in the title four or five years after the event, when the tale itself has nothing to do with America, if there were not some kind of connection? Perhaps one of

the rival kingdoms in the tale derived its name from the Inca capitol, Cuzco, in Peru.

It is difficult, however, to imagine Lodge writing his book under such conditions as he describes in the dedication and the address to the readers. Sisson doubts that Lodge ever went as far as the Straits of Magellan and guesses that he was in the Dainty which deserted the expedition and returned to England in the spring of 1592.<sup>104</sup> In that case, the report of the harrowing conditions in the Straits ([A2<sup>V</sup>]; p.4) is second-hand, added for the 'exotic flavour' of which Lewis speaks.

Whatever we may feel about the veracity of Lodge's claim that his tale is a translation from Spanish, it is manifestly different from his other works of prose fiction. It is also different from most of the other works of the genre published up to that time. Lewis finds that while it resembles the works of Heliodorus and Sidney, it is 'harsher and (in some ways) more splendid than either' (p.424). 'Hard romance' is his designation. He concurs in Baker's judgement (p.119) that it is Lodge's best romance. The brightness and bitterness to which Lewis alludes are reminiscent of later Jacobean tragedy. Evil is endemic and pervasive. 'Pure meaningless horror' seems to be the point; there is no repentance and redemption as in Robert, Duke of Normandy, no reward for virtue.<sup>105</sup> Despite superficial similarities to Rosalynde - inset poems, a love-debate, magic, wooings in shepherd's guise - there is nothing 'golden' about Margarite. In its sensational goriness it recalls some of Greene's Bandellian tales, but as Pruvost observes, the sheer accumulation of horrors outdoes anything in Bandello.<sup>106</sup> Several other tales which appeared about the same time are similarly grim in mood and pessimistic in outlook; they include Nicholas Breton's The Miseries of Mavillia (1597) and John Dickenson's Greene in Conceit: New Raised from his Grave to Write the Tragical History of Fair Valeria of London (1598). Nashe had reached new heights in the clinical description

of torture in The Unfortunate Traveller (1594).<sup>107</sup> Following Kyd, playwrights including Shakespeare had depicted murder, mutilation and assorted atrocities on the stage. The point is that, however incongruent it may appear for the author of Rosalynde to produce A Margarite of America Lodge was, as always, writing for a public with an already whetted appetite.

To summarize the plot is tantamount to making a body-count.<sup>108</sup> Twelve named characters die, all but two of them violently and all but the same two 'on stage'. Arsadachus's parents, Artosogon and Lelia, expire from 'age and sorrow' but only after the son has mutilated the father and made him the butt of mockery before the court. Arsadachus, the hero-villain, is responsible for ten of the deaths, including his own. He slaughters Philenia and her bridegroom Minecius in an ambush, then kills his own confederate Thebion who he suspects may betray him, justifying the act on the fabricated grounds that Thebion was plotting to assassinate the emperor Protomachus. A young page who witnessed the ambush has his tongue cut out and his eyes pricked out - 'the one [for] pretended seeing, the other for lewd uttering' (F3<sup>V</sup>; p.42) - upon Arsachachus's vehement protestations of innocence. The murder of Thebion is laid to another of Arsadachus's evil companions, Brasidas, whose precipitate flight draws on suspicion. He reappears at the end of the tale in Cusco where he has taken refuge, only to have his brains 'pashed out' with a goblet by Arsadachus in a mad fit. Arsinous, Philenia's father, is banished for having accused Arsadachus of her murder. In an orgy of violence at the end, Arsadachus, 'bestraught' of his senses by a 'hideous odor' issuing from a magic box, first kills Brasidas, then slices up his wife Diana with a carving knife, 'spreading her entrails about the palace floor, and seizing on her heart, he tore it in pieces with his tyrannous teeth'.<sup>109</sup> He then finds 'a young son

which his Diana had bred and he begotten' and takes it by the legs, 'battering out the brains thereof against the walls'. These last three atrocities are packed into one page (M2; p.87). Arsadachus then stabs the innocent Margarita who has just arrived on the scene. Appalled at last by his own monstrous acts, he plucks out his eyes. Finally

he grappled about the floor among the dead bodies, and at last he gripped that weapon wherewith he slew Margarita, wherewith piercing his hated body he breathed his last, to the general benefit of all the Cuscans.

(N; p.93)

And to the general relief of the reader.

The isolated acts of violence committed by other characters - Protomachus orders the torture and mutilation of the page, Artosogon has Diana's father Argias drawn asunder by wild horses for his presumption in furthering his daughter's marriage to Arsadachus - pale beside Arsadachus's single-minded savagery. Nature too takes a hand: Margarita's companion Fawnia, set upon by a lion, is not as fortunate as Saladyne. She is torn to pieces 'in that she had tasted too much of fleshly love'; the beast fawns upon Margarita, however, 'licking her milk-white hand, and showing all signs of humility instead of inhumanity' (L3; p.81).

'This monstrous product' as Margaret Schlauch calls it (p.199) is unusual in other respects. The narrative begins in medias res:

The blushing morning 'gan no sooner appear from the desired bed of her old paramour, and remembering her of her Cephalus, watered the bosom of sweet flowers with the crystal of her tears, but both the armies, awaked by the harmony of the birds that recorded their melody in every bush, began to arm them in their tents and speedily visit their trenches.

(B; p.5)

The protagonist Arsadachus is not presented until some fifteen pages later, though there are hints of his character in his father's speech of advice ('Since therefore thine inclination is corrupt ...' (C3; p.17)). When finally Lodge turns to Arsadachus himself, the portrait recalls those of many of the tribe of Euphues, rather more ominous than most of that ilk, but recognizable nonetheless:

Arsadachus being thus delivered of his father, fed himself with his own natural follies; and as the bird Lenca flying toward the south foretelleth storms, even so his lewd thoughts, aimed at nothing but wickedness, were the evident signs of his sinister behaviour. For being well shaped by nature, there was not any man more estranged from nurture, so that it was to be feared that he should sooner want matter to execute his dishonest mind upon, than a dishonest mind to execute any lewd matter. For among the train appointed by his father to attend him, he took no delight but in those who were most lascivious, who ministering the occasions bred in him an earnest desire to do ill.

(C4; p.19)

'Prone by nature to do ill', Arsadachus has not even Robert the Devil's excuse.

Many minor characters are named, even those who appear only once and briefly. In this, A Margarite resembles the tales based on chronicles. Why Lodge felt it necessary to give names, for example, to the young page who witnesses the murder of Philenia and Minecius (Phidias) or a counsellor of Protomachus (Ctesides) who does not figure in the action at all, is hard to see. There are others who participate in a tournament and love-debate interlude who are unconnected with the plot: Stilcono, earl of Garavia, Asaphus of Tamirae, Plicotus of Macarah, and the ladies Calandra, Ephania and Gerenia. Perhaps the names occurred in the source, if there was one. Or Lodge may have felt that they enhanced his story, like the detailed descriptions of furnishings and processions.

There is more pageantry than in any of his other romances. The gorgeousness that Lewis sees in the work, the background for the 'lavish bloodshed' (p.425) consists in the ornate descriptions of chambers and their furniture, costume, the panoply of a tournament, feasts and ceremonies. For example, Margarita appears at the tournament

like a second Diana, having her goldilocks tied up with loose chains of gold and diamonds, her body apparelled in cloth of silver over which she had cast a veil of black and golden tinsel through which her beauty appeared as doth the bright Phoebus in a summer's morning ... She was mounted on a high arch of triumph covered with cloth of gold. Near unto her sat her old father in his sovereign majesty; about her a hundred damsels in white cloth of tissue overcast with a veil of purple and green silk loosely woven, carrying gold and silver censers in their hands from whence issued most pleasant odours, such as in the pride of the year breathe along the coast of Arabia Foelix or drops from the balmy trees of the East.

(G; p.45)

Mention of this episode leads to a consideration of the structure of the whole work. It is in triptych form, with two large outer panels, full of action, intrigue and sensational events, separated by a shorter central section in a contrasting mood. This middle part, the still center of the storm, consists of a tournament proclaimed by Protomachus and the banquet and love-debate which follow it. The spectacle of the jousts but little of the action is described; Lodge's interests are not the same as Malory's. This section, situated near the centre of the work, is an inset in the truest sense. The plot is not advanced in the least, although Arsadachus and Margarita are the central figures in these scenes as in the tale at large. Arsadachus's villainy is forgotten: he is the chivalric champion who bears down all before him in the three-day tourney, making 'evident proofs of great hope' (G2; p.47). The description of his panoply follows that of

Margarita's attire:

After these Arsadachus in his triumphant chariot drawn by four white unicorns entered the tiltyard: under his seat the image of Fortune which he seemed to spurn, with this posy, Quid haec?. On his right hand Envy whom he frowned on by her [sic] this posy, Nec haec; on his left hand the portraiture of Cupid by whom was written this posy, Si hic; over his head the picture of Margarita with this mot, Sola haec. These arms were of beaten gold far more curious than those that Thetis gave her Achilles before Troy or Meriones bestowed on Ulysses when he assaulted Rhesus, being full of flames and half-moons of sapphires, chrysolites and diamonds. In his helm he bore his mistress's favour, which was a sleeve of salamander's skin richly perfumed and set with rubies.

(G<sup>V</sup>; p.46)

At a dance after the tourney, Arsadachus engages Margarita in love-chat. Their conversation on the subject, 'By what means might love be discovered if speech were not', anticipates the formal debate a few pages later (G4; p.51): 'Whether he [i.e., love] so best worketh by the eye, the touch, or the ear'. Margarita utters a euphuistic 'passion' and Arsadachus writes two poems, to the second of which his mistress 'prettily replied' (H3<sup>V</sup>; p.58). Immediately after the poems, Lodge picks up the narrative again ('Thus passed the affairs in Mosco till such time ...') and with it the hero's evil nature, shed during the interlude. Arsadachus resumes his career of villainy and outrage.

In the first part of the tale, the object of his illicit desire, Philenia, her husband, her father and Arsadachus's confederates in the murder of the couple had been his victims. In the latter part, it is again the villain's lust, again entailing falseness to Margarita, which precipitates mayhem and slaughter. This time, however, supernatural intervention brings about the villain's own destruction, following that of his bride Diana, their son, the ever-faithful Margarita, Diana's father and Arsadachus's parents. The only two important



characters left alive are Protomachus, Margarita's father, and old Arsinous, Philenia's father, who had been unjustly banished following his daughter's murder. Protomachus is reconciled with Arsinous and makes him regent over Cusco. Events have come full circle: Protomachus had rewarded Arsinous at the beginning of the tale, creating him duke of Volgradia for his services as peacemaker between the warring kingdoms.

Arsinous is a link between the two main parts of the tale, re-appearing at crucial moments. He is not simply the stock wise old man of the Euphues tradition who comes on to give advice near the beginning of the narrative, then drops out of sight. Arsinous is involved in the plot, accusing Arsadachus of Philenia's murder and suffering exile when Protomachus chooses to believe Arsadachus rather than the old man. It is Arsinous who intervenes at the beginning as the two armies are drawn up for battle and who proposes the marriage of the two heirs, Arsadachus of Cusco and Margarita of Mosco, thus resolving the conflict. The first part of the tale closes on Arsinous, banished, in his solitary grotto, carving dismal verses on stones and trees, 'melting away in such melancholy as the trees were amazed to behold it, and the rocks wept their springs to hear it' (F4<sup>V</sup>; p.44). Near the beginning of the second part, after the interlude, we learn that Arsinous had given Margarita 'a precious box set with emeralds, the which at such time as he gave it her, he charged her to keep until such time as he she loved best should depart from her' (I2; p.63). Margarita gives it to Arsadachus, charging him to open it only when he begins to forget her. This is the box which, emitting 'a sudden flame' and 'a hideous odor', strikes him mad, precipitating the gory climax.

Arsinous is on hand in the forest to rescue Margarita and with

his magic he tricks her into revealing her identity by conjuring the likeness of Arsadachus.<sup>110</sup> He then produces a feast for the famished girl and they set out together for Cusco where the treacherous Arsadachus is preparing to celebrate his coronation and dallying with his bride Diana. Arsinous is present at the grand climax, first urging the Cuscans to punish Arsadachus then, when the villain has rendered this unnecessary, composing epitaphs for Diana and Margarita. Arsinous is instrumental both in setting the tragic love-plot in motion with his proposal of a political marriage between Arsadachus and Margarita and, indirectly, in bringing about the bloody dénouement by means of the magic box. At the same time he accomplishes his personal revenge against Arsadachus, is vindicated and restored to favour and power. Lodge seems to attribute the hero-villain's madness to fate - 'see the judgement of just heaven' (M2; p.87) - but Arsinous is at least in league with fate. Although there has been no reference to his magical powers when the box is first mentioned, we learn later that he has been 'studying magic in his melancholy cell' and discovers 'by reason of the aspect of the planets, that the hour of his revenge was at hand' (L3<sup>V</sup>; p.82). A central if not major character in the first part of the story, Arsinous disappears until it is time for him to re-emerge with his special powers to take a principal role in the final act of the tragedy (Lodge's metaphor (p.82)). His power does not extend, however, to averting fate: he can perceive from afar Margarita's danger, tell her what has transpired at her father's court since her flight and conjure the likeness of Arsadachus as well as a sumptuous repast, but he conceals 'that which tended to her ruin, which with earnest heart he inwardly perceived' (L4<sup>V</sup>; p.84).

The tripartite structure of A Margarite of America and Arsinous's bridging role having been noticed, it is interesting to

notice further the general structure of the last large section, which roughly recapitulates that of the whole work. The section begins with the formal betrothal of Arsadachus and Margarita, the romance itself having begun with the agreement of a treaty of peace of which their proposed marriage was the principal article. Arsadachus's faithlessness is a theme of the entire romance, and in each section the act of infidelity, courting Philenia in the first, wooing Diana in the second, sets off a succession of violent acts, most of them by Arsadachus himself. The murder of Philenia and Minecius provides the revenge motive for Arsinous, a theme which carries over to the very end of the tale when that revenge is achieved. Arsadachus's idolatrous dalliance with Diana and his preparation for their coronation provide continuity between the two outer parts of the last main section of the tale. This, like the whole, has a pause squarely in the middle, a small central panel in the triptych, in the form of a series of poems which Arsadachus composes for Diana. Ten of the twenty-five poems in the tale are here. They are part of Arsadachus's entertainment of his bride, in celebration of the demise of his parents and the wicked young couple's consequent accession to the throne of Cusco. The narrator thought good to set them down 'for variety sake, after his so many villainies' (K3<sup>V</sup>; p.74). Varied they are and variety they do provide.

Arsadachus in his dalliance is no worse than many other of Lodge's lovesick swains and more prolific than most. The poems are further set off from their ostensible context by being presented to the reader by the narrator on Arsadachus's behalf, with commentary. The hero, attired like a shepherd, indites 'passions' for his goddess; Lodge, in his narrative persona, offers them to the judgement of the ladies.<sup>111</sup> The reader's willingness to suspend disbelief avails

nothing when Lodge alludes to 'the sweet conceits of Philip du Portes, whose poetical writings being already for the most part englished and ordinarily in every man's hand, Arsadachus listed not to imitate' (L2; p.79). Two poems, of Arsadachus's 'own invention' follow. His reluctance to translate Desportes is not surprising: Lodge's own renderings of a dozen or so of the French poet's works had been published in the Scilla's Metamorphosis, Rosalynde and Phillis volumes.

A Margarite of America contains more poems than any of Lodge's other romances, an average of one for every three and three-quarter pages, but it is the interlude of ten poems that swells the number. There is another group of four, near the beginning, written by Minecius who 'under a pastoral habit ... would hide him in the groves and woods where the ladies were accustomed to walk' and recite them from concealment (C; p.13). Here, as in Arsadachus's poetical entertainment of Diana, the poet-lover dons shepherd's weeds and plays the pastoral game, like Marie Antoinette's courtiers at Versailles. This does not make of Margarite a pastoral romance, any more than the inclusion of a tournament makes it a chivalric romance.<sup>112</sup>

Lodge says that the four 'sonnets' by Minecius are 'in imitation of Dolce the Italian' (p.13); in fact, three of them are translations of Paschale, as Alice Walker has shown.<sup>113</sup> The second of the group has not been traced to a Continental original. Of the twenty-five poems in A Margarite eight have been found to have Italian originals; seven are from the Rime Volgari of Paschale. Lodge acknowledges all but two of the imitations: an isolated sonnet (I3; p.65) and the first of Arsadachus's series of ten poems ('I see a new sprung sun') are from Paschale, as well as four of the five others that he attributes to Dolce. He acknowledges that 'Those glorious lamps that heaven illuminate'

(L<sup>V</sup>; p.78) is 'in imitation of that excellent poet of Italy, Lodovico Pascale'. The eighth translation 'having the right nature of an Italian melancholy' is of a sonnet by Martelli and is acknowledged to be so.

Fourteen of the poems in A Margarite are sonnets; six of these are translations. The remaining eight are probably original; all of them (except for one odd case) employ the English quatrain-plus-couplet form in the last six lines rather than the Petrarchan sestet. Several of the Italian sonnets are well done. Lodge sometimes manages to duplicate the dexterity within the line of the original, as in the twelfth of 'Those glorious lamps that heaven illuminate': 'Hold I my tongue? 'tis bad; and speak I? worst' (L<sup>V</sup>; p.78), and the last of 'I pine away': 'Run here, run there, sigh, die, by sorrow crossed' (I3; p.65). His own efforts are usually more pedestrian. The third poem, 'O deserts, be you peopled by my complaints', has in the first quatrain the outrageous visual rhyme 'watred (=watered)/hatred' and the feminine rhyme in the couplet is feeble:

And in the depth of all when I am climbing,  
Let love come by, see, sigh, and fall a-crying.

(C; p.14)

The sonnet which begins

Judge not my thoughts, ne measure my desires  
By outward conduct of my searching eyes

is better. It has a Sidneian ring, not least in the couplet:

How strange is this? judge, you that lovers be:  
To love, yet have no love concealed in me.

(H3<sup>V</sup>; p.58)

Most of Lodge's sonnets falter somewhere along the way. Some begin weakly then reach an easy, assured climax, as in 'Even at the brink of sorrow's ceaseless streams' which concludes thus:

All which (and yet of all, the least might serve)  
If too, too weak to waken true regard,  
Vouchsafe, O heaven, that see how I deserve,  
Since you are never partial in reward,  
That ere I die she may with like success,  
Weep, sigh, write, vow and die without redress.

(L; p.77)

Others begin strongly, then peter out, losing their force through injudicious use of feminine rhymes and lifeless couplets.

Heap frown on frown, disdain upon disdain,  
Join care to care and leave no wrong unwrought

is a promising beginning, but the sonnet has expired even before the uninteresting couplet makes its quietus:

Tho after death for all this life's distress  
My soul your endless honours shall confess.

(L)

There is one poem which I have counted among the sonnets by virtue of its fourteen lines and something like sonnet form. It is the epitaph for Minecius and Philenia:

Virtue is dead, and here she is enshrined,  
Within two lifeless bodies late deceased;  
Beauty is dead, and here is faith assigned  
To weep her wrack who when these died first ceased.  
Pity was dead when tyranny first slew them,  
And heaven enjoys their souls though earth doth rue them.

Since beauty then and virtue are departed,  
And faith grows faint to weep in these their fading,  
And virtuous pity, kind and tender-hearted,  
Died to behold fierce fury's fell invading;



Lodge was taking the opportunity, as he had done on several occasions, to sort through his workbooks and put his poetical wares on display. If the poems in Margarite are generally less pleasing and less memorable than those in Rosalynde, the explanation may lie in the preponderance of sonnets in the former. Lodge was never entirely at ease in the strict form; few of his sonnets can stand beside the many delightful lyrics appended to Scilla's Metamorphosis and in Rosalynde and The Phoenix Nest. And in Rosalynde the inset poems are very much a part of the pastoral-romantic ambiance, whereas in both William Longbeard and Margarite the poems, besides being frequently thrust in in batches, are less compatible with the essentially tragic narrative. Six of the twenty poems in Rosalynde are sung, several of them with instrumental accompaniment, while in William Longbeard, only one (the lullaby), and in Margarite none are sung.

A Margarite of America is an amalgam of literary traditions and influences: Hellenistic romance, Sidney, Bandello, Lyly, Greene, perhaps Spanish romance, Nashe, the sonnet vogue. As such, it is a fitting culmination of Lodge's professional writing career, for all of these (and more) are to be seen in his other works. Critics generally have accorded it a high place though John Carey is flippantly dismissive.<sup>116</sup> As we have seen, Baker and Lewis find it his best romance and Paradise allows that it is 'still an interesting and readable piece of work' (p.121). Gosse called it 'one of the prettiest of his stories' (Memoir, p.39); we might quibble about the appropriateness of the adjective. Margaret Schlauch, however, sees only 'prevalent sensationalism' and 'convention thrice shop-worn' (p.199). Her prejudice leads her into carelessness: on the one hand, Lodge is said to be imitating his own Rosalynde, and on the other, to be depending on his Spanish original. The existence of



the latter being a matter of doubt, Miss Schlauch's charge would be hard to substantiate.<sup>117</sup> One might have thought that a work which offered something for everyone as A Margarite of America does would be a success if anything would. Yet it, like the other items Lodge published in 1596, seems to have dropped still-born from the press. Meanwhile Rosalynde was in its third edition. Clearly it alone among his prose fiction caught the fancy of the reading public of the 1590s; none of the other five was issued more than once.

Attempts have been made to trace Margarite in Shakespeare. Paradise (p.122) finds a suggestion of the killing of the grooms in Macbeth in the framing and murder of Thebion (F2; p.39), and an anticipation of Polonius in Artosogon's advice to Arsadachus (C3-C4; pp.17-19). Is it not more likely that Shakespeare is satirizing the entire tradition of loquacious old counsellors, fathers and sages rather than simply borrowing from one particular instance of it? It is true that some of the things Artosogon says to Arsadachus are much the same as the things Polonius says to Laertes, but similar advice is also given by Eubulus to Euphues, by Anthenor to Philamis, by Sir John of Bordeaux to his sons, by the rabbi Bilessi to his son Philador in Greene's Mourning Garment, etc. Several scholars have pointed out the similarities in theme between the poem engraved on Protomachus's bed in the guest-chamber at Arsinous's castle (B3; p.9) and Jaques's 'Seven Ages of Man' speech in As You Like It (II.7.140-67).<sup>118</sup> There is, however, no seven-step progression in the poem and the stage metaphor does not occur. The title, 'Humanæ Miseriæ discursus', sets the tone of the piece which is clearly of the memento mori genre and lacks the irony of Jaques's speech. Both Herpich and Seronsy cite Arsadachus's use of the life-is-a-stage metaphor in his dying speech, unrelated to this

poem, in connection with the 'Seven Ages' speech: 'True it is that Plutarch saith, that life is a stage-play, which even unto the last act hath no decorum; life is replenished with all vices and empoverished of all virtue' (M4; p.91). There is hardly enough here to allow us to claim that it inspired the famous passage in the play. Jaques like Arsadachus may have read Plutarch; we know that both Shakespeare and Lodge did.<sup>119</sup>

Lodge himself may well have felt, late in the year 1596, that life, for him as an author in England at least, had little decorum. A Margarite of America marks the end of an act as surely as do the piled corpses and funeral marches of the tragic drama, 'replenished with all vice and empoverished of all virtue', which Lodge's grim tale so strikingly anticipates.

## CHAPTER 4

### Lyric Poems and Sonnets

There has been critical unanimity on very few matters where Lodge is concerned, but his talent as a lyric poet is undisputed. One of the reasons for Rosalynde's relatively high reputation is the number of fine songs interspersed throughout the narrative. It was pieces like 'First shall the heavens want starry light', 'Love in my bosom like a bee' and 'Turn I my looks unto the skies', all from Rosalynde, that Gosse had in mind when he rhapsodized:

Nothing so fluent, so opulent, so melodious had up to that time been known in English lyrical verse ... In these love-songs a note of passion, a soaring and shouting music of the lark at heaven's gate, was heard for the first time above the scholastic voices of such artificial poets as Watson, and for a moment, to the observant eye, Lodge might have seemed, next after Spenser, the foremost living poet of the English race.

(Works, I, Memoir, 21)

Mixed metaphors notwithstanding, Lodge's earliest modern-day advocate was also his most eloquent.

But Rosalynde is not unique in displaying Lodge's lyric gifts, nor was it the first time he put them on show. He was surely writing poetry during his Oxford years in the late 1570s. Some of the poems included in his romances and the Scilla's Metamorphosis and Phillis volumes may well have been written years earlier. In view of this, it is somewhat surprising that we have no poetical collection of any sort before 1589 when Scilla's Metamorphosis appeared, ten years after Lodge had come upon the London literary scene with his pamphlet in defence of plays and poetry. A lost epitaph for his mother, Lady Anne Lodge, of 1579, short prefatory poems to works by Rich and Greene, the two inset poems of Forbonius and Prisceria, and Truth's Complaint over

England in the 1584 volume - this is his total published verse output, so far as we know, during those ten years. That much more was written, and some of it circulated in manuscript, is almost certain. As we have seen, few of the dozens of poems in the romances were composed expressly for the occasion; Lodge was drawing from a rather large stock of lyrics, sonnets, 'eclogues' and the like, which he had on hand. He says as much in an introductory note to 'Beauty's Lullaby', one of the seventeen poems which follow the title-piece and fill out the 1589 volume:

Gentlemen, I had thought to have suppressed this 'Lullaby' in silence, amongst my other papers that lie buried in oblivion, but the impudent arrogancy of some more than insolent poets have [sic] altered my purpose in that respect, and made me set my name to my own work, lest some other vainglorious Batillus should prejudice my pains by subscribing his name to that which is none of his own.<sup>1</sup>

Scilla's Metamorphosis itself and several of the longer poems published with it, satirical or plaintive in nature, will be discussed in the next chapter. 'Beauty's Lullaby' and the dozen 'sweet sonnets' which conclude the volume comprise the earliest collection of non-narrative and lyric poems from Lodge's pen. The variety of forms and subjects gives it the appearance of a sort of poet's workbook. Lodge was already translating French sonneteers: 'In Praise of the Country Life' and four of the shorter pieces are from Desportes's Amours de Diane and Bergeries. The poem numbered '5' in the final series of twelve is the earliest sonnet by Lodge in print. He had begun experimenting in the form at least several years before, however: the two sonnets embedded in the 'Wooing Eclogue' and Phoebe's 'sonetto', 'My boat doth pass the straits', another disguised sonnet translated from Desportes, would both have been written by 1587 if Mrs Burnett's hypothesis as to the composition of Rosalynde is correct.<sup>2</sup>

Another hidden sonnet, that which begins Marius's long soliloquy in The Wounds of Civil War (III.4), was also written no later than the mid-1580s.<sup>3</sup> Not until 1589, however, did Lodge publish a sonnet per se, and even then it is incidental, one item in a gallimaufry of lyrics and other pieces in various stanzaic forms. Lodge waited for the cue provided by the publication of Astrophel and Stella in 1591 before bringing out in any deliberate fashion his own efforts in a form which he had first assayed perhaps as much as a decade earlier.

'If that I seek the shade, I suddenly do see' (sig. E4<sup>V</sup>; p.44) is a very faithful rendering in hexameters of Desportes's 'Si je me siez à l'ombre, aussi soudainement' (Diane II.3).<sup>4</sup> Lodge used the same sonnet again, with a couple of minor variations, as Phyllis XXXVI; the slight changes, a word or two, in the latter make it less faithful to Desportes than the 1589 version.<sup>5</sup> Actually Lodge has another translation of a Desportes sonnet in this collection. 'I will become a hermit now' is a close rendition of Diane II.8 ('Je me veux rendre Hermite, et faire penitence'). That Lodge's poem is a sonnet is not evident at first sight, for, as he had done with 'My boat doth pass the straits' in Rosalynde, he breaks each line up into two shorter ones. In this case a tetrameter and a trimeter disguise a sonnet in fourteeners. This is the only such example among Lodge's translations; he usually reduces the French alexandrines to iambic pentameter, though occasionally he retains the hexameters.

Two more poems in the numbered series are from Desportes: 'Weary am I to weary Gods and men' (6) in abcabc form, with each triad having a short, two-stress third line in contrast to the decasyllables of the first two, from the final poem in the Bergeries of 1583;<sup>6</sup> and 'The earth late choked with showers' (7), a loose rendering of the first twenty-

four lines of a 'Complainte' which follows Sonnet XXIX of the Second livre of Diane. Desportes's poem is 126 lines long and consists of twenty-one six-line stanzas rhymed aabccb. Lodge retains the trimeter but alters the rhyme pattern. Whether it was his interest or space that ran short I do not know; it would be odd if he had simply stopped translating the poem part-way through and published the unfinished fragment. All of these poems are there obviously as fillers for the volume of which Scilla's Metamorphosis is the show-piece, and the likelihood is that the printer simply included as much of this poem as conveniently fitted. The much-reduced type face in which it alone is set may be a sign that such mundane considerations were at work (F<sup>V</sup>; p.46).

Desportes is the only foreign poet represented in this collection; five translations of his work are included.<sup>7</sup> In fact no other authors' works appear among Lodge's known translations or imitations before 1593; Rosalynde contains five poems for which foreign originals have been identified, all of them from Desportes.<sup>8</sup> A possible imitation of Desportes also occurs in Robert, Duke of Normandy.<sup>9</sup> Not until William Longbeard and Phyllis do Ronsard, Ariosto, the obscure Paschale and other Italians make their appearance. The question of Lodge's indebtedness to French and Italian originals, which so exercised Lee, Kastner and others, will be fully aired when the sonnet sequence Phyllis is discussed.

Of the sixteen poems which follow Scilla's Metamorphosis, ranging in length from six to 108 lines, nine are in the pentameter ababcc stanza of the title piece. The stanza appears only once before in the extant works, in the shorter of the two inset poems in Forbonius and Prisceria, a three-stanza 'sonet' sung by the disguised hero to the

heroine. Lodge's only previous long poem, Truth's Complaint over England, is in rhyme royal, as are the commendatory stanzas prefixed to Rich's Don Simonides (1581); Rich replied in kind in the Alarm against Usurers volume. With the 1589 collection, the six-line stanza becomes almost a trade mark of Lodge: examples of it are to be found in all of his subsequent publications containing verse except A Fig for Momus. 'Glaucus' Complaint', an appendage to the main poem, precedes three satiric or 'complaint' poems in the vein of the earlier Truth's Complaint; all four of these employ the sixain. Following 'The Discontented Satyre', a new heading announces 'Sundry sweet sonnets written by the said Gent.'. What follows, however, is 'In Praise of the Country Life' from one of Desportes's Bergeries, and 'In Commendation of a Solitary Life'.

'Beauty's Lullaby', with its own apology (quoted above), breaks the pattern. The disingenuous headnote 'Non mesurée' does not render the poulter's measure less jouncing or less inappropriate for a blason. This is not Lodge's sole essay in this popular genre. Scilla's Metamorphosis itself contains a catalogue of Scilla's charms by the frustrated Glaucus (ll.283-318). The long pastoral narrative poem in Forbonius and Prisceria ('Amidst these mountains on a time did dwell'), telling of the love of the shepherd Corulus for the neatherd's daughter Corinna, contains a blason (ll.41-123; my lineation) closely modelled, it seems, on Sidney's much-admired and much-imitated 'What tongue can her perfections tell' in the third book of the Old Arcadia.<sup>10</sup> 'Beauty's Lullaby' not surprisingly contains reminiscences of Lodge's earlier poem. The lines devoted to the knees, calves and feet in the two poems will serve to illustrate:

Next which the knees with lusty bent below,  
 Conjoined with nerves and cords of amber sweet,  
 These stately piles with gladsome honour greet:  
 Such stately knees, as when they bend a lite,  
 All knees do bend and bow with strange delight.  
 Her calves with stranger compass do succeed,  
 In which the azure streams a wonder breed;  
 Both art and nature therein laboured have,  
 To paint perfection in her colours brave.  
 Next which, the pretty groundwork of the pile  
 Doth show itself and wonder doth beguile,  
 The joints whereof, combined of amber sweet  
 With coral cords, yield bent to seemly feet.

(Alarm, sig.I3; Works, I,  
 p.73, 11.87-99)

But he that sees those knees whose feature is so fair,  
 As when they bend all knees do bend below and 'midst the air;  
 Whose cords by compass knit and nerves by Nature set,  
 Binds Art apprentice for some years the pattern for to get.

Here rests not wonder yet: for why behold a-low  
 Two rising silver-coloured clouds, which like to those do show  
 Which compassed in fair Phoebus then, when in his midday prime  
 He sported with Cassandra fair, amidst the summer time.

Now Nature stands amazed herself to look on Beauty's feet,  
 To see those joints combined in one and framed of amber sweet;  
 So small a pile so great a weight, like Atlas to uphold  
 The body, as the mighty man to bear the heavens is bold.

(Sc. Meta., sig.E3; Works, I;  
 p.41, 11.57-68)

'Amber sweet', 'joints combined', 'nerves and cords' and other such resemblances elsewhere in the poems are evidence of kinship: 'tipped with ivory' and 'betipped with ivory' for the fingernails, for example, where Sidney has 'the bloody shafts of Cupid's war'. Lodge also uses the same bizarre image in both poems for the lady's pubic hair; that entire part of the anatomy is gracefully skirted by Sidney ('For such an use the world hath gotten,/ The best things still must be forgotten'):

And wond'ring at the crisped comet<sup>11</sup> fair,  
 In thought concludes it meeter for the air  
 Than mortal mould. Next which, the stately thighs  
 Like two fair compassed marble pillars rise.

(Forb., 11.82-5)



Next 'lulla' to those forts whereout doth fancy pry,  
As one amazed to see the star is fixed before her eye,  
A crinite<sup>12</sup> comet crisped fair which on those arches stands  
Of marble white enamelled and closed with azure bands.

('Beauty's Lullaby', 11.53-6)

In the latter poem, Lodge multiplies the euphemisms for the pudendum ('earth's Elisium', 'that place') while omitting all reference to it in the previous one.

Both of Lodge's blasons contain echoes of Sidney's poem. The Forbonius and Prisceria piece is generally more like Sidney's, in the use of pentameter couplets where Sidney has tetrameter couplets, for example, and the comparable number and functions of the mythological allusions. However, 'Beauty's Lullaby' occasionally recalls Sidney's poem when 'Amidst these mountains' does not. The image of Atlas in the description of the feet (Lodge) or calves (Sidney) does not occur in Lodge's earlier poem. There are more direct echoes of Sidney in 'Amidst these mountains'. Compare, for example, Sidney's 'dainty seal of virgin wax/ Where nothing but impression lacks' and Lodge's 'Of virgin's wax the sweet impression was' for the navel; Lodge's 'cunning compass thereof' in his next line echoes Sidney's 'curious circle' in his preceding line. Lodge's two poems agree in omitting a number of items in Sidney's catalogue: the ears, earlobes, waist, ribs, flanks, haunches and shoulders. Sidney's poem is almost twice as long as the two by Lodge, which are of nearly the same length. Lodge employs many more classical allusions in 'Beauty's Lullaby' and many more metaphors for parts of the body ('silver-coloured clouds' for the calves, 'rocks of marble white' for the nose(?)) than he does in the other poem or than Sidney does. The unfortunate choice of poulter's measure may be partly to blame for this, the very long lines requiring considerable padding



pride encloses' may recall Sidney's 'Her hair fine threads of finest gold' and 'Of precious pearl the double row/ ... / Her heav'nly-dewed tongue to guard'. Only similarly general resemblances exist between this and Lodge's two longer examples. 'Rosalynde's Description' (pp.70-71) is more orderly, but gets only as far as her paps, which are both 'centres of delight' and 'orbs of heavenly frame'.

'Beauty's Lullaby' is followed by a dozen shorter poems headed collectively 'Sundry sweet Sonnets by the same Gent.'. The repetition of the title is probably an error; this is the correct place for it, rather than at the previous location (sig.D3<sup>V</sup>; p.34) preceding two contemplative poems. 'Sonnets' 1 and 3 look like truncated quatorzains. Both have ten lines, rhymed ababdcdee; the first is in tetrameter, the second in pentameter. Number 2 is printed as if it were in six-line stanzas, with every fifth and sixth line indented. But the metre is poulter's. This and the personification of beauty make it appear a sort of recantation of 'Beauty's Lullaby': 'I vow but with some grief henceforth to shun the place/ Where Beauty casts her scorching looks to feed me with disgrace' (E3<sup>V</sup>; p.42).

The next four items are the translations of Desportes already mentioned. The shortest piece in the collection (9) is a single, brisk sixain:

Hand, heart and eye, touched, thought and did behold  
A lock, a joy, a look of great delight;  
Looks sweet, joys rare, but locks of beaten gold,  
Heart's joy, eye's looks, hand's touch so pleased my sight,  
That what I would, by eye, hand, heart I try,  
And what I am is but hand, heart and eye.

(F2; p.47)

Asyndeton was a favourite device of Lodge's. Other examples of it are in Phyllis XII and 'My words, my thoughts, my vows' and 'Tears, cares,

wrongs, grief feel I', both from A Margerite of America.

The variety of forms and metres in this first collection, with liberal use of the pentameter sixain, establishes a pattern which Lodge repeated several times in the next few years. Both in prose works containing inset poems and in formal verse collections, the variety is a feature, although the sonnet form is increasingly prominent after 1590 and the sixain decreasingly so. This period, between the publication of Scilla's Metamorphosis late in 1589 and the lyric profusion of 1593 with William Longbeard, Phillis and The Phoenix Nest which among them — contain some seventy poems, is Lodge's own Golden Age. One hundred and twenty shorter poems, of the one hundred and eighty-one that are extant, from eight to more than a hundred lines in length and in an astonishing variety of forms, metres and moods, were published during these years. The late date of A Margarite of America is anomalous in this respect: most if not all of its twenty-five poems, including the fourteen sonnets, must have been written during (or before) this earlier period. Apart from the poems in Margarite, the two previously unpublished pieces among the fourteen by Lodge in England's Helicon (1600) are the only lyric pieces published after 1593.<sup>13</sup> Edification and exhortation were Lodge's literary preoccupations in the years 1594 to 1596 and for these, other Muses than Euterpe and Erato, other gods than Pan were invoked.

Lodge's next ostensible collection of verse did not appear until four years after Scilla's Metamorphosis. Prose fiction was his main medium in the interim, which did not mean, of course, that verse was in abeyance. Nevertheless, the works of 1591 and 1592 - Catharos, Robert, Duke of Normandy, Euphues' Shadow - are clearly not in the lyric, pastoral vein announced by the publications of 1589 and 1590. Then in 1593, presumably in response to the new literary trends he found on his

return from the Cavendish voyage, Lodge plunged in with a full sonnet sequence, another collection of lyrics and sonnets forced into the unlikely frame of the pseudo-historical, moral tale of William Longbeard, and the major contribution to a splendid new miscellany, The Phoenix Nest.

Phyllis, like William Longbeard, is not entered in the Stationers' Register. Its relationship to The Phoenix Nest is thus difficult to determine. The latter was published late in the year; its entry in the Register is dated 8 October. Phyllis was almost certainly published before September (see Ch.5, n.33, below). It is very badly printed, while The Phoenix Nest is 'the most carefully printed miscellany, one of the most carefully printed books, of the period'.<sup>14</sup> As Rollins observes, the texts of the poems appearing in both collections are invariably superior in The Phoenix Nest (p.xxxi, n.3). In any case, 'R.S.', the meticulous compiler of the anthology, must have had access to Lodge's manuscripts and not just to the Phyllis prints of the poems.

This is not the place for a full account of the Elizabethan sonnet, to the history of which Lodge's contribution is qualitatively very modest.<sup>15</sup> We have already seen that he was writing in the sonnet form by the mid-1580s and, of course, he was not alone.<sup>16</sup> Although not published until 1591, Sidney's Astrophel and Stella had probably been composed in 1582, and most of his Certain Sonnets which include thirteen quatorzains, as early as 1581. The sudden spate of sonnet sequences in the 1590s is thus misleading, suggesting that poets only then began producing cycles in imitation of Astrophel and Stella. In fact, it is clear that the poets who published collections in the first few years of the decade, immediately following the unauthorized publication of Sidney's sequence - Spenser, Constable, Daniel, Barnes, Fletcher, Lodge and 'T.W.'<sup>17</sup> - had been writing sonnets well before the fashion became

public. Indeed the sonnet was alive, though dormant, in the three decades between the death of Surrey in 1547 and Sidney's earliest essays in the genre. After the publication of Tottel's Miscellany in 1557, Arthur Brooke, Barnabe Googe, Spenser himself as early as 1569, and most notably, Gascoigne, with nearly forty sonnets (thirty-one of them in A Hundreth Sundry Flowers (1573)), as well as others exploited the form. While we may be inclined to endorse Ringler's severe judgement that 'for almost thirty years after the reign of Henry VIII very little verse worth preserving had been produced in England', the historian of the sonnet, as well as of other poetic forms, cannot overlook those fallow years.<sup>18</sup>

As early as 1582, Thomas Watson produced his Hekatompathia, a linked sequence of eighteen-line 'sonnets' (ababcc x 3).<sup>19</sup> John Soowthern's abysmal Pandora. The Music of the Beauty of his Mistress Diana (1584) contains nineteen quatorzains, fourteen of them in a numbered sequence, interspersed with six numbered 'elegies'. So the sequence or collection of thematically linked sonnets was already naturalized in England by the time Astrophel and Stella touched off the explosion in 1591.

Phillis: Honoured with Pastoral Sonnets, Elegies, and amorous delights (STC 16662) was published by Busby (Allison, p.25).<sup>20</sup> There is no need to assume, with Allison, that the volume was printed in Lodge's absence abroad, although the poor quality of the print would suggest that he was not supervising.<sup>21</sup> One copy of Phillis, now in the Huntington Library, has a version of the 'Induction' which reveals that the work was originally dedicated to someone other than the Countess of Shrewsbury (Elizabeth Talbot, the famous 'Bess of Hardwick') to whom the prose inscription preceding the 'Induction' is addressed. In the first two lines of the third stanza, in place of 'And thou the true Octavia of

our time,/ Under whose worth, beauty was never matched', the Huntington copy has 'And thou th' Ascrean Poet of our time/ Under whose style conceit was never matched' (sig.[B?]).<sup>22</sup> In stanza four, line six, Huntington reads '(Thou flower of knighthood)' instead of '(Most worthy Lady)' as in the other extant copies. It is inconceivable that the lines in stanza six, 'you .../ Who brought the chaos of our tongue in frame,/ Through these Herculean labours of your pen', are addressed to Bess of Hardwick, a woman of many talents but not literary ones, so far as is known. Who the original dedicatee may have been is open to speculation. Paradise thinks that Lodge had written an earlier volume, alluded to in the 'Induction' as 'the fore-bred brothers' who 'had fortune bad', which was dedicated to a man; he suggests Sidney, often referred to as 'the flower of knighthood' (p.113n.).<sup>23</sup> Lodge was pre-empted in his use of Amyntas and his love for Phillis, Paradise surmises, by Watson's Latin Amyntas (1585) and Abraham Fraunce's English translation of it (1587) - 'twice obscured in Cinthia's circle'. The phrase itself is still obscure. Perhaps the title page motto is relevant: Iam Phoebus disiungit equos, iam Cinthia iungit; this is the only time Lodge uses this motto. Paradise's guess may find support in the presence, among the 'sundry sweet sonnets' appended to Scilla's Metamorphosis, of a poem beginning 'Fair Phoebus' flower upon a summer morn' (No.12) which contains the lines 'Behold my Phillis in a happy hour' and 'And Phillis' eye his glorious beams devours'.

Long ago Sir Sidney Lee stated that Lodge's title, Phyllis, derived from Vauquelin de la Fresnaie whose Idillies et Pastorales was published in 1560, according to Lee. However, his eagerness to detect Continental sources for everything Lodge wrote led him astray. As Janet G Scott showed, no such edition of Vauquelin's works is known

and the French poet himself laments, in the earliest extant edition (1605) that they were not published sooner.<sup>24</sup> If Paradise's guess is correct, Lodge had already made Phillis the object-addressee of his sequence before Watson and Fraunce 'abducted' her and her swain Amyntas. No trace of the latter remains in the sequence, if ever there was a trace, and the poet-lover is now called Damon (II, XII, XIV, 'Egloga Prima: Demades and Damon', XXVIII). The names 'Amyntas' and 'Phillis', both used for minor figures who are only mentioned by Virgil in his Eclogues, were taken up by the Renaissance neo-Latin pastoralists with no attempt to distinguish the characters thus designated from their fellows - the Corydons, Thyrsises, Menalcases, Meliboeuses and Daphnises, the Alexises, Amaryllises, Galateas and Lydias. Amyntas is the subject of a long story of unhappy love in Mantuan's second and third eclogues, and a number of later poets used the name as a title: Francesco Berni, Giovanni Battista Arcucci, Francesco Vinta, Etienne Forcadell, Jacobus Sluperius. Camerarius and Sannazaro wrote eclogues entitled Phillis.<sup>25</sup> Amyntas and Phillis seem to have been first paired by Pierfrancesco Giustolo (c.1450-1529) in his eclogue Galatea (Grant, p.136). This is not to suggest that Watson (or Lodge if he did use the names) knew or borrowed from Giustolo, or any of the other neo-Latin pastoralists mentioned, but rather that they simply picked names from a common pastoral pool. Damon had been a member of the pastoral family since Virgil (Eclogues III and VIII). The shepherds and shepherdesses of pastoral tradition existed only as names and were interchangeable at will.

Phillis is pastoral in name and by claim only.<sup>26</sup> There is little of the 'country caroling' announced in the dedication: only eight of the forty-five poems allude even fleetingly to the paraphernalia of pastoral. Often, in those eight it is a single word, such as 'lambkin'



(IV, 9), 'flocks' (XII, 3, 4, 11), 'flock' (XV, 7), 'sheep' (XXIII, 4), or a vaguely allusive simile, like 'wool-soft paps' (VI, 6). The reference to 'learned Colin' and his 'lovely flock', generally taken to be a compliment to Spenser, is isolated; the one to Daniel, immediately following, is not couched in pastoral terms. The shepherd-speaker, Damon, very rarely mentions his or Phillis's supposed occupation. The two 'eclogues', 'Egloga Prima: Demades and Damon' and 'Thirsis: *Ægloga Secunda*', are the only truly pastoral poems in the sequence. The first is in the Age-versus-Youth debate genre and recalls the 'Pleasant Eclogue between Montanus and Corydon' in both theme and structure. In both poems, the older shepherd (Demades/Corydon) asks the younger (Damon/Montanus) why he is moping, to which the young man replies that it is love that makes him so forlorn. The old man urges him to forsake 'the vain idea of this deity, nursed at the teat of thine imagination', which provokes the other into a long defence of love with the retort that old men cannot know what it is anyway. These passages, the centrepieces of the two poems, are exactly the same length, sixty lines (15 x 4(abba) in Rosalynde, 10 x 6(ababcc) in Phillis). Each is followed by a brief counter-argument from the older man ('Put no trust in feathers, wind or lasses'), and a sharp rejoinder from the young swain which concludes the dialogue, except that in 'Demades and Damon', the old man has the last word: 'How 'gainst advice doth headlong youth rebel'. This is unusual among Elizabethan examples of the genre.<sup>27</sup>

There is what appears to be a reference to The Shepheardes Calender in line 9 of the Phillis eclogue: 'For grief doth wait on life though never sought/ (So Thenot wrote, admired for pipe and book)'. In 'February', Thenot is the old man who upbraids Cuddie for youthful folly in general and love-languishing in particular. Demades is probably recalling these

lines, spoken by Thenot:

Must not the world wend in his common course  
From good to bad, and from bad to worse,  
From worse unto that is worst of all,  
And then return to his former fall?

(Shepheardes Calender,  
'February', 11.11-14)

The other eclogue, 'Muses help me, sorrow swarmeth', attributed to 'Thirsis' for no apparent reason, had the distinction of being re-printed twice, in both The Phoenix Nest and England's Helicon. Very few of Lodge's poems appeared in as many as three different publications in his lifetime.<sup>28</sup> The tetrameter lines in flowing trochees and the short quatrains create a lilt that belies the mournful content, even at the end:

Kiss them, silence, kiss them kindly;  
Though I leave them, yet I love them,  
Though my wit have led them blindly,  
Yet my swain did once approve them.

I will travel soils removed,  
Night and morrow never merry;  
Thou shalt harbour that I loved,  
I will love that makes me weary.

If perchance the shepherd strayeth  
In thy walks and shades unhaunted,  
Tell the teen my heart betrayeth,  
How neglect my joys hath daunted.

(Sig.F; Works, II, Phillis,  
p.37)<sup>29</sup>

Another poem, also not a sonnet and also outside the numbered sequence, which has been a favourite of anthologists is the 'ode' which concludes the collection as printed in the 1593 quarto, beginning 'Now I find thy looks were feigned', with the refrain 'Siren pleasant, foe to reason,/ Cupid plague thee for this treason' (H3<sup>v</sup>; p.58).<sup>30</sup> Martha

Overleaf:

Setting by Thomas Ford of 'Now I find thy looks were feigned',  
Musicke of Sundrie Kindes (1607), edited by David Greer, in  
English Lute Songs 1597-1632, general editor, F W Sternfeld,  
vol 5 (Menston, 1971). Reduced.

OW I fee thy lookes were fained, quickly loft and quickly gained  
 Soft thy skin like wooll of wethers hart vnconstant light as fethers  
 Tongue vntruftie, fubtle  
 fighred, wanton will with change delighted, Syren pleafant foe to reafon,  
 Cupid plague thee for thy

treafon,

III

ALTS.

BASSVS

III.

OW I fee thy lookes were fained, quickly loft &  
 Soft thy skin like wooll of wethers hart vnconstant

quickly gained, Tong vntruftie, fubtle fighred, wan-  
 light as fethers,

ton will with change delighted, Syren pleafant foe to

reafon, Cupid plague thee for thy treafon,

TENOR.

III.

OW I fee thy lookes were fained, quickly loft and quickly gained  
 Soft thy skin like wooll of wethers hart vnconstant light as fethers: Tongue vn-  
 truftie, fubtle fighred, wanton will with change delighted, Syren pleafant foe to reafon  
 Cupid plague thee for thy treafon.

Foote Crow may be right to print the 'ode' between the last two numbered poems, XXXIX and XL. The latter is clearly a farewell and commendation of the sequence to both its addressee and the reader. With the 'Induction' it frames the work. The ode looks as if it is meant to be part of the sequence. There would be no need for a filler on the verso of leaf H3, with The Complaint of Elstred beginning immediately on H4.

The ode is no more (and no less) related by its subject-matter to the rest of the sequence than is, say, the elegy, 'Ah, cruel winds, why call you "Hence, away!"', or the Thirsis eclogue, both of which are placed with the Demades-Damon eclogue in the middle, between sonnets XX and XXI. The problem is that there is little cohesion, much less any sequentiality, about Phillis. In sonnet XXXVII, the poet is still weeping floods, in XXXVIII he is still in flames, and in XXXIX he extols his mistress's beauty as if nothing had happened, concluding with the baldly sensual conceit of Cupid nestled between her breasts and sucking one of the 'fair orient orbs' which makes the lady blush. But in sonnet II, he is also consumed in tears, in V he is streaming blood from fancy's wounds, in XVI and XVIII the 'ceaseless pains' continue, and in XXI, fire is kindled despite the waterworks. The fact is that Phillis is neither sequence nor cycle. It is a numbered collection of poems, some two-thirds of which are sonnets and a few of which refer to the titular object of the poet's desire. Lodge was exploiting the sequence vogue but did not produce a sequence. One soon realizes the futility of trying to discover in Phillis the structure or narrative progression or thematic development of Astrophel and Stella, Delia or even Shakespeare's sonnets. Few of the Elizabethan sequences, in fact, show less evidence of organization or order. One reason for this is the large number

of translations or close imitations of foreign poems, many of which Lodge had doubtless made long before the idea for Phyllis occurred to him. Half the poems are traceable to French and Italian originals. Phyllis was conceived, not as a sonnet sequence, but as a showcase for miscellaneous poems including sonnets. Since sonnet sequences were à la mode in 1593, it took that shape and contained a majority of poems in that form. The same is not true of Lodge's later verse collection, A Fig for Momus, where he was deliberately offering something new and so avoided established forms.

Although Phyllis is by no means Lodge's only work containing translations and imitations, it does include nearly half of all those hitherto identified. This is the appropriate point, therefore, to turn to the charges of plagiarism and worse which have been brought against Lodge. That such charges were being made in his own day, whatever differences in meaning may have attached to such words then and now, seems certain. Lodge himself speaks, in the epistle to the Gentlemen Readers of A Fig for Momus, of writing 'in that form wherein no man might challenge me with servile imitation (wherewith heretofore I have been unjustly taxed)' (A3<sup>V</sup>; Works, III; p.5). It has been supposed that Drayton alludes to Lodge in his disclaimer in the dedication to Idea's Mirror:

Yet these mine own, I wrong not other men,  
Nor traffic further than this happy clime,  
Nor filch from Portes' nor from Petrarch's pen,  
A fault too common in this latter time.  
Divine Sir Philip, I avouch thy writ,  
I am no pickpurse of another's wit.<sup>31</sup>

But Drayton is unspecific, and Watson, Daniel and Constable, at least, were among the notable poets who joined Lodge in translating the very popular Desportes, as well as the great father of the Pléiade, Ronsard.

Lodge doubtlessly had not only his own efforts in mind when he wrote in A Margarite of America:

Few men are able to second the sweet conceits of Philip du Portes, whose poetical writings being already for the most part englished and ordinarily in every man's hands, Arsadachus listed not to imitate.

(L2; Works, III; p.79)

'In any case', Drayton's editors have observed, 'his determination not to filch from Petrarch or Desportes did not prevent him from freely borrowing lines, phrases, and conceits from his English predecessors' (V, 14). Drayton was hardly the one to throw stones.

Lodge was portrayed as an outright blackguard by Sir Sidney Lee, whose indignation at the dastardly deeds of the 'plagiarising brotherhood' led him to passionate overstatement:

There is probably no French lyricist of his generation whose work Lodge did not assimilate in greater or lesser degree; but it was on the king of recent French poets, Ronsard, that he levied his heaviest loans.<sup>32</sup>

In fact, Ronsard and Desportes are the only French poets to whom originals for poems by Lodge have been traced. Though the former is represented eight times, more than any other foreign author, in Phillis, it is to the latter that Lodge turned most often: translations by him of fourteen of Desportes's poems are extant. Ronsard, with eleven, and the Italian Paschale, with twelve, were his other favourites. De Baïf does not 'lie within the scope of his raids' as Lee states, nor do we possess any translations from Dolce, as Alice Walker showed.<sup>33</sup> Nor do any of the translations appear to be directly from Petrarch.<sup>34</sup> Finally, Kastner's assertion that Phillis XXVI ('I'll teach thee, lovely Phillis, what love is') 'is obviously an adaptation of Bembo's famous Capitolo: "Amor e Donne care un vano e fello"' can be allowed to stand only if the broadest

possible sense is given to 'adaptation'. Lodge's sonnet, if it is one (see below, p.172), is certainly not a translation or even an imitation of Bembo's poem, a thirty-seven-line piece in terza rima. The idea may have come from Bembo, that is all, and even Lee acknowledges the common stock of Petrarchan conceits which served French as well as English sonneteers of the period (Eliz. Sonnets, I, xxi-xxvii and passim).

Lee's animus is nowhere so strong as when he writes of Lodge, though he amply documents the borrowings of Daniel, Barnes, Fletcher, Chapman and others. While he is generally contemptuous of the unoriginality of the English sonneteers and brushes aside their more obvious debts as 'mere adaptations', his disapprobation is reserved for Lodge, 'of the morality of whose methods little that is agreeable can be said' (Eliz. Sonnets, I, lxxv). 'At times', Lee admits, 'he puts his lyric gifts to effective purpose even in the process of transference.' Elsewhere, however, 'Desportes' original is far more deftly turned than Lodge's barefaced plagiarism' (French Ren., pp.231, 233). The 'barefaced plagiarism' seems to account for the poor quality of the verse. It is difficult to see which Lee disapproved of most, 'plagiarism' (i.e., unacknowledged translation) itself or lack of originality in the English poet's version. Once the 'accusation' of translation has been proved, it is twisting the dagger then to complain of unoriginality. In one short paragraph, following several examples of English poems and their French originals, Lee moves from one to the other:

In none of the examples is there genuine originality in diction or sentiment on the part of the Elizabethan sonneteer. ... Lodge is probably most loyal to his original, but Daniel runs him hard. Hardly a sonnet that Lodge published cannot be traced to a foreign source.

(French Ren., p.261)



The last statement is typical exaggeration: of the fifty-eight or fifty-nine sonnets which survive from Lodge's pen, thirty-three, slightly more than half, have been satisfactorily shown to derive from foreign originals.

To borrow his own words when he disposes of Lodge, it is unnecessary to pursue Lee further. Paradise (pp.108-9) argues plausibly that Lodge could hardly have hoped to pass off his translations as wholly original work in view of the popularity among his likely readership of at least the major French and Italian poets. He concludes:

But to accuse him of moral obliquity for publishing such translations without acknowledging his indebtedness to the authors of the original poems seems to involve a misconception of Lodge's own purpose and of the literary convention of his time (p.110).<sup>35</sup>

I would endorse the view of D G Rees, which may serve as a reply to Lee:

What matters is the final result, not the process by which that result was achieved. ... And it does not, or should not, necessarily destroy the worth of a poem to know that it echoes a well-known situation or follows a well-exploited pattern. The recognition of an echo probably enhanced the pleasure of a Renaissance reader. It should at least not poison ours.<sup>36</sup>

Statistics afford an accurate account of Lodge's use of foreign sources and what those sources were. In his entire oeuvre, there are some one hundred and eighty shorter poems; I omit from this number the two long narrative poems, Scilla's Metamorphosis (786 lines) and The Complaint of Elstred (606), as well as the longer of the two poems in Forbonius and Prisceria (216), and Truth's Complaint over England (204). The longest of the remaining poems are the Demades-Damon eclogue in Phillis (156) and its near-twin in Rosalynde (136). Of these one hundred and eighty-odd poems, forty-nine at most (27%) have been shown to be

translations or imitations of identified French or Italian poems.<sup>37</sup>

Their occurrence in Lodge's works and the authors of the originals are as follows:

<u>Title</u>	<u>Number of poems in the work</u>	<u>Imitations/ translations</u>	<u>Sources</u>
<u>Scilla's Metamorphosis</u> (appended poems)	17	5	Desportes (5)
<u>Greene, The Spanish Masquerado</u> (commendatory poem)	1	1	Ronsard <sup>38</sup>
<u>Rosalynde</u>	21	5	Desportes (5) <sup>39</sup>
<u>Robert, Duke of Normandy</u>	7	1	Desportes
<u>William Longbeard</u>	13	6	?Celiano ('based on') (3; including one possible 'loose trans- lation' from Bianciardi) Ronsard (2) Paschale (1)
<u>Phillis</u>	45	21	Ronsard (8) Ariosto (5) Paschale (4) Desportes (3) <sup>40</sup> Sannazaro (1)
<u>The Phoenix Nest</u>	16 (13 not previously published)	2	Guarini (1) Barignano <u>or</u> Quirino (1)
<u>A Margarite of America</u>	25	8	Paschale (7) L. Martelli (1) <sup>41</sup>

French and Italian poets seem to have appealed equally to Lodge: he translated twenty-five poems from Desportes and Ronsard, twenty-four from various Italians, with Paschale and Ariosto accounting for two-thirds. His indiscriminate choice of both excellent and mediocre poets to translate is curious. Presumably it was the prestige attached to the simple fact of being French or Italian that made any poet of those countries attractive. Desportes's popularity is well attested and he was a favourite of Daniel's as well as of Lodge's. The presence of the obscure Lodovico Paschale in company with the likes of Ariosto, Sannazaro and Guarini, is

a mystery. I have discovered no evidence of anyone besides Lodge translating him. The twelve poems all occur in the only known collection of Paschale's work, Rime volgari de M. Ludovico Paschale da Catharo Dalmatina, published in Venice in 1549; there was apparently no subsequent edition. The collection is a very large one, containing no fewer than 178 sonnets, as well as thirteen madrigals, fifteen canzoni, two capitoli and one stanze. If Alice Walker is right and none of Paschale's poems was included in any of the many anthologies edited by Dolce, this unique 1549 edition must have been in Lodge's hands several decades after its publication in Venice.<sup>42</sup>

Of the four translations from Paschale in Phillis, (II, VI, X, XVIII), VI is by far the best; indeed, it is among Lodge's better translating efforts:

It is not death which wretched men call dying,  
But that is very death which I endure,  
When my coy-looking nymph, her grace envying,  
By fatal frowns my damage doth procure.

It is not life which we for life approve,  
But that is life when on her wool-soft paps  
I seal sweet kisses which do batten love,  
And doubling them do treble my good haps.

'Tis neither Love the son nor Love the mother  
Which lovers praise and pray to, but that Love is  
Which she in eye and I in heart do smother;  
Then muse not though I glory in my miss,  
Since she who holds my heart and me in durance  
Hath life, death, love and all in her procurance.

(B4<sup>v</sup>; p.12)

The sestina 'With Ganimede now joins the shining sun' in A Margarite of America is Lodge's most striking Paschalian rendition, but this sonnet, and perhaps 'I pine away expecting of the hour' and 'I see a new-sprung sun that shines more clearly', both in Margarite, are competent enough.

As almost always, the sestet of the Italian gives way to the

quatrain and couplet, although in Phillis VI there is continuity of sense between line 12 and the couplet which overrides the separating effect of the rhyme scheme. Lodge usually does not retain the sestet of his French and Italian models; the exceptions are Phillis XXX from Ronsard and , XXXVII from Desportes, 'That pity, Lord, that erst thy heart inflamed' in William Longbeard, 'O curious gem, how I envy each while', 'I pine away expecting of the hour', 'I see a new-sprung sun', and 'Those glorious lamps that heaven illuminate' in Margarite, all five from Paschale, and the Martelli sonnet, 'O shady vales, O fair enriched meads' in Margarite.

Kastner prints several examples of Lodge's translations and imitations from the Italian side by side with the originals, and Lee does the same for some of the French poems.<sup>43</sup> It is unnecessary to multiply such examples here. The point is to see what Lodge manages to produce when he is working from a model, as compared with his own unaided creation. It was observed when the poems in A Margarite of America were under discussion in Chapter 3, that Lodge seemed unable to bring off a wholly successful sonnet. I do not think that Phillis contains any sonnets which are of notably higher quality than those in Margarite. No. VI, quoted in full above, is rather better than the average. Among the other translated sonnets, XXII, XXVII and XXVIII, all from Ariosto, and XXXIV from Ronsard might be singled out as showing Lodge the translator at his best (and see n.35 above). It is perhaps significant that the authors are Ariosto and Ronsard, who clearly set a higher standard than did Paschale and Desportes. In none of these sonnets is Lodge entirely faithful to the original. It is as if the deftness and control of these masters inspired him to extend himself and to achieve something more than his usual literal, workmanlike but pedestrian rendition.

Seventeen of the forty numbered poems in Phillis have not been

traced to Continental sources. Eleven of these are true sonnets: I, III, IV, V, VII, XIV, XIX, XXIII, XXIV, XXIX, XL. Most of these have a directness about them which, while it sometimes results in dullness, can at other times be disarming, effective by its very simplicity. These poems differ in this respect from most of the translations, especially those from the French in which mythological allusions and Petrarchan conceits make for ornateness or, as often in Desportes, fussy préciosité. Sonnet XXIII is, I think, one of Lodge's best despite the weak concluding rhyme:

Burst, burst, poor heart, thou hast no longer hope!  
Captive mine eyes unto eternal sleep,  
Let all my senses have no further scope,  
Let death be lord of me and all my sheep.

For Phillis hath betrothed fierce disdain,  
That makes his mortal mansion in her heart;  
And though my tongue have long time taken pain  
To sue divorce and wed her to desert,

She will not yield, my words can have no power;  
She scorns my faith, she laughs at my sad lays,  
She fills my soul with never-ceasing sour,  
Who filled the world with volumes of her praise.

In such extremes what wretch can cease to crave  
His peace from death, who can no mercy have?

(F2<sup>V</sup>; p.40)

The opening line is almost Donne-like in its violence, if not in sentiment. The metaphor of betrothal is worked out cleverly in line 8. An important element in the poem's impact is the extraordinarily high proportion of monosyllables: ninety-nine of the 119 words in the poem, or exactly five-sixths. Although the conceit of the lover's dying from despair is scarcely novel, it is here gracefully exploited. The couplet is a climax rather than an afterthought.

A similar direct, uncomplicated style is used in XXIX, whose theme is also similar. Here, however, the poem is definitely let down

by the unambitious couplet:

I feel myself endangered beyond reason,  
My death already 'twixt the cup and lip,  
Because my proud desire through cursed treason  
Would make my hopes mount heaven which cannot skip.

My fancy still requireth at my hands  
Such things as are not, cannot, may not be,  
And my desire, although my power withstands,  
Will give me wings who never yet could flee.

What then remains, except my maimed soul  
Extort compassion from love-flying age,  
Or if nought else their fury may control,  
To call on death that quells affections' rage?  
Which death shall dwell with me and never fly,  
Since vain desire seeks that hope doth deny.

(G<sup>V</sup>; p.46)

There are fewer monosyllables than in XXIII, but the proverbial and colloquial diction of 'twixt the cup and lip' and 'skip' and the emphatic repetition in line 6 work to the same ends.

Sonnet XXIV ('No glory makes me glorious or glad'), with the anaphora 'No' or 'Nor' beginning eleven of the fourteen lines, nicely broken in line 7 ('Was never ...'), is also effective; but it too is poorly served by its sing-song couplet: 'For why she sorts her frowns and favours so,/ As when I gain or lose I cannot know'. One finds pleasant images, a number of memorable lines or couplets, but nowhere a really outstanding complete sonnet. Often it is difficult to pin down the reason for one's dissatisfaction; one feels that the poem just does not get off the ground. No. III, for example, is not really bad, but neither is there much that can be said in its praise:

In fancy's world an Atlas have I been  
Where yet the Chaos of my ceaseless care  
Is by her eyes unpitied and unseen,  
In whom all gifts but pity planted are.

For mercy though still cries my moan-clad muse,  
And every paper that she sends to Beauty  
In tract of sable tears brings woeful news

Of my true heartkind thoughts and loyal duty.  
But ah, the strings of her hard heart are strained  
Beyond the harmony of my desires;  
And though the happy heavens themselves have pained  
To tame her heart whose will so far aspires,  
Yet she who claims the title of world's wonder  
Thinks all deserts too base to bring her under.

(B3; p.9)

Apart from the image of the tightened strings in lines 9-10, there is only commonplace or worse: 'tract of sable tears' is nonsense. In this sonnet, plain diction becomes flatness. 'Uninspired' may be the most apt single adjective to apply to the majority of Lodge's sonnets.

It is certainly applicable to the printing of Phyllis, the poor quality of which leads one to suspect that the texts of several of the poems are corrupt. One can only assume that printers are at fault, although in some cases it looks as if they were working from unrevised or only partially revised copy. The problem pieces are VIII, XI, XVII and XXVI.<sup>44</sup>

#### VIII

No stars her eyes to clear the wandering night,  
But shining suns of true divinity,  
That make the soul conceive her perfect light.  
No wanton beauties of humanity  
Her pretty brows, but beams that clear the sight  
Of him that seeks the true philosophy.  
No coral is her lip, no rose her fair,  
But even that crimson that adorns the sun;  
No nymph is she, but mistress of the air,  
By whom my glories are but new begun.  
But when I touch and taste as others do,  
I then shall write and you shall wonder too.

(C<sup>v</sup>; p.14)

This looks like a sonnet with two lines left out, but where they are left out it is difficult to guess. The last six lines, despite the indentation, are a coherent sestet (cdcdce). But the first six lines,

rhyming ababab, with the break after line 3, do not fit the quatrain format as printed. It may simply be a twelve-line poem, in which case the first six should have been printed as two triplets (aba bab) or simply as a single stanza. The printer of sigs. A to G acknowledges only quatrains: he lays out No. XXX in the same way as the others, although Lodge there observes the French octave-sestet form.<sup>45</sup> No. XI, though printed as a sonnet, turns out on examination to be a pair of rhyme royal stanzas; Sidney uses the form in Book II of the Old Arcadia (ed. Robertson, p.123). Fortunately it is also printed in The Phoenix Nest where it appears in its proper form. Incidentally, this poem is very reminiscent of the Sultan's second sonnet in Robert, Duke of Normandy (H-H<sup>V</sup>; Works, II; pp.53-4).

Sonnet XVII, a faithful translation of Sannazaro's 'Ahi letizia fugace, ahi sonno lieve', contains fifteen lines.<sup>46</sup> It is fairly obvious that lines 11 ('Where thou, fond dream, my longed weal defacest') and 12 ('Whilst fleeting and uncertain shades thou placest') are alternative versions. In fact, line 12 is a passable rendition of Sannazaro's twelfth, 'Ché se d'un 'ombra incerta e fuggitiva'. I would suggest then that line 11 should have been cancelled.

Sonnet XXVI also is corrupt, and hopelessly so:

I'll teach thee, lovely Phillis, what love is:  
It is a vision seeming such as thou  
That flies as fast as it assaults mine eyes.  
It is affection that doth reason miss;  
It is a shape of pleasure like to you,  
Which meets the eye and seen, on sudden dies.  
It is a doubled grief, a spark of pleasure  
Begot by vain desire, and this is love,  
Whom in our youth we count our chiefest treasure,  
In age for want of power we do reprove.  
Yea, such a power is love, whose loss is pain,  
And having got him we repent our gain.

(F4; p.43)



Like No. VIII this piece has a fairly coherent final sestet, but the damage in the first six lines is greater than that (if any) in the corresponding section of VIII. Lines 2 and 3, and 5 and 6 look like alternative versions of the same thing, and they have the same rhymes (thou/eyes, you/dies). Again, the twelve-line length may be deliberate but if so, another pair of lines must have been intended in place of one of these pairs.

Phillis, like most of Lodge's other publications and unlike the sonnet collections of Sidney, Constable, Daniel and Drayton, was not reissued. Three of the poems appeared in the same year in The Phoenix Nest: 'Thirsis' Eclogue', the ode which concludes the sequence, and Sonnet XI. 'Thirsis' Eclogue' appears again as 'The Shepherd's sorrow, being disdained in love' in England's Helicon. That anthology also includes Phillis XII and XV among its fourteen poems by Lodge. It is revealing that none of the Phillis pieces which appeared elsewhere is a sonnet. In fact only one of the nearly sixty sonnets that he published between 1589 and 1596 was reprinted, and that is the Martelli translation, 'O shady vales, O fair enriched meads' from A Margarite of America, in England's Helicon. Lodge's contemporaries, while admiring his lyrics, were less impressed by his sonnets. Their judgement has been upheld over the centuries, and modern anthologies of Elizabethan verse include few if any of his sonnets, although he is often generously represented by lyrics.<sup>47</sup>

At least one contemporary thought well enough of Phillis to plunder it freely. About William Smith, whose Chloris was published in 1596, little is known. Janet G Scott has demonstrated his debt to

Lodge and Lawrence A Sasek his similar lightfingeredness with The Shepheardes Calender.<sup>48</sup> Several instances cited by Janet Scott of a poem in Smith's sequence being 'based on' one in Lodge's may be discounted as the sort of general resemblance frequently observed when different poets take up the same Petrarchan theme or conceit. The most striking example of Smith's appropriation occurs in Chloris IX whose lines 5-10 vary only slightly from the same lines of Phillis IX:

There did I see the nymph whom I admire,  
Remembering her locks, of which the yellow hue  
Made blush the beauties of her curled wire,  
Which Jove himself with wonder well might view.  
Then red with ire, her tresses she berent,  
And weeping hid the beauty of her face.<sup>49</sup>

Whenas she spied the nymph whom I admire,  
Combing her locks, of which the yellow gold  
Made blush the beauties of her curled wire,  
Which heaven itself with wonder might behold;  
Then red with shame her reverend locks she rent,  
And weeping hid the beauty of her face.

(Phillis, sig.C2; p.15)

One suspects that the compositor of Chloris misread 'Kembinge' (which occurs in line 6 in the original print of Phillis), or something like it in Smith's manuscript, as 'Remembering', badly straining the sense of the phrase - unless Smith himself was copying so hastily that the misreading was his. Smith borrowed, for the second quatrain of his Sonnet XII, the entire first quatrain of Phillis IV ('Long hath my sufferance laboured to enforce'), altering 'rivers' to 'oceans' in line 3, 'Have bathed' to 'Bedew' and 'Phillis' to 'Chloris' in line 4. He also takes Lodge's line 8 ('To my love's queen, that hath my heart in keep') as his third line ('Of my love's queen, which hath my heart in keeping'). Lines 1 and 3 of Phillis XXIII provide the final couplet for Chloris XXXVIII: 'But burst, poor heart! Thou hast no better hope,/ Since all

thy senses have no further scope'. It would seem that Smith composed his Sonnets XXXI and XXXII with Phyllis open before him at F4<sup>V</sup>-G.

Phrases and lines from Lodge's XXVII and XXVIII, two of the Ariosto translations, occur in the two Smith sonnets. Lines 11 and 12 of Phyllis XXVII also appear as lines 3 and 4 of Chloris XXIV. Chloris XLV, on the Olympian deities' gifts to the lady, has only that theme in common with Phyllis XXXIII, Lodge's translation of Ronsard's 'Quand au premier, la Dame que j'adore'.<sup>50</sup> Smith evidently liked the phrase 'weeping truce-men' from Lodge's 'Induction': he used it three times, in XIV, XV and XXXIII.

Even Smith's dedicatory sonnets to Spenser and the epistle 'To all Shepherds in general' echo the 'Induction'. Some of the echoes are direct, as in Smith's 'newly from the shell are crept' (first dedicatory sonnet, 1.11) from Lodge's 'new crept from out the shell' (1.12), and 'Favour these mists which fall before your sun' ('To all Shepherds in general', 1.10) from 'You are but mists before so bright a sun' ('Induction', 1.41). Elsewhere Smith rephrases an image from Lodge, as in 'Nuntiates of woe, with sorrow being clad' ('To all Shepherds', 1.18) from 'weeping truce-men in your sighing weeds' ('Induction', 1.37). Smith may have gotten the idea for linking sonnets by repeating the last line of one as the first line of the next from Lodge, who links stanzas 5 and 6 of the 'Induction' in this way; he probably knew Delia, where Daniel links thus sonnets 34, 35, 36 and 37. Smith uses the device not only in his two dedicatory sonnets but throughout the sequence.

Smith's editor, Sasek, indulges in remarkable contortions to account for his subject's blatant practices, raising the possibility that it was Lodge who borrowed from Smith, a patently straw man which he knocks down quite briskly. Smith, argues Sasek, was simply well read

in the poetic tradition, 'in fact, so thoroughly steeped in it that he could not distinguish lines he had read from those he had invented'. Lodge, however, remains 'an assiduous plagiarist' and Smith only 'dealt out to Lodge poetic justice by serving him as he, Lodge, had served Ronsard and others' - 'though perhaps unconsciously' (Poems of William Smith, pp.27-8). Presumably Spenser too was the beneficiary of Smith's 'justice'. Sasek is so taken with his idea of Smith meting out justice to Lodge that he seems not to notice that Lodge was at least translating from other languages while Smith's language is often that of Lodge himself, quite literally. Lee's Lodge-baiting mantle fits snugly upon Sasek's shoulders. One can only wonder what Lee, his utmost scorn spent on Lodge, would have said about Smith, whom he dismisses in a few lines (Eliz. Sonnets, I, ciii-civ), had he bothered to track down his sources as sedulously as he did Lodge's.

Sidney apart, Lodge is unique among the Elizabethan sonneteers in having published so many sonnets outside a formal sonnet sequence. Just over half of his sonnets are contained in Phyllis. Sidney scattered sixteen sonnets throughout the Old Arcadia and Lodge followed his example in this as in the general practice of inserting poems into his romance narratives. Lodge was the only one of the 1590s sonneteers who also wrote prose fiction, and once the sonnet vogue had been established, he exploited it while continuing the verse interlude convention which he was already using. He included nineteen sonnets among the thirty-eight poems in William Longbeard and A Margarite of America, his last two romances and the only two he wrote after the sonnet boom began in 1592.

I conclude this main discussion of Lodge's sonnets with the following undeservedly neglected one from Margarite, which I find as good as any he wrote, better perhaps than any of the others in its coherence

and the fluidity with which it moves from beginning to end. The sureness of touch is not unworthy of Sidney, whose famous 'A strife is grown between Virtue and Love' (Astrophel and Stella LII) treats the same theme. The poem follows 'O shady vales' and is prefaced by the allusion to 'the sweet conceits' of Desportes; it is, Lodge assures us, of Arsadachus's 'own invention':

'Twixt reverence and desire how am I vexed!  
Now prone to lay ambitious hands on Beauty,  
Now having fear to my desires annexed,  
Now haled on by hope, now stayed by duty.  
Emboldened thus and overruled in striving,  
To gain the sovereign good my heart desireth,  
I live a life but in effect no living,  
Since dread subdues desire that most aspireth.

Tho must I bide the combat of extremes,  
Fain to enjoy, yet fearing to offend,  
Like him that strives against resisting streams  
In hope to gain the harbour in the end.  
Which haven her grace, which happy grace enjoyed,  
Both reverence and desire are well employed.

(L2; p.79)

Some of Lodge's lyric poetry has been mentioned in its context in the chapter on the prose fiction, and further references have been made in the foregoing discussion in the present chapter. There remains to consider his other contributions to the two major miscellanies, The Phoenix Nest and England's Helicon. The title page of The Phoenix Nest proclaims it to be 'Built up with the most rare and refined works of noblemen, worthy knights, gallant gentlemen, Masters of Arts and brave scholars. Full of variety, excellent invention, and singular delight. Never before this time published.'<sup>51</sup> The latter claim must be qualified since Phyllis probably appeared before

the anthology (see above, p.155).

The book falls into two parts, one of eulogy and lament for Sidney and the other of 'excellent ditties of divers kinds', a tribute to the dead poet.<sup>52</sup> Lodge's sixteen poems are placed together at the beginning of this second part, following an unsigned lover's complaint. Lodge has far more poems in the work than any other identifiable author; There may be as many as eight by Raleigh, and there are at least five by Breton. Only a third of the seventy-eight poems, including all of Lodge's, are signed with initials.<sup>53</sup> Exactly what Lodge's connection with 'R.S.' and with the production of The Phoenix Nest may have been is open to speculation. 'If only for Lodge's share in it', Rollins affirms, 'The Phoenix Nest would be a noteworthy volume'. His prominence both gives the collection a large measure of its exquisite, genteel and polished character and makes it the main repository, next to Rosalynde, of his best poetry. Whoever he was, 'R.S.' merits our gratitude for that alone. Besides Raleigh and Breton, other contributors who have been identified are the Earl of Oxford, Sir Edward Dyer, George Peele, Matthew Roydon and probably, Watson, Greville and Greene.<sup>54</sup>

The three Phyllis poems are respectively the first, sixth and tenth poems of the sixteen by Lodge, which occupy pages 46-61. The superiority of the texts of these poems to those of Phyllis has been noticed (above, p.155 and n.29).<sup>55</sup> The familiar anthology pieces, 'For pity, pretty eyes, surcease' and 'My bonny lass, thine eye' are the last two in the Lodge group. The latter concludes his contribution on a delightfully gay note; it is the equal of 'Love in my bosom like a bee' and 'Down a-down, thus Phyllis sung' in its clever use of the bob-line:

My bonny lass, thine eye,  
                    So sly,  
Hath made me sorrow so;  
Thy crimson cheeks, my dear,  
                    So clear,  
Have so much wrought my woe.

Thy pleasing smiles and grace,  
                    Thy face,  
Have ravished so my sprites,  
That life is grown to naught,  
                    Through thought  
Of love which me affrights.

(11.1-12)

As in earlier collections, Lodge treats his readers to a varied programme. Elizabeth Pomeroy has noted that the ababcc stanza is the most common in the anthology (p.73). Lodge, whose predilection for the form we have witnessed, here employs it in only three poems, in one of which the metre is tetrameter. There are fifteen sonnets in the collection, more than in any other miscellany since Tottel's, and even half-a-dozen pieces in old-fashioned fourteeners and poulter's measure. Most of the metrical and stanzaic interest is provided by Lodge. Besides using quatrains, couplets, sixains, rhyme royal and the sonnet, he mixes metres to good effect in several pieces. His second, 'Strive no more', superimposes a metrical pattern of 2-3-3-3-5-4 stresses in the six-line stanza, with an unusual cretic foot in line 1, upon a rhyme scheme of abbacc:

Strive no more  
Forspoken joys to spring,  
Since care hath clipped thy wing;  
But stoop those lamps before  
That nursed thee up at first with friendly smiles,  
And now through scorns thy trust beguiles.

The longer lines of the second half of the stanza expand upon the theme of the first three lines.

The eighth poem also employs a metrical mixture, but the longer lines set its more solemn tone:

Oh woods, unto your walks my body hies  
To loose the traiterous bonds of 'ticing love,  
    Where trees, where herbs, where flowers  
    Their native moisture pours  
From forth their tender stalks to help mine eyes,  
Yet their united tears may nothing move.

. . .

Thus weary in my walks and woeful too,  
I spend the day forespent with daily grief;  
    Each object of distress  
    My sorrow doth express.  
I dote on that which doth my heart undo,  
And honour her that scorns to yield relief.

(pp.53-4, stanzas 1 & 6)

In 'Accursed be love and they that trust his trains!', metre, rhyme and rhetoric reinforce one another:

Accursed be love and they that trust his trains!  
    He tastes the fruit whilst others toil,  
    He brings the lamp, we lend the oil,  
    He sows distress, we yield him soil,  
    He wageth war, we bide the foil.

Accursed be love and those that trust his trains!  
    He lays the trap, we seek the snare,  
    He threateneth death, we speak him fair,  
    He coins deceits, we foster care,  
    He favoureth pride, we count it rare.

Accursed be love and those that trust his trains!  
    He seemeth blind yet wounds with Art,  
    He vows content, he pays with smart,  
    He swears relief yet kills the heart,  
    He calls for truth yet scorns desert.

Accursed be love and those that trust his trains,  
Whose heaven is hell, whose perfect joys are pains.

(p.54)

The rhetorical structure, repetition of the initial line and anaphora in the succeeding four lines of each stanza, is emphasized by the abbbb



rhyme scheme and the extra foot in the initial line (5-4-4-4-4), while the anaphora and the medial caesura dividing the tetrameters into hemistiches accentuate the excited, irate mood of the piece. This is Lodge at his most assured and most pleasant. The slight straining after rhymes is outweighed by the vigour of the whole, which recalls Wyatt. One or two anthologies have included this poem; it surely ranks with Lodge's best.

Triplets rhymed abb are used in 'Like desert woods with darksome shades obscured' (p.59). Not only the same pattern, but the same final syllables are used in the first four stanzas; in the fifth and last stanza a new rhyme is introduced in the final two lines of the poem: abb abb abb abb acc. The monotony of the repeated sounds reflects the dreariness of the doleful, desert woods, metaphor of the lover's heart in this complaint. This poem is one of two from The Phoenix Nest to be reprinted in England's Helicon where, in fact, it appears twice (see below, pp. 187-8).

Two poems in conventional forms are varied by the use of a two-stress bob-line: 'All day I weep my weary woes' in tetrameters (ababb) (p.51) and 'The fatal star that at my birthday shined' in pentameters (abab) (pp.55-6). In the latter poem, feminine rhymes predominate and trochees are used frequently to vary the metre, as in stanzas 3 and 4:

Love that misled, hope that deceived my seeing:  
Love hope no more, mocked with deluding object,  
Sight full of sorrow that denies the being  
Unto the subject.

Soul, leave the seat where thoughts with endless swelling  
Change into tears and words of no persuasion;  
Tears, turn to tongues and spend your tunes in telling  
Sorrow's invasion.

(p.56)

The sonnet 'Midst lasting grief to have but short repose' is a faithful and generally uninspired translation of an Italian sonnet, 'Breve riposo haver di lunghi affanni'. Alice Walker identified the source, which is attributed in some sixteenth-century anthologies to Pietro Barignano, in others to Vincenzo Quirino.<sup>56</sup> The twelfth poem in the Lodge group is a good example of the possibilities of the sixain and has caught the attention of more than one anthologizer. The couplet answers or elaborates upon the subject of the quatrain. Stanzas 1, 6 and 7 are quoted:

Fain to content, I bend myself to write,  
But what to write my mind can scarce conceive;  
Your radiant eyes crave objects of delight,  
My heart no glad impressions can receive.  
To write of grief is but a tedious thing,  
And woeful men of woe must needly sing.

. . .

To write in brief, a legend in a line:  
My heart hath vowed to draw his life from yours,  
My looks have made a sun of your sweet eyne,  
My soul doth draw his essence from your powers;  
And what I am, in fortune or in love,  
All these have sworn to serve for your behove.

My senses suck their comforts from your sweet,  
My inward mind your outward fair admires,  
My hope lies prostrate at your pity's feet:  
My heart, looks, soul, sense, mind and hope desires  
Belief and favour in your lovely sight,  
Else all will cease to live and pen to write.

(pp.57-8)

'To write in brief, a legend in a line' has a startling epigrammatic quality rare in Lodge. This is one of only a very few poems in which writing is the subject or one of the subjects. One thinks of Sidney in Astrophel and Stella I and XXXIV.

The fourth poem, 'When Pirrha made her miracle of stones' is

the most curious of Lodge's contributions to The Phoenix Nest. It is in unrhymed pentameters, printed as three stanzas of six, four and five lines.<sup>57</sup> The printer clearly was uncertain what to make of it. The stanza divisions may not be his, but the whimsical indentation of lines 5, 7, 8, 9, 14 and 15 may indicate his bewilderment:

When Pirrha made her miracle of stones,  
The baser sort of flinty mould she framed,  
Whose course compact concealed all at once  
All what in nature could imperfect be;  
    So but imperfect perfect was the shape,  
And mind even with the metal did agree.

    The finer forms of diamonds she made,  
    A peerless substance for the mould,  
    Whence grew such shapes that heaven his pure forsook,  
To frame a mind agreeing to the form.

    This by my proof I find for certain true,  
    For why my mistress matchless in her shape,  
    For body far exceeds my base report;  
    For mind, no mind can crave more rare supplies,  
    And last I spy the sapphires in her eyes.

(p.50)

As printed, the last line is punctuated by a comma after 'eyes'. If it were not for the couplet at the end, the only one in the poem, one would be justified in supposing that a line or more had been dropped. The sense would suggest this as well: the 'sapphire' metaphor coming after 'The finer forms of diamonds she made' is anticlimactic, as is the descent to 'eyes' from the 'mind' of the penultimate line, itself a conventional progression from the 'body' of line 13. The comma is particularly suspect in view of the general accuracy with which the volume was edited and printed. It may be that the copy that 'R.S.' had from Lodge for this one piece was in an unemended state like several of the poems in Phyllis.

The Phoenix Nest is an invaluable addition to the Lodge canon.

With Rosalynde and Phyllis, it gives us the best of Lodge the lyric poet, or the best of Lodge tout court. The sixteen pieces, while they are as varied in form and metre as the collection appended to Scilla's Metamorphosis, are no longer experimental. No one would argue that all are masterpieces, but the general quality is surely higher than in any other of Lodge's published collections. Freed from the restrictions of the sonnet form, he gives the impression of a confident, competent poet intent on showing himself to the best advantage, without posturing or noisily calling attention to his cleverness. There is a pervasive sobriety which suggests that Lodge had in mind the memorial character of the volume to which he was the principal contributor and the stature of the poet whom it honoured. Several of his poems present the more sombre side of love and even the gayer ones, such as 'For pity, pretty eyes' and 'My bonny lass, thine eye' are not frivolous. I find it hard to credit Rollins's opinion that Lodge is the most plausible candidate for author of the unsigned trick-poem, 'Her face, her tongue, her wit' (pp.71-2).<sup>58</sup> Here, at least, Lodge observed decorum.

The other most important miscellany of the last decade of Elizabeth's reign, England's Helicon, also gave Lodge a prominent place among its illustrious contributors. Bartholomew Yong's translation of Montemayor's Diana had appeared in 1598. It had been completed fifteen years earlier, however, and had circulated widely in manuscript (see above, p.69). Sidney had acknowledged its influence on him. When the editor of England's Helicon wished to compile a pastoral anthology, it was natural that he should turn first to the recently englished version of pastoral romance par excellence, Diana, and then to England's most

famous dead shepherd, Sidney. Both were calculated to enhance the book's appeal to the cultivated reading public. The array of other authors chosen is impressive indeed: Drayton, Dyer, Peele, Greville, Marlowe, Oxford, Raleigh, Shakespeare, Spenser, Watson, Greene, Munday, Breton, etc. That Lodge should also be represented is not surprising; his absence would have been as puzzling as is Daniel's. But that among such notable company he should figure so prominently is testimony to the high place accorded him by his contemporaries among pastoral poets. He had, of course, published a popular romance containing a large number of lyrics in the pastoral vein, a romance which had been reissued for the fourth time in 1598, the same year that Diana and a third edition of Arcadia, 'with sundry new additions', were published. He had also produced a sonnet sequence built, albeit loosely in the event, upon the pastoral motif, the first such by an English poet. Furthermore, the editor of England's Helicon, Nicholas Ling, would naturally think of Lodge: he and Busby had published Robert, Duke of Normandy in 1591 and had jointly registered Rosalynde in 1590, Ling publishing the 1596 and 1598 editions with Thomas Gubbins.<sup>59</sup>

After Yong (25) and Sidney (15), Lodge has more poems in the anthology than anyone else: fourteen, or fifteen if we count the two variant versions of 'Like desert woods with darksome shades obscured' (see below, p.188). Rosalynde supplied seven of the fourteen. Some of Ling's choices have been ratified by his successors in the anthology trade ever since: 'Phoebe sat', 'A turtle sat upon a leafless tree', 'Down a-down, thus Phillis sung', 'Corydon's Song', 'Rosalynde's Madrigal', 'When the dog full of rage' and 'Alas, how wander I amidst these woods', a 'sonnet' in two ottava rima stanzas. These qualify for inclusion in a pastoral anthology simply by virtue of their presence

in a pastoral tale. Furthermore, all except 'Rosalynde's Madrigal' are sung or spoken by shepherds. Ten of the poems in Rosalynde are presented as being sung, spoken or written by the courtly characters, Rosader and the heroine in all but two cases. Of these, Ling included only 'Love in my bosom'. Of the remaining eleven, all given as by Montanus, Phoebe or Corydon, he used six, four of them by Montanus, type of the lovesick country swain and namesake of Montemayor's similarly smitten shepherd. Several acquire new titles. For example, 'Phoebe sat', called simply 'Montanus' Sonnet' in Rosalynde, is labelled 'Montanus' praise of his fair Phoebe'.

England's Helicon offers some variants, most of them inferior, in the texts of these poems, as, for example, the omission of 'piteous' in line 20 of 'A turtle sat upon a leafless tree' (I, 59).<sup>60</sup> The rhythm requires its inclusion as in Rosalynde (ed. Greg, p.116). Some readings are superior to Rosalynde, however. The most notable is in 'Corydon's Song' (I, 112-13) where a rhyme is restored in line 32, and four lines are added at the end, giving the final stanza its full complement of eight (compare Ros., pp.161-2).

Two of the Rosalynde poems are mistakenly attributed to 'S.E.D.' (i.e., Dyer), as are one from Phillis and one from The Phoenix Nest. Carelessness in these cases is rather surprising since Ling so obviously knew who the author of Rosalynde was. It is also curious that he did not bother to incorporate the additions to 'Corydon's Song' in any of the editions of Rosalynde for which he was responsible, particularly that of 1604 which appeared after England's Helicon. However, each edition of Rosalynde from the third (1596) to the tenth (1642) seems to have been set up from the preceding one, with neither authorial nor editorial interference (Allison, pp.28-30). Rollins speculates that Lodge him-

self may have provided Ling with revised copies of the Rosalynde poems (II, 62). But the variant readings in the latter are often inferior, which one would not expect of authorial revisions. On the other hand, all of the Rosalynde pieces reprinted in England's Helicon disagree in some respects with the earlier printed versions, which suggests that the compiler was not working directly from any of those, or that he or the printer was taking liberties. Lodge was probably in England in 1600 but his presence would have been unnecessary: as the editor of several of his works, Ling may have had access to his manuscripts. This was certainly so of Drayton, whose five poems in the anthology were not previously published; Ling included two otherwise unknown poems by Lodge, 'Old Damon's Pastoral' and 'The Barginet of Antimachus'. While it is not impossible that Lodge actually revised and corrected several poems and selected two others from among his papers, it seems unlikely that he should revert to that kind of literary activity after the break of 1596/7, the sojourn in France, and the embarkation on a new career. In 1600 he was engaged in other kinds of writing, the translations of Josephus, Luis de Granada, and Seneca.<sup>61</sup>

Phillis and The Phoenix Nest furnished, with one exception, the remaining poems by Lodge; there are two from each. It was previously noted that one of the Phoenix Nest poems, 'Muses help me, sorrow swarmeth', had also appeared in Phillis as 'Thirsis' Eclogue', but the version in England's Helicon is clearly derived from The Phoenix Nest. Phillis XV ('My Phillis hath the morning sun') and XII ('Ah trees, why fall your leaves so fast') were given titles by Ling, becoming respectively 'To Phillis, the fair shepherdess' and 'The shepherd Damon's passion'. Few of the pieces in the so-called pastoral Phillis allude to things pastoral, as we have seen. These two, however, mention flocks and that was enough.

'Thirsis' Eclogue', untitled in The Phoenix Nest, becomes 'The shepherd's sorrow, being disdained in love'. The other poem from the 1593 miscellany, 'Like desert woods with darksome shades obscured' is here called 'The Shepherd's dump'. This poem appears twice in England's Helicon. The first time (I, 101-2) it is ascribed to Dyer, the second time (I, 190-91), with a different title, 'Thirsis the shepherd to his pipe', to 'Ignoto'. The latter is slightly closer to the Phoenix Nest text: they agree on 'breast' in line 5 where the first Helicon version has 'heart'. The principal difference among the three is in the last line:

PhN: My faithful love by you might be rewarded.

EH (1): Your shepherd's love might be by you regarded.

EH (2): My faithful love by her might be regarded.

It seems that Ling took care to alter the final line of the poem as it stood in The Phoenix Nest to give it an explicitly pastoral stamp, and that it was then printed again, presumably by mistake and presumably from the unemended Phoenix Nest text.

The one previously published poem not taken from Rosalynde, Phyllis or The Phoenix Nest is the sonnet 'O shady vales, O fair enriched meads' from A Margarite of America. It is one of only seven sonnets among the 150 poems in the miscellany.<sup>62</sup> Why Ling picked this one poem from the romance is anybody's guess. Its pastoralism is of the vaguest kind, consisting in the poet's apostrophe to vales, woods, mountains, flowers and birds, commonplace in the Petrarchan tradition in any case. Ling endowed it with a title, 'The solitary shepherd's song', thus legitimizing it. His ~~con~~clusion of it, whimsical as it seems, surely accounts for the poem's popularity with successive generations of compilers of anthologies, a popularity shared by none of the nearly sixty other examples of the sonnet genre that Lodge left.



The two new poems in England's Helicon are worthy additions to the canon. 'Old Damon's Pastoral' (I, 24-5) is a classic statement of the theme of pastoral contentment. Perhaps Ling contributed the title, taking Lodge's shepherd-poet in Phyllis and ageing him to make him a suitable speaker of these sage reflections. Damon, while his flocks graze about him, reads, presumably edifying works of the de casibus virorum or vanitas vanitatum sort. The trochaic metre adds emphasis to the series of direct, declarative utterances:

Careless worldlings, outrage quelleth  
all the pride and pomp of city,  
But true peace with shepherds dwelleth,  
shepherds who delight in pity.

(11.5-8)

On the lower plains the thunder  
little thrives and naught prevaieth,  
Yet in cities breedeth wonder  
and the highest hills assaieth.

(11.13-16)

Envy of a foreign tyrant  
threateneth kings, not shepherds humble.

(11.17-18)

Lodge had handled the theme previously more than once, most notably in two poems in the 1589 volume, 'In Praise of the Country Life' and 'In Commendation of a Solitary Life' (see below, pp.203, 206-8). Marius in The Wounds of Civil War (III.2.22-31) and Corydon in Rosalynde (ed. Greg, p.47) voice it. The present poem, however, is his best rendition of what was clearly a favourite theme.

In 'The Barginet of Antimachus' (I, 31-3) Lodge sets in lyric form a tale of Venus and Cupid: the latter cries when a bee stings him, then 'stings' Venus with love when she kisses him to console him. Rollins

cites the nineteenth idyll of Theocritus as a model (II,94).<sup>63</sup> 'Antimachus' was the name of several mythical personages, and of at least three Greek poets. The most notable of these, Antimachus of Colophon, flourished in the late fifth century B.C. and was also a Homeric scholar. As a poet he wrote a voluminous epic on Thebes and a long elegiac narrative and was admired by Plato.<sup>64</sup> There is no obvious explanation for the title of Lodge's poem, which may or may not have been supplied by him. 'Antimachus' may have been no more than a Greek literary name chosen at random which might appropriately be attached to an anecdote about Venus and Cupid. The poem is in sixains rhyming aabccb, with the b lines in trimeter and the rest in tetrameter. It is unusual among Lodge's poems in being narrative in content and lyric in form: the title, 'A Barginet', as well as the metrical and stanzaic patterns, suggests a song. It has in common with Lodge's only other poem so designated a mythological subject. 'Philamis' Barginet' in Euphues' Shadow, quoted in full above (pp.116-17) is about Phoebus and the nymph Clitia. Lodge shows that he knows what a barginet is, indicating that Philamis simultaneously dances and 'warbles' his song (C2<sup>V</sup>; Works, II; p.20).

Elizabeth Pomeroy comments on the ways in which music, as well as pastoralism, is a dominant motif of England's Helicon (pp.96-9). Music is of course a vital element of the pastoral world itself; Arcadian shepherds burst into song or wind their pipes at the least provocation. But England's Helicon is a musical collection in more immediate ways than this. Many of the poems are taken from prose romances - Diana, Rosalynde, Arcadia, Menaphon - where they are said to be sung by one of the characters. Five of the seven poems from Rosalynde are introduced thus in the context of the tale. Indeed, Ling carefully chose all but one of the poems from the romance which are sung, excluding only the

long 'Wooring Eclogue'. This may account for the inclusion of 'Rosalynde's Madrigal': it is not pastoral but it is a song. Furthermore, a number of the lyrics in the anthology were taken from songbooks by Byrd, Dowland and Morley, and others like 'Down a-down, thus Phillis sung' were subsequently set to music (see n.28 above). It is thus a 'lyric' collection in the true sense of the word, as The Phoenix Nest and many other Elizabethan miscellanies are not.<sup>65</sup>

Few would deny that, after literature, music was the art in which the English Renaissance was most gloriously realized. Few also would deny, I think, that after the drama, lyric poetry was the medium in which the authors of the age most excelled. Only two were masters in both - Shakespeare and Jonson. It is not claiming too much for Lodge to rank him with the best of the lyric poets. His right to such a place was asserted not by himself but by his contemporaries. Nicholas Ling's judgement, in this at least, was sound.

In this chapter, it has been possible to illustrate only very selectively Lodge's qualities as sonneteer and lyricist. Nevertheless, we have been able to see where his strengths and his weaknesses lie, enough so to allow for some observations in summary. Lodge employed all of the stanzaic forms, line-lengths and rhyme-schemes known to his contemporaries. He wrote blank verse, couplets, triplets, quatrains, rhyme royal, ottava rima, ten-line stanzas, sonnets, but was most at ease with a medium-length six-line stanza. He wrote in everything from lumbering fourteeners and limping poulter's measure to the monometers, dimeters and trimeters of the sprightliest lyrics. He preferred the simpler rhyme patterns, abab and ababcc, though he used a variety of

others for special effects. In the best lyrics, the varying line-lengths within the stanza and the rhyme-scheme are complementary: 'Strive no more', 'All day I weep my weary woes', 'Love in my bosom', 'Accursed be love' and 'My bonny lass, thine eye', for example. He was less adventurous metrically, using the iamb in the great majority of his poems, whatever the line-length and stanza employed. When he deviated, it was nearly always to the trochee. Some of his best pieces are predominantly in this metre or mix it with the iambic: 'Muses help me, sorrow swarmeth', 'Now I find thy looks were feigned', 'Old Damon's Pastoral' and 'Philamis' Barginet'.

Lodge is more effective when he abandons the well-worn conceits of the Petrarchists and the mythological baggage of the *Pleïade*. If 'The Barginet of Antimachus' works, it is because the mythological matter is comic and because Lodge couches it in short lines of varying lengths. His better sonnets are those in which he is vigorous, direct, communicating impatience or annoyance rather than languor or lover's malaise. A number of these occur in A Margarite of America which, except for 'O shady vales', has been ignored in this respect. It contains the second highest number of sonnets of all his works, and there is greater consistency in the quality of the sonnets there than in Phyllis.

There is no easy qualitative demarcation between those poems, sonnets or otherwise, which Lodge translated more or less faithfully from French or Italian, and those which appear to be entirely of his own invention. Several of the translations are among the perennial favourites: 'First shall the heavens want starry light', 'Turn I my looks unto the skies', 'The earth, late choked with showers', 'For pity, pretty eyes, surcease' and 'O shady vales'. Generally speaking, his translations from Italian are of somewhat higher calibre than those from

French. He rarely measures up to the standard of Ronsard and Desportes rarely affords him a worthy standard. Lodge often labours under the mythologizing yoke of the latter. His Desportes translations may also be earlier than most of the Italian ones and hence less polished.

It has been a recurrent observation in earlier chapters that Lodge's poetic instincts kept getting the better of him, rising to the surface whatever kind of non-discursive writing he was engaged in. Even when he was attempting historical drama or moralistic fiction, poetry crept in, sometimes creating incongruities which flawed the final product. Few of Lodge's works are without historical interest, such was his restlessness and eagerness for a success which continued to elude him. But the literary value of these works, wherever there is any, attaches in large part to the poetry they contain. This is certainly true of the prose fiction, including Rosalynde, although this has qualities as a romance which the others do not share. In the final analysis Lodge's reputation must stand or fall on his verse, particularly in the shorter, mostly lyric forms. Gosse's rapturous praise may turn out not to be so extravagant after all. Only a new edition of the complete poems will enable us to judge properly.

## CHAPTER 5

### Narrative and Satirical Verse

Lodge's poetic achievement does not end with the sonnets, lyrics and other shorter poems scattered through the romances, plays and anthologies. The muse who led him to write fictions in prose also led him to write them in verse. The muse, or spirit, that was to lead him to write devotional tracts and to translate the grave and edifying works of Josephus, Luis de Granada, Seneca and Simon Goulart led him first to versify his didactic propensity in secular terms. The two genres, narrative and satirical verse, overlap in several instances, which is one reason for treating them in the same chapter. Several of the poems which are explicitly satirical or homiletic also narrate a story. The body of material that might be included in this chapter is larger than it appears at first glance.

Among the lyrics and sonnets in the romances Lodge also placed a number of contemplative and instructive poems. In Rosalynde, for example, the conventional father's advice to his sons is in verse, Sir John of Bordeaux's 'Schedule'. Of the same type and in the same verse form that Lodge put to so many varied uses, is 'Anthenor's Item to all Young Gentlemen' in Euphues' Shadow. The first and longest poem in A Margarite of America, the 'Humanae Miseriae Discursus' engraved on the testern of a bed in the castle of Arsinous, is a gloomy memento mori, appropriate enough for the grim tale of mutilation and murder which unfolds. A number of the sonnets and shorter poems in other forms found in some of the romances could also be grouped with such 'serious' pieces as these. There are, for example, the penitential meditations of Robert the Devil following his

conversion, and 'Eurilochus' Hymn' in the same work. William Longbeard's 'spiritual hymns and songs', the three sonnets which follow his epitaph, are in the same vein as Robert's. One might even include the various epitaphs in Euphues' Shadow, William Longbeard and Margarite which, while not overtly religious, are by their nature solemn or grim. Then there is the inset verse narrative of Corulus and Corinna in Forbonius and Prisceria which itself contains the blason discussed in the previous chapter. These poems have been noticed, when it was felt to be worthwhile, in the discussions of the respective works in which they occur. The point in mentioning them again here is to remind ourselves that there is a fair body of poems by Lodge which do not fit well into the category of 'lyric' with its connotations of love, music and gaiety, and which are serious if not always sacred or meditative in mood and subject.

The pieces to be discussed here are serious in that they all have an ostensible aim other than mere entertainment.<sup>1</sup> They have a 'message'. While the same is true of poems like Sir John's 'Schedule' and 'Humanae Miseriae Discursus', their occurrence in the context of a fictional tale which frames them distances them from the reader. The make-believe is a buffer, deflecting the 'message' which in any case is not aimed by the author directly at the reader. In poems like Truth's Complaint over England, however, Lodge is addressing the reader directly, and in A Fig for Momus he is often addressing real individuals as well.

In all of the narrative poems to be considered in this chapter, including the two longest, Scilla's Metamorphosis and The Complaint of Elstred, the poet appears in his own person as narrator. The poem proper is framed by a first-person narration which sets the scene, and the reader, not a fictitious addressee as in the romances, is the observer-auditor of what the poet has to say. The device is an important element in the old-

fashioned, medieval air of these pieces, quite apart from their subjects or themes and the manner of treatment. It is familiar to readers of Chaucer whose characters in The Book of the Duchess, The House of Fame, and the Prologue to The Legend of Good Women, for example, not only mediate between the matter and the reader, but are themselves sources of humour and irony. Chaucer creates another space between himself, the author, and his persona, who becomes a character in the author's narrative at the same time as he narrates his own, in which he also figures centrally. Lodge's personae never become three-dimensional, never acquire personalities, like Chaucer's. They remain transparent, they experience, they record, they relate. But Lodge manages nevertheless to exploit the convention in some interesting ways.

Truth's Complaint over England, a 204-line poem in rhyme royal, was the third item in the 1584 volume which also contained An Alarm against Usurers and Forbonius and Prisceria. It is in the same earnest tone as the title piece, Lodge's exposé, based apparently on first-hand knowledge, of the depredations of the usurers among the young gentlemen of the city. The complaint itself is set in a double frame. The poet addresses Melpomene, the 'mournful Muse' of tragedy, whom he seems to confound with one of the Fates:

My mournful Muse Melpomene, draw near,  
Thou saddest lady of the sisters three,  
And let her plaints in paper now appear  
Whose tears like Ocean billows seem to be:  
And should I note the plaintiff's name to thee?  
Men call her Truth: once had in great request,  
But banished now of late for craft's behest.

Amidst the rest that set their pen to book,  
She picked me out to tell this woeful tale:  
A simple poet, on whose works to look  
The finest heads would think it very stale:  
Yet, though unworthy, to my friends' avail  
I take the toil, and pray my Muse's aid  
To blazon out the tale of Truth dismayed.<sup>2</sup>



The 'thee' of line 5 is the reader as well as the Muse. There follows the conventional disclaimer of skill and invocation of the Muse's aid. The didactic aim is clear: the poet undertakes 'the toil' to his 'friends' avail'. These two stanzas are the outer frame, which is completed by the single line of the envoy: 'Believe me, countrymen, this thing is true'.

A second, inner frame sets the scene and leads to Truth's complaint which is given as direct discourse:

Such time as Phoebus from the coloured sky  
Did headlong drive his horses toward the west,  
To suffer horned Luna for to pry  
Amidst the dusky dark, new raised from rest,  
As I in fragrant fields with woes oppressed  
'Gan walk to drive out melancholy grief,  
Which in my heart at that time had the chief -

It was my hap fast by a river's side  
To hear a rueful voice lamenting thus:  
'You julling streams, even as your waves divide,  
So breaks my heart with passions perilous  
Which fain I would unto the world discuss,  
Were any here for to recount my moan,  
Whose woeful heart for inward grief doth groan.'

Which said, she cast her dewed eyes askance,  
And spying me, 'gan rouse her heavy head,  
And prayed me pen her sad and heavy chance  
And she recounted it that present stead.  
I did agree, and granting Truth me fed  
With these reports, which I set down in verse,  
Which grieves my Muse for sorrows to rehearse.

(11.15-35)

This frame is closed by the final stanza: 'This said ... she soared away anon'. Truth speaks directly to the reader then, literally over the head of the poet as she flies away: 'You islanders, adieu, / You banished me before I fled from you' (11.202-3).

Lodge's personified female Truth is cousin to the Satyra of Gascoigne's The Steel Glass (1576). In this long poem (1130 lines), the narrator himself assumes the persona of Satyra, twin brother of Poesys,

and the two are offspring of Simplicity and Plain-Dealing. He sets about criticizing all estates and ends by praying the clergy to pray for him. This poem's historical interest is far from negligible. Whether one wishes to label it 'our first satire', even 'in a sense' as Lewis does (p.270), it stands at a point of transition from complaint to satire proper.<sup>3</sup> Gascoigne was not the first English satirist to adopt a persona. Skelton had created Colin Clout for purposes of anti-clerical satire half-a-century earlier, and although Piers Plowman is not solely or even primarily satire, Langland's dreamer Will allowed him to comment satirically when the occasion arose. But Gascoigne calls his persona Satyra, thus fulfilling a basic requirement of satire, namely, that it be self-conscious, and incidentally anticipating the fin-de-siècle verse satirists. Another of Skelton's first-person narrators, Dread in The Bowge of Court, is a remarkably sophisticated conception: the poem's narrator becomes the central character, metamorphosing into a psychological abstraction, and it is he who is the victim in a dream-allegory of corruption and flattery at court. Lodge's Truth is not the 'I' of the poem as Skelton's and Gascoigne's personae are, but in the framed complaint she becomes the narrator-victim lamenting her fate. There is no dream for her to awaken from as Skelton's Dread does, and she is a philosophical or moral abstraction rather than a psychological one. Gascoigne consciously and Skelton, perhaps not entirely consciously, were moving toward formal satire on classical lines.<sup>4</sup> Lodge, in Truth's Complaint, was not, pace Paradise (p.78). His importance in the history of Tudor satire lies in the fact that he was not, but that a decade later he nevertheless introduced formal verse satire on an explicitly Roman model into English literature.

Paradise and others count Truth's Complaint among the numerous progeny of the Mirror for Magistrates and particularly of Sackville's

Induction, largely because it is written in rhyme royal and takes the form of a complaint.<sup>5</sup> While it is true that Lodge's *Truth*, like Sackville's *Sorrow*, is woebegone and 'besprent' with tears, their functions are quite different. *Sorrow* is the poet-dreamer's guide, a mistress of ceremonies, like *Revenge* in *The Spanish Tragedy*. The actors are the various historical personages who 'complain'. In Lodge's poem *Truth* herself is the plaintiff, as well as being the generalized voice of morality. Were she not in a frame, we might speak of her as a satirical persona of a sort. But she is not the author's persona; on the contrary, she is someone whom he meets, as he walks 'with woes oppressed' in 'fragrant fields'. The poem is medieval both in its use of the frame and in the nature of its satire. It is a complaint in that a character formally complains, but not in Peter's sense since it is entirely secular, whereas complaint as he defines it (p.80) is firmly rooted in Christian morality and the notion of divine retributive justice.

As for the rhyme royal, Skelton used it in both *The Bowge of Court* and *Speak, Parrot*. *The Mirror for Magistrates* certainly influenced Lodge, as it influenced most writers of the time, but *Truth's Complaint* is so obviously in a different genre that the kinship is distant. The device of the restless poet who wanders abroad and encounters some mournful creature is common to Lodge's poem and Sackville's *Induction*, but the former has nothing of the latter's elaborate and lengthy atmosphere-building.

The complaint proper occupies lines 36-196. *Truth* recalls a Golden Age when she dwelt in England, 'a plot of beauty brave, / Which only soil should seem the seat to be / Of Paradise':

Within this place, within this sacred plot,  
I first did frame my first contented bower;  
There found I peace and plenty for to float;  
There justice ruled and shined in every stour;  
There was I loved, and sought too, every hour;  
Their prince content with plainness loved Truth,  
And pride by abstinence was kept from youth.

(11.43-9)

She then enumerates the now-prevalent vices, both particular and general, which were unknown before. The influx of new fashions from France, the desire for novelty which leads the nobility to invest in risky foreign trading ventures, speculation in land which used to be cultivated properly by a contented peasantry (11.50-53) - the list is followed by the claim that Justice, Religion and Learning flourished then and that 'earth and ashes thrust not to climb' (57-70). Everyone knew his place and was satisfied with his lot. The current topical issues such as new fashions and land speculation sound 'modern'; they were treated by later satirists in verse, prose and drama. But general statements about Justice, Religion and Learning are the stuff of complaint and lines about there being no place for drones (67) and each one doing his part in the body politic might almost have been lifted from Piers Plowman or any one of numerous other late medieval works.

Truth then prefaces her longer, more specific list of grievances by acknowledging that some still honour her: 'And yet I see not Sodom: some are good' (1.85). First of these, of course, is the 'blessed prince'. Elizabeth is never named or referred to other than as 'prince', but she is apparently exonerated of blame for the sorry state of England's morality. Three stanzas (11.106-26) are given to setting out the duties of the ideal prince, and hastening to add that England is happy in having a just prince who sets an example which, unfortunately, her subjects do

not emulate. The mildest of censures is voiced obliquely in lines 131-2: 'When stable head lets stayless members range, / I fear me'. This leads into the attack on corruption at court where Lodge is altogether more at ease than in the stanzas on the good prince. He wants to keep the criticism on the most abstract level, and in the effort to avoid specific references to the queen he falls into vagueness. The court and then the country at large are taken to task. Again the tone is mild, plaintive. Simple assertions of wrongdoing are made; there is not the least trace of irony or even of the urbanity of some of the Fig for Momus pieces. 'The bad', 'the good', 'the rich', 'the poor', 'the simple man' are the subjects of the sentences. A simple emphasis is achieved by the use of anaphora with ordinary words: 'some', 'then', 'when', 'the'. This device is an outstanding feature of The Steel Glass.

Occasionally a line in Lodge's poem strikes the ear: 'Some merchants follow God, not swallow gold' (97). 'Racked rents, the lord with golden fuel warms' (175) is an isolated case of wordplay. The image of the garden kingdom ('this sacred plot') ruined by weeds is commonplace:

Yet as great store of darnel mars the seed,  
Which else would spring within a fertile field:  
And as the fruitful bud is choked by weed,  
Which otherwise a gladsome grape would yield;  
So sometimes wicked men do overwield  
And keep in covert those who would direct  
The common state, which error doth infect.

(ll.99-105)

This recalls the garden scene in Richard II (III.4), as Truth's first phrases recall Gaunt's famous panegyric in Act II, scene 1. Eliane Cuvelier argues 'l'hypothèse d'une lecture - ou plutôt d'une relecture - du poème de Lodge par Shakespeare vers l'époque de la rédaction de sa pièce'.<sup>6</sup> But antecedents and analogues to both pieces are legion, as

Peter Ure illustrates in his introduction and notes to the new Arden edition of the play.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, Ure observes, the state-garden/wickedness-weeds metaphor is 'so common ... that it makes for what is almost a subsidiary meaning of the verb weed' (p.lii). If Lodge's poem has been overlooked by Shakespeare's editors, it is because it is only one relatively insignificant instance among many of images so current as to be common property.

Lodge's earnestness in Truth's Complaint over England is not in doubt, but his mixing of modes and the employment of prosaic language and plain diction do not make for successful poetry. The plain style can be effective as it often is in Skelton and Gascoigne, but Lodge is frequently vague or diffuse, sometimes simply obscure as in this stanza:

Yet Truth must never alter from his name,  
Good prince, said I, ye good: what of herself?  
And that is good for princes that do frame  
Themselves to private good, do subjects good;  
Yet that's not that same goodness I would name:  
Good prince, good people, that's the good I crave;  
Of princes' goods that goodness would I have.

(11.106-12)

This is surely corrupt. The rhyme of lines 107 and 109 has been lost, and line 107 as it stands is gibberish.<sup>8</sup> But the stanza is doomed anyway by the leaden repetition of 'good'. Lodge (or Truth) has forgotten her gender (1.106), as he had forgotten earlier that she is addressing only the poet when he has her embrace 'masters all' in her exhortation (1.78). The earnest poet of the envoy intrudes despite himself into Truth's discourse.

Lodge liked the melancholy poet device and exploited it several times in his next publication five years later. The title piece, Scillaes Metamorphosis: Enterlaced with the unfortunate love of Glaucus, as well

as two of the 'sundry other most absolute poems and sonnets' appended to it, use the device. The latter may be grouped with Truth's Complaint in the mixed narrative-satirical genre and will be considered now, with another piece of a similar kind published in the same collection, before I turn to the major narrative poems.

Following 'Glaucus' Complaint', a postscript to the title piece, and preceding the 'sundry sweet sonnets' discussed in the preceding chapter, Lodge placed four poems of medium length (80-108 lines). Of these, 'Beauty's Lullaby' belongs with the love poems and other non-didactic pieces and has been examined in some detail already. The second of the four might also have been included there, since it is a translation from Desportes. Entitled 'In Praise of the Country Life', it is a faithful, line-by-line translation of the opening chanson of the Bergeries.<sup>9</sup> Contrary to his usual practice, Lodge here expands the French decasyllables to hexameters. For Desportes's rhyme-scheme aabccb he substitutes the inevitable ababcc. Lodge's longer line too often results in verbosity, as in the three final lines:

And you, O sacred powers, vouchsafe my humble cry,  
And during all my days do not these joys estrange,  
But let them still remain, and grant no other change.

(Sig.D4<sup>V</sup>; Works, I, Sc. Meta., 36)

Desportes simply says:

Et vous, (Ô Dieux!) faites je vous supplie,  
Que cependant que durera ma vie,  
Je ne connoisse un autre changement.

(ed. Graham, p.172, ll.88-90)

The theme is that of 'Old Damon's Pastoral', but the difference in quality could hardly be greater. One is grudgingly obliged this time to agree with Lee that 'Desportes's original is far more deftly turned' than

Lodge's imitation, and that phrases like 'untrussed tresses' for 'tresses décoiffées' are less than felicitous (French Renaissance, p.233).

Immediately following 'Glaucus' Complaint' and before the first, probably erroneous, occurrence of the 'Sundry Sweet Sonnets' sub-heading, is 'The Discontented Satyre written by Thomas Lodge, Gent.'. It is one of the earliest, if not the earliest, examples in English poetry of the explicit satyr/satire identification; Gascoigne adopted the name 'Satyra' for his persona but makes no mention of satyrs. In the same year, 1589, George Puttenham, in his Art of English Poesy was giving formal status to the concept.<sup>10</sup> Lodge's satyr does not rebuke, he does not even speak directly to the poet or the reader. The poet has walked forth his 'sorrows to deplore', abetted by the appropriately 'doly' season (ll.18, 19).<sup>11</sup> He sees the satyr tossing restlessly on a moss bank in 'a desert dale ... where grows no herb'. The satyr is unaware of the narrator's presence and his speech is an apostrophe to Discontent.

This satyr is clearly not one of those simple, sylvan creatures, companions of the nymphs and fauns, who people the pastoral literature of the Renaissance, such as the one in Lodge's own 'A satyr sitting by a river side' (Sc. Meta., F2-F2<sup>V</sup>; Works, I; 47-8). Nor is he the benign protector of chastity in Fletcher's The Faithful Shepherdess, nor the rowdy, ribald follower of Silenus in Jonson's masque Oberon:<sup>12</sup>

Stern were his looks, afflicting all the fields  
That were in view; his bushy locks undressed  
With terror hang, his haviour horror yields.  
(11.31-3)

So ghastly is his appearance that it drives away the sadness in the poet's heart (1.34). The satyr launches into his address to Discontent, which becomes in effect an act of worship: 'Thou art the God whom I alone adore'



(1.43). Louis Lecocq sees this act - and Lodge's poem - as momentous for the history of the satiric persona:

L'horrible laideur qui éteint la tristesse dans le coeur du poète vient de ce que le satyre, voyant le dieu Discontent régner sur le monde, en est venu à l'adorer lui aussi, bien que ce soit le dieu du mal. Ici le personnage a pris vraiment une allure tragique. Il a fort bien pu commencer par être une créature folâtre et douce: le voici devenu contre son gré un suppôt de Satan, comme s'il avait lui aussi sa revanche à prendre sur le monde. Est-il une première incarnation de la figure d'un satirique mélancolique, se lançant par désespoir dans un métier qu'il déteste et où il sait que son âme candide se noircit? Tout semble l'indiquer.

(La Satire en Angleterre, p.290)

The satyr does not merely acknowledge, as Truth does, the power of envy, ambition and mécontentement in the world, he embraces it, rejoices in it, worships it. The 'delight' that he finds in 'praising of th[e] might' of Discontent does not, however, bring heart's ease:

This said, he smiled, and on his restless bed  
Reposed and tossed his indisposed limbs:  
A world of thoughts still hammered in his head;  
Now would he sleep, and straight his couch he trims:  
And then he walks, and therewith sits him down,  
And feigns to sing, yet endeth with a frown.

(11.97-102)

The poet too is affected, or infected:

I stood amazed and wondered at his words,  
And sought to suck the soul from out his lips,  
His rare discourse such wondrous joy affords:  
But unawares, like lightfoot Faun he trips  
Along the lawns: and I, with watch forespent,  
Drew home, and vowed to honour discontent.

(11.103-8)

The wilful espousing of discontent is the act of the satirist.

Here, in 1589, Lodge anticipates the vogue of a decade later for the satyr-persona. From 'discontent' to 'malcontent' is a very short step. At lines 100-102 and 104, it is not surprising that we should be reminded of

Jaques, he who 'can suck melancholy out of a song, as a weasel sucks eggs', and having done so, exit saying 'I'll go sleep if I can; if I cannot, I'll rail ...' (As You Like It, II.5.9-10, 57). For all this, neither Lodge's satyr nor his poet-persona poses as a reformer. The poem is like an account of the birth of the satirist of the 1590s. Inspired by the discontented satyr himself, the poet vows to honour discontent. Thus far Lodge. Subsequently, the vow fulfilled, the poet becomes satirist. It is one more of the contradictions in which Lodge and his works abound that he never wrote a true 'satyre'.<sup>13</sup>

The poem which follows 'In Praise of the Country Life' is almost the same length and employs the same six-line stanza. Its title, 'In Commendation of a Solitary Life' places it in the classical retreat tradition. But the poem is also the only one of the group that is overtly Christian, and it thus belongs also to the contemptus mundi tradition. It begins in the conventional manner, with an invocation of the Muse and the revelation of the poet's gloomy state of mind:

Not yet forsaken (gentle Muse) draw near,  
And help to weary out these worldly thoughts:  
Go fit thy method to my moody cheer,  
For why fond pleasure now prevaiileth naughts.  
Since when content and wealthy state declines,<sup>14</sup>  
The heart doth droop, and doleful be the lines.

The Muse is presumably Melpomene again, to suit the mood. It is difficult to determine this from her reply, however, as she speaks of her 'wings of hope' being 'clipped by foul disgrace' (l.8), and of growing old (ll.9-10). It might as well be Truth speaking. Whoever she is, she counsels content (ll.7-18); the poem thus looks like a companion-piece to 'The Discontented Satyre', the two offering radically different responses to the world's wickedness.

The poet asks the Muse, 'Where bodeth this content?' and dismisses court and city in the usual way. There has been no atmospheric description, no wandering, melancholy poet as in the other pieces. This poem is introspective, truly contemplative as Lodge's others in the genre are not. The poet addresses the Muse, imagines her response, and replies, following his own chain of thought. There is no personification of an abstraction, no interlocutor except in the poet's mind. It is his own heart (l.53) which utters the commendation of solitary life:

'Sweet solitary life, thou true repose,  
Wherein the wise contemplate heaven aright:  
In thee no dread of war or worldly foes,  
In thee no pomp seduceth mortal sight,  
In thee no wanton ears to win with words,  
Nor lurking toys which city life affords.

At peep of day when in her crimson pride  
The morn bespreads with roses all the way  
Where Phoebus' coach with radiant course must glide,  
The hermit bends his humble knees to pray:  
Blessing that God whose bounty did bestow  
Such beauties on the earthly things below.

...

Taste he the fruits that spring from Tellus' womb;  
Or drink he of the crystal spring that flows,  
He thanks his God, and sighs their cursed doom  
That fondly wealth in surfeiting bestows:  
And with Saint Jerome saith "The desert is  
A paradise of solace, joy and bliss."  
(11.55-66, 73-8)

Thanking God and quoting St. Jerome sort oddly with allusions to the 'babes of Memory' (i.e., the Muses)(l.37), 'Apollo's tree' (l.38) and 'Phoebus' coach' (l.63). The juxtaposition of Christian and pagan is particularly startling in the final stanza of the poem:

'Father of light, thou maker of the heaven,  
From whom my being well, and being, springs:  
Bring to effect this my desired steven,  
That I may leave the thought of worldly things:  
Then in my troubles will I bless the time  
My Muse vouchsafed me such a lucky rhyme.'  
(11.79-84)

The last line sounds trite after the solemn incantation of the first and the punning, Donnean intensity of the second.

The poem partakes also of the pastoral in the allusion to Virgil in lines 29-30 and the vision of the 'deserts fresh-arrayed' where 'true content doth ... dwell'. Like Truth's Complaint and 'The Discontented Satyre' it is a mixture of genres. None of these poems is pure complaint, none is pure satire. In their form, they look backward, in other respects they look forward. When including several of them in his anthology of Tudor satire K. W. Gransden observed that Lodge 'began in the homiletic manner and ended in the classical' (p.169n.). This is true as regards the form of his verse satire, but is too simple to stand as a complete account. Paradoxically, Lodge's predecessors, Langland, Skelton, Gascoigne and Spenser are, in one sense, closer to the formal classical satirists than he: all adopted personae, usually of the plain-speaking, disengenuous, countryman type. Lodge never speaks from the satirist's point of view. When Truth or the discontented satyr speaks, the discourse is reported. When Lodge came to write verse satires on the Roman model, he spoke in his own person rather than in that of a satirical persona. He does not pose. His formal 'satires' are more akin to the verse epistles of Wyatt, Donne and Jonson than to the ostensible satires of Hall, Marston, Donne and Guilpin. Some of the early 'satirical' pieces of the 1580s are also narratives in a way that much verse expressing similar concerns is not, that is, the narrative is more than a bare frame on which to hang a message. If the urge to remonstrate and reprehend was often uppermost in Lodge's literary consciousness, the desire to narrate, to tell a tale and embellish it, was not far behind.

Neither of these motives, however, nor the combination of them, is sufficient condition for the existence of Scilla's Metamorphosis, the

featured item in the 1589 collection. The volume was one of a very few of Lodge's works to be reissued in his lifetime: among the popular, secular works it shares that distinction only with Rosalynde and A Looking Glass for London and England. Title pages of some copies bear the date 1590; this seems to indicate, not two separate issues in succeeding years, but rather that the initial printing carried over into the New Year, as the copies are identical in all other respects.<sup>15</sup> The Stationers' Register entry is dated 22 September 1589. There was, however, another issue, under the title A Most pleasant Historie of Glaucus and Scilla, in 1610.<sup>16</sup> What called forth this reprint twenty years later is difficult to imagine. The vogue for Ovidian narratives, and even that for satires on and parodies of them, had largely died out by then.

The genre to which Scilla's Metamorphosis belongs is still ill-defined. Both 'epyllion' and 'minor epic' have been used and both have been argued for and against.<sup>17</sup> There are clear differences, in source material if nothing else, between those narrative poems on Ovidian or other classical subjects and those, like The Complaint of Elstred or Drayton's Heroical Epistles which draw upon legendary or historical sources. Some of the later, minor Elizabethan practitioners in the former genre, or sub-genre, depart from Ovid, turning to Renaissance novellas or their own invention for their stories, but they compensate, as it were, by frequent allusion to classical mythology.<sup>18</sup> They also betray a marked indebtedness to the two supreme examples of the genre, Hero and Leander and Venus and Adonis. The Ovidian sub-genre forms a very large majority of the medium-length verse narratives of the period, and it certainly includes the major examples.<sup>19</sup> Ovid supplied subjects not only to Lodge, Marlowe and Shakespeare, but also to Heywood, Thomas Edwards, Chapman, Henry Petowe, Marston, Francis Beaumont, Drayton, Weever, Dunstan Gale, William Barksted,

one 'H. A.', Cowley and James Shirley. The latter's Narcissus, or the Self-Lover (a sub-title suggestive of Restoration comedy) was published in 1646 when it must have seemed a curious relic of a past age.

Eroticism, or at least a love-plot, and a tragic outcome are common to most of these pieces, whether deriving from the Metamorphoses as Lodge's and Shakespeare's do, from the Heroides as do Marlowe's and Drayton's, or principally from a non-Ovidian classical source as does Richard Barnfield's Cassandra (1595). Many have the names of a pair of lovers, some divine, some human, as titles: Venus and Adonis, Hero and Leander, Oenone and Paris, Salmacis and Hermaphroditis, Pyramus and Thisbe, Cephalus and Procris, Amos and Laura, even Glaucus and Scilla if we accept the authority of the 1610 title-page of Lodge's work. The love-story is announced as such by its title, and the poet knew that his readers would be familiar with the story already.

Translations of Ovid into English were numerous in the decades before Lodge wrote Scilla's Metamorphosis. Sir Arthur Golding's translation of the Metamorphoses is only the most famous. The 1560s witnessed a veritable explosion, beginning with The Fable of Ovid treating of Narcissus in 1560. The story from Book III of the Metamorphoses is recounted in just under 200 lines of poulter's measure, and followed by a moral commentary four-and-a-half times as long. Thomas Peend's version, also 'moralized' of The Pleasant Fable of Salmacis and Hermaphroditis appeared in 1565, the same year as Golding's first four books. Thomas Underdowne's Theseus and Ariadne (1566), Thomas Howell's Cephalus and Procris (c.1568) and William Hubbard's Ceyx and Alcione (1569) testify further to the popularity of English Ovid. This is not the place for a history of Ovid's critical fortunes in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, but the importance of the Ovide moralisé tradition must be appreciated in

order to appreciate the significance of the later Elizabethan break with that tradition.<sup>20</sup> Comparison of Peend's version of the Hermaphroditis legend with that of Francis Beaumont (1602) or of the 1560 Narcissus with Shirley's illustrates the point amply. By the 1560s, the morals were being detached from the translations, and Ovid was at last being appreciated for his poetry, even if the English renditions usually left much to be desired in that respect. The next obvious move was toward much freer handling of the Ovidian stories. When this occurred, it was not only the subject matter but something of Ovid's own spirit which was recaptured. Thomas Lodge led the way.

The question of whether Scilla's Metamorphosis was 'not so much the first poem in a new genre as one of the last in an old one' was raised by Douglas Bush in 1932 and most subsequent critics have felt obliged to take it up (Myth. and Ren. Trad., p.85). Smith remarks upon the oddness of the mingling of lover's complaint with mythological subject matter and cites Sackville's Induction as an influence on Lodge (Eliz. Poetry, p.76). Lewis describes the work as an epyllion 'set in a medieval frame; that is, it becomes a proper epyllion only after the poet, walking alone, has met Glaucus' (p.488). Alexander mentions 'The Romance of the Rose and other mediaeval allegorical love-visions' in connection with the psychological abstractions such as Fury, Rage and Wanhope who appear in Lodge's poem (Eliz. Narr. Verse, p.10). Certainly the presence of the narrator as a character in his own mythological tale is rare. Beaumont permits himself a brief address to the reader before launching into his tale of Salmacis and Hermaphroditis, in which he expresses the hope that his poem 'is so lively writ, / That thou wilt turn half-mad with reading it'. He effaces himself when the story proper begins.

Whatever the sources of inspiration besides Ovid may have been, Lodge's idea of writing a lover's complaint using characters and episodes from Ovidian story was novel. Chaucer had set a tale from the Metamorphoses, that of Ceyx and Alcyone, in The Book of the Duchess. The Ovidian episode becomes a link between the narrator's waking world and the dream world. The Ceyx and Alcyone tale, although it was clearly chosen deliberately and exploited brilliantly by Chaucer, is not the primary subject of the poem; it is secondary, illustrative, offering a thematic analogue to the delicate real-life matter that was the poet's immediate concern. Both Lodge's purpose and his handling of the Ovidian material are quite different.

We have seen that Lodge used on several occasions the medieval device of the restless or melancholy poet who wanders off into the fields or woods and meets or sees someone who speaks to him or whom he overhears. Scilla's Metamorphosis begins in the same way:

Walking alone, all only full of grief,  
Within a thicket near to Isis' flood,  
Weeping my wants and wailing scant relief,  
Wringing mine arms as one with sorrow wood;  
The piteous streams relenting at my moan  
Withdrew their tides, and stayed to hear me groan.<sup>21</sup>

We are immediately transported to another world, Isis' flood notwithstanding:

From forth the channel with a sorrowing cry  
The sea-god Glaucus (with his hallowed hairs  
Wet in the tears of his sad mother's dye)  
With piteous looks before my face appears;  
For whom the nymphs a mossy coat did frame  
Embroidered with his Scilla's heavenly name.

And as I sat under a willow tree,  
The lovely honour of fair Thetis' bower  
Reposed his head upon my faintful knee;  
And when my tears had ceased their stormy shower  
He dried my cheeks, and then bespake him so  
As when he wailed I straight forgot my woe.

(11.7-18)



In Truth's Complaint Lodge takes four stanzas and in 'The Discontented Satyre' five to introduce the main character, or plaintiff. Thus the 'medieval frame' of Scilla's Metamorphosis is spare indeed. To be sure, the narrator refers several times to himself and his own sorrow; he is visibly present throughout, even joining in the pursuit of Scilla, mounted upon a dolphin provided by Glaucus with whom he skims along 'on the Ocean hand in hand' (ll.675-8). But it is Glaucus, his unrequited love for Scilla and the intervention of the gods with its consequences of ironic reversal and Scilla's hideous metamorphosis, which remain the central subject of the poem. Only in the penultimate stanza are the scene and the narrator shifted back to where they began. In an envoy Lodge, in his own person, addresses the ladies, as he addresses his fellow-countrymen at the end of Truth's Complaint. This time, however, the address is in an altogether different tone:

Ladies, he left me (trust me, I missay not)  
But so he left me as he willed me tell you:  
That nymphs must yield when faithful lovers stray not,  
Lest through contempt almighty love compel you  
With Scilla in the rocks to make your bidding,  
A cursed plague for women's proud backsliding.

This is the pleasantry of a gallant, with a broad wink to his Inns of Court audience who would be expected to applaud the jibe, and to recognize the parody of the tedious morals appended to the Ovidian translations of earlier generations. The comic irony is unmistakeable a few stanzas earlier, when the horror of Scilla's fate is quickly mitigated by the narrator's mock-solemn reflection: 'Ah nymphs, thought I ... / The like mishaps their flinty hearts would melt' (ll.749-50). The pun about 'flinty hearts' would be enhanced in the original printing by the close resemblance of 'misshappes' to 'misshapes'.<sup>22</sup> Nor is there any sentimentality in the account of the common joy at Scilla's fate:

Thetis rejoiced to see her foe depressed,  
Glaucus was glad since Scilla was enthralled,  
The nymphs 'gan smile to boast their Glaucus' rest;  
Venus and Cupid, in their thrones installed,  
At Thetis' beck to Neptune's bower repair  
Whereas they feast amidst his palace fair.

(11.751-6)

These final stanzas, together with the Epistle Dedicatory 'to his especial good friend Master Rafe Crane, and the rest of his most entire well-willers, the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court and Chancery', fix a context in which it is difficult to avoid the impression that Lodge was out to parody the conventions of complaint poetry, including lover's complaint. Seen in this light, Glaucus becomes something of a buffoon, the deities and nymphs spiteful fishwives, and Scilla's fate, terrible in itself, is distanced and hence rendered less terrible by the punning and finger-wagging at 'coy dames' with which the piece ends.

William Keach argues for an ironic reading of the poem in his recent study.<sup>23</sup> He credits Lodge with more self-conscious artistry than most previous critics have been willing to concede. Indeed, before Keach only Reese had hinted at the 'comic-rueful' tone and the difficulty of responding very seriously to anything so tear-sodden (Eliz. Verse Rom., p.15). While Keach may overestimate Lodge's control of the ironic subtleties, a possibility of which he is cognizant, it 'may in part represent a reaction against readings which have allowed Lodge no irony at all' (p.51). The reaction is a healthy one, however, and the poem acquires new life from it. Reservations about attributing to Lodge such a degree of judgement and control, particularly in his use of the self-conscious narrator, are understandable. We are not accustomed to finding in him that sort of manipulative artistry that Chaucer and Marlowe exercised in poems of a similar kind. Nothing in his writings prior to Scilla's Metamorphosis prepares us

for it. We have no translation of the Amores such as gave Marlowe experience in the Ovidian temper. Furthermore, one may suspect Keach of reading Lodge's work from a distorting point of view. The second part of his book is a study of the uses to which the epyllion was later put by satirically-minded poets, particularly Marston, Weever and Beaumont. Reading back to Lodge, via Shakespeare and Marlowe, from that vantage point, one may be too easily tempted to spot irony and ironic potential. This warning registered, however, I do not wish to quibble with Keach's interpretation of Lodge's poem. On the contrary, it provides an agreeable variation from the theme 'of historical interest only' which has been sounded so many times in these chapters. As Keach concludes, 'Lodge's epyllion is important not just because it is the first, but because it indicates so many of the possibilities explored in the epyllia which follow it' (p.51).

The tale of Glaucus and Scylla Lodge found in Books XIII and XIV of the Metamorphoses. He kept little of the original narrative, however. In Ovid, Scylla refuses Glaucus's love, whereupon he goes to Circe begging her to use her magic to make Scylla, in Golding's words, 'a partner of [his] smart'.<sup>24</sup> Instead, Circe offers herself to Glaucus. He refuses, pledging to love Scylla until trees grow in the sea and seaweed on the mountain tops. 'Indignata dea est' or 'The Goddess wext ryght wroth', and she takes her revenge upon Scylla, poisoning the pool where she bathes, which has the ghastly effect of turning her nether parts into barking dogs. Lodge omits all of this: neither Circe nor her cruel revenge is alluded to. It is Scylla's second metamorphosis, into the scropulum quoque navita vitat (XIV.74), that Lodge makes the climax of his tale; Ovid, on the other hand, mentions this only in passing. In place of the sinister Circe, Lodge brings in Venus and Cupid, assorted nymphs and

Glaucus's vengeful mother Thetis. That Lodge did consult Golding's version seems certain from this misidentification of the sea-god's mother. Golding (assuming he was working from an accurate Latin text) mistranslated Ovid's Oceanum Tethynque (XIII.951) as 'Oceanus and Thetis' (1.1110). The latter was the granddaughter of Tethys, the principal sea-goddess, and was the mother of Achilles. Glaucus's own mother in some accounts was Nais and his father Poseidon.<sup>25</sup> But such details are irrelevant, for Lodge was not intent on merely reproducing Ovid's mythological tale.

Lodge's choice of verse form was as momentous for the subsequent history of the genre as his treatment of the material was. The pentameter sixain had been used extensively by many poets, including Gascoigne, Sidney and Spenser, but never for a long narrative poem.<sup>26</sup> The weight of tradition and the recent example of The Mirror for Magistrates canonized rhyme royal as the vehicle for such works, while poulter's measure and fourteeners, popular with the translators of Ovid in the 1560s and 1570s, yielded to the shorter, more supple lines of the Golden poetry.<sup>27</sup> Lodge began using the sixain early in his career, as the short poem 'The turtle pleased with his she-compeer' in Forbonious and Prisceria shows; he doubtless wrote verses in the form even earlier than 1584. When he decided to write a sophisticated narrative poem in an erotic vein, the stanza must have presented itself as an ideal compromise: a stanzaic narrative unit, slightly shorter and with a less tightly knit rhyme scheme than rhyme royal, and a shorter line, requiring less padding out, than the old-fashioned six- and seven-foot lines. In fact Lodge abandoned rhyme royal altogether after Truth's Complaint, except for one odd case, Phyllis XI, which is printed as a sonnet, but reappears in The Phoenix Next as two rhyme royal stanzas (see above, p.172), and the very few pieces in the old metres in the 1589 collection and Rosalynde



So mayest thou bain thee in th' Arcadian brooks,  
And play with Vulcan's rival when thou list,  
And calm his jealous anger by thy looks,  
And knit thy temples with a roseate twist,  
If thou thyself and thine almighty son  
Assist poor Glaucus late by love undone.

May earth still praise thee for her kind increase,  
And beasts adore thee for their fruitful wombs,  
And fowls with notes thy praises never cease,  
And bees admire thee for their honeycombs,  
So thou thyself and thine almighty son  
Assist poor Glaucus late by love undone.  
(11.481-98)

There is a curious change of metre in the fifty-ninth stanza.

This is the lament that Glaucus imagines Disdain making on his behalf:

Wretched Love, let me die, end my love by my death;  
Dead, alas, still I live - fly my life, fade my love!  
Out, alas, love abides, still I 'joy vital breath;  
Death in love, love is death, woe is me that do prove.  
Pain and woe, care and grief every day about me hovers;  
Then but death what can quell all the plagues of hapless  
lovers?  
(11.349-54)

Lewis (p.489) speculates on how it was meant to be read: 'If rattled off as it could be, in Shenstonian 'anapests', it would be detestable; read slowly, with full stresses on let and end, it might please'. The phrasing throughout the stanza certainly suggests that the dominant metre should be the cretic (' x '). 'Death is love, love is death', for example, cannot really be read any other way than with equal stress on 'Death', 'love', 'love' and 'death'.

Lodge displays the nimbleness of his best lyrics and of a very few lines from the sonnets in these stanzas in which he employs the familiar echo device:

Echo herself, when Scilla cried out, 'O love!'  
With piteous voice from out her hollow den  
Returned these words, these words of sorrow: 'No love'.  
'No love?' quoth she, 'then fie on traitorous men,  
Then fie on hope': 'Then fie on hope', quoth Echo;  
To every word the nymph did answer so.

For every sigh the rocks returned a sigh,  
For every tear their fountains yield a drop.  
Till we at least the place approached nigh,  
And heard the nymph that fed on sorrow's sop  
Make woods and waves and rocks and hills admire  
The wondrous force of her untamed desire.

'Glaucus', quoth she, 'is fair', whilst Echo sings,  
'Glaucus is fair'. 'But yet he hateth Scilla',  
The wretch reports, and then her arms she wrings  
Whilst Echo tells her this: 'He hateth Scilla'.  
'No hope', quoth she: 'No hope', quoth Echo then;  
Then 'Fie on men' when she said, 'Fie on men'.  
(11.697-714)

Repetition, in slightly different order, of the 'No hope, no love, fie on men' motif in the first and third stanzas is expressive of Scilla's distracted state of mind.<sup>28</sup>

Immediately after this, the psychology is personified as the figures of Fury, Rage, Wanhope, Despair and Woe approach. Each is depicted emblematically. We are reminded of some of Spenser's horrific descriptions in The Faerie Queene upon reading such stanzas as these:

Fury and Rage, Wanhope, Despair and Woe  
From Ditis' den by Ate sent, drew nigh:  
Fury was red, with rage his eyes did glow,  
Whole flakes of fire from forth his mouth did fly,  
His hands and arms i-bathed in blood of those  
Whom fortune, sin or fate made country's foes.

Rage, wan and pale, upon a tiger sat,  
Gnawing upon the bones of mangled men;  
Naught can he view but he repined thereat;  
His locks were snakes bred forth in Stygian den.  
Next whom, Despair, that deep-disdained elf,  
Delightless lived, still stabbing of herself.

Woe, all in black, within her hands did bear  
The fatal torches of a funeral;  
Her cheeks were wet, dispersed was her hair,  
Her voice was shrill, yet loathsome therewithal.  
Wanhope, poor soul, on broken anchor sits,  
Wringing his arms as robbed of his wits.

(11.715-32)

The poem now moves swiftly to its climax. It is the personified emotions themselves who bind Scilla and carry her to the rocks where '... her locks / Are changed with wonder into hideous sands, / And hard as flint become her snow-white hands' (11.736-8). This is a remarkable bit of psycho-mythologizing on Lodge's part. Scilla's second metamorphosis, into the treacherous rocks feared by mariners, is mentioned in a brief phrase by Ovid. Lodge uses allegorical figures to represent Scilla's own agitated, distressed spirit, his descriptions of them contributing to the atmosphere of growing horror. He then makes them the very agents of her doom. He thus improves on Ovid by accounting for the metamorphosis. He is also in the spirit of Ovidian irony when he goes beyond the mere table-turning of the original story and makes Scilla's unfulfilled passion the cause of her destruction. The conventional flinty-hearted maiden of romance becomes, as it were, concrete reality. Interest in and analysis of the psychology of love and love's distress, expressed in an ironic manner, were to be characteristic of subsequent erotic narratives, and Lodge's inventiveness in this regard is one of the most striking features of his poem.

The narrative 'frame' comes into focus again in the last stanza but two. Glaucus, Thetis, Venus, Cupid, the Tritons and nymphs in their raucous triumphs blur as in a cinematic dissolving shot, leaving the poet alone in the foreground: 'Alonely I apart did write this story / With many a sigh and heart full sad and sorry'. This might have been the end, perhaps with the envoy delivered full-face, close-up to the ladies. But Lodge foils expectation. He adds a coda in which Glaucus detaches him-



self from the merrymaking to transport the poet (who, it will be observed, is as perplexed as he was at the beginning, though for different reasons) back to where they started. The narrator reports that in parting Glaucus enjoined him

To write no more of that whence shame doth grow,  
Or tie my pen to penny-knaves' delight,  
But live with fame and so for fame to write.  
(11.778-80)

This blurring of 'real' world and 'dream' world and the voyaging of characters to and fro across that frontier - gods and nymphs to Oxford, the narrator to the Sicily of myth and back again - are part of Lodge's manipulation. He flouts the conventions of dream-narrative, thus increasing the humorous possibilities. He has at his disposal not only the ironic potential of the narrator/dreamer/dreamer-as-character-in-his-own-dream complex, but the added opportunity for playing with readers' expectations by transgressing at will the boundaries signified by those diagonal lines.

Lodge pioneered, but Shakespeare surpassed him. The six-line stanza used by both poets is known as the 'Venus and Adonis stanza', just as the sonnet form invented by Surrey is known as the 'Shakespearean sonnet'. It was Shakespeare's use of the form that made it, with Marlowe's couplet, the accepted form for the epyllion for the next half-century. The two shared almost equal popularity, and there were few deviations once the two masters had set the example. Among those who followed Shakespeare and Lodge were Heywood, Marston, Barnfield, Richard Lynche, 'H.A.' and Shirley, while Henry Willoby used the rhyme scheme but with a tetrameter line in his Avisa. Giles Fletcher the Elder and Drayton as well as Lodge used the sixain for historical narratives also. Marlowe's

followers included, besides his continuators Chapman and Petowe, Thomas Edwards, Drayton, Weever, Beaumont, Gale, Samuel Page and the anonymous author of Philos and Licia. Rhyme royal held its own for some kinds of narrative verse, particularly the historical complaint variety, well into the 1590s, witness Daniel's and Drayton's use of it as well as Shakespeare's in The Rape of Lucrece. Some poets devised other forms for their own purposes; Spenser's Faerie Queene stanza was obviously influential. Chapman employed a form much like Spenser's in Ovid's Banquet of Sense: ababcbddd. Phineas Fletcher borrowed for his Venus and Anchises: Britain's Ida the eight-line stanza invented by his brother Giles (the Younger) for his Christ's Victory and Triumph: ababbccc. William Barksted employed a simple octave (ababccdd) in his Mirrha, the Mother of Adonis of 1607 and a more complicated one (ababbcac) in Hiren, or the Fair Greek (1611). Drayton found a straightforward abababcc form best-suited to his purpose in The Barons' Wars.

That fame for which Glaucus made Lodge pledge to write was snatched from him by one who, following where Lodge led, outstripped the leader. There is a peculiar coincidence in the fact that Lodge twice achieved excellence in a particular literary effort only to be relegated for his pains to the role of Shakespeare's humble pathfinder or plot purveyor. Scilla's Metamorphosis, like Rosalynde, can stand on its own. It has its flaws, to be sure, but they do not outweigh its merits. One wonders if Lodge drew any satisfaction from knowing that Shakespeare was twice his debtor.

The quality of Scilla's Metamorphosis was not sustained in the next long narrative poem that Lodge published. The Complaint of Elstred, composed of 101 six-line stanzas, occupies signatures H4 to L4 in the Phillis volume of 1593. Nearly everyone who has written on Lodge has

observed that Daniel probably gave him the idea when he appended The Complaint of Rosamond to his sonnet sequence Delia the previous year. Daniel linked the appended poem to the sonnets by having Rosamond refer to Delia, for example: 'Delia may hap to deign to read our story' (1.43). Daniel used the rhyme royal of The Mirror for Magistrates but Lodge held with the sixain. The practice of following a sonnet sequence with a narrative poem was taken up by others; Giles Fletcher used the sixain for The Rising to the Crown of Richard the Third appended to his Licia of 1593. Some substituted the by-then highly popular epyllion or erotic tale for the old-fashioned complaint. Richard Barnfield appended The Legend of Cassandra to his Cynthia in 1595, and Richard Lynche went to Painter for his 'amorous poem of Dom Diego and Ginevra' printed with the sequence Diella in 1596. Both poems are in the six-line stanza. Lodge thus combined old and new, taking his material from The Mirror for Magistrates but presenting it in the verse form that he had been the first to use for a narrative poem.

There is no doubt that Lodge returned to that capacious quarry for the lugubrious tale of Elstred. In the 1574 edition of The Mirror, John Higgins, taking the tragical history of famous Britons back to the beginning, added sixteen new tragedies: the first five were those of Albanact, Humber, Locrinus, Elstride and Sabrina. It was from these that Lodge pieced together his Complaint of Elstred. Higgins's verses record in dismal monotony the invasion of Britain by the Saxon Humber, Elstred's husband. He defeats the Scot Albanact, but the latter's brothers Locrinus and Camber fall upon Humber who is drowned. Elstred is taken captive but the victorious Locrine falls in love with her and takes her as his concubine. He is obliged for political reasons to marry Gwendolin and Elstred is eclipsed. Locrine, however, continues to consort

with her secretly and Sabrina is conceived. When Gwendolin's father dies Locrine openly abjures her and makes Elstred queen in her place. Gwendolin raises an army in Cornwall, returns and defeats Locrine who is killed. Elstred and Sabrina fall into the vengeful Gwendolin's hands and are drowned on her orders in the Severn, which thenceforth bears Sabrina's name.

These events and the complaints of the five characters occupy five books in Higgins's edition, with complaint heavily outweighing event. There is necessarily considerable overlap and repetition. For example, both Elstred and Sabrina relate the death of Locrine, their capture and fruitless pleading with Gwendolin for mercy, and their watery deaths. Lodge condenses the story, from Elstred's first marriage to Humber to her death and Sabrina's, into some six hundred lines. Higgins's Albanact alone is as long as Lodge's poem. That Lodge was drawing his matter from the entire group of five tragedies and not just from Elstride and Sabrina is clear from a passage like the personification of Fame in lines 43-60:

The fame that should present my facts to view,  
As I from cradle crept, so gathered wings:  
As grew my beauties, so his feathers grew,  
As waxed my worth, so was he pressed to spring;  
As years increased, from earth to trees he sprung,  
From trees to towers from whence my fame he sung.

Thus through continual motion growing great,  
His many feathers hatched as many eyes,  
His eyes as many tongues for to entreat,  
His tongues as many ears to harken cries;  
Which feathers, eyes, tongues, ears he ever frames  
To paintour praise and bruit our endless blames.

This monstrous babe (that rends his mother's breast  
To fill the world with tragic history)  
To register my beauties never ceased,  
Wherethrough, each ear that heard the novelty  
Summons each sense with wonder to behold  
If beauties were so great as they were told.<sup>29</sup>

The resemblance to these lines from Higgins's Albanact is too strong for coincidence:

Then straight through all the world 'gan fame to fly,  
A monster swifter none is under sun:  
Increasing, as in waters we descry  
The circles small of nothing that begun,  
Which at the length unto such breadth do come,  
That of a drop which from the skies doth fall  
The circles spread and hide the waters all.

So fame in flight increaseth more and more,  
For at the first she is not scarcely known,  
But by and by she flits from shore to shore;  
To clouds from th' earth her stature straight is grown,  
That whatsoever by her trump is blown,  
The sound that both by sea and land out flies  
Rebounds again and verberates the skies.

...

Such monster erst did Nature never hatch:  
As many plumes she hath from top to toe,  
So many eyes then under watch, or mo'e.

And tongues do speak, so many ears do hark.  
By night 'tween heaven she flies and earthly shade,  
And shrieking takes no quiet sleep by dark;  
On houses' roofs or towers as keeper made  
She sits by day and cities threats t'invalidate.  
And as she tells what things she sees by view,  
She rather shows that's feigned false than true.<sup>30</sup>

Lodge could hardly help improving on the sometimes nearly incoherent verse of his source. The pace of his narrative is much brisker than in the corresponding tales in The Mirror. Nevertheless, Lodge includes several passages, of up to five or six stanzas, of orthodox complaint sententiae. Elstred's execration upon Fortune at the death of Locrine is typical:

But so would Fortune (fie on Fortune fickle!)  
That by a shaft Locrinus was confounded:  
His scattered troops like sheaves before the sickle  
Fell down or fled or died deadly wounded.  
Ah guiltless souls, they perished for my sins,  
And from their falls my tragedy begins.

Ah Fortune, nurse of fools, poison of hope,  
Fuel of vain desires, desert's destruction,  
Impugner of preventions, error's scope,  
Supposed sovereign through our vain construction,  
Princess of paganism, root of impiety,  
Devil on earth masked in deity;

Scorn of the learned, Folly's eldest sister,  
Bastard of time, begot by vain opinion  
Against thy power, O peevish proud resister,  
Mother of lies and mistress of illusion,  
Vamp of vainglory, double-faced shrew  
Whose smiles at first successful, end in woe:

It was not thou, though worldly wits accuse thee,  
That set Mount Gibel of my plagues a-burning;  
It was not thou, my conscience doth excuse thee -  
It was my sin that wrought my overturning.  
It was but justice from the heavens inflicted  
On lustful life, defamed and convicted.

As when the pole that underprops the vine  
Is reft away, the crimson clusters fall,  
And as the buildings suddenly decline  
That want the means to stay them up withal,  
So when the king and all his trusty friends  
Were fled or slain, then lo, mine honour ends.

(Sigs.K3<sup>V</sup>-K4; Works, II; 74-5;  
ll.373-402 (my lineation).)

The set-piece is framed by the half-lines 'my tragedy begins' and 'mine honour ends'. We may detect a trace of the poet who wrote Thetis's prayer to Venus quoted earlier, but, though the verse form is the same, there can be little argument as to the inferiority of this to most of Scilla's Metamorphosis.

Although The Mirror for Magistrates supplied Lodge's story material, the influence of Daniel's Complaint of Rosamond seems to have been more than just the incidental one of suggesting the publication of sonnet sequence and complaint narrative in tandem. Daniel's heroine too was a royal concubine and she too suffered death at the hands of a vengeful queen. What is more, Henry II like Iocrine builds for his lover a pleasure palace hidden in the depths of a labyrinth to avoid detection;

Henry's motive is jealousy while Locrine's is simply secrecy. While Lodge's description (ll.307-24) does not echo Daniel's, both allude to the myth: Elstred speaks of 'a second Cretan wonder' and Rosamond of herself as 'the Minotaur of shame'.<sup>31</sup> Admittedly, there is a hint in Higgins's Elstride:

The king perceiving well my changed cheer,  
To ease my heart withal devised deceits:  
By secret ways I came, devoid of fear,  
In vaults, by cunning masons' crafty feats,  
Whereas we safely from the queen her threats,  
Perdy, the king and I so used our art  
As after turned us both to pain and smart.

(11.190-96)

Joan Rees has suggested that Higgins's heavy-handed piece may have challenged Daniel to do a better job on the same theme.<sup>32</sup> Daniel's Rosamond, Churchyard's Jane Shore, Higgins's and Lodge's Elstreds are all sisters in adversity, and the literary relations among their creators are just as close. Giles Fletcher has Richard III refer to these ladies ('Three parts are past, which Prince-like acted were') in the opening stanzas of *The Rising to the Crown of Richard the Third*.<sup>33</sup>

Lodge sets the complaint in a frame. The poet wandering in the evening 'by Severn's beauteous banks alone' encounters the 'woeful vision' of Elstred and Sabrina rising out of the water: 'Both seemed of royal birth and well-begotten, / Although their weeds through eld and wet were rotten'. 'Liquid crystal' in abundance contributes to the damp ambiance, and the 'amazed' narrator listens as the two ladies 'their falls successively complain'. Actually the complaint is both Elstred's and Sabrina's. The former holds the stage uninterruptedly from line 19 to line 54l, when Sabrina breaks in. Elstred is recounting their futile pleading with Gwendolin:

'Pardon', she cried, 'O madam, save my mother!'  
'Yea, Mother, so I cried', said Sabrine tho;  
'O let me now no longer sorrow smother,  
But by myself capitulate my woe,  
Since none are fit or meetest to reveal it  
Than those who like myself do likewise feel it'.  
(11.541-6)

The daughter then speaks five more stanzas, Lodge's condensation of Higgins's 200-line Sabrine. There follows a stanza whose antiphonal form emphasizes the climactic horror, and then a final speech by each lady:

Sabrina: 'Then you and I, sweet Mother, were led forth.'  
Elstred: 'We were led forth, sweet Daughter, to our last.'  
Sabrina: 'Our words, our beauties, had but little worth.'  
Elstred: 'So will the heavens that purest soonest waste.'  
Sabrina: 'I cried, "Help, Mother, help!" when I was drowned.'  
Elstred: 'Ah, helpless both yet wanting help, renowned.'

Thus cast at once into the woeful wave  
That laughed for to embowel nature's treasures,  
I forced myself my Sabrine for to save,  
But death no time, no age, no reason measures.  
"Help, Mother!" when thou criedst, I came unto thee,  
And then I died when drowning did undo thee.

Both died at once: the annals of mishap  
Wherein woe-tempted men may read their fortune,  
Since all are subject to the self-like trap,  
And self-like death may sweetest souls importune.'  
Sabrina: 'Aye, thus we died, yet not with self-like fame,  
For floating Severn loves Sabrina's name.'

So may he prattle still unto his wave  
Sabrina's name whilst brine salt tears sea weepeth,  
And if the gods or men compassion have,  
Compassion that with tender hearts ne'er sleepeth,  
We both shall live.' This said, both sought their tomb  
Within the waves, and sunk unto the bottom.  
(11.577-600)

The affected narrator concludes: 'And I got home and weepingly thus penned it, / Careless of those that scorn and cannot mend it'. It is just as well that he is so unconcerned; there is much to scorn and much that might be mended. One may suspect that The Complaint of Elstred was



written earlier and brought out, retouched perhaps, with Phillis, following the example of Daniel. It is more likely that Lodge, like Daniel, was deliberately writing in the Mirror vein, couching his complaint in the accepted sententious, lugubrious style. Certainly the discrepancy in quality between it and Scilla is striking. We ought by now, however, to expect such unpredictability of Lodge.

The next poetry we have from his pen is just as unexpected and, furthermore, is quite different from anything he or anyone else had yet written. It was published only two years after the lyrical cornucopia of 1593 and while the fashions for sonnets and erotic epyllia were in full flower. A fig for Momus: Containing Pleasant varietie, included in Satyres, Eclogues, and Epistles, by T.L. of Lincolnes Inne Gent. (STC 16658) was entered in the Stationers' Register on 2 April 1595; the epistle to 'the Gentlemen Readers whatsoever' is dated 6 May 1595. The dedication to William Stanley, Earl of Derby, is signed by Lodge, confirming the authorship hinted at strongly on the title-page. Stanley had succeeded to the title on the death of his elder brother Ferdinando, the fifth earl. Ferdinando, better known as Lord Strange, who had become Earl of Derby himself in 1593, only a few months before his death, was patron of the acting company Strange's Men; his company had performed A Looking Glass in 1592. He was Lodge's contemporary; furthermore, Lodge had been a member of the Stanley household as a boy, a fact to which he alludes in the dedication:

As your noble father in mine infancy with his own hands incorporated me into your house, so in this my retired age and study, my labour, lines and whole life shall be employed to do you honour and service.<sup>34</sup>

The Stanleys had known Catholic sympathies, and Ferdinando had been looked to by some as a Catholic claimant to the throne through his mother,

Margaret Clifford.<sup>35</sup> Lodge doubtless hoped that his earlier association with the family as well, perhaps, as his adherence to the faith they too espoused, would elicit a response from the new earl, then barely twenty years old. He played the same cards again the following year when he dedicated Prosopopeia, a tract of marked Catholic tendency, to Ferdinando's and William's mother, Margaret, the dowager Countess of Derby, whom Lodge may well have served as page some thirty years before. This early association with the Stanleys rather than his sojourn at Trinity College, Oxford, may have been the origin of his Catholicism (see Tenney, pp.57-9). His connection with the family was renewed, albeit very indirectly, in 1614 when he dedicated his translation of Seneca to Sir Thomas Egerton, Baron Ellesmere: Egerton had married Ferdinando Stanley's widow Alice in 1600.

Lodge speaks in the Epistle of 'having so long time kept silence' (A3; p.5). If the lost Spider's Web of 1594 was his, the silence was not so long as some others in his career about which we would like to know more. The years 1593 to 1594 were trying ones: Lodge was deeply embroiled in lawsuits with his brother William and others from shortly after his return from the Cavendish expedition (Sisson, pp.84-100 and passim). He may have been too preoccupied to write. It seems likely that at this time too, if not before, he began reading medicine. He was already thinking, apparently, of going abroad to study the subject in preparation for a new career. Several of the pieces in A Fig for Momus reveal more detailed knowledge of medical and scientific matters than a layman, even an educated one, would be likely to possess.

A Fig for Momus is clearly a work of serious moral intent, which is not to say that it is especially sombre in tone. Serious intent was hardly new to Lodge in 1595. We have seen that from the beginning of his

literary career, in whatever genre he assayed, his moralistic, admonitory impulse was often dominant. An Alarm against Usurers, Truth's Complaint over England, The Wounds of Civil War, A Looking Glass for London and England - such titles announce the tenor of their contents in unambiguous terms. The prose fiction of 1591 to 1593 carries obvious object-lessons in prodigality, repentance and (except in the case of William Longbeard) reform. Of the works which precede A Fig for Momus, it is the pamphlet Catharos of 1591 which anticipates it most nearly. The full title indicates the would-be witty, urbane mood of the piece: Diogenes in his Singularity. Wherein is comprehended his merry baiting fit for all men's benefits, christened by him 'A Nettle for Nice Noses'. The Cynic's denunciations become less merry and more nettling as the work progresses, but placing them in the mouth of such a character diminishes their impact. A Fig for Momus, containing Pleasant Variety, etc. seems also to promise urbanity, wit, flippancy, harshness, in short, the sort of thing that other titles of a similar kind also promise and usually deliver: The Scourge of Villainy, An Almond for a Parrot, A Quip for an Upstart Courtier, The Letting of Humour's Blood in the Head-Vein, even Lodge's own Wit's Misery and the World's Madness.

Lodge threatens and blusters in his introduction:

I entitle my book A Fig for Momus, not in contempt of the learned, for I honour them, not in disdain of the well-minded, because they cherish science, but in despite of the detractor who having no learning to judge, wanteth no liberty to reprove.

Who worthily deserving the name of 'Momus' shall rather at my hands have a fig to choke him than he and his lewd tongue shall have a frump to check me ...

If any man reprove, let him look to it, I will nip him; for as I am ready to satisfy the reasonable, so I have a gird in store for a railer.

('To the Reader', A3-A4; pp.5-7)

The fractious tone is not maintained. It is froth, for form's sake.

Lodge is aware that the reading public would be largely unfamiliar with the sort of thing he was offering, or at least with its nomenclature, as his precise distinction of the three kinds of poem in the collection shows:

My satires, to speak truth, are by-pleasures, rather placed here to prepare and try the ear than to feed it....

In them, under the names of certain Romans, where I reprehend vice, I purposely wrong no man, but observe the laws of that kind of poem. If any repine thereat, I am sure he is guilty because he bewrayeth himself. For my eclogues, I commend them to men of approved judgement, whose margins though I fill not with quotations, yet their matter and handling will show my diligence. For my epistles, they are in that kind wherein no Englishman of our time hath publicly written, which if they please may draw on more, if displease, have their privilege by authority.

(A3<sup>V</sup>-A4; pp.6-7)

It is interesting that Lodge, while pointing out his originality, especially where the epistles are concerned, also appeals to authority in each case: 'the laws of that kind of poem ... their matter and handling will show my diligence ... have their privilege by authority'. He identifies the satires as his vehicle for the reprehending of vice; neither epistles nor eclogues serve that purpose. The single sentence on the eclogues contains an apparent allusion to The Shepheardes Calender and E.K.'s glosses, a number of which cite precedents in classical and Renaissance pastoral. As for the epistles, Lodge protects himself by several qualifying phrases: 'no Englishman of our time', 'publicly', 'authority'. The authority, I presume, is Horace. Lodge is so clearly, even avowedly, imitating Roman forms in this collection that Horace naturally comes to mind when 'epistle' is mentioned. Juvenal's influence on the satires has been demonstrated.<sup>36</sup> We need go no further back than Spenser for the eclogues: each of the four poems so labelled is a dialogue on some such topic as youth and age, art and arms, or writers and patrons.

One contains a song.

Most of the poems, whether satire, epistle or eclogue, are addressed to someone. Only the fourth satire (misnumbered '5') bears no title. The eclogues are addressed to 'Reverend Colin', 'Happy Menalcus', 'Rowland' and 'Master Samuel Daniel'. Colin, of course, is Spenser, and Rowland, Drayton. 'Menalcus' is unidentified. Certainly the name is not associated with a particular known poet as the others are: among the bevy of pseudonymous pastoralists assembled in England's Helicon, no Menalcus appears. Drayton is also the addressee of Epistle 5, a generous, sympathetic tribute to his 'sweet friend' by Lodge. The 'E. Digby' of Satire 1 may be any one of several persons of that name. Tenney (p.145) suggests two, an E. Digby mentioned in the Black Books of Lincoln's Inn in the 1570s, and Everard Digby, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, divine, philosopher and author. Another candidate is another (later Sir) Everard Digby, the Gunpowder Plot accomplice, father of the famous Sir Kenelm Digby. This Everard, who was only seventeen years old in 1595, subsequently embraced the Catholic faith in which he was followed by his wife and mother. Unfortunately Lodge gives us only the first initial.

'F.M.', addressee of Satire 2 (misnumbered '3') is surmised by Tenney (p.145) to be Francis Meres; if so Meres returned the compliment by placing Lodge second, after 'Piers Plowman' in his list of English satirists in Palladis Tamia. Like Lodge, Meres translated some of the devotional writings of Luis de Granada. The 'Mistress A.L.' of Epistle 3 (misnumbered '6') would seem to be Lodge's niece Anne, daughter of William. She was sixteen in 1595, doubtless a typical adolescent in her anxiety about her appearance. Uncle Thomas, reading medicine, advises her on the causes and remedies for overweight. The 'H.L.' of Epistle 4 who has sent the poet some gifts may be his younger brother Henry. Lodge

addresses him in a very familiar way, calling him 'Harry' and referring to himself as 'Tom' (the only instance of this in his entire corpus, so far as I know). Henry had been living with William's family at Rolleston, Nottinghamshire, since their father's death in 1584 and had married there in 1594 (Sisson, pp.75, 120, App.II). The 'dear friend lately given over to covetousness' of Satire '4' has been questionably identified as George Stoddard, former apprentice to Sir Thomas Lodge, and twice warden of the Grocers' Company, who was a moneylender as well as a merchant.<sup>37</sup> Stoddard, however, died in 1580. Atkins's suggestion that the poem must therefore have been written before then, while remotely possible, is unlikely.

The one of the fifteen poems in which Lodge represents himself, under the anagram 'Golde', is doubtless a personal expression of exasperation at his failure to secure the patronage of some Maecenas. Wagrin counsels the poet:

O wouldst thou but converse with Charles the Kind,  
Or follow harvest where thy Donroy gleans,  
These thoughts would cease.

(Eclogue 3, sig.D2; p.27)

H. C. Hart suggested long ago 'with some confidence' that Wagrin was Guarini, whose patron was Carlo Emmanuele ('Charles the Kind'), dedicatee of Il Pastor Fido.<sup>38</sup> 'Donroy' is Matthew Roydon, the poet, Chapman's friend. The 'harvest where thy Donroy gleans' may allude to one or more of the noblemen - Derby, Northumberland, Hunsdon - mentioned by Chapman in his dedication to Roydon of The Shadow of Night (1594). Or Roydon may already have been in the service of Robert Ratcliffe, fifth earl of Sussex, a notable patron of men of letters; it was this same Ratcliffe to

whom (as Viscount Fitzwalter) Greene had dedicated Euphues' Shadow on Lodge's behalf.

Other figures can just be made out, or guessed at, through the camouflage of Lodge's anagrams and Roman pseudonyms. 'Ringde' in Eclogue 1 may be the composer Richard Dering, a Catholic who studied in Italy and whose first published work appeared in 1597.<sup>39</sup> Lodge is inconsistent in his use of anagrams, mixing them with pastoral names some of which suggest known persons, some of which do not. The 'blear-eyed Linus' of Satire 1 is thought to be the poet Barnabe Barnes; the identities of 'pursy Rollus' and 'Sextus' wife' in the same poem cannot even be guessed at.<sup>40</sup> The names in A Fig for Momus constitute the nearest thing we have to an autobiographical document from this period of Lodge's life; as such, however, it is sketchy indeed. Despite the references to identifiable persons, we learn little about Lodge's relations with them.

While some interest may attach to these hints at some of Lodge's intimates and acquaintances, as poetry, the collection, despite the innovations, is unexciting. This is due partly no doubt to the existence of much other poetry in the same genres that is better. Whether labelled 'satires', 'epistles' or 'eclogues', most of the fifteen pieces in A Fig for Momus can be placed in the verse epistle category. Possible exceptions are the harsher of the Satires (some lines in 1, perhaps '4', the Juvenalian '5'). Like Wyatt's so-called 'satires' in the form of epistles to his friends Poyntz and Brian, Lodge's poems are, for the most part, personal, conversational, admonitory, epistolary. In fact, it looks as if Lodge wanted to address himself to a number of topics, some moral, others simply of immediate concern to him, and hit upon the idea of a loose collection of verses, classified roughly according to the kind of subject treated. Those which 'reprehend vice' he calls 'satires', those

which deal with poets, poetry and patrons are 'eclogues', and in the 'epistles', which preponderate, he addresses to various friends his views on such things as the ability of animals to foretell the weather, dreams, overweight and alchemy. The epistles clearly reflect the medical and scientific reading in which he was engaged. The collection as a whole has the air of a retrospection, a summing-up and a valediction.

Despite the formal likeness to Roman satire and the chronological proximity to the fin-de-siècle Elizabethan verse satirists, the Fig for Momus poems are, I think, more usefully compared with the verse epistles of Wyatt, Donne and Jonson than with the ostensible 'satyres' of Donne, Hall, Marston and the rest. The admonitory or advisory epistle suited Lodge's temperament much better than the snarling, biting poses of those satirists who sprang into the arena in the last few years of the century. In this respect, Hall's claim in the Prologue to his Virgidemiarum (1598), indignantly repudiated by most writers on Lodge, is justified. Although it is inconceivable that Hall had not seen A Fig for Momus, he clearly intends something different from what Lodge professes:

I first adventure with foolhardy might  
To tread the steps of perilous despite;  
I first adventure, follow me who list,  
And be the second English Satyrist. 41

Of the two accomplices invoked by Hall, Envy and Truth, Lodge would have embraced the second while spurning the first. Indeed, upon rereading, the preface to A Fig for Momus begins to look like anti-satire. The Momus for whom Lodge intends his fig is the railer, the detractor, the cynic, that is, someone very much like the malcontent, rude 'satyrist' persona of Hall, Marston and their followers. It is true that Lodge says his satires are meant to 'reprehend vice', but nowhere does he pursue the



'satyr' motif: the word 'satyre' occurs only in the titles of four of the poems. The first is similar to Hall's verse Prologue, even to the sharing of some phrases, but is without the first-person actor in his self-conscious pose. Lodge's persona in fact foregoes an opportunity to rail:

Last day I chanced, in crossing of the street,  
With Diffilus the innkeeper to meet;  
He wore a silken nightcap on his head  
And looked as if he had been lately dead.  
I asked him how he fared. 'Not well', quoth he,  
'An ague this two months hath troubled me'.  
I let him pass and laughed to hear his 'scuse,  
For I knew well he had the pox by Luce.  
(B2; p.11)

This is scarcely the behaviour we would expect of a true 'satyrist'. Lodge allows himself a little joke on the innkeeper's name, but rather than vent his moral indignation upon the lecher, he comments after the fact, in a reflective, almost tolerant way, to Digby, the poem's addressee. He draws the very general conclusion:

Thus with the world, the world dissembles still,  
And to their own confusions follow will;  
Holding it true felicity to fly  
Not from the sin, but from the seeing eye.  
(B2<sup>V</sup>; p.12)

Lecocq, in his study of satire in the last decade or so of the Elizabethan period, related Lodge's methods to those of the old-fashioned complaint: 'Nous avons l'impression, après avoir reconnu le ton de la satire authentique, de retomber dans la complainte' (p.346). When Lodge attempts the rudesse combined with cleverness of true satire, he ties himself in knots: 'Who builds on strength by policy is stripped, /Who trusts his wit, by wit is soonest tripped' (Sat. '5', sig.G; p.49). While acknowledging the historical interest of Lodge's use of the couplet

for satire and admitting that 'dans A Fig for Momus la haute Renaissance voisine avec le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', Lecocq finds that Lodge's versification is not far removed from that of Gascoigne (p.345). The sentiments and the tone are those of Truth's Complaint and An Alarm against Usurers. Lines like 'Wit shines in virtue, virtue shines in wit' in Epistle 5 which made Lewis rub his eyes and wonder if he had blundered into the eighteenth century (p.469) are anomalous, equally unlike the deliberately rough verse of his contemporary 'satyrists' and Lodge's own verse of both his complaint and lyric styles. He may have 'achieved at a stroke something very like the style and versification which English satire developed in the age of its supremacy', but it was Hall's Virgidemiarum and not A Fig for Momus that Pope declared to be 'the best poetry and truest satire in the English tongue' (quoted by Lewis, p.471). We may conclude with Lecocq:

A Fig for Momus contient beaucoup de bons vers, un certain nombre de bons couplets: elle ne comporte pas de bon poème. Les réussites n'y sont pas rares: elles sont, hélas, accidentelles.

(p.346)

Lodge could not make himself what he was not. The 'satyr' role was not for him. It is surely significant that he wrote his formal verse satires at the end of his literary career, when he was in his late thirties. Nicholas Breton too avoided the new loud mode; he was of Lodge's generation. The other verse satirists of the 1590s were in their early to mid-twenties and at the beginning of their literary careers when they took up the form. For Donne, Hall, Marston, Guilpin, Weever, Rowlands, Middleton (if The Black Book and/or Microcynicon are his), satire was one of the first, if not the very first, kinds of poetry they tried. Some, like Guilpin, wrote nothing else. Others, like Marston

and Middleton, turned to drama as a more promising outlet for their satiric bents. Several, of course, including Donne, Hall, Marston and the epigrammatist Thomas Bastard, subsequently entered the church. The satirist's zeal found other channels. Lodge had, by 1595, already found his other channels, the Roman faith and the healing of the sick. It is hardly surprising that A Fig for Momus is sober, reflective, humane, reserved, belying its flippant title. Historically it is an anomaly. Within Lodge's own corpus it is not only consistent with the attitudes and personality visible in many other of his works, it is just what we would expect from him at this juncture: the newest of bottles, the old familiar wine, particularly mellow now.<sup>42</sup> He must have derived at least a modicum of satisfaction (if he noticed at all) from the fact that in England's Parnassus, published in 1600, in which more than 140 quotations from more than a dozen of his works were included, it was A Fig for Momus, with forty-two, which was the most frequently cited of all.

## CHAPTER 6

### Pamphlets

In the preceding chapters I have dealt in some detail with the main body of Lodge's literary output, his plays, prose fiction and poetry. There remains a substantial amount of prose from the period of his major literary activity, some of which would have entitled him to a paragraph or two in the histories had he never written a play or a romance or a line of verse. I have omitted this material from full consideration. Since one of my primary aims has been to assess Lodge's merits as a literary artist, it seemed superfluous to accord many pages in an already-bulky volume to what must be considered, even at its best, ephemera; some of it is, frankly, tedious and unrewarding. It may be argued that his plays and much of the verse and prose fiction also does not warrant serious critical recognition. Pointing out Lodge's shortcomings has been one of my objectives, and his efforts in major genres where he may be compared with his contemporaries, whether he is successful or not, must be taken into account. Varying degrees of interest may attach to some of the ephemeral pieces for various reasons, but they do not, it seems to me, require detailed, individual critical analysis. The items to be mentioned here fall into that amorphous category, 'pamphlet'. I propose simply to comment briefly on them and to refer the reader to the scanty secondary material that is available.

Lodge's literary career may be considered as beginning in 1579. The earliest work that we know of by him, an epitaph for his mother, was entered in the Stationers' Register on 23 December of that year. Also

in that year, he probably published a reply to Stephen Gosson's School of Abuse. Gosson, a playwright turned moralist, was one of the first in the arena on the side of the so-called 'Puritan' attack upon the stage.<sup>1</sup> The Theatre had opened in 1576, so it was only three years at most after the opening of London's first public theatre that Gosson cast one of the first stones in the battle which was to culminate in 1642. Gosson's own motives are hard to discern. Certainly his was not the spiritual fervour of Philip Stubbes, William Prynne or 'quaint, simple-minded and long-winded [John] Northbrooke' (J.D.Wilson). Gosson presumptuously dedicated his work to Sidney, for which act, if Spenser is to be believed, his reward was scorn, 'if at least it be in the goodness of that nature to scorn'.<sup>2</sup>

Lodge's pamphlet survives only in two copies, both lacking title-page and preliminaries and very badly printed. It is fortunate that even these two mutilated copies survive: the pamphlet seems to have been printed clandestinely, discovered and suppressed. Gosson himself says, in Plays Confuted in Five Actions (1582), that he did not see it until a year after it appeared. It is usually dated somewhere between 22 July and 7 November 1579, the entry dates for Gosson's two works, The School of Abuse which occasioned Lodge's reply and An Apology for the School of Abuse, published with the euphuistic Ephemerides of Phialo. In An Apology Gosson speaks of 'certain Honest excuses' that some players had commissioned in response to The School of Abuse. This almost certainly refers to the Lodge pamphlet. On the basis of this allusion, John Dover Wilson suggested that Honest Excuses was its title.<sup>3</sup>

The most important discovery relating to the pamphlet was made by Ringler in the course of his research on Gosson.<sup>4</sup> Several allusions to Jodocus Badius Ascensius among the welter of citations by Lodge led

Ringler to Badius's Familiaria in Terentium Praenotamenta. Badius, a French printer and scholar, prefixed his Praenotamenta to an edition of Terence published at Lyon in 1502. The edition was reprinted more than thirty times in the next forty years and the Praenotamenta was included each time. By the 1570s, however, it must have been less well-known, for Lodge was able to appropriate whole chapters with impunity. His Honest Excuses are less than honest: more than a third of the pamphlet is taken directly from Badius. All of the important part of Lodge's work, the defence of poetry and plays, is lifted from the Latin treatise. Cicero's Pro Archia furnished some of the introductory matter, as Alice Walker has shown.<sup>5</sup>

Thus the sole literary interest of Lodge's pamphlet is historical: it is the first counterthrust to one of the first thrusts in a controversy which soon outgrew the early paper duels of two young Oxford graduates. Indeed the flyting, continued by Gosson in Plays Confuted and wittily closed by Lodge in the preface to An Alarm against Usurers, is the only even mildly entertaining aspect of the whole business. Lodge, unlike Gosson, seems to have had Sidney's permission to dedicate the 1584 volume to him. From that vantage point and not without a soupçon of condescension, after chiding Gosson for his ad hominen tactics, Lodge offers the olive branch:

But, good Stephen, in like sort will I deal with thee...who having slandered me without cause, I will no otherwise revenge it, but by this means: that now in public I confess thou hast a good pen, and if thou keep thy method in discourse and leave thy slandering without cause, there is no doubt but thou shalt be commended for thy copy and praised for thy style.

(Sig. A4<sup>V</sup>; Works, I, Alarm, 8)

As for the gravamen of the issue, Lodge and Gosson scored no palpable

hits in the dust of their own raising.

The volume published early in 1584 has been referred to frequently in previous chapters. An Alarum against Usurers. Contain-  
ing tryed experiences against wordly abuses. Wherein Gentlemen may finde  
good counsells to confirme them, etc. (STC 16653) was entered in the Stationers' Register 4 November 1583. It is dedicated to Sidney, in anticipation of his 'undoubted protection', a rash claim were Lodge not sure of it. His reasons for writing the Alarm, he tells Sidney, are two:

First that the offender, seeing his own counterfeit in this mirror might emend it, and those who are like by overlavish profuseness to become meat for their mouths, might be warned by this caveat to shun the scorpion ere she devoureth.

(A2; p.3)

Reading the pamphlet, one is convinced that Lodge is writing from personal experience.<sup>6</sup> It is not only the details of the usurer's practices, with precise amounts of money and the particular 'commodities' mentioned, which give this impression. The author's almost evangelical fervour does not sound like literary artifice. We know that Lodge had debts, and his standing with his father was such that he could hardly expect to be provided for when he neglected his legal studies and took up with the London theatrical and literary milieu. A clause in Lady Anne Lodge's will withheld her legacy from him until he was twenty-five, or until 1583. What more likely than that he suffered the very exploitation at the hands of a moneylender and his cronies that the young gentleman in the Alarm suffers? One must be cautious, of course, about the way one uses the evidence, if it is evidence, of the Alarm. As Paradise noted:

The conventional discussion of his profligacy, particularly in connection with the Alarum, savors of argumentum in circulo: since he was dissipated and extravagant, the incidents in the pamphlet must be the record of his

personal experience, and since, therefore, the Alarum is autobiographical, he must have been dissipated and extravagant.

(p.29)

Most critics, however, have seen more than mere fancy in Lodge's account. Sisson argued (p.155) that Lodge's reliance on his own actual experiences increases the possibility that the rogue pamphlets of Greene and others may be taken as genuinely autobiographical. This leap is unwarranted on the evidence of the texts themselves. Greene is patently inventing, embroidering, catering to his readers' appetites which he, Greene, has assiduously whetted. Lodge's earnestness and ingenuousness are painfully obvious. As Tenney puts it, 'the lines glow with personal indignation' (p.93). Lodge's pamphlet is personal, urgent, admonitory and hortatory, while Greene's are slick, sensational, duplicitous, dramatic and entertaining. Lodge does not intend to entertain, but rather to warn by example. An Alarm bears a similar relationship to Greene's pamphlets as Thomas Harman's Caveat for Common Cursitors (1566), a serious documentary by a Justice of the Peace who is horrified but intrigued by the practices of those petty criminals whom Greene romanticized. The occasional flash of stylishness in Lodge's writing may anticipate Greene, Nashe, Dekker and others and this is what has led critics to place An Alarm in the same category as the cony-catching and low-life exposés of these authors. Colloquialism is rare, and the style is much closer to Euphues than to Pierce Penniless.

Lodge's work should be read in the light of contemporary discussions of the vexed issue of usury, of which it provides a unique and valuable case history.<sup>7</sup> Though not reprinted, it seems to have been drawn upon by later writers as a source for usurer-material. We have noted the close resemblance of the usurer's repentance in A Looking Glass



to a passage in An Alarm (above, pp. 37-9 ). E H Miller shows that Greene probably had An Alarm in mind when writing parts of A Quip for an Upstart Courtier. Lodge's fictionalized confessions thus passed into the fund of usurer lore that supplied Jacobean dramatists with their Securities and Quomodos, Dampits and Overreaches.<sup>8</sup>

It was not until seven years later that Lodge's next non-fiction prose production was published. Catharos: Diogenes in his Singularity was entered in the Register to Henry Chettle on 17 September 1591, a month after Lodge had sailed with Cavendish.<sup>9</sup> The dedication to Sir John Hart is by Busby, who is aware of the comic reputation of Diogenes and cautions against taking the work too lightly:

The matter may at the first sight, I grant, seem nothing grave, but in the proceeding it will prove gracious: Diogenes reproves the vicious, commends the virtuous, unmaskes sin and sets down remedies.

(A2; Works, II; p.3)

Diogenes, in short, is a 'satyrist'. The greeting to the reader is from Diogenes himself and clearly indicates the role Lodge intended for his Cynic:

Diogenes to such as are disposed to read:

Men, or gentlemen, if ye be gentlemen or men, accept the salutations of a Cynic. Diogenes wisheth infinite good speed to your good proceedings and curseth endlessly your ill demeanours, wishing the last to perish without supposing, the first to flourish without supplanting. That Diogenes is a dog, the worst doubt not; his reprehensions dogged, the most deny not. For what fool blinded with earth's vanity accounts not reproof bitter and the just reprover a biter? Seeing then the world is grown so sensual, no marvel though Cynics be slightly set by. If any of you read and like, why then it likes me; if read and dislike, yet it likes me. For philosophy hath taught me to set as light by envy as flattery. Greediness hath got up all the garden plots, and hardly have I a room left to turn my tub round in. The best field flowers now fade, and better than nettles my lands will not afford. They that list may take, the rest leave, and so I leave you.

Every good meaner's well-willer,

Diogenes

(a2<sup>v</sup>; p.4)

The names of three interlocutors - Diogenes, Philoplutos, Cosmosophos - head the first page, and the dialogue form promises liveliness if not drama. Diogenes opens with broadcast denunciation: 'Good God, what a city Athens is! Here are fair houses but false hearts' and much more in the same vein. At times one is almost reminded of Thersites: 'The rot consume them, for they consume the world ... They approach me - I would my curses could drive them from me'. The plan of the work is simple: the two citizens Philoplutos and Cosmosophos seek out Diogenes to ask his advice. He needs small urging and proceeds to vituperate them, then goes off in a tirade on sin in general, with special reference to usury and lechery. Interest wanes before the last of the sixty pages is reached. What begins as 'satyre' finishes as tiresome sermon. The exemplum-laden, euphuistic pronouncements ('spouting', Rae puts it) of Diogenes are very much like those of Celio in 'The Deaf Man's Dialogue' appended to Euphues' Shadow. The proximity in time of these two publications is not coincidental, and Alice Walker found that one of Lodge's quarries for the matter of Diogenes's discourses, The Dialogues of Creatures Moralized, also supplied much of the 'natural history' in Euphues' Shadow.<sup>10</sup> When we take into account Robert, Duke of Normandy, published in late spring, 1591, we may be warranted in suspecting that Lodge was undergoing some moral or spiritual crisis about this time which vented itself in the patently didactic writings of these months.

Lodge's pamphlet is one among many examples of the period which feature the famous Cynic; Lyly's play Campaspe is only the best known. Diogenes held his own even after the advent of formal verse 'satyre' in the late 1590s: Samuel Rowlands published Diogenes' Lanthorne in 1607 and Anthony Stafford used him in Stafford's Heavenly Dog in 1615. William

Goddard emphasized the misogynism of the Diogenes of tradition in his A Satirical Dialogue, or a Sharply-Invective Conference, between Alexander the Great and That Truly Woman-Hater Diogenes (1616?).<sup>11</sup> Lodge's Diogenes too inveighs against 'that sex' and quotes an anonymous Italian poem in support (H<sup>V</sup>; p.54). Greene's works contain a number of references to Diogenes.

What Lodge attempted to do here the verse satirists did better. It is in this prose work, more than in any of his verse including A Fig for Momus, that Lodge is closest to achieving 'satyre'. It is only the first few pages that are alive; he had clearly lost interest before he had gotten very far, and the last half of the work is mainly unimaginative translation from Jean Benedicti's La Somme des Pechez.

In 1596, two more pamphlets appeared. The Divel Conjured (STC 16655) is almost another Catharos. It begins like a tale:

Amidst the inhospitable mountains of Egypt, during the reign of Constantine the renowned and religious Roman emperor, there lived a virtuous and solitary hermit called Anthony ...

(B; Works, III; p.7)

Three philosophers, Metrodorus the Tyrian, Asterius of Capadocia and Frumentarius the Indian, seek out Anthony in his desert retreat. The fiction is short-lived and less lively even than that of Catharos. Anthony is not a rude Cynic but a saintly Christian hermit. The visitors query and Anthony replies, but the bulk of the work is the latter's disquisitions on vanity, devils, magic, free will and so forth. The pamphlet seems to have been composed in much the same way as Catharos, except that Lodge was even less concerned about the fictional frame. His sources were different - works by a Spanish theologian, Joseph Angles, and Albertanus of Brescia - but his method was the same (Walker, pp.270-71).

The result is a third again as long as Catharos and at least that much less absorbing.

Lodge tried once again to vend his moralist's wares in wit's clothing and this time he succeeded to a degree. Wits Miserie, and the Worlds Madnesse: Discovering the Devils Incarnat of this Age (STC 16677) appeared late in 1596, no more than a couple of months before Lodge went to Avignon: the dedication to the brothers Hare, Nicholas, Hugh and John, is signed 'in haste, from my house at Low Layton, this 5 of November 1596'. This time Lodge dispenses with fictional frames and in his own person sets out to discover the devils incarnate of the age:

Looking lately into the customs of these times and conjecturing men's inward affections by their outward actions, I gather with Jerome that this world is the house of confusion ... For who considereth wisely what he seeth and compareth that which should be with that which is, may rightly say that the Epicure conceited not so many imaginary worlds as the world containeth incarnate devils. 'Incarnate devils?' quoth you; 'why, there are none such.' 'Then there are no men', say I, 'that delight to be vicious' ... Come, come, let us take the painting from this foul face, pull off the cover from this cup of poison, rip up the covert off this bed of serpents, and we shall discover that palpably which hath long time been hidden cunningly. 'How?' say you? Marry, thus, if you please: compare things past and you shall conceit harms present.

(B; Works, IV; p.7)

The pert, chatty manner of this first page recurs throughout, and makes the pamphlet more readable than the others. It is also much longer: over 110 pages. The difference between Wit's Misery and the earlier pamphlets is Thomas Nashe. Not only is Nashe mentioned by name three times, but the Seven Deadly Sins frame and devil motif are fairly obvious hand-me-downs from Pierce Penniless.<sup>12</sup> Each of the sins is personified by a devil:

As the seven good [angels] are Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, Euchudiel, Barchiel and Salthiel, so of Satan's ministers Leviathan is the first, that tempteth with Pride; Mammon the second, that attempteth by Avarice; Asmodeus the third, that seduceth by Lechery; Beelzebub the fourth, that inciteth to Envy; Baalberith the fifth, that provoketh to Ire; Beelphoger the sixth, that moveth to Gluttony; Astaroth the seventh, that induceth Sloth and Idleness.

(B<sup>V</sup>; p.8)

Each devil sends forth his offspring 'to draw the world to capital sin'. The parade is the structure of the work. Lodge, unlike Nashe, sticks to the Deadly Sins theme and as a result, Wit's Misery is much more orderly than Pierce Penniless. Lodge does not indulge in Nashe's capricious digressions and excursions and is much less self-conscious. The reminiscences are in the style of some passages. Like Lodge's use of euphuism, his imitation of Nashe's racy, jaunty style is intermittent; in between lie large expanses of flat, authority-laden prose. The 'bookish material' which intervenes between the livelier parts accounts for about half the pamphlet. Its chief source, as Alice Walker demonstrated (pp.272-7), was Benedicti's La Somme des Pechez which Lodge had already dipped into for a good part of Catharos. This is supplemented by a dozen or so other sources, most of them medieval, some of which are acknowledged in marginal notes. Lodge wove his borrowed matter together more carefully here than in the earlier pamphlets. This method of dovetailing several sources was also employed extensively in the Josephus and Seneca translations.

It is, however, for the liveliness of the London vignettes, the 'characters' and the topical allusions that the pamphlet is valued now. Such portraits as that of Boasting, one of Pride's brood, find Lodge in a Nashean vein:

This is a lusty brute amongst all other devils. His beard is cut like the spire of Grantham steeple, his eyes turn in his head like the puppets in a motion, he draweth his mouth continually awry in disdain ... In the stationer's shop he sits daily, jibing and fleering over every pamphlet with ironical jests, yet hear him but talk ten lines and you may score up twenty absurdities ... He hath an oar in every man's boat, but turn him loose to write any poem, God a' mercy on the soul of his numbers: they are dead, dull, harsh, sottish, unpleasant, yea, Elderton's nose would grin at them if they should but equal the worst of his ballads.

(B4<sup>V</sup>-C<sup>V</sup>; pp.14-16)

The allusion to Elderton is one of several to Lodge's contemporaries.

In the passage on Hate-Virtue, son of Beelzebub, Lodge appeals to all 'divine wits' to unite against the insidious detractor: 'Lyly, the famous for facility in discourse; Spenser, best read in ancient poetry; Daniel, choice in word and invention; Drayton, diligent and formal; Th. Nashe, true English Aretine'. Earlier, in the description of this fiend, occurs an allusion to the Ur-Hamlet that has bedevilled Shakespeare scholars:

You shall know him by this: he is a foul lubber, his tongue is tipped with lying, his heart steeled against charity, he walks for the most part in black under colour of gravity, and looks as pale as the vizard of the ghost which cried so miserably at the theatre like an oyster-wife, 'Hamlet, revenge!'.<sup>13</sup>

(H4<sup>V</sup>; p.62)<sup>13</sup>

Any number of other passages might be quoted to illustrate the pamphlet's lively aspect; the weightier hortatory side is more typical of Lodge. Even as early as An Alarm against Usurers he showed flashes of the true pamphleteer and character writer, but they were only flashes. Here, thirteen years later, under the influence of Nashe and probably Greene, he again demonstrates that he is capable of writing their kind, the new kind, of prose. But it was not his kind. We enjoy it, if we do, because it is like Nashe and hence more entertaining than Lodge's own more sober manner.

Samuel Rowlands found Wit's Misery useful when composing his satiric collection, The Letting of Humour's Blood in the Head-Vein (1600): he rendered several passages in verse, where their provenance remains nevertheless recognizable. Hall certainly knew this work, as well as A Fig for Momus, as his editors have pointed out.<sup>14</sup> England's Parnassus includes eleven quotations from Wit's Misery, none of them attributed to Lodge; the compiler, Robert Allot, though he drew from Lodge's pamphlet seems not to have known who wrote it.<sup>15</sup> C R Baskervill believes that Lodge's 'characters' were a major influence on Jonson, many of whose 'humours' characters in the early plays are anticipated in Lodge's sketches. The place of Wit's Misery at the beginning of the genuine 'character' tradition as it was developed in England by Hall, Overbury and Earle is defined by Benjamin Boyce.<sup>16</sup> Boyce emphasizes the strong medieval elements, such as the allegorical portrayal of the Deadly Sins, in Lodge's pamphlet. We are not surprised to find yet another work by Lodge that is both imbued with the moralistic temper and old-fashioned conventions of medieval literature and couched, in part, in the latest popular style of the day. Lodge was consistent in his inconsistency to the very end. It is noteworthy that the two late satirical works which exhibit this peculiar characteristic of Lodge's, this conjunction of contraries, A Fig for Momus and Wit's Misery, should be the two works by him which seem to have had some impact, albeit a modest one, on his fellow-authors, insofar as such things are measurable by unacknowledged quotation.

Postscript 1596-1625: Translations, Tracts, Treatises

But 1596 did not see the end of Lodge's literary production. It is true, he wrote no more romances, plays or poems (except a prefatory

stanza or two), no more satires or topical pamphlets. But writing was too much part of him to be given up once and for all, and no account of his literary career which ignored the nearly three decades of his life after 1596 would be a fair one. His religious confession and his new vocation were both given expression in works published in those years. That propensity for giving moral and spiritual instruction which is evident in so many of his writings led him to translate not only devotional works, but the philosophical and historical writings of two major authors of antiquity, as well as a learned commentary on the most profoundly influential epic poem of the Renaissance.

The first of the meditations or aids to devotion appeared in 1596, a beginning in a year of endings. This is not to suggest that Lodge's conversion was hasty or that it dates from that year. Indeed the seeds were probably sown years earlier, during his childhood sojourn in the Stanley household, and nurtured during his years at Oxford. But its first overt manifestation in print was Prosopopeia: Containing the Teares of The holy, blessed, and sanctified Marie, the Mother of God (STC 16662). There can be no doubt that Lodge himself intends to mark the separation between his former works and this in the address to the reader:

Some I know will condemn me, and that justly, for a Galba who begat  
foul children by night and made fair pictures by day. To whom I answer  
that I paint fair things in the light of my meditation, who begot the  
foul forepassed progeny of my thoughts in the night of mine error.

(A5-A5<sup>V</sup>; Works, III; pp.9-10)

Later in the same address he speaks of his desire to be 'cleansed from the leprosy of my lewd lines' after having 'wounded the world with too much surfeit of vanity' (A7).

Alice Walker has pointed out (p.281) that the main sources of



inspiration for the tract are works by the Spanish Dominican Luis de Granada. Lodge went on to translate more of Granada, from a Latin abridgement by Michael ab Isselt, Flores ... Ludovici Granatensis (1598); Lodge's version was published in 1601 as The Flowers of Lodowicke of Granado (STC 16901). Another collection, A Paradise of praiers, from Isselt's Latin (1599) of another Granada work, was probably published almost immediately after The Flowers (see Allison, p.24). The earliest extant edition of the latter dates from 1609, but the S.R. entry, which names the author as 'T.L.', is dated 22 May 1601, just a month after that for The Flowers. Furthermore the edition of 1633 says plainly 'the fourth edition' on the title-page; only two (1609 and 1614) prior to it survive.<sup>17</sup> These three tracts, with the translation of Goulart's commentary on du Bartas, constitute Lodge's ostensible religious corpus. But the moralizing in explicit Christian terms with many allusions to Scripture and the church fathers in the pamphlets, the obvious spiritual tenor of 'secular' works like Robert, Duke of Normandy and 'The Deaf Man's Dialogue', the pious conclusions to An Alarm against Usurers and William Longbeard, and the Biblical neo-morality play, A Looking Glass for London and England all taken together, show Lodge's personal religious conviction to be something rather more substantial than the formal, matter-of-fact Anglican allegiance of many of his lay literary contemporaries.

Lodge was also a physician and it is hardly surprising that some traces in writing of this new vocation which he followed for so many years should be left. He practiced medicine for nearly twice as many years as he had practiced literature. In 1603, a bad plague year, he offered his advice to his fellow-citizens and the Lord Mayor, aldermen and sheriffs of London, on the causes and cures of the plague. It was, properly speaking, not his advice, but that of a French doctor, Francois

Vallériole (c.1504-1580), for Lodge's A Treatise of the Plague (STC 16676) is in the main a translation of Vallériole's Traicté de la peste, published in Lyon in 1566.<sup>18</sup> Lodge may have known the author's son Nicholas, also a physician, at the medical faculty in Avignon. 'The Treatise, full of herb lore and bizarre remedies, is fascinating as evidence of the state of medical knowledge in the sixteenth century. It is ironic that Lodge himself died during another major outbreak of the disease in 1625. In his professional capacity, Lodge wrote an introduction to The countesse of Lincolnes nurserie (STC 5432), a treatise in which the countess, Elizabeth Clinton, urges women to nurse their own babies, supporting her argument by Scriptural example and precept. Lodge closes his brief epistle with a six-line stanza on the noblesse oblige theme; it does nothing for his stature as a poet.

Another medical work, called The Poore Mans Talentt, dating probably from around 1623, existed only in manuscript until Gosse printed it. He used a manuscript belonging to Collier and thought that most of it was in Lodge's own hand; he printed a facsimile of the dedication (Works, IV; p.2). It is much more likely that the hand is that of a professional scribe (Paradise, pp.173-4); it does not at all resemble that of the letter Lodge wrote to Sir Thomas Edmondes in 1611.<sup>19</sup> The dedication to Ann Dacre, Mother Countess of Arundel, makes it clear that she engaged in charitable medical activities. Lodge had promised the book and had expected to present it in person but was prevented by the infirmity of age. The Countess was Catholic, widow of Philip Howard, the first Earl of Arundel, who had died in the Tower in 1595, a resolute recusant to the last (D.N.B.). She and Lodge had doubtless become acquainted by virtue of two common commitments, the Church and medicine.

I have left until last Lodge's three monumental translations.

Had he written nothing else, he would deserve to be numbered among the major translators of his age, with Florio, Fairfax, North, Hoby, Holland and Chapman. The Famous and Memorable Workes of Josephus was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1591 and again in 1598; it seems to be a project on which Lodge was engaged, or at least which he had in mind, for some years. A folio of nearly 850 pages, it was first published in 1602 (STC 14809), and went through six further editions, the last being in 1670. Of Lodge's works, only Rosalynde exceeded that number. One can only assume that a growth of interest in Biblical history accompanied the spread of Bible reading in the period of Puritan ascendancy, and that it is this which accounts for the continuous demand for Lodge's Josephus. The work was dedicated to Charles Howard, Baron

Effingham and Earl of Nottingham, the Lord High Admiral who was patron of the acting company for whom Lodge had written The Wounds of Civil War some fifteen years before. Lodge, as the title-page acknowledges, worked from both Latin and French versions. The standard Latin edition, by Gelenius, had appeared in 1534; there was an edition of 1595 in Geneva. But if Lodge was working on Josephus as early as 1590/1, as A Looking Glass and the S.R. entry suggest, he must have known an earlier edition, perhaps that of 1580. Antoine de la Faye's French version appeared in 1597, but there were others of some of the works as early as 1553. Lodge's translation was the first of several whose multiple reprintings testify to the continuing popularity of the Jewish historian through the nineteenth century. Lodge was followed by Sir Roger L'Estrange (1702, etc.) and William Whiston (1737, 1806, etc.); the latter's version is common today in second-hand bookshops.

The second colossal translating task that Lodge undertook was the complete prose works of Seneca. The plays had been readily avail-

able in translation for some time, and certain of the most famous prose treatises, such as the De beneficiis, had been englished more than once; Lodge certainly knew Golding's version of that particular work. The project may have taken Lodge even longer to achieve than the Josephus. A S.R. entry of 15 April 1600 to E Blount records a translation of Seneca. It reads in part: '... a booke to be translated out of French and Latyn into Englishe and so to be printed called. L. Annaei Senecae philosophi [sic] Stoicorum omnium Acutissimi opera'. If this is Lodge's translation, it was not until fourteen years later that it saw the light: The Workes both Morrall and Natural of Lucius Annaeus Seneca (STC 22213). Lodge refers to the translation in his letter to Sir Thomas Edmondes, Ambassador to France, of 17 January 1610/11:

When Seneca speaketh good English, as I hope he shortly shall, I will send him over into France to attend your Honour. His news will best content you who is replenished with all moral wisdom.

(see n.19)

The work is dedicated to Thomas Egerton, Baron Ellesmere, the Lord Chancellor. A second, revised, edition of 1620 (STC 22214) was dedicated to Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk; Egerton had died in 1617. Lodge translated not only Seneca's works, but a life of the Roman philosopher by Justus Lipsius, whose definitive Latin edition of the prose works (1605) Lodge obviously used. He includes Lipsius's prefatory remarks to each of Seneca's works. He seems also to have relied on several French versions (thus bearing out the S.R. entry), including one by Simon Goulart, author of the du Bartas commentary which Lodge was to translate subsequently.<sup>20</sup> It is perhaps curious, in view of Seneca's increasing popularity, partly at the expense of Cicero, in the first decades of the seventeenth century, that no further issues of

Lodge's translation were called for.<sup>21</sup> Seneca was probably read more for his Latin, Josephus more for his history. Lodge's is the only complete edition of the prose works, in Latin or English, published in England until modern times. It is a tour de force. Lodge's perseverance is remarkable: not only did he work at the translation over a number of years drawing upon a number of different editions and commentaries for the sake of thoroughness, while earning his living as a physician and enduring or avoiding the harassment and inconveniences to which recusants were subject, including enforced absences abroad, but he extensively revised the work for the second edition to make the English more accurate and more readable.<sup>22</sup> This is the only one of the six works that were issued more than once in his lifetime, for which we have clear evidence that he was responsible for revisions; in fact, it is the only one which incorporates any significant revisions in an edition after the first.

The book is a handsome folio of more than 950 pages, with a title-page by the distinguished pioneering engraver William Hole for the 1614 edition. A prefatory letter to the second edition by one 'W.R.' praises Lodge's translation as superior to other English renditions of ancient historians, Sir Henry Savile's Tacitus and Holland's Livy and Ammianus Marcellinus (sig.b3<sup>v</sup>); extravagant, no doubt, but indicative of the admiration that Lodge's achievement won for him.

His last work of vast scale was the translation of Simon Goulart's popular commentary on du Bartas's even more popular epic on the creation of the world. Lodge must have been at work on it even as he revised Seneca. A Learned Summary Upon the famous Poeme of William of Saluste Lord of Bartas (STC 21666) was entered 8 November 1620, and the title-page bears the date 1621. At over sixty, Lodge was as active

in a literary way as he had been at half that age. Du Bartas's divine epic, La Semaine (1578) and an unfinished Second Semaine, had seen dozens of editions before Joshua Sylvester's English verse translation appeared in 1605. English versions of some of du Bartas's works had been made as early as 1584. Sidney had begun a translation of La Semaine and James VI of Scotland, an ardent admirer of the French poet, had translated an earlier work, L'Uranie, and entertained the author at Edinburgh. Sylvester had already published his translation of part of the epic some years before.<sup>23</sup> As early as 1582, the fifteenth French edition was being published. To it were appended Commentaires et annotations by Simon Goulart de Senlis. Goulart (1543-1628), successor to Calvin's heir Beza as President of the Company of Pastors and hence virtual dictator of Geneva from 1605 until his resignation in 1612, was a prolific author. Historian, theologian, poet, commentator, his copious and learned annotations of du Bartas came to be inseparably associated with the poet's works. By the year of his death, 1628, more than two dozen editions of Goulart's commentaries, with or without the du Bartas poems themselves, had been published in various European cities.

Lodge's translation of Goulart coincided with a fifth edition of Sylvester's of du Bartas in 1621. Lodge's last great labour of the pen was of similar proportions to his Josephus and Seneca: over 600 pages. A succession of reissues, with cancel title-pages, appeared in 1636, 1637 and 1638. At the end of a long and full life, an English Roman Catholic poet turned physician translates a commentary by a Genevan Calvinist theologian-politician on an epic poem by a French liberal Huguenot soldier-poet: what else would we expect of Thomas Lodge?

## Conclusion

A formal conclusion to a study or series of studies such as this may be superfluous. A number of conclusions have been drawn, or suggested or implied, at various points in the preceding chapters. It is not my intention to make final judgements, or pat summings-up which purport to be final, as to Lodge's 'place' in Elizabethan or English literature or in the history of any of the genres in which he wrote. This, insofar as it can ever be done - and the 'finality' of such judgements will surely be relative for each epoch which rediscovers and reclaims authors of the past for itself - must await adequate editions of at least the works in the major genres. I would wish also for some of the pamphlets to be made more accessible as Nashe's, Greene's and Dekker's have been.

While one of my aims has been to examine critically Lodge's major writings and to draw attention to his strengths and weaknesses, this has been only one aim. Much of what I have been trying to do is investigatory and descriptive rather than evaluative. Biography, literary history and particularly source study, bibliography, textual analysis have all been engaged in when I have felt that they would help. I would hope that what has been done here may serve the future editor and commentator of Lodge's works as starting points, as the work of Paradise, Walker, Sisson and Tenney will serve his future biographer.

Lodge has suffered, as any individual would, by being lumped with other writers of his time, usually under the 'University Wit' label. He is also, depending on the needs of the critic or historian, one of the euphuists, of the minor sonneteers, of the prose romancers, of the lesser Ovidian poets, a verse satirist manqué, a very minor dramatist, a petty pamphleteer, etc. And he has been yoked in an inevitably un-

favourable relationship with Shakespeare. To say that Lodge needs to be given thorough and fair consideration on his own literary merits is to demand no more for him than ought to be accorded many of his contemporaries. There are still many who have never been properly edited, while new series of Shakespeare editions are spawned yearly. A true appreciation of Elizabethan literature in all its variety and richness can never be achieved so long as only a handful of commercially 'sure' major authors are edited and re-edited to the almost total neglect even of authors of Lodge's stature. There is little hope for the Guilpkins, Bretons, Riches, Whetstones and Mundays.

Some of the ways in which Lodge is unique among Elizabethan authors have been remarked in these chapters. Among the University Wits he and Nashe are the only two who are not noted primarily for their dramatic authorship, and even Nashe's name is associated more frequently with known plays than Lodge's. Lodge wrote much more non-dramatic verse and in more different forms and genres than any of the others. Unlike the other 'Wits', except Lyly perhaps, Lodge was reasonably justified in laying claim to gentility, as he took pains to point out in the preface to An Alarm; the 'Gent.' was a part of his name on many of the title-pages of his books. He was the only one of this group to survive much beyond the end of Elizabeth's reign: the Jacobean Lodge might be a different man from the Elizabethan, so absolute is the break. Among Helgerson's prodigals, he was the only one who had the chance to lead a second life, and he seized the chance with commitment, obviously armed with reserves of inner strength which his earlier life would not lead one to expect. He was the only writer of prose fiction except Sidney, whose example loomed large for Lodge during his literary career, to produce a sonnet sequence; this and his Ovidian narrative poem were in 'gentlemen's' genres. I think



that he realized by 1595 or so that writing was becoming professionalized and he was not a professional in the way that Greene and Nashe or the dramatists who wrote for the public theatres were. Lodge probably fancied himself a gentleman amateur, a cut above the likes of Nashe, and may have been embarrassed about having written for the stage or otherwise for popular consumption. The scornful dismissal of his earlier writings in prefaces to several of the 1596 pamphlets may be motivated by more than his growing religious conviction. Lodge's disaffection came several years ahead of the mal du siècle.

It is difficult to imagine Lodge carrying on as a writer longer than he did. His temperament clearly demanded something more durable and more fulfilling. In another age he would surely have been a monk. His seriousness shows in many of the writings, even the ostensibly 'secular' and popular ones. The medievalness of some of the works is both formal and spiritual. Of course, Lodge continued writing as did Donne, Hall and others who entered a true profession after having dabbled in poetry. The sheer bulk of the three major translations alone is considerably greater than that of all that he produced during the years when writing was his main pursuit. Literature per se was not, I believe, Lodge's vocation even in that period that I refer to as his literary career; he played at it, which is not to say that he was not quite serious about it at times. He simply found his real vocation late, entering upon it when he was nearly forty. The time between leaving Oxford and going to Avignon had been parenthetical and I think Lodge felt it to be so. We are fortunate that it was so late in his life that medicine and his faith closed the parenthesis.

It is rather ironic that a man for whom writing was neither a real profession nor his true vocation should produce the most multifarious

corpus of any contemporary of comparable importance and that so many of his works are of historical significance. Thomas Nashe may have boasted in Strange News that he had written in more humours privately than any young man of his age in England, but by 1596 Lodge had surely written, publicly at any rate, in more 'humours' than Nashe or anyone else of his time. Not only did Lodge write prose fiction, plays, lyrics, sonnets, narrative and satirical verse, pamphlets and devotional tracts, but within each of these categories the individual specimens differ widely from one another as the discussions in the foregoing chapters will, I trust, have demonstrated. Indeed it has been observed more than once that Lodge almost seemed intent on not repeating himself. In his apparent utter lack of instinct or concern for what would sell and for what his own gifts as a writer best equipped him for, he could not be more unlike Greene, Nashe and the popular dramatists. If we add the medical treatises and translations from classical and contemporary writers to the main corpus of 'literary' works, there is no author of his age who had more oars in more paper boats.

But I have urged that it is Lodge the poet who most deserves our attention. In the chapters on the poetry I have dwelt at more length on textual problems than in those on the plays and romances. I have also quoted more generously from the verse, much of which is unknown today, even to students of Elizabethan poetry. The next obvious requirement is an edition, preferably in modern spelling (on the model, or something close to it, of the examples I have given) but not in a modern English 'translation', of the complete poems. This would, I think, establish Lodge as a major lyric poet of his age. The romances, particularly the almost-unknown Forbonius and Prisceria, Robert, Duke of Normandy, William Longbeard and Euphues' Shadow as well as Rosalynde and A Margarite of America, should be the next priority. Of the other writings, An Alarm against Usurers and

Wit's Misery and the World's Madness at least are worth reviving. Honest Excuses and A Treatise of the Plague have curiosity value and modest historical interest. A complete edition of the works is probably too much to expect. Extracts from the major translations, Josephus and Seneca at least, would suffice to communicate their character. Lodge is also unique among his contemporaries in being so well served by biographers, so frequently treated in critical works on various aspects of Elizabethan literature, and yet so grievously unedited.

## NOTES

### Chapter 1

1. Paradise, Thomas Lodge: The History of an Elizabethan (New Haven, 1931; repr. Hamden, Conn., 1970); Sisson, 'Thomas Lodge and his Family', in Thomas Lodge and Other Elizabethans, edited by Sisson (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), pp.1-164; Walker, 'The Life of Thomas Lodge', RES, 9 (1933), 410-32, and 10 (1934), 46-54; Tenney, Thomas Lodge (Ithaca, N.Y., 1935; repr. New York, 1969). The works by Paradise, Sisson and Tenney will hereafter be referred to by the authors' names. Tenney's biography is a sometimes fanciful reconstruction, using accounts of life at Oxford or the medical faculty at Avignon, for example, as if they were facts of Lodge's life. Nevertheless considerable research was done by Tenney. Sisson drew upon his researches for an historical novel, Gabriel (1966), in which Lodge's father, Sir Thomas, is a minor character.
2. 'Über Lodges Leben und Werke', Anglia, 10 (1888), 235-88.
3. Anthony à Wood, Athenae Oxonienses: An Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in the University of Oxford, etc., edited by Philip Bliss, 4 vols (1813-20), II (1815), cc.382-5. Bliss corrects Wood on several matters of fact. None of the encomiums of which Wood speaks seems to have survived.
4. For a list of Collier's publications on Lodge, see Pat M Ryan, Jr., Thomas Lodge, Gentleman (Hamden, Conn., 1958), 'Bibliography', pp.xiii-xiv. Hereafter referred to as 'Ryan'. C M Ingleby, Was Thomas Lodge an Actor? (1868).
5. The Works of Thomas Lodge, prepared by Edmund Gosse for the Hunterian Club, 4 vols (Glasgow, 1883; repr. New York, 1963), I. Hereafter cited as 'Works'. (See Preface). The 'Memoir' was reprinted in Gosse's Seventeenth Century Studies (1883), third edition (1897), pp.1-46.
6. Thomas Lodge, Twayne's English Authors Series 59 (New York, 1967). Hereafter referred to as 'Rae'.
7. Houppert, 'Thomas Lodge's Letters to William Trumbull', Renaissance News, 18 (1965), 117-23; George, 'Additional Materials on the Life of Thomas Lodge between 1604 and 1613', in Papers Mainly Shakespearian, edited by G I Duthie (Edinburgh, 1964), pp.90-105. W W Greg published a facsimile of another Lodge letter, to Edmondes, in English Literary Autographs 1550-1650, Part I (Oxford, 1925), XIX.
8. Charles W Whitworth, 'Thomas Lodge, Elizabethan Pioneer', Cahiers Elisabéthains, No. 3 (Avril, 1973), 5-15.
9. Rosalynde, edited by W W Greg, second edition (1931), p.xxvii. Full reference in Ch.3, n.21.
10. Richard Helgerson sees prodigality as a central theme in many of Lodge's works and moves perhaps too freely from life to literature in The Elizabethan Prodigals (Berkeley and London, 1976), pp.105-23.

11. F G Fleay, A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama 1559-1642, 2 vols (1891), II, 45; Lee, D.N.B. article; Gosse, 'Memoir', Works, I; p.17.
12. Rae accepts it (pp.39-40); Ryan weighs Paradise versus Tenney without pronouncing (pp.75-7). Houppert, however, ignores Tenney altogether, and takes 1585 as a given, presumably because he wants to date The Wounds of Civil War in 1586 (Lodge, The Wounds of Civil War, edited by Joseph W Houppert, Regents Renaissance Drama Series (Lincoln, Neb., 1969; London, 1970), 'Introduction', p.xiii). Houppert cites the wrong book but the right page number in footnote 5: Kenneth Andrews, English Privateering Voyages, etc. should be D B Quinn, editor, The Roanoke Voyages 1584-1590, The Hakluyt Society publications, Second Series, 104-5, 2 vols (1955), I, 153, n.4.
13. Paula Burnett, 'Rosalynde: An Annotated Critical Edition with Introduction' (unpublished B.Litt. thesis, Oxford University, 1968), pp. xxxi-xxxii. There is a fuller discussion of Mrs Burnett's hypothesis in Ch.3.
14. Kenneth Andrews, Elizabethan Privateering (1964), p.96. I have also seen Andrews's unpublished Ph.D thesis ('Economic Aspects of Elizabethan Privateering', University of London, 1951). There was also a voyage to Newfoundland as early as 1582 and others in 1593 and 1594, all known due to proceedings relating to them in the High Court of Admiralty (see Andrews, English Privateering Voyages to the West Indies 1588-1595, The Hakluyt Society publications, Second Series, 111 (1959), p.167n.).
15. J R Dasent, editor, Acts of the Privy Council: 1590-91, n.s. 20 (1900), p.158.
16. Personal letter, 14 September 1972.
17. For references, see Ch.3, n.103. The summary which follows is based on Sisson, pp.105-8.
18. The Last Voyage of Thomas Cavendish 1591-1592, with introduction, transcription and notes by David Beers Quinn (Chicago and London, 1975), p.39.

## Chapter 2: The Plays

1. Fleay, Biographical Chronicle, II, 43. Wood mentions three comedies, Liberality and Prodigality, Lady Alimony and Laws of Nature, and a masque, Luminalia, of which he says that Lodge was 'assisted also in these by ... Rob. Greene, who is accounted the half author of them' (Athenae Oxonienses, ed. Bliss, II, c.383); these attributions are almost certainly mistaken (see Alfred Harbage, Annals of English Drama 975-1700, revised by S Schoenbaum (1964), under these titles).

2. On the whole question of internal evidence, see S Schoenbaum, Internal Evidence and Elizabethan Dramatic Authorship (1966).
3. F E Schelling, Elizabethan Drama 1558-1642, 2 vols (New York, 1908), I, 241, 294.
4. Allardyce Nicoll, British Drama: An Historical Survey from the Beginnings to the Present Time (1925), p.74.
5. Francis Meres's Treatise "Poetrie", edited by D C Allen (Urbana, Illinois, 1933), p.79.
6. See Paradise (p.129n.), for dates suggested by several scholars.
7. Robert W Kenny, Elizabeth's Admiral: The Political Career of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham 1536-1624 (Baltimore, 1970), p.30.
8. E K Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, 4 vols (Oxford, 1923; corr. repr. 1974), II, 135. Hereafter cited as 'Chambers'.
9. See, for example, Fleay, II, 49; A W Ward, A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne, second edition, 3 vols (1899), I, 416; M W MacCallum, Shakespeare's Roman Plays and their Background (1910; repr. 1967), pp.62-3n; Chambers, III, 410; Willard Farnham, The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy (Oxford, 1936; repr. 1956), p.377; W A Armstrong, 'Tamburlaine and The Wounds of Civil War', N&Q, n.s.5 (1958), 381-3; Wolfgang Clemen, English Tragedy before Shakespeare, translated by T S Dorsch (1961), p.134; David Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), p.234.
10. J C Collins, editor, The Plays and Poems of Robert Greene, 2 vols (Oxford, 1905), I, 141.
11. J P Collier, The History of English Dramatic Poetry to the Time of Shakespeare, 3 vols (1831), III, 214-15. The first sentence is curious; blank verse had been in use in dramatic writing for some time before 1586. Compare an earlier assertion of Collier's that 'the versification of The Wounds of Civil War certainly affords evidence that it was penned even before Marlowe had improved the measure of dramatic blank verse' (A Select Collection of Old English Plays (1825), VIII, 12n.).
12. All references are to the modern-spelling edition by Joseph W Houppert in the Regents Renaissance Drama Series (cited in Ch.1, n.12).
13. See F S Boas, Christopher Marlowe (Oxford, 1940), p.173; C F Tucker Brooke, 'The Marlowe Canon', PMLA 37 (1922), 367-417 (p.376).
14. Quoted from the edition by H B Charlton and R D Waller, second edition (1955).
15. The parallel was first pointed out by Tucker Brooke in 'The Marlowe Canon', p.376n.
16. Quotations are from the edition by John D Jump, Tamburlaine the Great, Parts I and II, Regents Renaissance Drama Series (1967).

17. On this, see my 'The Wounds of Civil War and Tamburlaine: Lodge's Alleged Imitation', N&Q, n.s. 22 (1975), 245-7.
18. The letter is cited by Chambers (II, 135), but he does not make the suggestion that it refers to Tamburlaine. Boas, however, says that it 'can scarcely be questioned that the fatality which he recounts took place during the performance of Act v.i' (p.71). Jump feels that we are not being 'unduly rash if we accept Gawdy's letter as referring to a performance of Tamburlaine, Part II, and date both parts 1587' (p.xii).
19. Arthur Freeman, Thomas Kyd: Facts and Problems (Oxford, 1967), p.79.
20. English Drama from Early Times to the Elizabethans (1950), p.142).
21. Chambers took the phrase 'short and sweet' to be a reference by Lodge to the title of Wilson's play (III, 516), but see H S D Mithal, '"Short and Sweet"', N&Q, n.s.5 (1958), 521-2.
22. Shakespeare's Roman Plays, p.68.
23. An Apology for Poetry, edited by Geoffrey Shepherd (1965), p.135.
24. See, for example, Schelling, II, 17. Sallust is mentioned by Lee in the D.N.B. article on Lodge.
25. The Wounds of Civil War, edited for the Malone Society (1910), p.xii.
26. Appian's Roman History, Loeb Classical Library, 4 vols (1912-13), III, 111-13; Plutarch's Lives, Loeb Classical Library, 11 vols (1914-26), IV, 355-7. Houppert has appended to his edition of the play a list of quotations from the 1578 translation of Appian, with passages in the play which seem to be taken from it.
27. See Joel Hurstfield, Elizabeth I and the Unity of England (1960; repr. Harmondsworth, 1961), pp.95-108.
28. Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics, p.234; Farnham, The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy, p.376.
29. English Tragedy before Shakespeare, pp.136-40.
30. There is a lost Gray's Inn play, Sylla Dictator of 1588, probably in Latin (Harbage, Annals of English Drama, revised Schoenbaum, p.52).
31. See my 'The Misfortunes of Romeo and Juliet: Richard Penn Smith's 'Revival' of Otway's Caius Marius', Cahiers Elisabethains, No.6 (Octobre, 1974), 3-7.
32. Wilhelm Creizenach, The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare (1916), p.67.
33. The fourth edition (revised STC 16681.5), which exists in a unique copy at the University of Chicago, lacking title-page, probably dates from 1603 to 1605; see Berta Sturman, 'A Date and a Printer for A Looking Glasse for London and England, Q4' SB, 21 (1968), 248-53.

34. Henslowe's Diary, edited by R A Foakes and R T Rickert (1961), p.17.
35. Quotations of A Looking Glass are from Alexander Dyce's sound modern-spelling edition in his Dramatic and Poetical Works of Robert Greene and George Peele (1861), pp.113-47. This constitutes Dyce's revision of his original text, in an edition of Greene of 1831. Dyce does not give act and scene divisions; page and column references will be used (when mentioning but not quoting from particular scenes, I shall give the act-scene divisions of Collins and subsequent editors). Dyce used Q1 (1594) as his copy text and collated Qq 2, 3 and 4 (not Chicago; see n.33); in this he has been followed by others who (except Grosart) also collate Dyce. He pointed out the inferiority of Q2 (1598), unfortunately used by both Gosse and Farmer (1914) for their reprints. For lists of editions and confirmation of Dyce's authority, see Greg's Malone Society reprint (1932), pp.ix-x; see also the bibliographical introduction to Tetsumaro Hayashi's very conservative edition (Metuchen, N.J., 1970).
36. W W Greg, editor, Doctor Faustus: 1604-1616 (1950), pp.5-10; Boas, Christopher Marlowe, pp.203-4; Tucker Brooke, 'The Marlowe Canon', pp.379-84; Harold Jenkins, review of Greg's edition, MLR, 46 (1951), 85-6.
37. J B Steane, Christopher Marlowe: A Critical Study (1964), pp.117-19; John D Jump, editor, Doctor Faustus, The Revels Plays (1962), pp.xxii-xxiv. Quotations are from Jump's edition unless otherwise indicated.
38. Paradise slips in saying, at the beginning of his discussion of A Looking Glass and Doctor Faustus, that 'A Looking Glasse shows clearly the influence of Marlowe's plays, especially Doctor Faustus' (p.147).
39. This passage does not occur in the B-text (1616). The quotation is modernized from Greg's edition (n.36).
40. The first parallel was pointed out by R A Law in MLN, 26 (1911), 146-8, (p.147); and the last by Collins, Plays and Poems of Robert Greene, I, 139; II, 2-3.
41. The scene is V.2 in those editions which give act-scene divisions, including Collins, Dickinson (Mermaid Greene) and Hayashi.
42. The question of relationship of the two plays is complicated by the textual tangle of the two versions of Doctor Faustus (Jump, pp.xxviii-xxxi, citing Greg). Two of the Faustus passages I have cited occur only in the A-text. The reporter(s) responsible for A would seem to have recalled similar passages in A Looking Glass, which suggests that it too may have been in the repertory of a group of Pembroke's or Strange's Men who toured the provinces during outbreaks of plague in 1592/3 (Greg, pp.62-3); this is consistent with Henslowe's record of performances in the spring of 1592. There is enough similarity between the repentance scenes of the B-text and A Looking Glass to support my argument; B presumably more nearly represents the original version of Faustus, 'as drafted in the autumn of 1592' (Greg, p.97). Indeed, echoes of Lodge's play already present in Faustus may have prompted the reconstructors of the latter unconsciously to 'recall' others.



43. K R Andrews, Drake's Voyages (1967; repr. 1970), p.111.
44. See J B Black, The Reign of Elizabeth, second edition (Oxford, 1959), pp.394-402. For particulars, see Andrews, Drake's Voyages, pp.128-44.
45. 'The Date of A Looking Glass for London', N&Q, n.s.2 (1955), 282-3.
46. T H Dickinson, editor, [The Complete Plays of] Robert Greene, Mermaid Series ([1909]), p.xlix.
47. References are to the Bishops' Bible (1568).
48. A B Grosart, editor, Complete Works of Robert Greene, 15 vols (1881-6; repr. 1964), I, 177n; Dickinson, p.1; Paradise, pp.150-51.
49. Modernized from the old-spelling text of Nigel Alexander, in Elizabethan Narrative Verse (1967), 11.777-80.
50. Thomas Nashe: A Critical Study (1962), pp.254-5. Richard Helgerson takes it to be an allusion to Lodge's supposed notorious prodigality (The Elizabethan Prodigals, p.122).
51. 'Was Greene's "Young Juvenal" Nashe or Lodge?', SEL, 7 (1967), 55-66.
52. See also Alice Walker, 'The Life of Thomas Lodge', esp. pp.429-31.
53. See Paradise (p.147) for statistics on couplets, end-stopped lines, feminine endings, etc. When comparing such statistics for the two plays, it should be noticed that there are far fewer lines of verse in the later play.
54. This parallel was noticed by L G Salinger in 'The Elizabethan Literary Renaissance', in The Age of Shakespeare, edited by Boris Ford, Pelican Guide to English Literature II (Harmondsworth, 1955), p.58.
55. Collins, Essays and Studies (1895), p.172.
56. See Greg's reprint (p.xxviii) on the Adam-Smith-Clown confusion.
57. Hayashi attempts a distribution of scenes, giving Greene the low-life and sensational ones, and Lodge the usurer's and the maritime ones. His other assignments are made for various dubious reasons (pp.13-21).
58. Chambers (III, 328) apparently sees no difficulty. Henslowe acquired the play from the Queen's Men sometime before March 1592. That the play was originally played by the Queen's Men is likely, since Greene wrote for them; Chambers thinks that the name 'Adam' which intrudes into the dialogue at times suggests that the part of the Smith's man was acted by John Adams, a Queen's Man who also played in James IV.
59. Hayashi canvasses the evidence and decides that the play must have been composed either early in 1591, before the Cavendish voyage or before 1589 (p.12). He then proceeds to demonstrate that it must have been in 1586, since Greene published nothing that year (p.13). The 1591 possibility is silently dropped.

60. The Famous and Memorable Workes of Josephus ... Faithfully translated out of the Latin, and French, by Tho. Lodge, Doctor in Physicke., fourth edition (1632), p.238: 'Tharsis in Cicilia'. (This edition appears to be the last of the seven to incorporate any significant corrections which, however, have to do with pagination, etc. and not the text (Allison, pp.15-18). The identification of Tarshish with a town in Spain may be erroneous; in any case, some far-away place and not Tarsus in Asia Minor, is intended (see H H Rowley, Dictionary of Bible Place Names (1970), p.160).
61. The likelihood that it is the Syrian King, Rezin or Rasin, that Lodge had in mind is strengthened by Rasni's allusion to 'stout Benhadad' (p.117, c.1). The context seems to imply a reference to one of Rasni's predecessors who had been unsuccessful: Benhadad was king of Syria in the ninth century B.C. and was defeated by Israel under Ahab (I Kings XX); Lodge's translation of Josephus's version is on pp.218-20 of the folio (n.60). It may be significant that Josephus's brief account of Rasin (pp.241-2) occurs almost immediately after that of Jonas (pp.238-9).

### Chapter 3

1. See, for example, Paradise, pp.87-8; David Daiches, A Critical History of English Literature, 2 vols (1960), I, 481; Rae, pp.23, 36-7, 59, etc.
2. But ever since Bond, authorities have cautioned against taking Lyly as the sole originator of the style which has been associated with him. Lodge as well as Lyly must have known the earlier 'euphuists'. See R Warwick Bond, editor, The Complete Works of John Lyly, 3 vols (Oxford, 1902), I, esp. 135-49; G K Hunter, John Lyly: The Humanist as Courtier (1962), pp.259-80; William Ringler, 'The Immediate Source of Euphuism', PMLA, 53 (1938), 678-86.
3. English Literature in the Sixteenth Century (excluding Drama) (Oxford, 1954), p.313. Hereafter cited as 'Lewis'.
4. Stephen Gosson, The Ephemerides of Phialo (1579); Austin Saker, Narbonus (1580); Greene, Mamillia, Part I (entered S.R. 3 October 1580, but apparently not published until 1583); Anthony Munday, Zelauto (1580). Munday's is the least euphuistic, Gosson's and Greene's are decidedly so.
5. Samuel Lee Wolff, The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction (New York, 1912), p.459; E A Baker, The History of the English Novel, 10 vols (1924-39), II: 'The Elizabethan Age and After' (1929), 115; René Pruvost, Matteo Bandello and Elizabethan Fiction (Paris, 1937), p.212.
6. Quotations are normalized from the text of the 1584 quarto, An Alarum against Usurers ... Hereunto are annexed the delectable historie of Forbonius and Prisceria ... (STC 16653) (Allison, p.13).

7. Idea and Act in Elizabethan Fiction (Princeton, 1969), p.80.
8. G K Hunter makes a full and enlightening analysis of euphuism. See especially Chapter 5 of his John Lyly; there is a convenient table of the characteristic elements on p.265.
9. On this and other common emblems, see Dieter Mehl, 'Emblems in English Renaissance Drama', Renaissance Drama, n.s.2 (1969), 39-57 (esp.pp.54-5).
10. A Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure, edited by I Gollancz, 2 vols (1908), I, 169-97.
11. A useful tripartition of Elizabethan prose fiction into rhetorical, romantic and realistic types was made by C S Lewis (pp.418 and following). He recognizes that the boundaries are not absolute; some works belong to more than one genre or sub-genre.
12. 'Lodge's Forbonius and Prisceria and Sidney's Arcadia', ES, 49 (1968), 38-45.
13. The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The Old Arcadia), edited by Jean Robertson (Oxford, 1973), pp.238-42. Miss Robertson, incidentally, finds the resemblances of Lodge's work to Sidney's slight and suspects that Lodge, like Greene, turned directly to Heliodorus for his material (p.xxxviii).
14. Sidney was by no means its inventor. Gascoigne had used it frequently in A Hundreth Sundry Flowers (1573); Surrey and Wyatt both used the rhyme scheme, but in octosyllables. A Paradise of Dainty Devices (1565) contains pieces by Oxford, Lord Vaux, Kinwelmershe and Rich in the same rhyme scheme, some of them in decasyllables. And the 'January' and 'December' eclogues in The Shepheardes Calender are written in this stanza.
15. See the discussion of possible dates in Chapter 1.
16. H C Hart, 'Robert Greene's Prose Works: Greene and Lodge', N&Q, Tenth Series, 5(1906), 202-3.
17. Gordon Coggins, whose study of Greene's prose style has recently been completed, has read Mrs Burnett's material and endorses her findings. His thesis contains much relevant data ('A Quantitative Study of Style in the Prose Romances of Robert Greene', unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Birmingham (1978)).
18. See Edwin Greenlaw, 'Shakespeare's Pastorals', SP, 13 (1916), 122-54 (p.130n.); and Mrs Burnett's thesis, pp.lxii-lxix.
19. See the glosses on 'Rosalind' ('January') and 'the widow's daughter' ('April').
20. A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, II, 45.
21. Lodge's 'Rosalynde' Being the Original of Shakespeare's 'As You Like It', edited by W W Greg, second edition (1931), p.40 (this is identical to

the first edition (1907) except for some minor alterations in the introductory matter). All references to Rosalynde will be to this edition, unless otherwise indicated.

22. Pastoral, The Critical Idiom (1971), p.12. On pastoral generally, see also Greg, Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama (1906); Hallett Smith, Elizabethan Poetry (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), esp. Chapter 1; Helen Cooper, Pastoral: Medieval into Renaissance (Ipswich, 1978).
23. J C Jordan flatly declares: 'There is no doubt that Angel Day is responsible for Pandosto and Menaphon' (Robert Greene (1915), p.39). S L Wolff pointed out that some borrowed details in Greene's romances are from Day's translation, as they occur in neither the Greek nor the French versions (The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Fiction, p.447). But see Coggins (n.17) who concludes that Pandosto was written as early as 1584/5 (pp.53-5).
24. Chettle's work is interesting for several reasons, a primary one being the mélange of euphuistic, picaresque, pastoral and classical romance elements with contemporary satire inspired by Nashe and by Greene's cony-catching pamphlets; Lodge's Alarm against Usurers is another possible influence. Chettle's protagonist chooses to stay in the country and become a shepherd, though he could have had a place in either of two courts.
25. Mary Lascelles, 'Shakespeare's Pastoral Comedy', in More Talking of Shakespeare, edited by John Garrett (1959), pp.70-86: 'The men who were born not far from the middle of the sixteenth century and grew up in the sixties, seventies and eighties, rediscovered the lost land of pastoral on their own frontiers, recognizing that its language and customs were not strange. This discovery, like a fine early morning, was too good to last; it had to give way to the sultry brilliance of Jacobean romantic fashions' (p.73).
26. In the following discussion, I have depended primarily on W W Skeat's introduction to his edition of The Tale of Gamelyn (Oxford, 1893) and on an edition by J D Pickles (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1967), which includes a good account of Lodge's use of the verse romance (Appendix A, pp.219-47).
27. Urry's edition might have been a good one, based as it was on a re-examination of the manuscripts, but he rearranged the text to conform to his notion of Chaucerian metrics. His edition is thus reputed the worst ever.
28. For what is known of the history of this MS, see John M Manly and Edith Rickert, The Text of the Canterbury Tales, 6 vols (Chicago, 1940), I, 297-301.
29. I am unable to ascertain who first explicitly named Gamelyn as a source for Rosalynde. In 1754, Zachary Grey suggested that Shakespeare used Gamelyn when writing As You Like It. In 1767, Capell and Farmer corrected Grey's opinion and announced that Shakespeare's play was based on the Lodge romance and thus not directly on the medieval tale. By 1842, in any case, Charles Knight was asserting that Lodge 'had in his

- cabin a copy in manuscript of the old Tale of Gamelyn' (Pictorial Edition of the Works of Shakespeare, 8 vols (1842), II, 200). For these and other references to early commentary, see H H Furness, editor, Variorum Shakespeare, VIII: As You Like It (1890), pp.305-10.
30. See Menaphon, where Sephestia is wooed simultaneously by her father and her son as well as by her husband.
  31. See, inter alia, T M Parrott, Shakespearean Comedy (New York, 1949), pp.166-77; Peter G Phialas, Shakespeare's Romantic Comedies (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1966), pp.221-3; Ryan, p.34. For a more favourable opinion, see J D Hurrell, 'Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Prose Fiction (1558-1603)' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Birmingham, 1954), pp.326-56 passim; and Marco Mincoff, 'What Shakespeare did to Rosalynde', Shakespeare Jahrbuch, 96 (1960), 78-89.
  32. For a mythological-psychoanalytical interpretation of Rosalynde; see Eliane Cuvelier, 'La Raison et l'Imaginaire dans Rosalynde, ou la thérapeutique du désordre', Société des Anglicistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur, Actes du Congrès de Rennes (1970), pp.59-67.
  33. The Use of Songs in Elizabethan Prose Fiction (Bern, 1972).
  34. I have quoted here from Merritt Lawlis's edition of Rosalynde in Elizabethan Prose Fiction (New York, 1967), pp.278-394 (p.320). He points out that Greg and E C Baldwin (Boston, 1910), though modernizing, retain 'sate' in the first three lines of this stanza, but 'sat' in the first line of the next, as in the early editions. Lawlis gives 'sat' throughout to avoid possible confusion with 'sate', in the sense of 'satisfy'.
  35. The only sonnet, in fact, besides those which compose the 'Wooing Eclogue' is 'Phoebe's Sonnetto' (p.137), a translation of Desportes's Diane I. lxviii. It is in hexameters and is arranged in short, three-foot lines. Desportes's poem is itself a version of Petrarch's Rime CLXXXIX. Compare Wyatt's 'My galley charged with forgetfulness', a translation of the Petrarch sonnet.
  36. Editors have not remarked the curious change into the first person plural in the narrative just before the 'eclogue': 'Drawing more nigh, we might descry the countenance of the one to be full of sorrow, his face to be the very portraiture of discontent, and his eyes full of woes, that living he seemed to die: we, to hear what these were, stole privily behind the thicket, where we overheard this discourse.' If an authorial intrusion it is surprising, as nothing else of the kind occurs in the work, and it seems unlikely to be a printer's error ('we' for 'they'), occurring three times in such close proximity. Perhaps it is the ghost of an earlier draft.
  37. 'Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Prose Fiction', p.326.
  38. J J Jusserand, The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare, translated by Elizabeth Lee (1903), p.206.

39. See, for example, pp.68, 72, 77, 78. Alinda, in her soliloquy (pp.109-110), uses her own name to the end, then changes to 'Aliena', signalling the end of the set-piece and the return to the narrative. See Lawlis, p.321, n.58. Greg here has silently emended to 'Aliena'; Lawlis follows the original.
40. Data from Allison, pp.27-30.
41. The case is similar for Pandosto, which went through four editions before The Winter's Tale was written.
42. See Bibliography and other notes to this section for works consulted on the subject.
43. Much of what follows appeared as 'Rosalynde: As You Like It and As Lodge Wrote It', ES, 58 (1977), 114-17. Two recent efforts to look at Rosalynde per se are Charles Larson, 'Lodge's Rosalind: Decorum in Arden', SSF, 14 (1977), 117-27, and Nancy R Lindheim, 'Lyly's Golden Legacy: Rosalynde and Pandosto', SEL, 15 (1975), 3-20.
44. Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare, 8 vols (1957-75), II, (1958), 149.
45. The names of Torismond and Gerismond seem to be borrowed from Tasso's Il Re Torismondo (Mrs Burnett's thesis, pp.ccvi-ccviii).
46. See also Helen Gardner, 'As You Like It', in More Talking of Shakespeare, edited by John Garrett (1959), reprinted in Shakespeare's Comedies, edited by Laurence Lerner (Harmondsworth, 1967), p.247, where the author refers to the two dukes in Rosalynde; the same error is made by H J Oliver in the introduction to his New Penguin edition of the play (Harmondsworth, 1968), p.11. The other error, making them brothers, is committed by W G Stone in the Appendix to Greg's edition of Rosalynde (pp.193, 194, 207), and by L M Robbins in the introduction to the Scolar Press facsimile (Menston, 1972). See my article (n.43) for further examples.
47. Idea and Act in Elizabethan Fiction, p.88
48. 'La Raison et l'Imaginaire dans Rosalynde', p.60.
49. 'Mère' is clearly a misprint for 'nièce', which is, of course, still incorrect.
50. Paradise (p.95n.) refers to the Rawlinson catalogue of 1728 which mentions an edition of 1599. As no trace of this edition has been found, one may accept Collier's conclusion, cited by Paradise, that the date is a misprint for '1591'.
51. Paradise, p.95; Davis, p.196. Margaret Schlauch refers to de Worde without saying explicitly that Lodge used it (Antecedents of the English Novel: 1400-1600 (Warsaw and London, 1963), p.199).

52. The de Worde version was reprinted by W J Thoms in Early English Prose Romances (1858); repr. 1889?). Of some thirty specific events selected from the first part of Lodge's tale, up to Robert's beginning his penance in Rome (p.46), only half-a-dozen have parallels in de Worde's edition and all of these vary slightly from their counterparts in Lodge (for example, Robert is knighted by his father in both tales, but is twenty-one years old at the time in Lodge, eighteen in de Worde).
  
53. The bibliography for the Robert the Devil legend is enormous. I have depended on Henry Morley's introduction (dated 1889) to his The Early English Romances, which were reprinted together with Thoms's Early English Prose Romances ([1907]) (pp.14-18), and more importantly, on E Løseth's introduction to his edition of Robert le Diable: Roman d'aventure, for the Société des Anciens Textes Français (Paris, 1903). Løseth gives a most helpful summary of the romance with collations of other versions to show similarities and differences (pp.xvii-xxvii). The fullest treatment of the legend, its sources and analogues, and the literary relations among the many derivations is to be found in Karl Breul's introduction to his Sir Gowther (Oppeln, 1886); Breul states that Lodge's version is based on the Croniques (pp.88, 100). I have also used Le Miracle de Nostre Dame de Robert le Diable, edited by Gaston Paris and Ulysse Robert, Société des Anciens Textes Français (Paris, 1881), and Sir Gowther, edited by Maldwyn Mills in Six Middle English Romances (1973). The Middle English Robert of Sicily is another analogue.
  
54. Chroniques de Normandie, edited by Francisque Michel (Rouen, 1839), p.xxxi, quoting Manuscript du supplément français 107 (Bib. Royale).
  
55. Michel, p.xlvii, quoting MS 9857 (Bib. Royale).
  
56. Løseth notes (p.xx, n.1) that only the Croniques among the earlier versions gives the name of Robert's father Aubert; Lodge's 'Ron' is probably a misprint of their 'Rou'. Davis comments on Lodge's concern with 'probability and credibility' (p.196), but the source is responsible for such detail as Davis notes.
  
57. I am unable to confirm this, not having seen one of the early editions. Michel's selections do not include the relevant part. Alice Walker thinks that Lodge may have seen a manuscript, of which many are extant, rather than a printed version ('The Reading of an Elizabethan: Some Sources of the Prose Pamphlets of Thomas Lodge', RES, 8 (1932), 264-81 (p.278 and n.6)).
  
58. For speculation as to who Robert the Devil may have been, see Thoms, p.17; Løseth, pp.xxxv-xxxvi; Paradise, p.93. For the early history of Normandy (from the tenth century), see H R Loyn, The Norman Conquest, second edition (1967), pp.20-27; for Robert I of Normandy, Loyn, pp.25, 26, 33-5, and the Cambridge Medieval History, 8 vols (1922; repr. 1964), III, 109.
  
59. See Løseth, p.xxix. A number of versions - Robert le Diable, Bourbon's Latin poem, the Croniques, a fifteenth-century German prose edition - have a typical saint's-legend ending, with Robert becoming a hermit. In

the de Worde translation and the popular French prose versions, Robert at first refuses the hand of the princess, then accepts on the express command of God. Lodge has altered the ending for the sake of romance.

60. In Sir Gowther the hero is actually begotten of the devil, like Merlin (11.10, 65-75). In the Robert the Devil group, Robert's father is human, his mother's husband. Schlauch, perhaps echoing Lewis, is thus mistaken in criticising Lodge for having 'reduced the significance of his hero's plight by depriving him of diabolical parentage' (p.199). He had already been so deprived before Lodge took up the story. See de Worde (pp.171-2) and Robert le Diable (11.51-62).
61. Another example of incongruity occurs on p.18, where a voluptuous description of the sunrise - 'no sooner did the morning's roseate coach beautify the east with vermilion redness' - comes only a few lines after Robert's rape and mutilation of a nun. Lodge also has 'the sun in the east [sic] set in his scarlet redness' (p.66). Another example of his carelessness is the use of the name 'Emine' for both the lord of Beaumont's bride (D2; p.23) and the heroine.
62. S L Wolff pointed out that this and the reference to the same characters from Heliodorus at the beginning of Forbonius and Prisceria are Lodge's only two direct allusions to Greek romance (The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Fiction, pp.459-60).
63. Paradise (p.219) records the findings of others that the 'first sonnet' (H; p.53) seems to be based on a sonnet of Desportes which is itself an adaptation of one by Sasso, and compares Phyllis XXXVIII. Esther Garke comments upon the rarity of Christian hymns in Elizabethan romance, citing Eurilochus's hymn of thanksgiving (p.58); the song does not end the tale, however, as she says it does.
64. Paradise feels otherwise (p.96).
65. Medieval Romance in England (New York, 1924). Cited by Mills (p.vii) who proposes the three adjectives as abbreviated classifications. Dieter Mehl, Middle English Romances of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries (1968), places Sir Gowther and Robert of Sicily with the 'homiletic romances'; his categories are more flexible than Hibbard's.
66. See my 'The Sacred and the Secular in Malory's Tale of the Sankgreal', YES, 5 (1975), 19-29.
67. Tenney, p.104; Schlauch, p.200. Paradise, p.96; Ryan, p.37 (whose language echoes Paradise's). I am not sure what these last two critics have in mind as 'pastoral episodes' in Robert. Rae cannot reconcile the songs with the 'heavy moral tone' of the book, but is clearly wrong in saying that 'all the poems are hangovers [sic] of Medieval remorse' (pp.68-9).
68. Lydgate treated Robert II in Book IX of The Fall of Princes (11.1212-1308); he mistakenly made him the middle brother, between William Rufus and Henry. Kathleen Tillotson gives Holinshed as Drayton's immediate source (The Works of Michael Drayton, edited by J William



Hebel, Kathleen Tillotson and Bernard Newdigate, 5 vols (Oxford, 1931-41), V, 39.

69. Donna B Hamilton, 'Some Romance Sources for King Lear: Robert of Sicily and Robert the Devil', SP, 71 (1974), 173-91 (p.181). The author makes some careless slips, once referring to de Worde's version as 'the original' (p.181); it is neither Lodge's source nor the original version of the legend.
70. For example, she misreads a passage in Robert (H3; p.57), where it is not Behenzar, but rather the princes who rescue him from Robert's assault with his fool's bauble, who 'smilingly laughed at the insolence of the idiot'; the conclusion that 'Lodge's line describing Behenzar ... lies directly behind Kent's question, "Smile you my speeches, as I were a fool?" (p.190)' is questionable in any case.
71. As quoted by Hunter, John Lyly, p.257.
72. Paradise, echoing Gosse's romantic exaggeration, speaks of this deed of Greene's as 'one of his last acts' (p.99) (see Gosse, 'Memoir' (Works, I; p.28): 'one of the last performances on earth of Robert Greene'). But Euphues' Shadow was apparently published early in 1592 and Greene lived and wrote until September.
73. J P Collier, A Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language (cited by Paradise, p.99n.). A detailed rebuttal was made by Brinsley Nicholson, 'Euphues' Shadow, Lodge's or Greene's?', N&Q, Fifth Series, 1 (1874), 21-3. See also Paradise, pp.99-100, and René Pruvost, Robert Greene et ses romans (Paris, 1938), p.467n.
74. Paradise suggests that Lodge may have been living in Busby's house (p.38n.).
75. Even in this imitative introduction, however, Lodge digresses to give a detailed geography lesson, describing the course of the river Enno (Inn) and the 'spacious length and long spaciousness' of Bohemia. Lodge's 'Passan' is Passau, a city on the Danube in northeastern Austria (a misprint? Compare 'Ron' for 'Rou' in Robert). Jaroslav Hornát suggests that Lodge may have found these details in a history of Bohemia written by Aeneas Silvius (Rome, 1475) upon which he also drew for one of the short stories appended to William Longbeard ('An Old Bohemian Legend in Elizabethan Literature', Philologica Pragensia, 7 (1964), 345-52 (p.352)).
76. Lewis says that Euphues' Shadow 'only just slips across the frontier' between the rhetorical, debate genre of prose fiction and that of romance (p.424).
77. Proverbs are notoriously treacherous 'evidence' for direct borrowing by one author from another; the following may be an exception, but is noteworthy in any case. In both Euphues' Shadow and Euphues, a pair of proverbs occur in tandem: 'as hot as a toast, as cool as a clock' (Euph. Sh., G2; p.51); 'though Curio be as hot as a toast, yet Euphues is as cold as a clock' (ed. Bond, I, 247; modernized). Tilley

cites neither Lyly nor Lodge for the first, but both for the second; in none of his other examples of either do the two proverbs occur together (A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1950; repr. 1966), pp.103 (C424) and 673 (T363). The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, third edition (1970), gives 'Hot as a toast' but cites neither Lyly nor Lodge; compare 'Cold as a key' (p.132).

78. Tenney concludes from this letter that 'Lodge himself was contemplating exile' (p.110); he is apparently unaware of the parallel in Euphues which he does not mention in his discussion of Euphues' Shadow. He cites the fifteenth-century Dialogues of Creatures Moralized and Garimberto's Concetti (1551) as sources for some of Lodge's allusions (p.111); in this he follows Alice Walker ('The Reading of an Elizabethan', pp.268n., 278n.). Walker also finds traces of Seneca in Euphues' Shadow (p.279n.).
79. A familiar romance convention; compare Chaucer's Franklin's Tale, among others. Celio tells Philamour the story of Callimander and Ruthenia (K2-K2<sup>v</sup>; pp.75-6) in which Callimander has to accomplish impossible tasks similar to Philamour's.
80. 'Cluncfoote' is apparently Lodge's coinage; see my note 'Some Words in two Thomas Lodge Romances (1591-2)', N&Q, n.s.24 (1977), 516.
81. Emended from 'his'.
82. Lodge (or the printer) seems not to have been concerned to adopt a consistent spelling for the name: it is 'Eurinome' twelve times and 'Eurimone' sixteen times; both even occur on the same page (C2<sup>v</sup>; p.20, and D2<sup>v</sup>; p.28). 'Eurinome' is surely correct; the name is borne by several minor figures in Greek mythology. See William Smith, Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, 3 vols (1864), II, 112. I would guess that Lodge had been reading Book IV of the Metamorphoses, which includes the story of Apollo, Leucothoë and Clitia. Leucothoë's mother, Queen Eurynome, wife of Orchamus, is mentioned twice. Apollo assumes her shape to gain access to Leucothoë whom he ravishes. Both Leucothoë and Clitia become flowers; the latter is the subject of 'Philamis' Barginet', quoted above. Eurinome is referred to in Paradise Lost, X.581.
83. If, as Mrs Burnett believes, Rosalynde was composed as early as 1587, the stimulus in question may have been in the other direction. It is wrong in any case to suppose that English pastoral romance sprang full blown into existence in the late 1580s. Besides the unpublished Arcadia, there were works like Rich's Don Simonides (1581) (which Lodge certainly knew, having written a commendatory poem for it), which contains a lengthy pastoral interlude, complete with shepherds and nymphs named Tityrus, Corydon, Daphne and the like.
84. Paradise (pp.102-3) refers to the erroneous idea that Lodge translated the tales from Pedro Mexia's Silva de varia Leccion, of which Giglio's work was a continuation. Jaroslav Hornát (n.75 above) believes that for one of the tales, that of 'Valasca, a lady of Bohemia', Lodge used Aeneas Silvius's history of Bohemia; Libussa's speech in

Lodge's tale, says Hornát, is an almost verbatim translation from Silvius and Lodge uses Silvius's spellings of Bohemian proper names (p.349). If, as Koepfel claimed, all of Lodge's stories are taken directly from Giglio (Paradise, p.103n.), it would seem that he used the Silvius history; Lodge, perhaps simply translating Giglio, begins his tale 'I read<sup>v</sup> in the Bohemian history written by Pope Pius' (William Longbeard, sig.G; Works, III; p.54).

85. For a sketch of the historical William Longbeard, see the D.N.B. article, 'Fitzosbert, William'.
86. See A L Poole, From Domesday Book to Magna Carta (1951), p.443: 'Men might well look askance at an archbishop who would burn down a church in order to smoke out a popular demagogue who had taken sanctuary therein'. Bow Church had a troubled history in the Middle Ages; see Stow's Survey of London, introduced by H B Wheatley, Everyman's Library (1912; revised edition, 1956), pp.228, 449, 450.
87. 'The Reading of an Elizabethan', p.278. Paradise thought that Lodge used Stow's Annals (p.103).
88. The Chronicle of Fabyan, whiche he hymselfe nameth the concordance of historyes, nowe newly printed and in many places corrected ... (1542). The William Longbeard account occupies sigs. bbii-bbiii<sup>v</sup>.
89. A Summary of Englyshe Chronicles ... (1565), sigs. J8<sup>v</sup>-K<sup>v</sup>; revised edition (1570), f.117 (sigs. P4-P5).
90. Survey of London, edition cited, p.444.
91. William's sermon in Lodge (C3<sup>v</sup>-C4; pp.26-7), for example, contains echoes of Fabyan but then Stow reproduced Fabyan's version almost verbatim in the Summary. Fabyan may have found the sermon in William of Newburgh (see D.N.B. article). Grafton cites 'Reynulph' [Ranulf Higden?] who is not listed in the D.N.B. article as a source of the William story, as well as Fabyan (Richard Grafton, A chronicle at large, unto the first year of Queen Elizabeth (1569), edited by H Ellis 2 vols ([1809]), I, 227).
92. It would be interesting to know if Lodge took personally Nashe's portrait in Pierce Penniless of 'a young heir or cockney that is his mother's darling' (Selected Works, edited by Stanley Wells (1964), p.35). As Tenney points out (p.131n.) the description fits Lodge very nicely; furthermore, even the oath 'by'r lady' is appropriate if his Catholic sympathies were common knowledge by that time. Unfortunately we cannot read Nashe's mind; Lodge's remarks in the epistle to William Longbeard, even assuming that Nashe was among those new-fangled writers at whom he is sniping, are too general to allow for more than guessing.
93. Besides these names and that of the bailiff Gerard de Antiloche, Lodge mentions Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury (C4; p.27), and refers to 'the earl of Durham, then Chancellor and bishop' (B2; p.16); this would be Hugh de Puiset (d.1195), bishop of Durham and thus ex officio earl-palatine of the county, who was Richard's justiciar, not chancellor (see the D.N.B. article, 'Puiset, Hugh de'; and Poole, pp.351-3).

This further suggests that Lodge was glancing at parts of the chronicle contiguous to the story of William, since that contains none of these names. One Arthur Browne, murdered by William for consorting with Maudline (C2<sup>v</sup>; p.24) becomes 'Anthony Browne' in William's gallows confession (D3<sup>v</sup>; p.34).

94. Esther Garke (pp.65-6) comments on the superfluity of most of the songs in William Longbeard.
95. See Paradise's list (pp.219-20). He says, 'Six of the eight poems inserted in the text are translations' (p.102), apparently ~~overlooking~~ <sup>over</sup> ~~from~~ in his count the sonnet on sig. C3 (p.25) and the four poems grouped at the end, though the translation of Paschale is one of the three sonnets with which the tale ends.
96. The occasion of this poem by William is a jewel of Maudline's 'wherein the two Cupids of Anacreon were painted, wrestling the one with the other' (compare A Margarite of America, sig. B4; Works, III; p.11).
97. Davis, however, has some sensitive remarks on the tale's moral ambiguity and compares the Nowlay-Besaunt episode to jest-book material (Idea and Act, pp.196-8).
98. Paradise assumes that Drayton was inspired by William Longbeard, writing a play on the same subject (p.104). He bases his assumption on Greg's conjectural reading of a smudged entry in Henslowe's diary, which makes Drayton author of a lost play, William Longbeard. But see Foakes's and Rickert's edition of the diary, pp.64, 103 (and note): the title of the play was probably William Longsword.
99. He probably began his medical studies at Avignon in January, 1597 (see Tenney, pp.155 and following).
100. It is particularly badly printed. Allison attributed the printing to Abel Jeffes, on what grounds I have not been able to ascertain; neither R B McKerrow, Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland 1485-1640 (1913; repr. 1949) nor McKerrow and F S Ferguson, Title-Page Borders Used in England and Scotland 1485-1640 (1932) helps.
101. References are to the original edition (STC 16660), with page numbers of Gosse's reprint in Works, III. The reprints of both J O Halliwell (1859) and G B Harrison (1927) are spotty in their emendations and are unreliable; the two editors make about the same number of emendations, each catching errors the other misses and vice-versa. There are only twenty-six copies of the Halliwell edition; I have spot-collated the Folger copy.
102. Baker, p.116; Dale B J Randall, The Golden Tapestry: A Critical Survey of Non-Chivalric Spanish Fiction in English Translation 1543-1657 (Durham, N.C., 1963), p.244.
103. See Anthony Knivet's account of the voyage in Hakluytus Posthumous or Purchas his Pilgrimes (1625), repr. in 20 vols (Glasgow, 1905-7), XVI, 177-289 (esp.177-84); that of John Jane in Richard Hakluyt's Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation (1598-1600), repr. in 12 vols (Glasgow, 1903-5), XI, 389-96; 'The testimoniall of The Desire ...', Hakluyt, XI, 397-416; and Cavendish's own account (Ch.1, n.18).

104. Sisson, pp.106-7, and see Ch.1. No biographer before Alice Walker seems to have known of the existence of a manuscript in the Bodleian Library (MS. Bodl. 617) bearing the inscription 'Ex dono Thomae Lodge D M Oxoniensis qui sua manu e Brasilia deduxit'. See Falconer Madan and H H E Craster, A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, vol II, part I, (Oxford, 1922), p.549 (no.2913): 'Doutrina Cristãa na lingua Brasilia, a catechism of Christian doctrine composed by a Jesuit Missionary in the "lingua geral" of Brazil, with Portuguese rubrics'. The Lodge inscription is quoted, with the annotation 'apparently between 1613 and 1615'. The manuscript is said to have been written 'about 1600'; if Lodge brought it back with him, it can have been written no later than about 1590. His doing so would not in itself invalidate Sisson's hypothesis, as the Dainty turned back for England after the expedition left Santos (Knivet, in Purchas, XVI, 183; Jane, in Hakluyt, XI, 391). D B Quinn prints a facsimile of the title-page of the manuscript which, he says, 'is probably, except for the Cavendish manuscript and will, the only tangible relic of the voyage to survive' (The Last Voyage of Thomas Cavendish, p.23).
105. See Davis's discussion, pp.198-202.
106. Matteo Bandello and Elizabethan Fiction, p.225. 'Venus' Tragedy' in Greene's Planetomachia (1585) is particularly gruesome.
107. See Charles Larson, 'The Comedy of Violence in Nashe's The Unfortunate Traveller', Cahiers Elisabethains, No.8 (Octobre, 1975), pp.15-29.
108. T F Crane gives an 'analysis' (i.e., 'summary') of Margarite in his Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century and their Influence on the Literatures of Europe (New Haven, 1920), pp.545-51.
109. Margaret Schlauch misreads this passage: 'Margarita's father is also annoyed, so he kills Diana with a carving knife' (p.198). 'The Emperor' (M2; p.87) refers to Arsadachus, not Protomachus.
110. This particular bit of magic is gratuitous: Arsinous recognizes Margarita as she sleeps with the lion's head in her lap (L3; p.82).
111. The irony of the strumpet Diana masquerading as the chaste goddess her namesake has been noticed by Davis (p.201).
112. Miss Schlauch's complaint about the pastoral strain being 'minimal' and 'forcibly introduced' (p.198) seems to be based on the assumption that Lodge set out to write a pastoral romance.
113. 'Italian Sources of Lyrics of Thomas Lodge', MLR, 22 (1927), 75-9.
114. See those of Margarita and Diana, Eurinome in Euphues' Shadow, and William Longbeard; the last consists of two six-line stanzas followed by one of rhyme royal. Another occasional poem, 'Eurilochus' Hymn' in Robert, Duke of Normandy also uses the sixain.
115. Both Gosse ('Memoir', pp.39-40) and Alice Walker ('Italian Sources', p.79) say that Lodge's sestina from Paschale is the first true example of that form in English. I am not sure what disqualifies Sidney's

'Since wailing is a bud of causeful sorrow' in the Fourth Book of the Old Arcadia (ed. Robertson, p.284); Sidney exploited the form brilliantly in the double and rhymed sestinas of the 'Fourth Eclogues' (pp.328-30 and 349-50). Spenser, in the 'August' eclogue of The Shepheardes Calender, takes liberties: the end-words occur in the original order throughout, rather than each stanza having the words of the preceding one in the order 6-1-5-2-4-3. Strictly speaking, neither Lodge's nor Sidney's sestinas conform to the formula, which requires that the three lines of the envoy, or tornada, end with the last three end-words of the sixth stanza, in the same or inverted order (i.e., words 5-3-1 or 1-3-5) and that these three lines must also contain end-words 6-4-2 or 2-4-6 respectively. Lodge follows exactly the word-order of Paschale's sestina in the tornada (see Rime volgari de M Ludovico Paschale da Catharo Dalmatina (Venice, 1549), sig.C6v; further details of this volume are given in Chapter 4).

116. 'Elizabethan Prose', in English Poetry and Prose 1540-1674, edited by Christopher Ricks, Sphere History of Literature in the English Language II (1970), p.371.
117. She also says that 'war and cruel violence play a greater part than in any other of the pseudo-Hellenic romances' (p.198). But there is no war at all in Margarite, only the preparations for battle as the story opens.
118. Charles A Herpich, 'The Source of the "Seven Ages"', N&Q, 9 (1902), 46-7; Paradise, p.122; Cecil C Seronsy, 'The Seven Ages of Man Again', ShQ, 4 (1953), 364-5. It is this fortress of Arsinous (and not that of Protomachus, as he erroneously says) whose description Gosse quotes to illustrate the 'prettiness' of the tale ('Memoir', p.39).
119. Or is it Petronius or Pythagoras? There seems to be uncertainty about the origin of the metaphor. See H J Oliver, editor, As You Like It, New Penguin Shakespeare (1968), pp.15 and 164 (note to II.7.140-67); Agnes Latham gives a number of references in her note on the same passage (As You Like It, The Arden Shakespeare (1975), pp.55-6).

#### Chapter 4

1. Scillaes Metamorphosis: Enterlaced with the unfortunate love of Glaucus, etc. (STC 16674), sig.E2 (Works, I; p.39). See Allison (p.31) on variant title pages.
2. See the discussion in Chapter 3.
3. Reasons for dating The Wounds of Civil War 1585-7 are given in Chapter 2.

4. Philippe Desportes, Les Amours de Diane, edited by Victor E Graham, Textes Littéraires Français, 2 vols (Paris, 1959), II, 197.
5. In 1589, for the phrase 'aussi soudainement', Lodge has 'I suddenly do see'; he substitutes 'presently' for 'suddenly' in Phyllis. In line 5, 1589 has 'If I lament my cares' for 'Si je me plains au mal' while Phyllis has 'If I lament his pride'; Lodge may have misread 'plais' as 'plains' (which occurs in line 4). 'My cares' is closer to the sense of 'mal' than 'his pride'.
6. This date does not constitute a terminus a quo for Lodge's familiarity with the poems in this collection, nor with Les Amours de Diane: all had been published in Desportes's Premières Oeuvres in 1573.
7. 'In Praise of the Country Life' will be considered in the next chapter.
8. One of the five is neither translation nor imitation but appropriation: Montanus's exclamation against the injustice of Love, 'Hélas, tyran, plein de rigueur', (ed. Greg, p.117) is the chanson which comes between sonnets XLI and XLII in Les Amours de Diane. Lodge must have been using an edition of Desportes's work dating from no later than 1583: line 6 as Lodge has it ('Puis fais ton effort d'émouvoir') is changed in the editions of 1593 and subsequently to 'Et la garde, à fin d'émouvoir', and the poem was omitted entirely from the editions of 1585 and 1587 (ed. Graham, I, 85).
9. See Paradise (p.219) for the suggested debt of 'In how contrarious forms have I conversed' (H; Works, II; p.53) to Diane I.34. But Lodge may have borrowed the theme and some images for this sonnet, which cannot be termed a translation, from his own much closer version of the same French poem which was not published until 1593 as Phyllis XXXVIII. See also Walter F Staton, Jr., 'A Lodge Borrowing from Watson', Renaissance News, 14 (1961), 3-6.
10. Lodge's poem is on sigs. I<sup>V</sup>-I4<sup>V</sup> of the Alarm against Usurers volume (Works, I, Alarm, 70-76). See the Old Arcadia, Robertson, pp.238-42, for Sidney's poem; also W A Ringler's notes in his edition, The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney (Oxford, 1962), pp.409-10. See the discussion of Forbonius and Prisceria in Chapter 3.
11. Emended from 'coment' (E3; p.41, l.82).
12. O.E.D.'s earliest recorded instance of 'crinite' is dated 1600, in Fairfax's translation of Tasso.
13. Excluding the song in A Looking Glass for London and England (ed. Dyce, p.136, c.1), published in 1594.
14. Hyder E Rollins, editor, The Phoenix Nest (Cambridge, Mass., 1931; repr. 1969), p.xxxi.
15. Important treatments of the subject include Sir Sidney Lee's introduction to Elizabethan Sonnets, 2 vols (1904); Janet G Scott, Les Sonnets Elisabethains (Paris, 1929); Lu Emily Pearson, Elizabethan Love Conventions (Berkeley, Cal., 1933; repr. London, 1966); L C John, The Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences (New York, 1938); Hallett Smith, in

his Elizabethan Poetry; C S Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century (excluding drama); J W Lever, The Elizabethan Love Sonnet (1956); F T Prince, 'The Sonnet from Wyatt to Shakespeare' in Elizabethan Poetry, edited by J R Brown and B Harris, Stratford-upon-Avon Studies 2 (1960); and most recently, Maurice Evans's introduction to his very useful Elizabethan Sonnets (1977).

16. I use the unqualified term 'sonnet' strictly to refer to regular, fourteen-line poems in iambic pentameter, that is, 'proper' sonnets. Sonnet-like poems, with fewer or more lines, or in a different metre will be so designated.
17. For an exposure of J P Collier's forgery of the ascription 'By T Watson' next to the entry for T.W.'s The Tears of Fancy (1593) in the Stationers' Register, see Franklin Dickey, 'The Old Man at Work: Forgeries in the Stationers' Register', ShQ, 11 (1960), 39-47. Dickey also mentions two forgeries relating to Lodge and one to The Phoenix Next.
18. The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney, p.xxviii. On lyric poetry of the period, see Yvor Winters, 'The 16th Century Lyric in England: A Critical and Historical Reinterpretation', reprinted in Elizabethan Poetry: Modern Essays in Criticism, edited by Paul J Alpers (1967), pp.93-125.
19. On Watson's importance to the English sonnet vogue, see Hallett Smith, Elizabethan Poetry, esp. pp.133-8. There are an astonishing number of laudatory references to Watson and quotations from his poems in the years 1589 to c.1607; see Walter F Staton, Jr.'s introduction to his and Franklin Dickey's edition of Watson's Amyntas and Fraunce's Lamentations of Amyntas, Publications of the Renaissance English Text Society 2 (Chicago, 1967), p.ix.
20. The Complaint of Elstred, 'annexed' to the sonnet sequence, is unrelated to it and will be discussed in the next chapter.
21. Lodge was back in England in any case by February 1593, and perhaps much earlier (Sisson, pp.105-7).
22. See Paradise (pp.111-13) and Allison's descriptions (p.25).
23. Sidney died in 1586, thus necessitating a change of dedicatee, on Paradise's hypothesis. Of other knight-poets, Raleigh and Dyer come to mind, but both were still alive in 1593. Anyway, an author might change his mind about a patron, or a potential one, for any number of reasons. 'The Ascrean Poet' alludes to Hesiod (from his birthplace Ascrea in Boeotia) and thus carries agricultural connotations; it is difficult to see the appropriateness of this for Sidney or the others mentioned.
24. Lee, Elizabethan Sonnets, I, lxvi-lxvii; Scott, 'The Names of the Heroines of Elizabethan Sonnet-Sequences', RES, 2 (1926), 159-62 (pp.160-61). Lee also got the wrong Phillis, the one from Ovid's Heroides. 'E.K.', in his commentary on 'February' in The Shepheardes Calender, mistakenly includes Theocritus among poets who use the name.



25. W Leonard Grant, Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1965) summarizes many such unfamiliar works and translates others.
26. Though some critics perceive a pervasive Arcadian atmosphere throughout the sequence. See, for example, Martha Foote Crow, editor, Elizabethan Sonnet Cycles: 'Phyllis' and 'Licia' (1896), pp.8-10; John Erskine, The Elizabethan Lyric: A Study (1903; repr. New York, 1967), p.147; and Pearson, Elizabethan Love Conventions, pp.147, 150.
27. Compare, for example, besides Lodge's pieces and Spenser's 'February' eclogue, the three-way debate between Geron, Philisides and Histor in the 'First Eclogues' of the Old Arcadia (ed. Robertson, pp.72-6).
28. Others are 'Phoebe's Sonnet' from Rosalynde ('Down a-down, thus Phillis sung'), reprinted in England's Helicon and, with music and lute tablature, in Francis Pilkington's First Booke Of Songs or Ayres (1605), and the ode, 'Now I find thy looks were feigned' (see below, n.30). Both are included in E H Fellowes, editor, English Madrigal Verse 1588-1632, third edition, revised and enlarged by Frederick W Sternfeld and David Greer (Oxford, 1967), pp.640, 523.
29. This poem is a good example of the superiority of the text of The Phoenix Nest to that of Phyllis. 'Shepherd' in the first line of the last stanza quoted is the Phoenix Nest reading, where Phyllis has 'sheep'. The latter has 'Thrifless' for 'Trifles' in the line which reads 'Trifles yet my swain have turned' (l.57; my lineation) in The Phoenix Nest and England's Helicon. Some differences are neutral; 'morning'/'morrow' (l.14), 'help'/'helps' (l.20), 'Heavy'/'Hapless' (l.3). Phyllis has a number of misprints, e.g., 'sphre' (l.13), 'ebut' (l.38), and the inferior rhyme 'guiding'/'minding' in ll.37 and 39 where The Phoenix Nest gives 'speeding'/'feeding'. England's Helicon always follows The Phoenix Nest except in omitting the parentheses altogether in l.38: 'Once (but now no more so friended)'; and departs from both 1593 texts in giving 'a' for 'my' in l.72: 'Yet my swain did once approve them'.
30. The poem, also printed in The Phoenix Nest, was set to music by Thomas Ford in his Musicke of Sundrie Kindes (1607). Ford's text differs occasionally from that of Phyllis and The Phoenix Nest (e.g. 'see' for 'find' in l.1, 'unconstant' for 'unstable' in l.4), but agrees with the latter in emending the obviously corrupt l.33 ('Prime youth lusts not age still follow): 'Prime youth lasts not, age will follow'. See illustration following p.160.
31. Hebel, Tillotson and Newdigate, editors, The Works of Michael Drayton, I, 96 (modernized). See Paradise (p.107), citing L E Kastner.
32. Elizabethan Sonnets, I, lxvii. See also The French Renaissance in England (Oxford, 1910), p.261n.: 'Lodge pillaged with equal freedom sonnets by Ariosto, Petrarch, Sannazaro, and Bembo'.
33. French Renaissance, p.231; Alice Walker, 'Italian Sources', p.76.

34. See *Paradise*, Appendix B (pp.215-30). *Paradise* lists all of the poems of Lodge known or thought to be derived from foreign originals, with sources. In the few cases in which there are analogues in Petrarch, Lodge's own poems always seem to be closer to French versions (e.g., pp.244-5). No further examples of translation or close imitation have been unearthed since *Paradise* wrote half-a-century ago.
35. See also Lewis (p.494) contra Lee. Lewis has high praise for some of Lodge's translated sonnets, especially X and XXXIV, and for XXIV 'which might be called sub-Shakespearean' (p.495).
36. 'Italian and Italianate Poetry', in *Elizabethan Poetry*, edited by J R Brown and B Harris, pp.53-69 (p.64). I do not entirely agree with Rees, however, when he takes Lodge as typical of 'the ordinary run-of-the-mill poets who were turning out the sonnet sequences in the 1590's, whose interest lies wholly in their ability to reproduce pleasingly the motives of Italian, French, and Neo-Latin verse in which they are so thoroughly steeped'. While the description is apt enough for the Lodge of *Phyllis*, his interest as a poet does not lie wholly or even primarily in that work, but in the lyrics, most of which are not translations or imitations.
37. Janet G Scott had second thoughts about the derivation of *Phyllis* XXXIX from a Latin poem by Navagero; it is certainly not a translation (see 'Parallels to Three Elizabethan Sonnets', *MLR*, 21 (1926), 190-92, and *Les Sonnets élisabéthains*, p.90).
38. Not a translation, but a muddled reconstruction in French of Ronsard's *Odes* V.xxxii, with echoes of other odes. See Marion Grubb, 'Lodge's Borrowing from Ronsard', *MLN*, 45 (1930), 357-60.
39. On Lodge's appropriation of a Desportes poem in the original for Montanus, see n.8 above.
40. This number, and the total number of translations or imitations in *Phyllis* (21), includes No. XXXVI from Desportes which Lodge had already published in *Scilla's Metamorphosis* (see above, p.147 and n.5).
41. I have been able to confirm Lodge's more or less faithful rendition (faithful enough to be considered at least a 'close imitation') of a foreign model in the large majority of cases, namely those from the following poets: Desportes, Ronsard, Paschale, Ariosto, Sannazaro, Martelli and Barignano/Quirino. Alice Walker is the authority for the identification of Guarini ('Italian Sources', pp.77-8). I have not been able to verify the statement by Mary A Scott that three poems in *William Longbeard* are 'based on' madrigals by Livio Celiano or that one of them is a 'loose translation' of one by Francesco Bianciardi (*Paradise*, pp.219-20); the latter claim may be based on Lee who says that Lodge 'loosely adapts' a madrigal by Bianciardi (*Eliz. Son.*, I, lxv). Thus the number forty-nine is probably an inflated figure for Lodge's direct debts.
42. 'Italian Sources', p.76. I have found a collection, however, in which Paschale is by far the major contributor: L.Paschalis, J.Camilli, Molsae, et aliorum illustrium poetarum carmina ... per L.Dulcium nunc primum in

luce aedita (Venice, 1551). All of the poems are Latin elegies, addressed to various personages; some are sacred, some secular in theme. Paschale's elegies occupy fifty-four of the volume's fifty-eight folios; there is only one poem by each of the other contributors. It is obvious that Lodge's models are not here, so Miss Walker's explanation of his attributing to Dolce some of his Paschale translations is not vitiated. Her argument remains valid insofar as Paschale's vernacular poetry and Lodge are concerned. Her authority, F S Quadrio (p.76, n.3), must not have known of the 1551 Latin volume edited by Dolce (or have had in mind only vernacular verse), as he stated that poems by Paschale appear in only one sixteenth-century anthology, the Rime Spirituale of 1550. Lodge's 'excellent poet of Italy' obviously enjoyed a greater reputation as a religious and Latin poet than as a secular and vernacular one. Much searching through comprehensive histories of Italian literature of the cinquecento yielded one reference to Paschale, in a list of forty-five petrarchisti minori (Francesco Flamini, Storia Letteraria d'Italia: Il Cinquecento (Milano, n.d.), p.203).

43. L E Kastner, 'Thomas Lodge as an Imitator of the Italian Poets', MLR, 2 (1906-7), 155-9 (Phillis II, VI, XVII, XVIII, XX, XXII, XXVII, XXVIII); Lee, French Renaissance, pp.232-3, 243 (the first few lines of several poems from Rosalynde, Scilla's Metamorphosis and William Longbeard) and p.260 (Phillis XXXI, XXXIII).
44. All occur in sigs.C to G. There seems to have been a different printer after G; compare tailpieces on B2-G4<sup>V</sup> with those on H-H3<sup>V</sup>. See Allison (p.25).
45. In XXXVII where Lodge also attempts a sestet (though with a different rhyme-scheme from his Desportes original, Diane I.xlix), the compositor avoids the problem by not indenting any of the lines.
46. Printed by Kastner (pp.155-6). Jacobo Sannazaro, Opere Volgari, edited by Alfredo Mauro (Bari, 1961), Sonetti e canzoni, LXIII (p.181).
47. 'O shady vales, O fair enriched meads' is the only sonnet among sixteen poems in The Oxford Book of English Verse (1932, etc.), among sixteen in The Book of Elizabethan Verse, edited by W S Braithwaite (1908), and among thirteen in Elizabethan Lyrics from the Original Texts edited by Norman Ault (1928). Kenneth Muir selected Phillis XXVIII as one of seven poems by Lodge in Elizabethan Lyrics (1952); W T Young included Phillis I and XX among ten Lodge pieces in An Anthology of the Poetry of the Age of Shakespeare (Cambridge, 1950). Lodge is absent from J W Lever's Sonnets of the English Renaissance (1974). Maurice Evans granted place to only four sonnets by Lodge, all from Phillis, in his Elizabethan Sonnets (1977); only William Smith fares as poorly.
48. Scott, 'Minor Elizabethan Sonneteers and their Greater Predecessors', RES, 2 (1926), 423-7; Sasek, 'William Smith and The Shepheardes Calender' PQ, 39 (1960), 251-3. Smith may have taken the name 'Chloris' from the 'April' eclogue.
49. Modernized from the edition ('original spelling and punctuation with no attempt at regularization') by Lawrence A Sasek, The Poems of William Smith (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1970), p.46.

50. Compare Giles Fletcher's Licia LI. Fletcher, like Lodge, was presumably following Ronsard, though Lodge's is the more faithful translation. There is no hint that Smith was using any of the other three.
51. I quote from the Scholar Press facsimile of the Bodleian Library's copy of the 1593 edition, normalizing spelling and punctuation in accordance with the practice adopted throughout for quotations from Lodge's works. Rollins's text (see n.14) is very faithful to the original; as his edition retains the original pagination, I omit from references Rollins's own, separate page numbers. His notes to Lodge's poems are on pages 150-60.
52. For a full discussion of the miscellany, see, besides Rollins's introduction, Elizabeth W Pomeroy, The Elizabethan Miscellanies: Their Development and Conventions (Berkeley, 1973), esp. pp.71-92.
53. Franklin Dickey thinks that the unsigned 'Sapphics' (he does not say which poems he means) are Lodge's ('Collections of Songs and Sonnets', in Elizabethan Poetry, Stratford-upon-Avon Studies 2, pp.31-51 (p.46)).
54. On the identifications, see Rollins, pp.xvi-xx.
55. Actually, Phillis does occasionally offer a preferable reading, notably 'wield' for 'yield' in 'My frail and earthly bark by reason's guide' (l.2), and 'hath' for 'have' in the last line of 'Thirsis' Eclogue'.
56. 'Italian Sources', p.77. Rollins quotes the Italian sonnet in full (p.154) from Girolamo Ruscelli's Rime de Diversi Eccellenti Autori Bresciani (Venice, 1553) where it is ascribed to Barignano.
57. Compare 'When two suns do appear' in Book III of the Old Arcadia (ed. Robertson, p.213). Sidney varies the metre, there is rhyme and the stanzas have six, five and four lines respectively. Compare also the form of the epitaph of Minecius and Philenia in A Margarite of America.
58. Rollins, ed., The Phoenix Nest, pp.173-8 (p.177). Rollins cites two such 'mechanical, artificial, unpoetical' verses in Margarite, 'My words, my thoughts, my vows' (D2<sup>v</sup>; p.24) and 'Tears, cares, wrongs, griefs feel I' (K4; p.75), but acknowledges that Sidney and Drummond among others were not above such trifles. Compare also Lodge's 'Hand, heart and eye'. Breton is usually credited with the Phoenix Nest piece.
59. See Rollins's extensive introduction to his edition, England's Helicon 1600, 1614, 2 vols (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), II, esp. 23-40, 59-62, for identification of contributors, Ling as editor and his business relations with Lodge. Ling also published the lost Spider's Web in 1594 and A Treatise of the Plague in 1603. He and Busby, together or separately, published seven works by Lodge, or a total of twelve books, counting each of the first five editions of Rosalynde separately. Pomeroy treats England's Helicon on pages 93-115. See also Hallett Smith, Elizabethan Poetry, pp.19-31.

60. I refer to Rollins's edition; quotations are normalized from his 'rigidly conservative' text. His line numbers are not given, as they apply to each page and not to the texts of each poem. For variants among the printed versions of Lodge's poems, see Rollins's notes in vol. II.
61. If the S R entry to E Blount, dated 15 April 1600, is to Lodge's translation, as it presumably is. See Ch.6, esp. n.20.
62. Others are by Barnfield, Dyer and Sidney (nos. 82, 145 and 146 in Rollins's edition). Three are anonymous (90, 96, 112); the last is taken from William Byrd's Psalmes, Sonets & songs of sadnes and pietie (1588).
63. The poem is excluded from the canon by modern editors. See A.S.F.Gow's edition of Theocritus, second edition, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1952), II, 362-3, and The Greek Bucolic Poets, edited and translated by J M Edmonds, Loeb Classical Library (1912; repr. 1960), p.233.
64. On all bearers of the name, see William Smith, Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, I, 190-91; on Antimachus of Colophon's literary importance, Albin Lesky, A History of Greek Literature, translated by James Willis and Cornelis de Heer (1966), esp. pp.637-9.
65. Among studies of the Elizabethan lyric, the following contain useful material: Catherine Ing, Elizabethan Lyrics: A Study in the Development of English Metres and their Relation to Poetic Effect (1951), which enlarges upon the work of George Saintsbury, A History of English Prosody, 3 vols (1906-10) and Historical Manual of English Prosody (1910); Bruce Pattison, Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance (1948); Floris Delatte and Camille Chemin, Les Chansons élisabéthaines (Paris, 1948). All of these at least mention Lodge and England's Helicon in connection with lyric poetry, pastoral and music.

## Chapter 5

1. I refer to the complaint and satirical poems, not the longer narrative works which are not, however, devoid of 'message', nor frivolous.
2. Quotations are from the edition by K W Gransden in Tudor Verse Satire (1970), pp.81-6. The original text is very corrupt; it is reprinted by Gosse in Works, I, Alarm, 85-91.
3. See John Peter, Complaint and Satire in Early English Literature (Oxford, 1956) for characteristics of the two genres. I think that Peter oversimplifies and that the main currents of sixteenth-century satire, at least before the 1590s, lie somewhere between his two types, though tending perhaps toward one or the other.

4. For a full discussion of the literary antecedents of The Steel Glass see William L Wallace's introduction to his edition of it and The Complaint of Phylomene, Salzburg Studies in English: Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 24 (Salzburg, 1975). My reservations about some of Wallace's conclusions are recorded in a review in Cahiers Elisabéthains, No. 9 (Avril, 1976), 88-9. On Skelton, see A R Heiserman, Skelton and Satire (Chicago, 1961).
5. Paradise, p.78; Lewis, p.488; Rae, pp.37-8; Gransden, p.169n.
6. 'Sur la métaphore du jardin dans Richard II et un poème de Thomas Lodge', Cahiers Elisabéthains, No. 8 (Octobre, 1975), 76-8 (p.78).
7. King Richard II, The Arden Edition of the Works of William Shakespeare, fourth edition (1956), pp.li-lvi, 50-54, 119-22. For further commentary, see the notes of Matthew W Black in the New Variorum edition (1956), esp. pp.101-105.
8. Gransden offers a paraphrase of the stanza (p.169) but admits that the sense 'remains obscure'. The second line (107) probably was meant to end with good to rhyme with the fourth. A conjectural reconstruction of the first two lines: 'Yet Truth must never alter from her name:/ "Good prince", said I; what of herself? Yea, good.' Truth's auto-quotation - '"Good prince", said I' - could be understood to refer to one or all of her several previous commendations (e.g., 11.48 and 93). The sense would then be: 'I said the prince was good. What about her? Yes, indeed she is good, and that is most fortunate, etc.'.
9. Oeuvres, edited by Albert Michiels (Paris, 1858), pp.431-3. Paradise (pp.215-16) cites H Vaganay who showed that Lodge used an earlier edition than that of 1585 reprinted by Michiels. In a recent scholarly edition, Victor E Graham, while printing the same text, gives variants from the editions of 1573 to 1579. One of these is a whole stanza corresponding to Lodge's fourth, entirely lacking in the 1585 Bergeries (Diverses Amours et autres Oeuvres Meslées, Textes Littéraires Français (Paris, 1963), pp.167-72 (169).
10. Book I, ch.xiii; edited by E Arber (1869), p.46. Among the many discussions of the Elizabethans' concept of satire, see Louis Lecocq, La Satire en Angleterre de 1588 à 1603 (Paris, 1969), esp. pp.236-332; Gransden's introduction to Tudor Verse Satire; Smith, Elizabethan Poetry, Ch.IV.
11. Quotations are from Gransden's text, pp.86-9.
12. On the transformation of the figure of the satyr at the hands of Elizabethan satirists, see Lecocq, pp.279-91.
13. Compare 'Domus doloris', the poem carved by the banished Arsinous over the entrance to his cave in Margarite, in which he refers to his dwelling as 'this tomb of discontent' (F4-F4<sup>v</sup>; Works, III, Marg., 43-4).
14. Quotations are from Gransden's text, pp.89-92. He punctuates 'For why?' in line 4, but the phrase here means 'because'; there is no punctuation in the 1589 text (E; Works, I, Sc. Meta., 37).

15. On stop-press alterations of imprints and titles, see Fredson Bowers, Principles of Bibliographical Description (Princeton, 1949; repr. New York, 1962), pp.49-56. Bowers cites Scilla's Metamorphosis (pp.52-3) but is in error about the coincidence of the altered title (Allison, plates 52 and 53) and the altered date: Allison lists two copies with the altered title which still bear the 1589 imprint. Thus the date was not changed in the process of resetting the title, but was a separate, later operation. See also Bowers's note in Bibliography and Textual Criticism (Oxford, 1964), p.132.
  
16. Some scholars have preferred to call the poem Glaucus and Scilla, reserving Scilla's Metamorphosis for the entire volume. Although the latter obscures the centrality of Glaucus, I prefer it and I think Lodge probably intended it as well: Scilla's metamorphosis is the tragic result of her disdain and tardy passion. That this is the point of the poem is made clear in the envoy as well as by the full title: '...containing the detestable tyranny of disdain ... very fit for coy dames to remember'.
  
17. See, inter alia, Paul W Miller, 'The Elizabethan Minor Epic', SP, 55 (1958), 31-8; Walter Allen, Jr., 'The Non-Existent Classical Epyllion', SP, 55 (1958), 515-18, a reply to Miller; S Clark Hulse, 'Elizabethan Minor Epic: Toward a Definition of Genre', SP, 73 (1976), 302-19. For further references and extended discussions of the genre and its exemplars and the Elizabethans' Ovid, see also F S Boas, Ovid and the Elizabethans (1947); Lewis; Douglas Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry, revised edition (New York, 1963); M C Bradbrook, Shakespeare and Elizabethan Poetry (1951); Hallett Smith, in his Elizabethan Poetry; Keach (n.23 below); introductions to the anthologies listed in n.21 below, and that of Paul W Miller, Seven Minor Epics of the English Renaissance (Gainesville, Fla., 1967).
  
18. Miller, Seven Minor Epics, pp.xi-xii.
  
19. By the qualificative 'medium-length' I mean to exclude from the verse narratives under consideration, epics like The Faerie Queene and works of several thousand lines by Caroline poets such as Nathaniel Whiting, as well as epic-sized historical compilations from Albion's England to Poly-Olbion to Daniel's Civil Wars and Heywood's Troia Britannica.
  
20. For a brief account and bibliography, see Dorothy M Robathan, 'Ovid in the Middle Ages' in Ovid, edited by J W Binns, Greek and Latin Studies: Classical Literature and its Influence (1973), pp.191-209. Surprisingly no full-scale study in English exists; F Munan's Ovid im Mittelalter (Zurich and Stuttgart, 1960) is the most comprehensive to date. Caroline Jameson treats 'Ovid in the Sixteenth Century' in Binns's collection.
  
21. For the sake of consistency, quotations are normalized from the old-spelling edition by Nigel Alexander in Elizabethan Narrative Verse (1967). With several modern editions available, there seems little point in returning to the original. Of the two recent old-spelling editions, Alexander's is slightly more conservative, as regards typography particularly, than E S Donno's in Elizabethan Minor Epics (1963). M M Reese's modern-spelling text in Elizabethan Verse Romances (1968) is not always accurate but is well annotated.

22. The substantive is a real word, now rare, but current in the sixteenth century (O.E.D.).
23. Elizabethan Erotic Narratives: Irony and Pathos in the Ovidian Poetry of Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Their Contemporaries (Hassocks, Sussex, 1977), pp.36-51.
24. Ovid's 'Metamorphoses': The Arthur Golding Translation (1567), edited by John Frederick Nims (1965), p.351. Latin quotations are from the Loeb edition in 2 volumes (1946); Books XIII and XIV are in vol. II. Walter F Staton, Jr. states that 'Lodge's source for the myth of Glaucus and Scylla is Ronsard's 'Complainte de Glaucé'...', on what grounds I do not know ('The Influence of Thomas Watson on Elizabethan Ovidian Poetry', Studies in the Renaissance, 6 (1959), 243-50 (p.247)). Even Lodge's appended (and superfluous) 'Glaucus' Complaint', though of about the same length as Ronsard's poem, contains nothing which suggests direct influence. 'Complainte de Glaucé à Scylle Nympe' is No.XVII in the Third Book of Ronsard's Odes (Les Oeuvres de Pierre de Ronsard, edited by Isidore Silver, 8 vols (Paris, 1966-70), III (1967), 220-21.
25. For the various accounts of Glaucus's parentage and the circumstances of his metamorphosis into a sea-god, of which Ovid's is only one version, see Athenaeus, The Deipnosophists, translated by C B Gulick, Loeb Classical Library, 7 vols (1927-41; repr. 1961), III, 327-33.
26. See the remarks on the form in Chapter 2.
27. George Turberville's translations of the Heroides (c.1570?), like the other englishings of Ovid of this period, are in these familiar Drab metres, but he used the pentameter sixain for several of the 'Arguments' which precede each epistle.
28. Compare another instance of Lodge's use of the echo, immediately following the long speech by Marius in The Wounds of Civil War, III. 4.39-53.
29. Modernized from the 1593 edition of Phyllis (sig.H4<sup>V</sup>; Works, II; p.60; my lineation).
30. Modernized from Parts Added to 'The Mirror for Magistrates' by John Higgins and Thomas Blenerhasset, edited by Lily B Campbell (1946), pp.67-8 (ll.526-53).
31. The Complaint of Rosamond (l.478), in Alexander, Elizabethan Narrative Verse.
32. Joan Rees, Samuel Daniel: A Critical and Biographical Study (Liverpool, 1964), pp.37-8. Mrs Rees's section on Rosamond (pp.34-42) contains comments on the genre which are applicable to Elstred. Daniel need not have taken the labyrinth idea from Higgins: such a device had been part of the Rosamond legend at least since the fourteenth century, when it is reported by the chroniclers Brompton, Knyghton and Higden (see 'Clifford, Rosamond', D.N.B.).



33. The English Works of Giles Fletcher the Elder, edited by Lloyd E Berry (Madison, Wisconsin, 1964), p.123. Fletcher's allusion to Elstred, following ones to Shore's wife and Rosamond, is surely to Lodge's poem and helps to fix a terminus ad quem for the publication of Phyllis: Fletcher's dedication and epistle to the reader are dated 'September 4, 1593' and 'September 8, 1593' respectively. See also Willard Farnham, 'The Progeny of A Mirror for Magistrates', MP, 29 (1932), 395-410 (esp. p.403), and The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy, pp.322-3. Farnham finds Elstred's serious de casibus purpose undiluted by 'sentimental palliation of the heroine's faults' as in some other examples of the genre.
34. Sig.A2<sup>V</sup>; Works, III, Fig, p.4. Little beyond the simple fact of Lodge's sojourn in the Stanley household is known; see Tenney, pp.41-2, and Alice Walker, 'The Life of Thomas Lodge', p.423.
35. 'Stanley, Ferdinando', D.N.B.
36. Rae, pp.86-9. Rae's discussion of A Fig for Momus (pp.85-93) is the only really useful part of his book. Rae edited A Fig for Momus for his Ph.D at the University of Wisconsin (1961). See R M Alden, The Rise of Formal Satire in England under Classical Influence (Philadelphia, 1899; repr. 1962), pp.91-5, for a fuller discussion and specific echoes of the Roman satirists in Lodge.
37. Sidney H Atkins, 'George Stoddard', TLS, 32 (1933), 380. See also J Aubrey Rees, The Worshipful Company of Grocers: An Historical Retrospect 1345-1923 (1923), pp.61-8. Atkins adduces further 'evidence' for an early date of composition for A Fig for Momus from what he posits as fact, namely that the addressee of Satire 1 is Everard Digby, the divine, of whom no more is heard after about 1590. Ergo, Lodge must have written the poem before then.
38. 'Lodge, Guarini and Mathew Roydon', N&Q, 6 (1906), 221-2.
39. Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, fourth edition (1940), II, 50. It is tempting to speculate that 'Galatea's wedding feast' (l.29) is an allusion to Lyly's play Gallathea and that Dering, as a child singer, might have performed music to accompany or follow the play; no wedding occurs in the play but it is to be the 'next' event as the final scene makes clear (edited by Anne Begor Lancashire, Regents Renaissance Drama Series (Lincoln, Neb., 1969; London, 1970), V.3.188-202). It is probably more likely, though, that 'Galatea' is a fictitious name for a real person.
40. On the Barnes identification, see Alice Walker's review of Sisson, RES, 9 (1933), 474.
41. The Poems of Joseph Hall, edited by Arnold Davenport (Liverpool, 1949; repr. 1969), p.11 (modernized).
42. In addition to works already cited, the following are helpful on some aspects of A Fig for Momus: Doris C Powers, English Formal Satire (The Hague, 1971); Sam H Henderson, 'Neo-Stoic Influence on Elizabethan Formal Verse Satire', in Studies in English Renaissance Literature, edited by Waldo F McNeir (Baton Rouge, La., 1962), pp.56-86; Simone Dorangeon,

L'Eglogue Anglaise de Spenser à Milton (Paris, 1974); Raymond Himelick, 'A Fig for Momus and Daniel's Musophilus', MLQ 18 (1957), 247-50.

## Chapter 6

1. On Gosson, his place in the stage controversy and the flyting with Lodge, see Paradise, pp.66-74; Lewis, pp.395-7; John Dover Wilson, 'The Puritan Attack upon the Stage', in The Cambridge History of English Literature, VI (1932; repr. 1950), 374-409 (pp.387-93); William Ringler, Stephen Gosson: A Biographical and Critical Study (Princeton, 1942); Michel Massei, 'Stephen Gosson['s] Playes Confuted in Five Actions: A Critical Introduction to the Pamphlet and its Background', Cahiers Elisabéthains, No.2 (Octobre, 1972), 23-54; and Arthur F Kinney, editor, Markets of Bawdrie: The Dramatic Criticism of Stephen Gosson, Salzburg Studies in English Literature: Elizabethan Studies 4 (Salzburg, 1974).
2. Two other very commendable Letters ..., published with Three Proper and witty, familiar Letters: lately passed betwene two Universitie men ... (1580), in Spenser's Prose Works, edited by Rudolf Gottfried (Baltimore 1949), p.6.
3. 'The Missing Title of Lodge's Reply to Gosson's School of Abuse', MLR, 3 (1908), 166-8.
4. 'The Source of Lodge's Reply to Gosson', RES, 15 (1939), 164-71.
5. 'The Reading of an Elizabethan', p.279.
6. The views which follow are expressed in similar form in my 'Thomas Lodge, Elizabethan Pioneer', Cahiers Elisabéthains, No.3 (Avril, 1973), 5-15.
7. Of innumerable sixteenth century writings on the subject, Thomas Wilson's is the most learned and best known. The edition by R H Tawney (1925; repr. 1962) has a valuable introduction.
8. 'The Sources of Robert Greene's A Quip for an Upstart Courtier', N&Q 198 (1953), 187-91. On usurers in the drama, see Burton A Milligan, 'Some Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Satire against Moneylenders', Shakespeare Association Bulletin, 22 (1947), 36-46, 84-93.
9. For full title, see p.231.
10. 'The Reading of an Elizabethan', pp.266-70. La Somme des Pechez of Jean Benedicti was Lodge's other source, supplying the tirades against usury, lechery and envy (p.268). Miss Walker's valuable article has been relied on for the material on sources of The Devil Conjured and

Wit's Misery that follows. The Dialogues of Creatures Moralized was a main Renaissance source for natural history exempla; the suggestion that Lodge may have drawn upon it for both Catharos and Euphues' Shadow need not vitiate my suggestion that the latter, or some of it, was written some years before it was published (see Ch.3).

11. See John Lean Lievsay, 'Some Renaissance Views of Diogenes the Cynic' in Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies, edited by James G McManaway, Giles E Dawson and Edwin E Willoughby (Washington, D.C., 1948), pp.447-55.
12. Although, as Alice Walker observes (p.273), Benedicti gives an account of the Deadly Sins which Lodge's classification follows fairly closely.
13. Richard Farmer seems to have been the first Shakespearean to notice Lodge's allusion; he cited it triumphantly as 'proof' against someone who held that Shakespeare's play was not written before 1601/2 (An Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare, second edition, 1767, pp.75-6).
14. Arnold Davenport, 'Samuel Rowlands and Thomas Lodge', N&Q, 184 (1943), 13-16, and The Poems of Joseph Hall, notes to Virgidemiarum II.vii and IV.v; Gransden, Tudor Verse Satire, notes to selections from Hall and Rowlands, pp.172, 178.
15. Charles Crawford, England's Parnassus, p.405n.
16. C R Baskerville, English Elements in Jonson's Early Comedy (Austin, Texas, 1911), passim; Benjamin Boyce, The Theophrastan Character in England to 1642 (1947; repr. 1967), pp.69-75.
17. Alice Walker says (p.281) that Lodge's acquaintance with Spanish theologians, Granada and Angles, 'suggests that these books formed part of the spoils of the Jesuit College at Santos'. We know that Lodge did bring home books from Santos (see Ch.3, n.104). But, as the Isselt Latin versions of the works from which The Flowers and A Paradise of Prayers are taken were published only in 1598 and 1599 respectively, Lodge's acquaintance with Granada's writings may have been renewed or continued in France, where they were immensely popular and influential (see, for example, Terence C Cave, Devotional Poetry in France c.1570-1613 (1969), passim).
18. This discovery was made by Eliane Cuvelier, 'A Treatise of the Plague de Thomas Lodge (1603): Traduction d'un Ouvrage Médical Français', EA, 21 (1968), 395-403. The Treatise is the only one of Lodge's post-1596 works for which there is no S.R. entry; it is perhaps not surprising in this case that normal procedure should be circumvented, in view of the conditions which prevailed in London at the time Lodge published the Treatise (see F P Wilson, The Plague in Shakespeare's London (Oxford, 1927, repr. 1963). Greg compiled statistics which show that, among twenty-six well known, non-clerical authors of the period, Lodge has the lowest proportion of S.R. entries for his works (8 of 18 = 44%) ('Entrance in the Stationers' Register: Some Statistics', reprinted from The Library, 25 (1944) in The Collected Papers of Sir Walter W Greg, edited by J C Maxwell (Oxford, 1966), pp.341-8). Greg cautions against placing too much reliance on non-entrance as a criterion of irregular publication.

19. A facsimile of the letter, with a transcript is in Greg's English Literary Autographs 1550-1650 (cited in Ch.1, n.7).
20. See Knud Sørensen, Thomas Lodge's Translation of Seneca's 'De Beneficiis' Compared with Arthur Golding's Version (Copenhagen, 1960), pp.33-4. The apparent incompatibility of the 1600 S.R. entry with Lodge's certain use of the 1605 Lipsius edition was resolved by Sørensen in a subsequent article. The mention of 'French and Latyn' in the entry led him to several French translations whose use by Lodge he demonstrated conclusively. Sørensen revised his initially unfavourable opinion of Lodge's method (though not of the quality of the translation) in view of Lodge's diligence in incorporating the latest critical views of Seneca, i.e. those of Lipsius, whose edition, according to Sørensen, Lodge probably did not discover until shortly before the translation was published; the life of Seneca which is taken from Lipsius looks like a stop-press insertion ('Thomas Lodge's Seneca', Archiv, 199 (1962-3), 313-24). Muriel St Clare Byrne compares Lodge's with another translation of some of the works by 'E.A.' ('An Early Translation of Seneca', The Library, Fourth Series, 4 (1924), 277-85.
21. An edition of 1632 has been listed in bibliographies for well over a century and as recently as the revised Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature, I (1974). This is an error, perhaps a confusion with the (fourth) edition of the Josephus published that year; see Allison, pp.33-4, and the revised STC, II (1976), and my review of Allison, MLR, 69 (1974), 371-3. For statistics relating to the relative popularity of Seneca and Cicero in this period, see William P Williams, 'Other Patterns of Stoicism: 1530-1670', MLR, 69 (1974), 1-11. Williams omits from his list of Seneca translations that of the first three books of De Beneficiis by Nicholas Haward (1569), brought to light by Harold H Davis, 'An Unknown and Early Translation of Seneca's De beneficiis', HLQ, 24 (1961), 137-44. Davis compares passages from Haward's translation with Golding's and Lodge's renditions.
22. See H B Lathrop, Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman 1477-1620 (Madison, Wisconsin, 1932; repr. New York, 1967), esp. pp.251-2 (Josephus) and 258-61 (Seneca). Lathrop classes Lodge among the 'professional' translators with Holland and Chapman.
23. The impact of du Bartas in England is discussed at length by Sidney Lee in The French Renaissance in England, pp.333-55. For his influence in France see, among others, Cave, Devotional Poetry in France, passim.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography includes by no means all of the works cited in the notes, and some which are not cited. It is intended neither as a bibliography of works cited nor as a comprehensive list of works consulted, but rather as a classified guide to essential materials for scholarly research, including editions and critical commentaries on Lodge's works. It is thus part of and not an appendage to, the main body of the thesis. It is selective in that it does not include every single article and note relating to Lodge which might have been put in; several of the bibliographies listed in section I.i below contain items that I have omitted. Nor have I attempted to anticipate future editors, commentators and biographers of Lodge by including everything which they might conceivably refer to or cite; such an attempt would be doomed from the start. Many of the notes contain such general and tangential references and their repetition here would be redundant. The bibliography will, I hope, be seen as complementary to the foregoing chapters and notes, affording a necessary if not a wholly sufficient research tool for the serious student of Lodge. Direct relevance to Lodge and his works and significance have been the criteria for inclusion.

The sections of the bibliography are as follows:

- I.i Lodge bibliographies
- I.ii Editions of works by Lodge since 1800 consulted in the course of preparation of the thesis
- I.iii Secondary works on Lodge
- II.i Editions of works by other authors whose introductions or commentaries contain significant material relevant to Lodge
- II.ii Secondary works, not solely or primarily on Lodge, but including substantial discussions of his works or information of immediate relevance to Lodge research.

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