

STUDIES IN THE WORK OF THOMAS LODGE.

---

---

T H E S I S

submitted for the Degree of Ph.D.

ALICE WALKER, B.A.

ProQuest Number: 10107245

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10107245

Published by ProQuest LLC(2016). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code  
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC  
789 East Eisenhower Parkway  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

STUDIES IN THE WORK OF THOMAS LOIGE.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

|   | <u>Pages.</u> |
|---|---------------|
| Foreword.   | 1 - 9         |
| <br>  |               |
| <u>CHAPTER I. The Novels.</u>                               |               |
| Section I. Lodge's Novels and Elizabethan<br>Prose Fiction. | 10 - 31       |
| Appendices.   | 31 - 40       |
| Section II. The Sources of Lodge's Novels.                  | 41 - 96       |
| Appendices.   | 97 - 106      |
| Section III. The Non-Narrative Sources of<br>the Novels.    | 107 - 129     |
| <br>  |               |
| <u>CHAPTER II. The Prose Pamphlets.</u>                     |               |
| Introduction  | 130 - 136     |
| Section I. Catharos: Diogenes in His<br>singularity.        | 137 - 157     |
| Section II. Wits Misere and the Worlds<br>Madnesse.         | 158 - 205     |
| Section III. The other Prose Pamphlets.                     | 206 - 212     |
| Appendix.   | 213 - 215     |
| <br>  |               |
| <u>CHAPTER III. The Verse.</u>                              | 216 - 234     |
| <br>  |               |
| <u>CHAPTER IV. Bibliography.</u>                            | 235 - 263     |
| <br>  |               |
| Summary.  | 264 - 265     |

---

**FOREWORD.**

The career of Thomas Lodge is one that has contributed to form the common conception of the Elizabethan. He carried on the tradition of those mid-century writers - Googe, Churchyard, Whetstone and Gascoigne - whose activities are summarised in Gascoigne's motto "Tam Marti quam Mercurio". As a University wit, a student of the Inns of Court, a Gentleman Adventurer, and professional writer in Elizabethan England and, later in life, as a physician, he is representative of an age that was impatient of specialisation and set a premium upon versatility and all-round capacity.<sup>(1)</sup>

He was the second son of a prosperous city merchant and was born sometime in the late fifties, possibly in the year of Elizabeth's accession. Like his elder brother, he seems to have been intended for the law and from the university he proceeded to Lincoln's Inn, but like many men of the Inns of Court (e.g., Whetstone and Gascoigne) he seems soon to have forsaken the old profession of the law for the newly created profession of letters. Probably an interest in literature had been stimulated while he was at Oxford. Sidney and Lyly had just gone down from

---

(1) The chief authorities for Lodge's life are:-

Collier (J.P.) - Gentleman's Magazine 1850. Pt. ii, p.605.  
" " " " 1851. Pt. i, p.155.

Laing (D) Introduction to A Defence of Poetry, Music, and Stage-plays. Shakespeare Society. London. 1853.

Gosse (Sir Edmund). Memoir of Thomas Lodge. In Vol. I of the Complete Works of Thomas Lodge. Hunterian Club. Glasgow 1883. Reissued in Seventeenth Century Studies. London. 1883.

Carl (R.) - Über Thomas Lodge's Leben und Werke. Anglia. Halle 1888. Bd. X, pp. 235-289.

Lee (Sir Sidney). Art. on Thomas Lodge, D.N.B.

The Bibliography to Ch. vi, Vol. V, of the Cambridge History of English Literature mentions a German work which I have been unable to consult.

Richard (E.C.) - Über Thomas Lodge's Leben und Werke. (Diss.) Leipzig. 1887.

No copy of this work is in the British Museum or Bodleian Libraries.

Christ Church and Magdalen, and contemporary with Lodge were many men who later made their mark as writers - among them Hakluyt, Roydon, Peele and Watson. Of any literary friendships which he may have formed at Oxford, we know nothing, but Anthony à Wood speaks of him as having distinguished himself while there by his literary compositions. (1) His reply to Gosson's attack on poetry, music and the stage, written not long after his entry into Lincoln's Inn, doubtless brought him to the notice of literary men in London. In 1581 we find him on friendly terms with Barnaby Rich, and that Rich should have given the first part of his Don Simonides to Lodge (2) for revision would point to Lodge's having already won some reputation as a writer, for he was fully fifteen years Rich's junior. In 1584 he dedicated to the Maecenas of the age, Sir Philip Sidney, the "Primordia" of his "studies" containing not only the title-piece An Alarum against Usurers, but also a prose story The Historie of Forbonius and Prisceria, and a verse satire Truths Complaint over England. Not long after this Lodge seems to have embraced in addition to letters the equally shiftless and impecunious profession of arms. In the Epistle "to the Gentlemen Readers" prefixed to Rosalynde (1590) (3) he describes himself as "a sculdier, & a sailer". And in the Dedication he speaks of having fallen "from bookes to armes" (4), but in what capacity Lodge served as a soldier is not definitely known. He says nothing of having served with the English forces in France or the Netherlands, nor do any of his works contain any indication of his having

---

(1) Athenae Oxonienses. London. 1691. Vol. I, p. 422.

(2) See Complete Works. Hunterian Club, Vol. IV. Miscellaneous Pieces, pp. 3-4.

(3) Rosalynde, Hunterian Club, p. 7.

(4) Rosalynde, Hunterian Club, p. 4.

been on the continent before 1600. At the close of Catharos:Diogenes in his Singularitie Lodge pleads for the adequate recognition of the services of the English soldier, as Googe and Rich had done, but he does not write of the subject as one that touched him nearly. On the other hand he speaks at some length of his two sea voyages, the first with Captain Clarke to "the Islands of Terceras & the Canaries", the second with Cavendish to South America, and the activities as a "souldier" to which Lodge refers so frequently in Rosalynde were doubtless confined to exploits such as the "rifling" of "sixe or seuen houses inhabited by Portugales" or the surprise of the town of Santos, which fell to the lot of the adventurers who sailed with Cavendish in 1591. Lodge's choice of a seafaring life may in some measure be attributed to his father's interest in overseas exploration and exploitation, and his own interest in seafaring seems to have lingered long after his close connection with it had ceased, for in 1605 we find him speculating, like his father before him, in overseas trade ventures. For the next ten years Lodge's career as Gentleman adventurer alternated with periods of activity as a writer in London. From his works we hear of two sea voyages; the first with Captain Clarke to the Terceras and Canary Islands, at some date unknown since no record of the expedition is extant,

---

(1) Catharos: Hunterian Club, pp. 63-5.

(2) See Nash. Works, ed. McKerrow, Vol. IV, p. 246, for reference to "B. Googe's Preface to B. Rich's Alarum to England, 1578".

(3) Dedication to Rosalynde. Hunterian Club, p. 4.

(4) Epistle to the Gentlemen Readers, A Margarite of America. Hunterian Club, p. 4.

(5) Hakluyt, Principal Navigations. Glasgow. 1914. pp. 389-90.

(6) See Art. Lodge (Sir Thomas). D.N.B.

(7) See the letter to Lodge from W. Jenison, printed from the Domestic State Papers by Sir Edmund Gosse. Memoir. Complete Works. Hunterian Club, Vol. I, pp. 41-2.



(1)  
 but placed by Carl as early as 1585-6. Between this date and August 1591, when he embarked on his second voyage, Lodge was busy with his pen in London. During these years were written two plays, The Wounds of Ciuill War and A Looking Glasse for London and Englande, the latter in collaboration with Greene; three novels, Rosalynde, The Historie of Robert second Duke of Normandy and Euphues Shadow; a book of verse Scillaes Metamorphosis, and a prose pamphlet Catharos:Diogenes in his Singularitie. To these years belongs his friendship with Greene, the first record of which is a commendatory poem, in French, contributed by Lodge to the Spanish Masquerado (1589); and the friendship left its mark, not only on the Looking Glasse which is their joint production, but also on Rosalynde.  
 (2)  
lynde. In August 1591, he embarked with Cavendish on the ill-starred voyage "intended for the South sea, the Phillippinas, and the coast of China", of which Lodge speaks in A Margarite of America, where he writes at as great a length as anywhere of his own experiences - of this unfortunate voyage through the Straits of Magellan and the cold, hunger and danger (both from mutiny and the weather) they endured.  
 (3)  
 (4)  
 On his return, Lodge was again busy with his pen. Before the end of 1593 a sonnet sequence Phillis and a fifth novel The Life and Death of William Longbeard were printed; in 1594 a lost work

---

(1) Carl, R. Über Thomas Lodge's Leben und Werke. Anglia X, p. 244.

(2) See Green's Hand in Rosalynde, pp. 31-39.

(3) Hakluyt, Principal Navigations. Glasgow. 1904. Vol. XI, p. 389.

(4) A Margarite of America. Hunterian Club, p. 3.

(1)

A Spiders Webbe appeared; in 1595 A Fig for Momus (a collection of verse satires, eclogues and epistles) and in 1596 two prose pamphlets The Diuel Coniured and Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse, and a sixth novel, A Margarite of America.

At this point, Lodge's career as a Gentleman Adventurer and miscellaneous writer ended. His experiences on "that dismall and fatall voyage of Master Thomas Candish in which he consumated his earthly peregrination", must have been such as would have cooled the sea fever of any man. Cavendish had set out apparently in the hope of repeating his earlier achievement, which had been, in Purchas' words, "a perpetuall sunshine", and from which he had returned rich beyond the dreams of avarice, "no man ever having in neere so little time compassed that huge circumference, or taken his choice of so much more wealth, then he could bring home, or revisited his native soile with greater pompe and triumph"; but the story of

---

(1) See Bibliographical Index to the works of Thomas Lodge by Sir Edmund Gosse. Complete Works. Hunterian Club, Vol. I, p. 13. The evidence for the existence of this work by Lodge is the entry of a book of this title in the Stationers Register. See Arber. Transcript, Vol. II, p. 303b632.

7o die Junij./

Nicholas Linge./. Entred for his Copie vnder th[e] h[an]de of Master Cawood a booke entituled a Spiders Webbe. vjd.

A copy of a book of this title, said to be by Lodge, was sold in 1764. See A Catalogue of the Large and Curious English Library of Mr. John Hutton Which will be sold by Auction ----- on Monday the 22d of October, 1764, and the twenty-seven following Evenings.

"1510. TRACTS. Scillaes Metamorphosis with other Poems, by Lodge. b.l. 1590- Diogenes in his Singularity or a Nettle for Nice Noses, by ditto b.l.-The famous, true and historical life of Robert second Duke of Normandy, surnamed Robin the Divell, by ditto. b.l. 1591- A Margarite of America by ditto. b.l. 1596.- An Alarum Against Usurers by ditto, dedicated to Sir P. Sidney b.l. 1584 -A Fig for Momus, by ditto 1595- A Spydres Webbe, by ditto. b.l. no date."

The lot were sold for six shillings and six pence. No name of the purchaser is given, and no other copy of the book is known.

(2) Purchas His Pilgrimes. Glasgow. 1906, Vol. XVI, p. 146.

(3) Ibid.

his second expedition is a story of mismanagement on the part of the leader and distrust on the part of the men, of conspiracy and mutiny, and of suffering from intense cold, storms, hunger, and disease. By accident or design the ships were separated and the disheartened adventurers returned home, abandoning the quest. The story of the (1) "Desire" which landed in Ireland, in June 1593, "without (2) victuals, sailes, men, or any furniture" is a story of death - death from hunger, cold and disease, and death at the hands of Indians, "Portugals" and "Canibals". Of a crew of seventy-six all had died "except 16, of which there (3) were but 5 able to mooue". In literature, despite his industry, Lodge appears to have been disappointed. The profession which seems to have offered scope for the young writer in the early eighties was becoming overcrowded in the nineties. There are numerous allusions to the increasing output of books and complaints on the part of authors of the stinginess of patrons, on whose generosity they depended to eke out the profit of their literary (4) labour. His work had not apparently brought to Lodge the preferment from patrons that he hoped. The third eclogue of A Fig for Momus, which belongs to the same class of poetic complaint as the October eclogue of the Shepherdes Calender and thus contains a large conventional element, would seem none-the-less to voice a personal complaint. Under the name of Golde (a transposition of

---

(1) Hakluyt, Principal Navigations. Glasgow. 1914. Vol. XI, pp. 389-416.

(2) Ibid. p. 416.

(3) Ibid. p. 416.

(4) As early as 1589, in the Epistle Dedicatory to Scillaes Metamorphosis. Hunterian Club, p. 4, Lodge observed that "our wits now a daies are waxt verie fruitefull, and our Pamphleters more than prodigall; So that the postes which stode naked a tedious non terminus, doo vaunt their double apparrell as soone as euer the Exchequer openeth."

(1)  
 the letters of his own name he laments to Wagrin (=Guarini?)  
 the little encouragement that is given to the professional  
 writer. Wagrin advises him to seek a patron, but Golde  
 replies that though for some time he lived "in sunne-shine  
 of their grace" now time "Hath made them worldlie couetous  
 and base" (2) whereon Wagrin suggests that Golde should, like  
 Donroy (=Roydon?) seek a patron beyond the seas with Charles  
 the Kind. The eclogue closes with Golde's words:

"I rest resolved, if bountie will I wright  
 If not my muse no more shall see the light."

Consistent with this resolve is his change of profession  
 the following year. He left England, not to seek a foreign  
 patron, but to study medicine at Avignon where, according  
 to Antony à Wood, he graduated in 1600. (3) On his return he  
 was incorporated M.D. at Oxford in 1602 and practised his  
 new profession in London, apparently with a considerable  
 degree of success, until his death in 1625. Lodge did  
 not entirely abandon, however, his literary labours, but  
 after 1600 his work changes in character. With the ex-  
 ception of two medical works (A Treatise of the Plague,  
 1603, and The Poore Mans Talentt, first printed from manu-  
 script by the Hunterian Club in 1881) and a Preface con-  
 tributed to The Countesse of Lincolns Nurserie, all his  
 works are translations; of The Famous and Memorable Workes  
of Josephus (1602), The Workes, both Morall and Natural, of  
Lucius Annaeus Seneca (1614), and A Learned Summary upon  
the famous Poeme of William of Saluste lord of Bargas (1625).

---

(1) Notes and Queries. Series X. Vol. VI, pp. 221-2.  
 "Lodge, Guarini and Matthew Roydon". By H.C. Hart. The  
 late Mr. Hart suggested that Wagrin stood for Guarini, and  
 Donroy for Roydon and that the "Charles the Kind" mentioned  
 is "Carlo Emanuele, Duke of Savoy, to whom (and his bride)  
 Guarini presented his Pastor Fido' in 1585". The D.N.B.  
 says nothing of Roydon's being abroad about this time.

(2) Fig for Momus. Hunterian Club, p. 25.

(3) Athenae Oxonienses. London. 1691. Vol. I, p. 422.

Such is the outline of Lodge's career in so far as it can be constructed from the scanty data now extant, but could all the details of his varied career be recovered, it is unlikely that they would throw much light on Lodge's work as a writer. The influences on his work were almost exclusively literary, and a list of the books he had read would tell far more than the most detailed knowledge of his friendships and travels. His life and works ran a separate course. They have, however, one feature in common - that an equal love of change and experiment is seen in both. The writers of the Return from Parnassus spoke of Lodge as having his "oars in every paper boat", indicating that even in that versatile age he had distinguished himself for the variety of his literary output. There was, indeed, hardly a kind of literary work at which he did not try his hand. Literary criticism, the Drama (both tragedy and comedy), Verse (lyrical, narrative and satiric), the Novel, Prose Pamphlets, Medical Treatises, and Translations - all these kinds Lodge attempted with varying success. He was the most versatile, if not the most accomplished, of an age of versatile writers. The "pleasant varietie" that he advertised on the title-page of A Fig for Momus characterised his work from its early days. Even within the limits of one literary kind Lodge studied "to delight with varietie" for his verse contains (1) besides the usual love and devotional poems, a narrative poem, a lament on the Mirror for Magistrates model, several eclogues, verse epistles and satires.

Some of his work is fairly well known. The dramas have long been accessible and have been studied both in

---

(1) A Fig for Momus. Hunterian Club. Epistle to the Reader, p. 6.

(1) detail and in relation to the general history of the drama in the sixteenth century. Any account of Lodge's dramatic work has, therefore, been omitted in this study. His work as a poet has also been fairly accessible. Phyllis has been several times reprinted and the best of the lyrics from the romances and miscellanies are accessible in anthologies of Elizabethan verse and in reprints of Englands Helicon. The French and Italian sources of many of his lyrics have been explored by Bullen, the late Professor (2) Kastner and Sir Sidney Lee, and the classical influence (3) (4) on his satires has been exhaustively studied by Mr. Alden. (5) It has been possible, however, to add something, more particularly on the Italian sources of Lodge's lyric work and to throw further light on his method of composition, so a short section on Lodge's verse has been included in this study. Lodge's prose works with the exception of Rosalynde, have attracted less attention than his dramatic and poetic. Few of them are at all well known and the majority are accessible only in limited or privately printed editions. It is therefore with the more important aspects of Lodge's work as a novelist and pamphlet writer that the following study proposes to deal.

-----

---

(1) The Bibliography to the Cambx.Hist. of Engl.Lit. Vol. V, Ch. vi, p. 420, refers to an American thesis. Fraser (M.E.N.), Thomas Lodge as a Dramatist, Univ. of Pennsylvania thesis. 1898.

(2) Bullen (A.H.), Poems, chiefly Lyrical, from Romances and Prose-Tracts of the Elizabethan Age. London. 1890. Introduction, pp. vii-xv.

(3) Kastner (L.E.), "Thomas Lodge as an Imitator of the French Poets". Athenaeum, No. 4017, Oct. 22, 1904, pp.552-3, and No. 4018, Oct. 29, 1905, p. 590. "Thomas Lodge as an Imitator of the Italian Poets", M.L.R. Vol. II, No. 11, January 1907, pp. 155-161.

(4) Lee (Sir Sidney). The French Renaissance in England. Oxford 1910, pp. 230-34, 242-3, 260, 455-62.

(5) Alden (R.M.), The Rise of Formal Satire in England. Philadelphia 1899. Publications of the Univ. of Pennsylvania. Series in Philology, Literature and Archaeology. Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 90-97.

CHAPTER I.

THE NOVELS.

SECTION I.

LODGE'S NOVELS AND ELIZABETHAN PROSE FICTION.

Lodge has a place in the history of Elizabethan prose fiction not only as the writer of two of its most charming tales but also as one of the most vigorous experimenters in this genre. With the exception of Forbonius and Prisceria, published with the Alarum Against Usurers in 1584, his novels were, like the greater part of his work, mainly the product of the years 1590 to 1596; Rosalynde was published in 1590, The Historie of Robert Second Duke of Normandy in 1591, Euphues Shadow in 1592, William Longbeard in 1593, and A Margarite of America in 1596. It might be expected that these works, produced in rapid succession within a brief number of years, would present a strong family likeness; they are, however, not only unlike one another in style and subject, but also remarkably unequal in achievement. Rosalynde the earliest of the last group is the best, not only of Lodge's novels, but, in construction and finish, of all Elizabethan works of prose fiction. Lodge's narrative power was already, therefore, mature in 1590, and some striking sequel might with reason be looked for in his subsequent work, but the three novels that followed are far inferior. Not until his last story, A Margarite of America, did he produce another work equal in charm and finish to Rosalynde.

This inequality of Lodge's work as a novelist is partly to be attributed to the fact that the best of it was the product of years. Neither Rosalynde nor A Margarite of America was "yarked up" in a night and a day. Rosalynde



was begun, Lodge tells us, on his voyage to the Canary Islands, but it was not published until 1590. <sup>(1)</sup> A Margarite of America <sup>(2)</sup> again, was begun at sea, on the voyage with Cavendish, but was not printed until 1596. There is no external evidence to show how long Lodge was employed on the writing of his other novels, but from internal evidence they appear to have been written in a much shorter space of time.

The inequality is largely, however, the result of the experimental nature not only of Lodge's work, but of all Elizabethan prose fiction. When mediaeval romance was the recreative literature of all classes there was a pattern for the would-be story-teller to follow, so that a writer of average ability could put together from stock figures, situations and motives, a tolerably good story (as Professor Ker showed the writer of Iomedon to have <sup>(3)</sup> done); but when mediaeval romance became a dead literature no longer capable of reproducing itself, the pattern of story-telling was lost. Elizabethan fiction had to begin afresh the creation of a type of story that should take the form and pressure of the Renaissance world, as romance had done of the mediaeval. Up till the threshold of the Elizabethan era there seems to have been no demand for fiction in England that could not be met by old tales in prose redactions. A few translations of newer types of <sup>(4)</sup> fiction appeared, but they do not seem to have inspired

---

(1) Rosalynde. Hunterian Club, p. 4.

(2) Margarite of America. Hunterian Club, pp. 3-4.

(3) Ker (W.P.) English Literature Mediaeval. Home Univ. Lib. London.n.d. pp. 105-6.

(4) Before 1560 two translations of Aeneas Silvius' De Duobus Amantibus appeared (see Esdaile, A List, of English Tales and Prose Romances printed before 1740. London. 1912, p. 1), three editions of Diego de San Pedro's Carcel de Amor (see Esdaile, p. 123) and Juan de Flores Historia de Aurelio y de Ysabela, had been twice printed as a text book, first in French, Italian, Spanish and English and later in French, Italian and English (see Esdaile, p. 48).

their English readers to imitation. It was not until the sixties that translations of Italian novelle began and set the fashion for a new kind of story. In the sixties, seventies and eighties these stories were translated, embellished and imitated (sometimes immediately from Italian sources, sometimes from the French) in the loose translations of Fenton and Painter and the more original work of Gascoigne, Whetstone and Rich. By the eighties the possibilities of this kind of literature had been exhausted in the novel, but it seems to have created a truly popular taste for fiction, that was not to be satisfied with the substitute offered by Euphues, and which writers like Greene and Lodge attempted to supply.

The ever-widening scope of the novel in the last two decades of the sixteenth century cannot be considered apart from the history of the drama. They were interdependent; the drama borrowed plots from the novel, and at the same time created a taste for complicated action which had its influence on the prose tale. The Elizabethan reader of fiction no more than the Elizabethan playgoer was content with the simple "platform" of the novella, and as time went on and the drama outstripped the novel, the novelist in his turn was led to seek in the drama plots and episodes for his stories. A striking example of the influence of the drama on a prose story is to be found in Lodge's last novel A Margarite of America.

The novel and the drama of the close of the sixteenth century have indeed many common traits. Both were produced to meet a popular demand. The novels of Lodge, Greene and Deloney were not court romances but were written to provide the public with the kind of tale they desired, and, as the century drew towards its close, prose

fiction became more and more popular in the work of Johnson, Deloney, Munday and Breton. Like the drama, the novel showed a sturdy independence of models, borrowing from all sources, but imitating none. Byzantine romance contributed much to its store of motives; shipwreck, oracle, lost children, recognitions and disguise are frequent motives in the pages of Elizabethan prose fiction. The influence of Byzantine romance is, perhaps, strongest on the Arcadia of Sidney, but the Arcadia combines with material from Byzantine sources, pastoral and chivalric motives as well. Renaissance England produced no such close imitation of the most popular of the accessible works of Greek fiction, the Theagenes and Chariclea of Heliodorus, as the Persiles y Sigismunda of Cervantes. Similarly the pastoral novel of Montemayor and his followers numbered no Elizabethan imitators, although pastoral motives, like Byzantine, contributed much to the Elizabethan novelists' store of plots. Again, like the drama, Elizabethan fiction laid under contribution a wide range of material - Italian novelle, mediaeval, pastoral and Byzantine romance, Ovidian metamorphosis, biblical story, history and chronicle, all served as raw material for the prose tale. And, finally, as the drama had its "pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical, tragical-comical-historical-pastoral" plays, so the novel had its pastoral-byzantine, mediaeval-historical, picaresque-pastoral-romantic, picaresque-historical tales. Elizabethan drama, without Shakespeare, would present much the same characteristics as the Elizabethan novel.

---

(1) John Dickenson's Arisbas is in plot a closer imitation of Theagenes and Chariclea than Sidney's Arcadia. His heroine is named Timoelea. Dressed as a boy she elopes with Arisbas and passes herself off as his sister. The lovers escape by ship and are separated by storms, etc. See Dickenson Prose and Verse, ed. Grosart. Privately Printed. Manchester. 1878, pp. 25-91.

Success is no more written on every page of the Elizabethan novel than on every page of the drama. This mingling of motives from a variety of sources is sometimes not unlike the universally satirised dress of the travelled Englishman of the period, and resulted in some startling incongruities, as in Euphues Shadow where Lodge grafts on to a Euphuistic story of the quarrel and reconciliation of a pair of friends, motives from mediaeval romance - knight errantry and single combats, monsters and a magician, a captive princess and a castle that vanishes, so that the whole resembles an Old Wives Tale in prose. Other hybrid kinds were more felicitous; the combination of pastoral and Byzantine romance in Menaphon and Pandosto and Lodge's blending of the Renaissance pastoral with "greenwood" romance of the Robin Hood cycle, were among the happiest experiments of the age. Nash's Unfortunate Traveller, Deloney's Jack of Newbury, Breton's Miseries of Mavillia, although none of them achieved the coherence necessary to the novel, testify to the vigour which was the cause and effect of the independence of purely literary and foreign models.

Elizabethan prose tales have then this family likeness, but there is a well-marked difference between the work of the eighties and of the nineties. In the eighties Euphues, the novella, pastoral and Byzantine romance, supplied the raw material for the novel. The influence of Euphues is most strongly marked on the prose fiction of the five years following its publication, on the Zelauto (1580) of Munday, the Philotimus (1583) of Melbancke and the Don Simonides (1581 and 1583) of Barnaby

---

(1) Influenced probably by the Daphnis and Chloe of Longus translated in 1587.

Rich. The novella tradition survived in Rich's Farewell to the Militarie Profession (1581) and in the work of Greene; ~~and~~ the influence of pastoral and Byzantine fiction in Lodge's Forbonius and Prisceria, Sidney's Arcadia and Greene's Menaphon and Pandosto. On the whole, the prose fiction of the nineties reflects the change to a less idealistic outlook that became marked on almost all branches of literature in the closing years of <sup>the</sup> / sixteenth century. As in the second half of the last decade love poetry and the Petrarchan sonnet became the object of satire, so in the novel the vogue of the love pamphlet declined. Johnson in the Epistle "To the Gentlemen Readers" prefixed to The Nine Worthies of London rejects love as too common a theme - "Being determined to write of something, and not yet resolved of anything, I considered with my selfe, if one should write of Loue (they will say) why, euery one writes of loue" <sup>(1)</sup> and accordingly he chooses as his theme the praises of The Nine Worthies of London. Although the novel of the nineties shows itself unable entirely to forego a conventional love story (as, for example, in Lodge's William Longbeard, Nash's Unfortunate Traveller and Chettle's Piers Plainnes) there is no longer any interest in the manoeuvres of courtship, - falling in love with a lady in church, exchange of letters by all sorts of devices (in a book, in the stalk of a bunch of violets, in a snowball or a box of comfits) and laying siege to her heart with "Knacks, trifles, nosegays, sweetmeats, messengers" - in short, all the "business" of go-betweens and confidantes that had played so large a part in the fiction of the preceding decade, under Italian influence.

---

(1) Johnson (R.) The Nine Worthies of London. 1592. Sig. A3a.

The romantic tradition of the early work of Greene and of the Arcadia lived on in the Arisbas (1594) of Dickenson and in the Strange Fortunes of two Excellent Princes (1600) of Breton, but for a time, at least, there was a set-back to romance and Arcadianism. The more vigorous minds of the last decade of the sixteenth century turned to less romantic sources of inspiration than pastoral and Byzantine stories. In these years Lazarillo da Tormes, long accessible in an English edition, but looked upon until now as a picture of Spanish life rather than as a model for a prose story, found its first imitator in the Piers Plainnes Seauen Yeres Prentiship of Chettle; history and chronicle, and the humbler walks of life - the "gentle craft" of shoemaking, for example - provided material for the story-teller. A bolder contact with reality became marked in the most outstanding works of the nineties. For the "feigned no-where" acts of mediaeval romance a historical background is substituted in The Unfortunate Traveller where Nash gives his story of the "grand tour" of Jack Wilton local colour by the introduction of outstanding figures in history and letters - Sir Thomas More, Erasmus, Surrey and Cornelius Agrippa. Deloney's Jack of Newbury, set in the same historical period, the reign of Henry VIII, gives a picture of the English countryside and the life of the burgher class in a busy Wiltshire town. Breton's Miseries of Mavillia, an early example of the biography of a child, is the best example in Elizabethan literature of "A Simple Story".

Indicative of the turning towards more realistic subjects are the changes observable in the titles of books. For the high-flown names of Arcadian and Euphuistic romance

---

(1) It was licensed in 1568-9, and printed in 1576 and 1586. See The Pleasant Historie of Lazarillo de Tormes. Drawen out of Spanish by David Rouland of Anglesey 1586. Ed. Crofts. The Percy Reprints. Oxford. 1924. Introduction, pp. ix-xi.

(1584),  
(Gwydonius. The Carde of Fancie/ Pandosto. The Triumph  
of Time (1587), Zelauto (1581), Arbasto. The Anatomie of  
Fortune (1584)) are substituted names and titles that  
 suggest a closer connection with life (The Life and Death  
of William Longbeard (1593), The Unfortunate Traveller.  
Or The life of Iacke Wilton (1594), Piers Plainnes seauen  
yeres Prentiship (1595), The Pleasant History of Iohn  
Winchcomb, in his younger yeaes called Iack of Newberie  
 (1596-7?).

The change is again seen if the setting of Greene's novels of the eighties and Lodge's novels of the nineties is compared. The background of Greene's fiction up to 1590 is historically and geographically vague. Many of his stories are set in the remote regions of Byzantine romance - Alexandria, Mytilene, Taprobane; if in England, then in England of the time of Palmerin. The background of Lodge's novels is generally western Europe. The setting of his pastoral novel is not Arcadia but the Ardennes; Paris, Bordeaux and Lyons are mentioned, and when Lodge perceives that Adam Spenser may appear a little incongruous in his surroundings he is careful to explain he is "an Englishman"<sup>(1)</sup>. In his Historie of Robert second Duke of Normandy, he renders more definite the vague localization of the mediaeval romance upon which his story was founded by the addition of historical and topographical matter from the Croniques de Normendie, and insists on the "true and historicall" foundation of his story. William Longbeard is a historical novel of the time of Richard I, taken from Fabyan's Chronicles. The scene of Euphues Shadow is laid in Passan, and the story opens with a long description of the rivers and boundaries

---

(1) Rosalynde. Hunterian Club, p. 26.

of the country, and when, in the inset story, the scene is shifted to Libia, Rabinus' host entertains him with an account of the country and its inhabitants. Had Lodge written Pandosto Bohemia would not have had a sea coast.

A review of the fortunes of the books which had been up till now so influential shows clearly that the more purely Renaissance influences on prose fiction were weakening. In the nineties there seems to have been little demand for the collections of novelle that had been so popular in the seventies and eighties. Among older collections only Pettie's Petite Pallace of Pettie <sup>(1)</sup> his Pleasure was reprinted during these years, and only one new translation, of the Heptameron of Margaret of Navarre, appeared. <sup>(2)</sup> Fenton's Tragical Discourses were printed in 1567, 1576, and 1579, and then not again. <sup>(3)</sup> Painter's Palace of Pleasure was printed in 1566-7, 1569 and 1575. <sup>(4)</sup> Greene's contributions to this kind of literature do not seem to have been as popular as his other works. Neither Planetomachia nor Perimedes the Blacksmith passed into a second edition, and Penelope's Web was only once reprinted, in 1601. Lodge (after 1590) Nash, and Deloney contributed nothing to the literature on this model. Greek romance so popular in the eighties received a temporary set-back in the nineties. Theagenes and Chariclea, was translated and printed in 1569, 1577 and 1587, and then not until 1605; after that date a steady stream of editions testifies to the popularity it

---

(1) See Esdaile (A.). A List of English Tales and Prose Romances printed before 1740. London. 1912, pp. 112-3.

(2) Ibid. p. 100.

(3) Ibid. p. 48.

(4) Ibid. pp. 106-7.

(5) Ibid. pp. 75-6.



enjoyed through its connection with heroic romance. The literature of manners that had swelled the pages of Lyly's imitators was not nearly so popular a source of the fiction of the nineties. Translations of Boccaccio's Philocolo were published in 1566, 1567, 1571 and 1587, and then not again in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. (1) Tilney's Flowers of Friendship, that went through four editions in less than ten years, was not published after (2) 1577. The padding of the novel of the nineties comes not so much from these books as from the old and still increasing stock of jest and anecdote.

#### RELATION OF LODGE'S WORK TO THAT OF LYLY, SIDNEY AND GREENE.

##### i. Lodge and Lyly.

Lodge was remembered by a younger generation as a follower of Lyly, doubtless on account of the popularity of Rosalynde. (3) He was, however, far less influenced by the work of Lyly than is usually supposed. His first novel, Forbonius and Prisceria, 1584, despite the fact that Munday's Zelauto, Melbancke's Philotimus, and Rich's Don Simonides (which Lodge "mended") had appeared, bears not the slightest trace of Lyly's influence. Its style is marked by none of the "unnatural natural" similes indissolubly associated with Lyly's prose style, and in construction the story bears not the least resemblance to the Euphuistic model. It is, rather, an extension of the kind of story popular before the appearance of

(1) Ibid. p. 25.

(2) Ibid. p. 131.

(3) The writer of the much quoted passage in The Returne from Parnassus had clearly Rosalynde in his mind.

"Lodge for his care in euery paper boate,  
He that turnes ouer Galen euery day,  
To sit and simper Euphues legacy."

See The Returne from Parnassus, ed. Macray. Oxford. 1886. Act. I, Sc. II, ll. 249-51.

of Lyly's epoch-marking work - the Italian novella - and hence links on to the work of Whetstone and Rich. Its plot is simple and a commonplace of fiction - the story of a pair of lovers kept apart by an unreasonable parent who, in the end, gives his consent to their marriage as unreasonably as he had withheld it. The suggestion that (1) Prisceria's father's hatred of Forbonius rests on some family feud recalls a favourite motive of Italian novelle but the story shows as well the working of new influences. In its title and in its setting it shows the influence of the Theagenes and Chariclea of Heliodorus. The scene is laid in "Memphis" "at such time as Sisimithres was head Priest of the same, & Hidaspes gouvernour of the Prouince" (2) and Prisceria is the daughter of "Solduuius vizeroy of that Prouince adioyning the citie, and Valduuia daughter and heire of Theagenes of Greece, the co(n)partener of sorrowe with Caricleala(sic), the straunge borne childe of the Aegyptian king:" (3). The part played by "destiny" and "fate", first in separating the lovers, and then in bringing about a reconcilment between Solduuius and Forbonius, is also due to the influence of Greek romance. The addition of a pastoral episode, the sequel to Solduuius' removal of his daughter to a "grange" in the country, where Forbonius visits her in disguise as a shepherd, completes the story.

After 1590, when Rosalynde appeared, Lyly's influence is to be traced in all Lodge's novels, with the exception of William Longbeard. In The Historie of Robert second Duke of Normandy and A Margarite of

(1) At first Lodge is vague as to the reason for Solduuius' enmity towards Forbonius - "whether lead thereto by appointment or driuen to the exigent, by some former mallice borne by the progenitors of Forbonius". (Forbonius and Prisceria, p. 55.) Later, p. 84, he is more definite.

(2) P. 53.

(3) P. 54.

America, however, the debt is extremely slight, being confined to a few zoological references of the kind affected in Euphues. The influence of Lyly is most strongly marked on the two novels that bear witness to his influence in their titles, Rosalynde, Euphues Golden Legacie and Euphues Shadow. In the first, the debt is stylistic merely, apart from the introduction of a (1) "scedule" from Euphues to Philautus in the second edition. In the second Lodge imitates not only Lyly's style but Lyly's story. The novel is, like Euphues, a friendship romance; there are the characteristically Euphuistic pair of friends, Philamis and Philamour, and as Philamis is Euphues' shadow, so Philamour is the shadow of Philautus. The "olde gentleman" of Passan who gives fatherly advice to the young Philamis, as the old gentleman of Naples to the young Euphues, is similarly snubbed for his pains; and at the end of a complicated story Philamour, like Philautus, marries and lives happily ever after, while Philamis, like Euphues, retires to a life of study and contemplation, and in the rôle of "guide, philosopher and friend" addresses to Philamour a short treatise on the vanity of the world entitled The Deafe Mans Dialogue, to help him "to restrain the distempered enormities of his life". Philamour replies with a short letter on Exile. The slight story which Euphues offered, however, was not such as satisfied Lodge, for not only did he supplement his main plot with an inset tale of a romantic and sensational character, but even in the main plot he seems to have felt the need of more vigorous action than Lyly's model supplied, for when the two friends quarrel, as Euphuistic precedent

---

(1) Rosalynde. Euphues Golden Legacie. London. 1592. Sig. A3.b.

demanding they should, they exchange not letters, but sword-thrusts and Philamour leaves Philamis "weltering in his blood" by the side of the Danube. Possibly Lodge's life at sea led him to seek material of a more stirring character than he found in Lyly's novels, but this difference is largely due to a difference in date between the two writers.

Lodge responded scarcely at all to the influences that had determined so largely the character of Lyly's work. The first part of Euphues links on to the literature of manners, to the class of Renaissance work of which the best known examples are Il Cortegiano of Castiglione, Gli Asolani of Bembo and La Galatea of Della Casa. It is quite clear that by the time Lodge wrote, this type of humanistic literature was falling out of favour. There are two after-dinner debates in his novels but both are short. Words do not multiply under his pen as under Lyly's or Greene's, and the way in which the first of these discussions is brought to a close is significant. (1) A lady enters, dressed all in black, and tells a story of knightly deeds, jousts and magic (culminating in a double suicide (at the close) that was clearly more congenial to Lodge's pen than discussions on life and manners on the model of the Courtier.

#### ii. Lodge and Sidney.

It is usually supposed that Lodge had an early acquaintance with the Arcadia of Sidney, and the introduction of the pastoral episode in Forbonius and Prisceria is often quoted as an example of the influence of Sidney's

---

(1) Euphues Shadow, p. 28 et seq.

romance. A parallel can certainly be drawn between Musidorus who assumes shepherd's attire to gain access to Pamela (who has been sent into the country and put under the guardianship of Miso) and Forbonius who disguises himself as a shepherd to gain access to Prisceria. Both writers may, however, have been independently employing a common motive. There is a situation not unlike that in the Arcadia and Lodge's novel in an earlier Spanish work Los Amores de Clarea y Florisea of Alonzo Nuñez. In one of Nuñez' additions to the Byzantine romance that served him as the basis of his story, the princess Narcisiana, whose beauty slays all who gaze upon it, has been banished to the Isla Deleitosa by her father. Notwithstanding these precautions, many have fallen in love with her portraits, which have been circulated among the various courts, and have repaired to the island as shepherds to try to win her affections. Among them is Arquesileo, who like the rest has assumed pastoral habit. He ingratiates himself into the favour of Narcisiano's attendant (as Musidorus ingratiates himself into the favour of Miso, and Forbonius into the favour of Prisceria's guardian) and hence is accorded the privilege of singing and playing in her presence. (1)

All the features common to Lodge's novel and the Arcadia are already, therefore, present in this Spanish story.

Lodge's use of Byzantine romance in Forbonius and Prisceria certainly owed nothing to Sidney's influence.

---

(1) Los Amores de Clarea y Florisea y de los Trabajos de Isea. Rivadeneyra. Madrid. 1849, Vol. III, pp. 433-68. First published 1552.

"Y porque tan gran hermosura por todo el mundo fuese sabida, enviaron retratos por las cortes de todos los príncipes; y muchos, espantados de tan gran beldad, y presos della, se determinaron de en vida pastoril venir á esta ínsula" ----- "y como este pastor (Arquesileo) amase tanto á la infanta, por hablar algunas veces delante de su presencia y darse a conocer, tomó gran amistad con una reina, qua Sagitaria de nombra, señora desta doncella que digo; la qual vale mucho con la infanta, porque la quiere y ama en extremo, y por esta causa Arquesileo habla algunas veces con la infanta, y tañe y canta en su presencia, y cuasi le da á entender su pena." (pp. 433-4.)

What Lodge borrowed was what Sidney rejected, and vice versa. Lodge modelled the title of his novel on Theagenes and Chariclea; Sidney took the title of his work not from Byzantine romance but from the region of Greece consecrated to the pastoral by Sannazzaro in his work of the same title. Lodge takes the setting of his story from Heliodorus, and links it on to Theagenes and Chariclea through the parentage of his heroine. Sidney borrows from Byzantine romance not the setting of the story but situations and motives (e.g. shipwreck and oracle), and imitates the epic narrative method, beginning "in medias res", of Heliodorus' story. Lodge most certainly did not read Byzantine romance through Sidney's spectacles.

The influence of the Arcadia is not, indeed, clearly seen in Lodge's novels until the last, A Margarite of America. Here there can be little doubt but that Lodge wrote with the Arcadia in his mind. Mantinea, a town in Arcadia, several times mentioned in Sidney's novel, is the name of the town for the possession of which the armies of Cusco and Mosco are fighting when Lodge's story opens. The account of the tournament, the mechanical devices, the arms and "imprese" of the knights at the jousts held in Arsadachus' honour, were clearly suggested by similar descriptions in the Arcadia (more particularly perhaps, that of the "trionfo" of Phalantus) and the description of the "rare fortresse" of Arsinous, "scituate by a gratiois and siluer floting riuier, inuironed with curious planted trees to minister shade and sweete smelling floures to recreate the sences"<sup>(1)</sup> has caught something of the charm as well as of the phraseology of the Arcadian descriptions in Sidney's romance.

---

(1) A Margarite of America, p. 8.

iii. Lodge and Greene.

The names of Lodge and Greene are usually coupled together as novelists. They were friends and collaborated in at least one play. In Notes and Queries the late Mr. Hart suggested that the work of Greene's hand was to be traced in Rosalynde,<sup>(1)</sup> and although the bulk of the work was undoubtedly from Lodge's pen, additional evidence can be brought forward to strengthen the case for a revision of the work by Greene.<sup>(2)</sup> These two men belonged not to the court circles in which Lyly and Sidney moved, but lived, or at least hoped to live, by their pens, by turning out to meet public demand any kind of work that was called for. They experimented freely in the writing up of a wide range of material into prose tales, and were the two most considerable writers of fiction of their age. Greene's Pandosto and Lodge's Rosalynde have an enduring claim to remembrance as the sources of two of Shakespeare's plays. A greater gulf, however, separated the two writers than is usually supposed, so that in the absence of any external evidence it would be easy to distinguish the work of the one from that of the other. A difference in temperament left its mark on their work. Greene's novels are the work of a man with a fundamentally surer hold on reality than Lodge. With the exception of William Longbeard Lodge's novels contain no domestic scenes, no interiors like that in Francescos Fortunes where the "swaynes" in the evening sit "turning Crabbes in the fire".<sup>(3)</sup> Throughout Greene's novels there are "many strokes of nature" - Carmela, in Menaphon, who "verie brisklye" wipes her mouth with "a

(1) Notes and Queries. Series X, Vol. v, pp. 202-3.

(2) See "Greene's Hand in Rosalynde", p. 31. et seq.

(3) Greene. Works. Huth Library. ed. Grosart. London. 1881-3. Vol. viii, pp. 186-7.

(1)  
 white apron" before she is kissed, and the child, in the  
 same novel, who gathers "cockles" on the seashore "as  
 children are wont" (2) and lets "driue" at his assailant  
 "with such pebble stones as hee had in his hat" (3). There  
 are none of these natural touches in Lodge's work. His  
 career embraced the full range of Elizabethan activity;  
 he was scholar, lawyer, soldier, and sailor, yet his  
 travels and experiences seem to have left little impres-  
 sion on his work. He saw life through the spectacles  
 of books and there is little reflection in his novels of  
 the life going on around him.

Greene, too, had a more fluent pen than Lodge. Nash  
 tells us that "in a night and a day would he haue yarkt  
 vp a pamphlet as well as in seauen yeare and glad was  
 that Printer that might bee so blest to pay him deare  
 for the very dregs of his wit" (4). This demand for his  
 works, coupled, doubtless, with the demands of creditors,  
 had on Greene's prose works the inevitable effect. He  
 not only follows up one successful book with another in  
 the same vein, repeating situations and motives, but also  
 uses old work to eke out new. Thus in "Penelope's Web  
 (1587), Salladyne's speech in Parliament announcing his  
 intention of taking Olinda for his wife and his son  
 Carinter's expostulation, is the same, in situation and  
 content, as Psamneticus' announcement of his intention  
 of taking Rhodope for his wife and Philarkis protest in

(1) Greene. Works. Vol. VI, p. 141.

(2) " " " " p. 91.

(3) " " " " p. 93.

(4) Nash. Four Letters Confuted. Works. ed. McKerrow.  
 London. 1914. Vol. I, p. 287.

This estimate of the fluency with which Greene  
 wrote is corroborated by Dickenson in Greene in Concept  
 (1598). In the "Aduertisement to the Reader" Greene's  
 ghost appears, wishing himself "aliue againe, were it but  
 for two daies" to write a story he has heard. See  
 Dickenson (J.) Prose and Verse. ed. Grosart. Manchester.  
 1878, p. 98.



(1)  
Planetomachia (1595). A passage on jealousy in Euphues  
His Censure (1587) <sup>(2)</sup> supplied the prelude to Pandosto (1588).  
 The opening of Perimedes' second tale in Perimedes the  
Blacksmith (1588) is for twelve quarto pages the same as  
 Venus' tragedy in Planetomachia (1585), <sup>(3)</sup> although the  
 stories develop along different lines later. Again, in  
Perimedes the Blacksmith there are several pages taken  
<sup>(4)</sup> bodily from Euphues His Censure (1587), while in Never  
Too Late (1590) the account of the temptation, accusation  
 and trial of Isabella (covering fifteen quarto pages)  
 follows almost word for word, with only such alterations  
 as were occasioned by difference in situation, the story  
 of the trial of Susannah by the Elders as Greene had told  
 it in his Mirroure of Modestie (1584). <sup>(5)</sup> Greene had un-  
 doubtedly the stronger personality and greater origina-  
 lity of the two, but his work suffers from lack of sus-  
 tained effort. Once or twice through pressure of time,  
 he seems to have been unable to finish his work according  
 to his original plan. Planetomachia conveys the impres-  
 sion that each of the planets was to tell a story, but  
 only Venus' tragedy and Saturn's tragedy were written.  
 The Mourning Garment is finished in "hugger-mugger". It  
 starts as a recast of the story of the prodigal son but  
 towards the close all pretence of a recast is abandoned  
 and the story is hurried to its close, biblical in word  
 and phrase.

Lodge, perhaps because he was not so subject to  
 "debt and deadly sinne" as Greene, was undoubtedly the  
 more conscientious writer and the better workman. The

---

(1) Greene. Works. Vol. V, pp. 172-4 and V, pp. 125-8.

(2) Greene. Works. Vol. VI, pp. 181-2 and IV, pp. 233-4.

(3) Works. Vol. VII, pp. 62-74 and V. 51-63.

(4) Works. Vol. VII, pp. 36-7 and VI, pp. 183-4.

(5) Works. Vol. VIII, pp. 147-62 and III, pp. 18-32.

great weakness of Greene's novels lies in their construction. Owing to the influence of Euphues, which laid the preponderance of interest on ornament rather than action, the plot of many of Greene's novels is choked by a parasitical growth of soliloquies, letters and debates, not the least important of Euphues innumerable "legacies". Characters are introduced without other justification than that they afford an opening for a shower of letters and complaints. Florion, for example, in Mamillia might have been dispensed with, and in The Carde of Fancie the emphasis on Valdrako's unsuccessful suit is out of all proportion to his place in the story. The influence of Greek romance was again a weakening factor in Greene's story. He relies too little on the force of character for plot and too much on a vague "destiny" and "fate". Greene, too, was content to let the golden haze of romance cloak a multitude of absurdities. In Menaphon, a husband and wife, shipwrecked and cast up on the same coast do not recognise each other. Their son, stolen as a boy, returns some years later and not recognising his mother, falls in love with her, as his father had done. Neither immersion, nor tears, nor the passing of years has, apparently, any effect on the beauty of his heroine. It has been observed, and with reason, that it is easy to see how Shakespeare created out of Pandosto one of the structurally weakest of his dramas, and out of Rosalynde one of the best of his comedies. (1)

Much of the difference between the two writers is due not so much to a difference in temperament as to the difference in date between them. Though Lodge and Greene were contemporaries and Lodge the older man of the two, Greene's work in romantic fiction, with the exception of Philomela (1592), and the posthumously

---

(1) Whiteford (R.N.). Motives in English Fiction. New York. 1918, p. 35.

published Orpharion (1599), was produced between the years 1580 and 1590. Lodge's career as a novelist, with the exception of Forbonius and Prisceria (1584), began in 1590 (when Greene said "farewell to folly" and "love pamphlets") and extended to 1596. Greene was, therefore, finishing his work in fiction when Lodge entered the field, and his work bears witness to the influence of literary fashions that left little trace on the work of Lodge. After his first novel Forbonius and Prisceria, which significantly belongs to the eighties, Lodge was not influenced by Byzantine romance. None of his later stories are set in the lands of the eastern Mediterranean. There are in his novels none of the most characteristic motives of Greek romance, no shipwrecks, no oracles, no pirates, no long lost children. Again, after this first story, the influence of the novella, so strongly marked (1) on the work of Greene, scarcely affects Lodge's work. In the inset story in Euphues Shadow the story is told of the rape of Servatia, who later slew herself by falling on the sword her lover had left behind him. (2) The entrance of the lover by a "trap-door" bears a certain resemblance to one of the stories of the Heptameron of Margaret of Navarre (told by Painter in the Palace of (3) Pleasure) where an intending ravisher enters a room in (4) a similar fashion, but in the French story the assailant retires worsted. An examination of the best known novelle of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, has failed to reveal any closer parallel to Lodge's story.

---

(1) See Koepfel (E.). Studien zur Geschichte der italienischen Novelle. Strassburg. 1892, pp. 51-8.

(2) Euphues Shadow. Hunterian Club, pp. 31-3.

(3) L'Heptaméron. Première Journée. Nouvelle. iv.

(4) Painter. Palace of Pleasure. Tome I. The Fifty-Second Nouell. ed. Jacobs. London, 1890. Vol. II, p. 38 et seq.

All traces of the influence of the novella on Lodge's prose fiction are, therefore, confined to Forbonius and Prisceria and to this use of a novella motive in Euphues Shadow. His work includes no short stories in a framework on the model of the Decameron, like Greene's Perimedes the Blacksmith, Planetomachia, Penelopes Web, or Alcida.

Lodge, indeed, drew the material for his later novels, with the exception of the pastoral in Rosalynde, from sources unexplored by Lyly, Sidney and Greene - from mediaeval romance, from history, and from the drama.

#### Appendix I.

##### GREENE'S HAND IN ROSALYNDE.

(1)  
In Notes and Queries, 1906, the late Mr. Hart advanced the theory that there was "very much of Greene's undoubted writing in Rosalynde", so much so that he found it hard to believe "that Greene did not touch it up for the press", and in support of his case he quoted twenty-six "phrases and terms" in Rosalynde that could not "readily be paralleled elsewhere in Greene (sic) - Greenisms in fact" that "are Euphuistic but not in Euphues".<sup>(2)</sup>  
To the reader coming fresh from a reading of Greene's novels to Rosalynde the similarity between their language is striking, not only in their Euphuism, which was the common inheritance of the time, but in their metaphors and images. No subsequent writer on Greene or editor of As You Like It seems to have taken up Mr. Hart's suggestion, probably because the parallels he adduced are not immediately convincing. Of the twenty-six phrases

---

(1) Notes and Queries. Series X. Vol. V, pp. 202-3. "Robert Greene's Prose Works. Greene and Lodge." H. C. Hart.

(2) = Lodge?

(1)  
 he quotes three are from the Adagia of Erasmus; two are  
 (2) (3)  
 quotations from Ovid; one from Vergil. None of these  
 therefore can be produced as evidence for Greene's share  
 in the writing of Rosalynde since they are from sources  
 not only accessible to, but most certainly known by, Lodge  
 as well as Greene. Several more of the parallels Mr.  
 Hart quoted can be referred to common sources; one is  
 (4)  
 biblical; several (contrary to his statement) are to be  
 (5)  
 found in Euphues or are a part of the current slang of  
 (6)  
 the time. There still remains, however, a small nucleus  
 of phrases that are characteristic of Greene's style  
 (7)  
 and cannot be paralleled in the work of Lodge. To these

---

(1) Erasmus. Adagia. Oliua Roberti Stephani. 1558. [Geneva].  
 "Amantium irae amoris redintegratio est" (Chil.iii. Cent.1.  
 89).

"Naturam expellas furca licet, tamen usque recurret".  
 (II. vii. 14.)

"Taking great gifts for little gods" ("Muneribus vel dii  
 capiuntur", I. iii. 18).

(2) "Si nihil attuleris ibis Homere foras" - Ars  
Amandi. II. 280. "Otia si tollas, periure Cupidin<sup>e</sup>  
 arcus" - Remedia Amoris. I. 139.

(3) "Olim haec meminisse iuvabit". Aenid. I. 203.

(4) "There is no sting to the worm of conscience."

(5) The reference to the guile of the hyaena can be  
 found in Lyly Euphues. Arber's English Reprints. London.  
 1919, p. 110, and most classical and renaissance writers  
 on animals; in Lyly also may be found the model of a com-  
 plaint opening with the personal address: viz. "Unfortu-  
 nate Rosalind". Also in Euphues (p. 53) though quoted in  
 English, is the proverb "Solamen miseris socios habuisse  
 doloris". It is quoted in Latin in Faustus II.1.42.

(6) To have one's hand on one's halfpenny, contrary  
 to Hart's statement, occurs in Forbonius and Prisceria  
 p. 77, and in Euphues Shadow p. 10, both earlier and later,  
 therefore, in Lodge's work.

(7) The parallels which remain of Hart's list are as  
 follows:-

(a) "When the shoares of Lapanthus are most quiet, then  
 they forepoint a storme", Lodge 16. (The references to  
Rosalynde are to Hazlitt's edition in the Shakespeare  
 Library, as Hart gives them.) "Like the windes that rise  
 in the shoares of Lapanthus". Greene. Never too Late (viii.  
 16). 1590. And in Menaphon. (vi. 40) 1589, etc.

(b) "Love ... taking her at discoverd stroke so deepe."  
 Lodge 32. "Cupid ... seeing hir now at discoverd, drew  
 home to the head, and stroke hir so deepe." Greene,  
Arbasto (ii. 245) 1584. And in Mamillia ii. 189, 255, etc.

(c) "By the help of Coridon (we) swapt a bargaine" Lodge  
 54. "We swapt a bargaine." Greene (xi.19) 1592.

other instances of "Greenisms" in Rosalynde can be added, and together with the parallels quoted by Mr. Hart they make a body of evidence that cannot be dismissed without serious consideration. This similarity between the style of Greene and Lodge is most striking in the opening pages of the novel. In Sir John of Bordeaux' farewell to his sons, ideas and images occur, one on the heel of another, which are not to be met with elsewhere in Lodge's prose, but which, for the most part occur frequently in Greene's.

(a) Rosalynde, p. 11.

"Climbe not my sonnes; aspiring pride is a vapour that ascendeth hie, but soone turneth to a smoake: they which stare at the Starres, stumble vpon stones; and such as gaze at the Sunne (vnlesse they bee Eagle eyed) fall blinde. Soare not with the Hobbie, least you fall with the Larke; nor attempt not with PHAETON, least you drowne with ICARUS. Fortune when she wils you to flie, tempers your plumes with waxe, and therefore either sit still and make no wing, or els beware the Sunne, and holde DEDALUS axiome authentically (medium tenere tutissimum)."

Greene. Penelope's Web. 1587. Works. Vol. V, p. 190.

"They which gaze at a Starre stumble at a stone: the Cimbrians looke[d] so long at the Sunne that they ware blynd: and such as are borne beggars make Maiestie a marke to gaze at: sith that in presuming with Phaeton, they fall with Icarus."

Greene. Perimedes the Blacksmith. 1588. Works. Vol. VII. p. 37.

"What byrd gaseth against the Sunne, but the Eagle becommeth blinde, and .. such as step to dignitie, if unfit, fall."

Greene. Never Too Late. 1590. Works. Vol. VIII, p. 34.

"Though he were yong yet he was not rash with Icarus to soare into the skie, but to crie out with olde Dedalus, Medium tenere tutissimum."

(d) "If they passe over your playntes sicco pede." Lodge 55. "But sicco pede past them over." Greene Never Too Late (viii. 28).

(e) "Drawe him out of his memento with a shake by the shoulder." Lodge 28 (twice) and 74. From Greene (iii. 128) 1587.

(f) "Thou hast with the deere fedde against the winde, with the crabbe strove against the streame." Lodge 64. "He found that to wrestle with loue was with the crabbe to swimme against the streame, and with the deere to feede against the wind." Greene. Planetomachia (v. 115). 1585.

(g) "In louing mee thou shalt liue by the losse." Lodge 109. Several times in Greene.

Greene. Francescos Fortunes (1590). Works. Vol. VIII.  
p. 180.

"So that as I haue soared with the Hobby, I shall bate with the Bunting; & daring with Phaeton, I shall drowne with Icarus: mine eye was too proude, my thoughts to forward; I haue stared at a starre, but shall stumble at a stone."

Greene. Mourning Garment. (1590?). IX. p. 132.

"So .. when he saw his some beginning to soare too high with Icarus, hee cried to him, Medium tutissimum."

(b) Rosalynde, p. 12.

"The outward shew makes not the inward man, nor are the dimples in the face the Calenders of trueth."

Greene. Penelope's Web. 1587. (V. 206-7).

"Are womens faces alwaies Kalenders of trueth? or are their lookes (as Ouid affirmeth) euer mind-glasses. No---."

Greene Euphues His Censure. 1587. (VI. 181).

"His lookes were Kalenders of hir thoughts."

Greene. Never Too Late. 1590. (VIII. 107.).

"Their foreheads are Kalenders of misfortunes."

Greene. Perimedes. 1588. (VII. 37).

"Doest thou count euery dimple in the cheeke a decreée in the heart."

Cf. Rosalynde, p. 98.

"Womens faces are not alwaies Kalenders of fancie, nor doo their thoughtes and their lookes euer agree."

(c) Rosalynde, p. 12.

"Fancie is a fickle thing, and beauties paintings are trickt vp with times colours, which being set to drie in the Sunne, perish with the same."

Greene. Pandosto. 1588. (IV. 289).

"Take heed Fawnia, be not proud of beauties painting, for it is a flower that fadeth in the blossoms. Those which disdayne in youth are despised in age: Beauties shadows are trickt vp with times colours, which being set to drie in the sunne are stained with the sunne, scarce pleasing the sight ere they beginne not to be worth the sight."

(d) Rosalynde, p. 12.

"Trust not their fawning fauours, for their loues are like the breath of a man vpon steele, which no sooner lighteth on but it leapeth of."

Greene. Never Too Late. 1590 (VIII. 23.)

"Yet as the breath of a man vpon steele no sooner lighteth on but it leapeth off, is the beginning and ending of their loues."

Greene. Mourning Garment. (1590?) IX. pp. 140-1.

"But for his loue towards the(m) it was like to the breath of a man vpon steele, which no sooner lighteth on, but it leapeth off."

(e) Rosalynde, p. 13.

"And yet my sonnes, if she haue all these qualities, to be chaste, obedient and silent; yet for that she is a woman, shalt thou finde in her sufficient vanities to counteruaile her vertues."

Greene. Tritameron. (III. 101-2).

"This is my verdict, be she vertuous, be she chast, be she courteous, be she constant, be she rich, be she renowned, bee she honest, be she honourable, yet if she be a woman, she hath sufficient vanities to counteruaile her vertues."

Greene. Carde of Fancie (IV. 38).

"Yea bee shee vertuous, be/she chast, be she curteous, be she constant, bee she rich, be shee renowned, be she honest, be she honourable, yet if thou bee wedded to a woman, thinke thou shalt finde in her sufficient vanitie to counteruaile her vertue."

These Greenisms, as has been said, come on the heel of one another in rather less than two pages of Rosalynde. Each in itself is slight, but the occurrence of so many points of similarity together must be something more than accidental. After the opening pages these "Greenisms" appear at longer intervals. Proverbs, of course, occur which are quoted frequently by Greene which are not elsewhere to be found in Lodge's novels, but these can carry little weight as an additional evidence for Greene's

---

(1) Proverbs quoted by Greene which appear in Rosalynde only of Lodge's works are as follows:-

(a) "Earlie prickes the tree that will prouue a thorne." Rosalynde, p. 18. Greene. Never Too Late (1590) (VIII. 35).

(b) "Consulenti nunquam caput doluit." Rosalynde 34. Greene. Never Too Late, 84.

(c) "Is it not a foule bird defiles the owne nest." Rosalynde 37. Greene. Mamillia 31 and 226. The proverb is old: it occurs in The Owl and the Nightingale II, 91-2. For other examples of the early use of this proverb see The Owl and the Nightingale. ed. Atkins. Cambridge. 1922. note to 11, 91-2, p. 10.

(d) To cry "Peccavi". Rosalynde 69.



authorship since they were part of the stock in trade of the Euphuistic writer. On page 54, however, there again appears a phrase very characteristic of the style of Greene:

(f) Rosalynde. 54.

"Thou (Fortune) standest on a gloabe, and thy wings are plumed with times feathers that thou maiest euer be restlesse."

Greene. Perimedes. p. 66.

"Cupid ---- hauing his wings plumed with Times feathers, least he might slip occasion."

Greene. Planetomachia, p. 54 and 125.

"But hee that seeketh to haue his purpose vnpreuented, must not plume his actions with times feathers ---".

Greene. Ibid. 160.

"This momentarie affection --- being plumed with Times feathers falleth at euery deaw."

Greene. Euphues His Censure. 162.

"Howe their thoughts are plumed with the feathers of time."

On page 120 of Rosalynde there appears another passage reminiscent of Greene.

(g) Rosalynde, p. 120.

"I tell thee Ganimede (quoth Montanus) as they which are stung with the Scorpion, cannot be recoured but by the Scorpion, nor hee that was wounded with Achilles lance be cured but with the same trunchion: so Apollo was faine to crie out, that Loue was onely eased with Loue and fancie healed with no medecin but fauor."

Greene. Mamillia, p. 59.

"as he which is hurt of y<sup>e</sup> Scorpio(n), seeketh a salue from whence he receiued the sore: so you only may minister y<sup>e</sup> medecine, which procures the disease. The burning Feauer is driuen out with a hot potion, and the shaking palsey with a colde drinke, Loue onlie is remedied by loue, and fancy muste be cured by mutuall affectio(n)."

Greene. Carde of Fancie, p. 51.

"as he which is hurt by the Scorpion (must) seeke a salue from whom he receiued the sore, so Loue onlie is remedied of Loue, and fancie by mutual affection."

Greene. Never Too Late, p. 182.

"as they which were healed with Achilles Launce, could not be healed but by the same truncheon ---".

To these seven additional "Greenisms" can be added the fact  
 (1) that four times there occurs in Rosalynde a very noticeable mannerism of Greene's - one that seems to have grown on him about this time - namely that of picking up the thread of a story with the conjunctive adverb "Well"<sup>(2)</sup>. This is not a feature of Lodge's style and only once (in Forbonius and Prisceria) does he use this method of resuming his story.

Two theories may be advanced to account for this similarity of style between the works of Greene and Rosalynde; either that Lodge deliberately plagiarised from Greene's works or that Greene had some share in the writing of Rosalynde.

The first of these was rejected by Mr. Hart on the grounds that Lodge's novel was written at sea, according to his own statement in the Dedication, and that it was unlikely that Lodge would have had with him a library of Greene's works. Rosalynde was not published, however, until some years after Lodge's return so that the possibility of the literary influence of Greene on Lodge cannot be rejected on these grounds. It seems unlikely, however, that Lodge's plagiarism from Greene should take this rather unusual form. Had Lodge taken any suggestions from Greene one would expect them to be rather in the nature of setting and machinery - and in this respect Lodge's novel has nothing in common with the pastorals of Greene; rather it presents a contrast to Greene's chief works in the pastoral

(1) Rosalynde, pp. 33, 57, 68 and 139.

(2) See for this mannerism in Greene's novels -

Carde of Fancie. IV. 23, 131.

Planetomachia. V. 88.

Penelope's Web. V. 176.

Menaphon. VI. 57. 80.

Perimedes the Blacksmith. VII. 51.

Never Too Late. VIII. 27, 73, 94, 94.

Francescos Fortunes. VIII. 159, 172, 186.

Greenes Metamorphosis. IX. 20, 32, 40, 52, 77, 79.

Mourning Garment. IX. 145, 157, 163, 204.

Pandosto and Menaphon. That Lodge should comb Greene's prose for similes and ideas of the nature exemplified above seems very unlikely.

Against the second theory it might be urged that no where does Lodge acknowledge Greene's aid. That he should have given his novel to Greene for revision is, none-the-less, well within the bounds of probability; the two were friends; they had already collaborated in a play and when, in 1591, Lodge sailed with Cavendish for South America he left Euphues Shadow with Greene to publish. A parallel case of the revision of one writer's work by another can be quoted. At one time Lodge seems to have been on terms of fairly close intimacy with Barnaby Rich, and from a complimentary poem contributed by Lodge to the first part of Don Simonides one gathers that Rich had given this work to his friend to revise before sending it to the press. (1) Rich himself, however, says nothing of a revision of the work by Lodge. There is, therefore, no improbability in Greene's having done for Lodge's novel what Lodge had done for Rich's.

On the whole, therefore, the evidence would point to a revision of the work by Greene, who would seem to have spent most of his energy on "Sir John of Bordeaux Legacie" (where, as has been seen, "Greenisms" are most frequent) and, after the opening pages, to have confined himself to an occasional addition to Lodge's work. It does not seem likely that he contributed much to Lodge's story. As has been said, there is nothing in common between the plot of Rosalynde and any of Greene's pastoral tales. When Greene followed up the success of Pandosto

---

(1) Miscellaneous Pieces. Hunterian Club, p. 3.

"Good Riche a wiseman hardly can denye,  
But that your Bo Ke (sic) by me ill mended is."

with Menaphon he repeated motives and ideas, (such as the oracle, the lost child, and the father falling in love with his own daughter) so that in the absence of corroborative evidence it would be patent that the two works were by the same writer or the second by a daring plagiarist. <sup>Moreover there</sup> Are there in Rosalynde none of the repetitions, sometimes pages long, that are to be found in so many of Greene's works? <sup>\*</sup> Had he taken a serious share in the writing of Rosalynde some of these characteristic repetitions might with reason be expected.

## Appendix II.

### GREENE'S HAND IN EUPHUES SHADOW.

(1) In his Bibliographical Account and in Notes and Queries Collier put forward the theory that Euphues Shadow, seen through the press by Greene during Lodge's absence on his

---

(1) Collier, A Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language. London, 1865. Vol. I, p. 264.

(2) Notes and Queries. Series III, Vol. 1, p. 202.

\* cf. above. pp. 27-28.

voyage with Cavendish, was in reality not Lodge's work but Greene's, who took advantage of his friend's absence to father on him this work. The suggestion was repudiated by (1) Dyve and by Brindsley Nicholson. Apart from the inherent improbability of the course imputed to Greene, whom any printer considered himself "blest" to pay for the "very dregs of his wit", there is no similarity whatever between Euphues Shadow and the work of Greene. There is not one phrase or image in the novel that can be claimed as characteristic of Greene's style. The very absence of "Greenisms" in this novel, indeed, only makes more striking the Greenisms in Rosalynde.

---

(1) Notes and Queries. Series V, Vol. i, p. 21 et seq.

SECTION II.

THE SOURCES OF LODGE'S NOVELS AND LODGE'S TREATMENT  
OF HIS SOURCES.

I. MEDIAEVAL ROMANCE.

Mediaeval romance, which for three centuries had had no serious rival as the recreative literature of all classes, fell from its high estate about the middle of the sixteenth century, when translations of Italian novelle were received with acclamation by an age tired of the fictions that had delighted their forefathers. In the closing years of the fifteenth and opening years of the sixteenth centuries, the presses of Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde were busy with the output of romances as well as of utilitarian and devotional books. They were produced at the request of noble patrons, and the form in which they appeared shows them to have been intended for the highest classes of society. In the third and fourth decades additions were still made to the store of "romance", in Berner's translations of Huon of Bourdeaux and Arthur of Little Britaine. From the mid-century onwards, however, mediaeval romance had to face an increasing fire of criticism. Moralists saw in knight-errantry nothing but "open mans slaughter" and "bold bawdrye".<sup>(1)</sup> The romances were condemned as "fruitlesse" histories and "trifeling tales",<sup>(2)</sup> "without either graue precept or good example", and an age educated in the "Arte of Rhetorique" and

---

(1) Ascham The Scholemaster, Arber's English Reprints London. 1897, p. 80.

(2) Fenton (E.). Certaines Secrete wonders of Nature. London. 1569. The Epistle Dedicatorie. Sig. Aiiia-Aiiib.

interested in the embellishment of the language, parodied  
 (1)  
 their artlessness of style and laughed at the "scambling  
 shyft" to which their writers were reduced "to ende" their  
 (2)  
 "verses a like". They were looked upon as the reading of  
 the "unlearned sorte" and relegated to the ale-house bench  
 or chimney-corner.

Mediaeval romance, however, like most things mediaeval, died hard. The romances continued to be printed, if only for the "unlearned" and in the nineties Richard Johnson in his Tom a Lincoln and Middleton in his Historie of Chinon considered it worth while to add to the cycle of Arthurian tales. The names of the heroes of the romances were "household words". Dramatists alluded to Guy of Warwick, Bevis, Tristram, Arthur, and the Squire of Low Degree, clearly anticipating an appreciation of the allusion by their audience. The romances served as material for plays; the old tales of Guy of Warwick, Charlemagne, the Four Sons of Aymon, Godfrey of Boulogne, and Tristram  
 (3)  
 furnished subjects for the drama, and the Knight of the Burning Pestle, although in part inspired by literary models, testifies to the "groundling's" love of a tale of "knight-errantry".

And while mediaeval romance survived among the lower strata of society, in the drama and reprints in prose and verse, that appeared at intervals down to the closing years of the sixteenth century, the cultured Englishman was

(1) See Sidney's parody in Mopsa's "Old Wives Tale".

(2) Nash. Works. ed. McKerrow. The Anatomie of Absurditie. Vol. I, p. 26.

(3) Chambers (E.K.). The Elizabethan Stage. Oxford. 1923.  
 Guy of Warwick. ii. 127; iii. 289, 304.  
 Charlemagne iii. 260; iv. 5.  
 Four Sons of Aymon ii. 181.  
 Godfrey of Bulloigne ii. 143; iii. 340.  
 Tristram of Lyons ii. 170.

kept in touch with the mediaeval in many ways. The romantic epics of Boiardo, Ariosto and Tasso undoubtedly gave a fresh lease of life to the old stories. English history began not with the coming of the Romans but with the coming of the Trojans under Brute, and although the veracity of the history of the British kings and Arthur, as set down by Geoffrey of Monmouth and elaborated by later writers was a subject of controversy, it was for the most part accepted as historical fact. (1) The Arthurian legend was fostered by the Tudor monarchy for political reasons, and the Round Table at Winchester was one of the sights of England to be visited. When Western Europe had emerged from the social confusion that signalled the break-up of the middle ages there had been a general revival of the more superficial forms of chivalry. In England, under Henry VIII, there was a revival of tilting and jousting, and throughout the Tudor period the increasing love of pageantry expressed itself not only in masques and revels but also in tournaments, the spectacular character of which is reflected in the pages of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia. A corresponding revival in Spain under Charles V was part cause and part effect of the popularity of Amadis de Gaula and its successors, and a similar revival of chivalric customs at Ferrara, some twenty years earlier than the Field of the Cloth of Gold, had inspired the first of the Italian romantic epics of Boiardo. The Amadis de Gaula the Orlando Innamorato (2)

(1) See Mead.W.E. The Famous Historie of Chynon of England. E.E.T.S. London. 1925. Introduction, pp. xxv-xxix.

(2) See Boiardo. Orlando Innamorato. Parte Seconda. Canto I. Stanzas 1-3.

"Così nel tempo che virtù fioria  
 Negli antiqui signori e cavalieri,  
 Con noi stava allegrezza e cortesia;  
 E poi fuggirno per strani sentieri,  
 Sicchè un gran tempo smarrirno la via,  
 Nè di più ritornar fenno pensieri.  
 Ora è il mal vento a quel verno compito,  
 E torna il mondo di virtù fiorito." (st.2).

Orlando Innamorato. Classici Italiani. Milano. n.d. Serie III. Volume II.



was well known in court circles long before Peninsular romance became "popular" in the nineties. The presence of Spaniards at court served as a reminder of the fact that to the Spaniard, and perhaps to every foreigner familiar with this work and its successors, England was the home of romance, of Lisuarte and his court as well as of Arthur and the Round Table Knights. The train of Philip II amused themselves identifying the scenes round Windsor with scenes from the Amadis, the Isle of Wight with Firm Island, and Man with Mongaza, and one of the charges brought against the ambassador Don Guerrau de Spes as pretext for his imprisonment was that of having disrespectfully alluded to Elizabeth as the Lady Oriana.

Mediaeval habits of mind survived, as Gothic architecture survived. Chaucer and Langland were popular, and many mediaeval books that one would have expected to have been superseded by translation of contemporary French and Italian works were still in general circulation up to the closing decade of the sixteenth century, as a study of the sources of Lodge's prose pamphlets shows. And as the influence of the morality play is strongly marked on the Elizabethan drama, so many traces of lingering mediaevalism are to be found in Elizabethan prose fiction. Allegory was as congenial to the Elizabethan as to the mediaeval mind. Rich's Right and Exelent plesaunt Dialogue, betwene Mercury and an English Souldier (1574) reproduces in its

(1) See Viaje de Felipo Segundo à Inglaterra, Por Andréz Muñoz. (Impreso en Zaragoza en 1554) y Relaciones varias relativas al mismo suceso. Dálas<sup>10</sup> á luz La Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles. Madrid. 1878. pp. 77-8, 80-81, 97, etc., and Introduction by Gayángos, pp. xvi-xviii.

(2) Underhill (J.G.). Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors. New York. 1899, p. 303.

(3) Cf. p.212.

(4) Rich. A Right Exelent and plesaunt Dialogue, betwene Mercury and an English Souldier. 1574. (The setting of Rich's Dialogue seems to have been suggested by the Hous of Fame).

setting all the features of mediaeval dream allegory. In "Maye, when all Creatures commonlye reioyce" the writer walked abroad and "fortuned to find a fayre Meade, which was gorgeouslye aryed all in greeue (sic), bedecked with Flowers of diuerse and sundrye collours"<sup>(1)</sup>. Enchanted by the singing of the birds he lay down under a "faire Tree", "of purpose to heare more of those pleasant notes" but was "no soner layde" than Morpheus "assayled" him "with a straunge and troublesome dreame"<sup>(2)</sup>. The May morning, the mead of flowers, and the singing of birds and the dream carry the reader back to the school of Guillaume de Lorris. In his dream the writer, who has been chosen messenger to Mars to plead the cause of the English souldier, is conducted through the air by Mercury until he sees before him "a merueilouse, huge and sumptiouse Castell"<sup>(3)</sup> whose "walles were all of brasse, impalde with massy Gold" and whose Porter is "Courage"<sup>(4)</sup>. The appointments of the castle are typically mediaeval. On its "storied" walls are painted "battles long ago" - the sieges of Troy, Thebes and Carthage - with some more modern - Tournay and Turwin.<sup>(5)</sup> In Mars chariot drawn by "foure ylfauoured and unseemly monsters whose names were Mallice, Strife, Contencion and Discorde"<sup>(6)</sup> sits "Warre" and with him Famine and Murder.<sup>(7)</sup> None of the descriptions are intended as burlesque and only in its

- 
- (1) Sig. A1.a.
  - (2) Sig. A1.b.
  - (3) Sig. A5.b.
  - (4) Sig. A7.b.
  - (5) Sig. A7.b.
  - (6) Sig. A8.a - A8.b.
  - (7) Sig. B2.b.

(1) archaism of language, and humour and simplicity of style, (2) does the work reveal Rich's consciousness of the mediaeval character of his device.

Survivals of mediaeval motives, despite the newly imported wealth of the novella and pastoral and Byzantine romance, are to be met with in Elizabethan prose fiction. Its love of stories of kings and princes went back to mediaeval tradition. The retirement of the dejected lover to the wilderness was a motive that passed / into the novella and occurs frequently in Elizabethan stories. It is to be found in Painter's story of "Dom Diego and Ginevra" and in Whetstone's working up of the same tale; in the second part of Rich's Don Simonides and in his Adventures of Brusanus Prince of Hungaria; and in the first and second stories of Wotton's translation

---

(1) "Loe here quod he the Court of Mars." "Valiant conquests atchieued by sundry marciall wights." "Then might I see ----- then I saw ----- I might likewise behold."

(2) E.g., "But sodainly as they were vanished from my syght --- I cursed my owne follye that would so rashlye condisceude to take in hande, I knewe not what: for neyther wyst I where Marses Court shoulde bee, neyther knew I by what deuise I might get thyther, the remembrance whereof brought mee almost to a kinde of desperation." Sig. A4.b.

Cf. "I wyst not then howe to requite the curtesy of the God, nor yet what reuerence I might use at my departure, in the ende with a homelye manner of geuing thankes, I tooke my leaue." Sig. A7.a.

(3) Cf. Tristram and Amadis.

(4) Painter. Palace of Pleasure. Tome II. Nouell 29. ed. Jacobs. Vol. II, pp. 222 et seq.

(5) Whetstone. Rocke of Regard. 1576, p. 23 et seq.

(6) Rich. The second Tome of the Travailes and adventures of Don Simonides. 1584. Sig. Fl6. et seq.  
In the story told to Simonides by the lady whom he meets in a "Rocke" (=It. "rocca", fortress?) between Rome and Naples, the disappointed lover retires to the desert.

(7) The Adventures of Brusanus Prince of Hungaria. 1592. Brusanus, believing his lady dead, lived "in a solitarie desarte, despising humaine societie: accompanied pnely with the beastes and birdes of the forest", p. 99.

of Le Printemps of Jacques Yver. <sup>(1)</sup> The motive is used by Lodge in Euphues Shadow where Servatia's lover on hearing of her death "fled presently" and lived "a miserable <sup>(2)</sup> life in the mountaines Lirenel" and in Robert the Deuil where the Soldan of Babylon, on falling in love with the portrait of Emine, picked out a "solitarie wood farre from the resort of men" and there "builded him a place of pleasure" to which he retired to think upon <sup>(3)</sup> his lady. In Wotton's Courtlie Controuersie of Cupids Cautels are innumerable traces of lingering mediaevalism. The knights who meet at "the castell de Printemps" have names reminiscent of the school of Guillaume de Lorris, Sir Bel Accueil, Sir Fleur d'Amour and Sir Firme Foy, and the castle at which they meet to discuss love and love's "cautels" was "builded long since, as is cer- <sup>(4)</sup> tainly reported, by the famous enchauntresse Melleusine". In the first story, where tournaments are held to celebrate a marriage, an unknown knight appears (later described as the "greene Knight") whom some supposed to be "some Spirite of Maugis, or some of the race of <sup>(5)</sup> Amadis, or Rowland, with the golden lance of Bradaman", and when the knight, who turns out to be Erastus, is dismissed by his mistress and forced to flee from his country, true to mediaeval tradition, he takes service with an Eastern potentate, "Soliman Emperoure of Turkye".

---

(1) A Courtlie Controuersie of Cupids Cautels. 1578. In the story of "Day the firste", Erastus "made hys desolate abode in a woodde adioynyng to a Wildernesse" (p. 58). In the story of "Day the seconde", Herman retires to the country to lead "a solitarie life" (p.102).

(2) Euphues Shadow, p. 33.

(3) The Historie of Robert Second Duke of Normandy, pp. 49-50.

(4) A Courtlie Controuersie, etc., p. 4.

(5) " " " p. 33.

The history of the rise of mediaeval romance has been often written; the history of its "decline and fall" has been neglected. (1) The above examples show that mediaeval romance though attacked on religious, moral and literary grounds was still a source of inspiration for the story-teller, and the novels of Lodge afford still further evidence of the "charmed" life romance enjoyed through the sixteenth century in England.

Mediaeval romance twice furnished him with plots for his novels, in Rosalynde and in The Historie of Robert second Duke of Normandy, and the stories he there employed prove that the less well known romances were more accessible in the last decade of the sixteenth century than might at first be supposed. Neither of the romances Lodge used were, in any sense of the word, popular. There is no record of a printed Tale of Gamelyn until Urry's Chaucer in 1721 and Lodge must therefore have used some manuscript of the story. The legend of Robert the Devil belongs to French soil rather than to English. It is not referred to in Meres' list of books "to be censured"; nor does Nash mention it, nor "Puttenham", nor Ben Jonson; it is not in the list of books given by Laneham as comprising Captain Cox's

(1) See Mead (W.E.) Historie of Chiron. E.E.T.S. Introduction, pp. xiii et seq. where some references are made to the survival of the *matière de Bretagne* in the sixteenth century.

(2) The Tale of Gamelyn. ed. Skeat. Clarendon Press Series. Oxford. 1884. Introduction, p. xxxii.

(3) Meres. Palladis Tamia. 1598. Sig. Mm4a-Mm4b.

(4) Nash. Anatomic of Absurditie. Works. ed. McKerrow. London. 1904. Vol. I, p. 11.

(5) "Puttenham". Arte of English Poesie. Arber's English Reprints. Birmingham. 1869, p. 57.

(6) Jonson. Works. ed. Cunningham. London. 1871. Vol. III. Underwoods. lxii. "An Ekecracion upon Vulcan".

(7) Robert Laneham's Letters. Ed. Furnivall. Ballad Society. London. 1871, pp. xii-xiii.

library, nor in either of the two other similar lists of books quoted by Furnivall in his edition of the Laneham letters. <sup>(1)</sup> It is, however, mentioned in the Compleynt of Scotland, but there the title would suggest <sup>(2)</sup> that the writer knew the legend in a French form. There were, indeed, three printed editions of the story of Robert the Devil, but all three belong to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The French Vie du terrible Robert le dyable, printed at Lyons in 1496, which disseminated the legend of Robert the Devil throughout Western Europe, and was the source of translations and adaptations in England, Germany, Spain and the Netherlands, was translated and printed at least twice by Wynkyn de Worde. <sup>(3)</sup> Six leaves of a verse Life (which <sup>(4)</sup> Dr. Breul, has shown to be a metrical paraphrase of the English prose life, and not an independent translation from the French as before supposed), printed by Wynkyn de Worde or Pynson, are extant in the Bodleian library, but no later printed editions of this romance are known.

Lodge treated his material drawn from mediaeval romance very freely. In both Rosalynde and Robert the Devil it furnished him with little more than suggestions for his plot.

(1) Ibid. xiv.

(2) The Compleynt of Scotland (1548) Edinburgh. 1801, p. 98. "Robert le dyabil duc of Norma(n)die".

(3) See Esdaile. List of English Tales, etc., p. 120. Reprinted Thoms. "Early English Prose Romances", 1828 and 1858.

(4) Breul (Carl.). Sir Gowther. Eine englische romanze aus dem xv jahrhundert. Oppeln 1886, pp. 97-9.

1. The Tale of Gamelyn and Rosalynde.

From the Tale of Gamelyn Lodge took the first part of his story dealing with the adventures of Gamelyn (Rosader), leading up to his escape to the Greenwood, but in his hands the tale becomes much more courtly. The whole of the love story is added and the tone altered to fit the change <sup>from</sup> of Gamelyn the Outlaw to Rosader the lover. Lodge's version, too well known to need description, omits the touches that marked the old tale as for recitation in the places "where men sit samen". The wrestling takes place not at a rustic gathering but before Torrismund and his court, as an interlude in the royal jousts, <sup>(1)</sup> and Rosader bears home not "the ram and the ryng", <sup>(2)</sup> like the victorious Gamelyn, but a jewel given to him by Rosalynde. Lodge takes indeed so few of the details of the old story that it might be thought that he was drawing on recollections of the tale as recited by some blind crowder, <sup>(3)</sup> giving "a fit of mirth for a groat", but a number of parallels between the romance and Lodge's story makes it probable that he worked with a manuscript copy of The Tale of Gamelyn beside him.

(a) Gamelyn, ll. 81-2.

"Gamelyn stood on a day . in his brotheres yerde,  
And bygan with his hond . to handlen his berde."

Rosalynde, p. 17.

"With that casting vp his hand he felt haire on  
his face, and perceluing his beard to bud, for  
choler hee began to blush."

(1) See. Shakespeare's England. Oxford. 1916. Vol.II, p. 455.

(2) Gamelyn. ed. Skeat, l. 283.

(3) "Puttenham". See above p.487.

(b) Gamelyn, ll. 89-90.

"Afterward cam his brother . walkynge thare,  
And seyde to Gamelyn . is our mete yare?"

Rosalynde, p. 18.

"Sirha (quoth hee) what is your heart on your  
halfe penie, or are you saying a Dirge for  
your fathers soule? what is my dinner readie?"

(c) Gamelyn, l. 127.

"He fley up in-til a loft . and schette the  
dore fast."

Rosalynde, p. 18.

"SALADYNE --- thought his heeles his best safetie,  
and tooke him to a loaft adioyning to the garden."

(d) Gamelyn, l. 208.

"Hold myn hors, whil my man . draweth of my shoon."

Rosalynde, p. 23.

"ROSADER -- presentlie sat downe on the grasse,  
and commaunded his boy to pull off his bootes."

(e) Gamelyn, l. 298.

"He smot the wyket with his foot . and brak away  
the pyn."

Rosalynde, p. 26.

"Whereupon hee ran his foote against the doore,  
and brake it open."

(f) Gamelyn, ll. 315-16.

"Yesterday I lefte'. seyde yonge Gamelyn,  
"In my brother seller . fyue tonne of wyn."

Rosalynde, p. 26.

"I tell you CAUALIERS my brother hath in his  
house, fyue tunne of wine."

The romance of Robert the Devil and the Historie of  
Robert second Duke of Normandy.

Between the mediaeval romance of Robert the Devil  
and Lodge's Historie of Robert second Duke of Normandy  
there are no such verbal parallels as between The Tale  
of Gamelyn and Rosalynde, but there can be no doubt  
that Lodge was acquainted with the romance, although  
Dr. Breul denied any connection between it and Lodge's



story. Speaking of Lodge's novel he says: "dies werk folgt in seinen grundzügen nicht der Vie von 1496, sondern den alten Normannenchroniken"; and in his tree illustrating the interdependence of the various versions of the legend of Robert the Devil he indicates Lodge's story as coming direct from the Chronicle. This Croniques de Normendie to which Dr. Breul refers was certainly known and used by Lodge, but it is quite clear that he had some knowledge of the popular romance (or "Life") version of the legend.

(3)  
It was in a verse Roman of the first half of the thirteenth century that the story was first told in French in a form that in any way approximated to Lodge's novel. The verse Roman together with the Croniques de Normendie, a prose history of the province of Normandy in whose opening chapters the romance of Robert the Devil had become embedded (in much the same way as many of the legends of Spain became embedded in her mediaeval chronicles) and dating, in the first place, from the second half of the same century, supplied the material (according to Dr. Breul) for a Dit, which belongs to the first half of the fourteenth century. This Dit differed from the Roman and the Croniques mainly in its close. For the ascetic ending of the earlier versions of the legend where the hero, after fulfilling

---

(1) Breul. Sir Gowther, p. 63.

(2) Ibid. Facing p. 107.

(3) Two MSS. in the Bibl. Nat. First printed by Trébutien. 1837, and later by the Soc. des Anc. Textes Fr. ed. Löseth. Paris. 1903.

(4) See Littré. Histoire Littéraire de la France. Vol. XXII, p. 286. 1773 et seq.  
Also: Löseth. Roman de etc. Soc. des Anc. Textes Fr. Introduction, p. xvii.

(5) Three MSS. in the Bibl. Nat. This Dit has not yet been printed. For an outline of the story and extracts see Pichard. Revue de Paris. July 1834, pp. 30-51.

his penance, lived and died a hermit, was submitted a "happy ending", where the hero married the emperor's daughter and "lived happily ever after". This ending appears also in the Vie translated into English and printed by Wynkyn de Worde. Common also to the Dit and the Vie and not found in the Croniques de Normendie is all the story of the warfare between Paynim and Christian occasioned by the love of the seneschal for the emperor's daughter. (1) Since therefore Lodge's story has (a) the happy ending and (b) the warfare between Paynim and Christian, it is clear that he supplemented the Croniques from some later versions of the legend. As, however, the statement that at Robert's birth parents troubled the heavens (which occur in Lodge's novel) appears to be an elaboration peculiar to the Vie, it seems more likely that he used this version of the legend, accessible in print and in an English translation, rather than the Dit, which still remains in manuscript. The precise version of the Vie (whether French prose, English translation or metrical paraphrase) which Lodge knew it is impossible to determine since he did not follow his original closely, and, as has been said, his novel and the romance offer no such verbal parallels as are to be found between Gamelyn and Rosalynde.

Again, in Lodge's treatment of the story of Robert the Devil can be seen that purging of the less polite elements already noticed in Rosalynde. He omits, for example, antics such as "How Robert threwe downe a bryde on a foule dongehyll, and how he put a lyuyngge catte in an hole sethyngge potte with podred befe". (2)

---

(1) Löseth (Introd. p. xx, footnote v) states that the nickname the "devil" appears only after the Dit. It is found, however, in all printed editions of the chronicle.

(2) Robert the deuyll. Wynkyn de Worde. Sig. Cvj a.

To the story of Robert the Devil as told in the Vie Lodge added further details, characteristic of mediaeval romance, that are not to be found in any French version of the legend.

In Lodge's account of the warfare against the Saracens it is the Soldan of Babylon who wishes to marry the emperor's daughter and who, in being refused her hand because he is a heathen, comes to besiege Rome with bands of Saracens. In the Croniques there is no mention of this warfare. In the Dit and the Vie it is the Seneschal who fills this role. The similarity between this part of the story and the Man of Lawes Tale,<sup>(1)</sup> or the same story as told in the Confessio Amantis may have suggested to Lodge this change. The substitution of a soldan for the Seneschal had already, indeed, been made in Sir Gowther,<sup>(2)</sup> and the story of how the King of Tars refused his daughter to the Soldan of Damias because the latter was a heathen is the "situation" in the romance of the King of Tars. Neither Sir Gowther nor the King of Tars<sup>(3)</sup> was printed in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, but the motive was a stock feature

---

(1) Gower. Complete Works. ed. Macaulay. Oxford. 1901. Confessio Amantis. Lib. II. ll. 587-713.

(2) Sir Gowther, Stanzas 22-3. Lodge's novel and the mediaeval romance Sir Gowther have another feature in common. In both it is for seven years that the Duke and his wife live without children. In the Roman no time is specified; in the Dit and the Vie (French and English prose) it is eighteen years, while in the metrical English version it is twelve. These two points of resemblance between the two English versions of the legend are curious but are not sufficient to warrant the supposition that Lodge knew the Sir Gowther story. None of the characteristic features of Sir Gowther, e.g., the Austrian setting and the red, black and white suits of armour in which Gowther fights against the pagans on three successive days, are to be found in Lodge's story.

(3) See Appendix 1, p. 97.

of "romance". Cervantes makes use of it in the Don Quijote: "I pray you good sir," quoth Sancho, "to tell me why these two princes hate one another so much?" "They are enemies," replied Don Quixote, because this Alifanfaron is a furious pagan, and is enamoured of Pentapolin's daughter, who is a very beautiful and gracious princess, and moreover a Christian; and her father refuseth to give her to the pagan king, until first he abandon Mahomet's false sect, and become one  
(1)  
of his religion."

To the end of the story of Robert the Devil as told in the Vie, Lodge added another situation typical of mediaeval romance. On his way home to Normandy Robert is met by a lady on horseback seeking some knight to defend her mistress from a false charge of poisoning. Divining that the lady in need of a champion is his mother, Robert the Devil offers himself to the lady as willing to defend her mistress's cause. On the appointed day he enters the lists and defeats her accuser; Editha is acquitted and Robert the Devil reveals his identity. The distressed damsel, the trial by combat, the unknown knight are, of course, all commonplaces of mediaeval romance.

As these additions Lodge made to the story of Robert the Devil show, he was well acquainted with the characteristic features of mediaeval romance and a study of the other novels will show that his mind was steeped in the old romance literature, and that he has constant recourse to it as a storehouse of motives and plots.

---

(1) Don Quijote. Parte Prima. Cap. xviii. "Pues por qué se quieren tan mal estos dos señores? preguntó Sancho. Quiérense mal - respondió don Quijote - porque este Alifanfaron es un furibundo pagano, y está enamorado de la hija de Pentapolin, que es una muy hermosa, y además, agraciada señora, y es cristiana, y su padre no se la quiere entregar al rey pagano si no deja primero la ley de su falso profeta Mahoma, y se vuelve a la suya."

Mediaeval romance in the inset tale in Euphues Shadow.

Lodge's treatment of mediaeval material in his novels varies. Sometimes he alters it considerably; at other times he translates mediaeval motives into an Elizabethan prose tale, with little or no modification. At one end of the scale is Rosalynde, at the other the inset tale in Euphues Shadow; in the former a mediaeval story is transformed into a courtly, euphuistic, pastoral romance; in the later, despite some modifying touches, the tale preserves a pronounced mediaeval character.

It is the story of a cruel lady who set her lover three tasks to perform; the first to achieve "three combates" in honour of her name and the second to slay "three monsters in Libia". Rabanus the lover accordingly sets out as knight errant in search of adventures. He comes upon a knight guarding a marble tomb and the picture of a lady resolved "to trie against all commers" that she "was onely faire, onely constant, the paragon of chastitie, the patterne of constancie". Rabanus defeats the knight and his two brothers on three successive days in single combat, and after exacting a promise that on an appointed day they will present themselves before his lady, he passes into Libia. Here, after an unsuccessful attempt to modify stock romantic motives by substituting for the commonplace rescue of a lady from some monster, the rescue of "a tender and young infant" from a pursuing angry "rhinocerotes", "which though he were slow in race,

---

(1) Pp. 29-47.

(2) P. 30.

(3) P. 33.

(4) See later, p. 59 (footnote).

(1)  
 yet was he severe in rigour", Lodge abandons himself wholeheartedly to the fictions that had delighted former times, and tells a story of enchantment and knightly prowess that might have been an "Old Wives tale" told in the chimney-corner and has, indeed, points in common with Peele's play. It is the story of the rescue of a princess from a magician who has long kept her captive in "a strong tower, situate on the top of a high hill" round about which lay a "darke and hideous groue, overshadowed with huge Trees"<sup>(2)</sup>. The atmospheric disturbances and the roaring of animals that greet the knight's approach to the castle, the slaying of the magician's guardian monsters, the overtaking of the magician himself who, seeing the defeat of his guardians, flees towards his stronghold, the cutting off of his head and the disappearance of the castle, the restoration of the lady to her grateful parents, which are additional details in Lodge's story, are some of the most typical motives of mediaeval romance. Rabanus then returns to his own country to fulfil the third task - to rid him his mistress hates most of life. She then reveals that he only is the object of her hatred, and the lover, after elaborate preparations for his tragic end, commits suicide in her presence. The lady too late repents of her cruelty, and visited at night by her dead lover's ghost, commits suicide over his corpse.

Despite some few modifications (such as the introduction of the "rhinocerotes") this story retains a pronounced mediaeval character and reveals upon

---

(1) P. 39.

(2) P. 40.

analysis the several different strata which mark the evolution of mediaeval romance. The imposing of apparently impossible tasks upon a lover by a cruel lady as a device for originating a story of quest and adventure goes back to folk lore and fairy tale and even to mythology; the cruel lady has doubtless relations with the "perilous maiden" of classical and Northern legend. Almost equally ancient motives are the "unspelling by decapitation" and (more common) the rescue of a princess from imprisonment in a magic castle. Retribution through the lover's ghost suggests rather the influence of the ballad. Of a more sophisticated character, and suggestive of the influence of later developments, more particularly in the Peninsula, are the single combats with the three knights who guard the picture and the marble tomb. The suicides of the close were undoubtedly imported into the story from non-romantic sources, to suit the taste of an age, educated on the novelle of Bandello, which liked its tales the more "tragicall" the better.

It is impossible to point to any one work as the source of this pastiche, though parallels to many of the features of Lodge's story readily suggest themselves in old French and mediaeval English romances. While this story has, however, a general mediaeval character, it is quite possible that the immediate inspiration came from the Italian romantic epic that had given a fresh lease of life to the motives of mediaeval romance - magicians and monsters, knight

---

(1) See Kittredge. Gawain and the Green Knight. Harvard Univ. Press. 1916. p. 200 et seq.

(2) Ibid. p. 237.

errantry and single combats, captive ladies and disappearing castles. Interesting as suggesting a Renaissance Italian rather than a mediaeval influence is the rescue of the "tender and young infant" and Lodge's description of the "horrible and deformed monster" that Rabanus encountered, "headed like unto Hidra, whose locks were scallie Serpents, in height about nine Cubites, hauing the back partes of him like a Centaure". Possibly the "cruel lady" motive was suggested by Ariosto's inversion of the Paolo and Francesca episode of the Inferno, although the motive was very common in mediaeval literature. In the Orlando Furioso the cruel beauty Lydia, after sending her lover on enterprises from which it seemed impossible that he should ever return, finding him always victorious, banishes him from her sight, revealing her long-concealed hatred and desire for his death. The lover dies of grief on hearing the sentence and the lady receives punishment in hell for her cruelty. Neither place nor personal names correspond in Lodge's story and in the Orlando Furioso but the two have a marked similarity of tone, and it is possible that

---

(1) Cf. Orlando's rescue of a child from a giant (Orl. Inn. I. v. 61 et seq.), and Calepine's rescue of a child from a bear (Faerie Queene. VI. iv. st. 17 et seq.).

(2) P. 41. Boiardo had frequently introduced a classical element into his descriptions of monsters, etc. The Theban Sphinx, for example, appears in the Orlando Innamorato (Parte I, Canto V. st. 70 et seq.). See Razzoli (G.) Per le fonti dell' Orlando Innamorato Milano 1901, p. 36, "In questo luogo il poeta, como in tanti altri, ha trasportato l'elemento classico, nel mondo romanzesco, trasformandolo, adattandolo con arte mirabilissima".

(3) Orlando Furioso, Canto XXXIV.

(4) See for an account of this theme in mediaeval literature Romania xxix. "The Purgatory of Cruel Beauties" by W.A. Neilson, pp. 85-93.

(5) Cf. stanza xli of Canto XXXIV and Euphues Shadow, p. 44.

"Quel ch'io gli avea con simulato viso  
Celato fin'allor, chiaro gli esplico  
Che graue e capitale odio gli porto  
E pur tuttavia cerco che sia morto."

"At last I carelesly and cruelly confessed that onely



the episode in the Italian poem suggested to Lodge the main theme of his story, which he filled out with details from folk and fairy tale, mediaeval romance, ballad and novella.

Lodge's treatment of other Mediaeval Motives.

(a) Magic.

In view of the small scope allowed to magic in the novels of his contemporaries, it is noticeable how large a part this characteristic feature of the old romance, plays in Lodge's novels. While in poetry and the drama mediaeval magic lived on through the sixteenth century and suffered little or no modification, in prose fiction a change of attitude is noticeable. It is evident that the old magic did not secure the "willing suspension of disbelief" in the Elizabethan reader that it had secured in his forefathers. Caxton left it to his readers to believe or not as they pleased the magic of the romances, but in the sixteenth century when the subject had acquired fresh interest in connection with the newly-kindled controversy on Black Magic and with the Renaissance beginnings of scientific research and experiment, we find sixteenth century writers of prose fiction attempting to renovate the old magic by rationalising it. Wotton's translation of Le Printemps of Jacques Yver throws interesting light on the rationalising tendency of the Renaissance writer. The villain of the second day's story has recourse to the aid of a magician in subduing his obdurate mistress. After describing a common trick

---

Rabinus was him whom I hated, and whose death might make me happy."

(1)  
of the mediaeval magician, the conjuring of a spirit to take the form of the lady in order to deceive her lover, the writer proceeds to "explain away" any misgivings of the reader as to its possibility by reference to Scriptural authority - "And I believe this charme whose strange effecte I haue recited, shal not seeme vnto you (honourable audience,) erring fro(m) ye truth, if you haue neuer so smal regard vnto the power which God hath giuen the Diuell to tempt, euen those whome he most loueth, as we haue examples in holye bookes". He then quotes several examples of such licence granted ~~XXXXXX~~ by God to the Devil until he thinks he has convinced his audience of the legitimacy of the device. Later when he uses Boiardo's invention of the fountains of love and hatred in the forest of Arden he makes a similar effort at a rational explanation of the apparently supernatural powers of these fountains. "Alas, what force is there in inchauntments and poysons? but principallye when they are made vp by drinckes" says this moralist (with a reminiscence perhaps, of his tirade against the evils of excessive drinking in the second tragedy), and then goes on to argue, not very consistently, that if there are fountains "whose water dieth heare yellowe" or "changes the body miraculously", "wherefore do we finde it strange, that those of the forests of Ardeine doe  
(2)  
alter the spyrites?". Sidney in the Arcadia is as anxious as Mrs. Radcliffe to avoid anything that might pass the bounds of probability. Significant is his modification of a piece of mediaeval machinery probably

---

(1) Courtlie Controversie, pp. 98-99. Sig. 01b-02.

(2) Courtlie Controversie, pp. 225-6. Sig. Dd.1b-Dd2.

suggested by the Amadís de Gaula. One of the wonders of Firm Island is a "Turning Palace" (Palacio tornante) which is whirled round thrice daily and thrice nightly with terrific force by some magical power. Hence no doubt Sidney took the idea of the revolving table of the Arcadia which turned, however, not by magic, but "with certain machinery".

In Lodge's novels there are two notable attempts to refresh the old magic by bringing it into touch with Renaissance interests in mechanics and optics. One of these was probably influenced by Sidney's descriptions of mechanical devices in the Arcadia. Among the marvels of the tournament held in Arsadachus' honour, in A Margarite of America (where, as has been said, the influence of the Arcadia is strongly marked) Lodge describes a mechanical toy, "an orbe" "which by cunning of man, and wonderfull art" "whilst it continually turned, presented all the shapes of the twelve signes, dauncing as it were to the harmonie, which the inclosed musicke presented them". A similar orb is somewhat more lucidly described by Nash in the Unfortunate Traveller as one of the wonders of a merchant's "summer banketting house" in Rome. More interesting is Lodge's attempt to renovate his material in Forbonius and Prisceria. In this novel he describes a mirror "a practicke in prospective" that is given to Forbonius by the gymnosophist, in order that he may by its aid correspond with Prisceria. The

---

(1) Amadís de Gaula. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles. Rivadeneyra, Vol. XL. Libros de Caballerías. Madrid. 1857. Amadís de Gaula. Bk. II, p. 175.

(2) Arcadia ed. Gray. London 1893, p. 75. For turning castles in mediaeval romance see Kittredge, pp. 42 and 244.

(3) A Margarite of America, p. 46.

(4) Works. Ed. McKerrow, Vol. I, p. 282.

gymnosphist thus explains its properties: "In [it] thou maist after thou hast written thy minde: taking the Sunne beame, send the reflection to thy mistresse eye, whereby she may as legeably read thy letters, as if they were in her handes, and by thy instructions made privy to the secrets of thy glasse, retourne thine aunswere in the very forme in which thou send-  
 (1)  
 est". Here Lodge seems to be substituting for the more hackneyed magic mirrors of mediaeval romance an invention described by Battista della Porta as likely to be of service in conveying the secret messages of  
 (2)  
 lovers. Lodge's description of the working of this apparatus is not clear but doubtless it was meant to operate in the way described by Della Porta.

For the most part, however, Lodge does not markedly modernize his magic, though the large part played by magic in his tales, may reflect the revived interest in the subject. He himself later in the  
 (1596)  
Diuell Coniured/discusses the subject on modern lines. The magicians who appear in Euphues Shadow and A Margarite of America differ little in their powers from the magicians of old French romances and of the Italian romantic epic, for example, the Malagise of Boiardo and Ariosto, who with his book can penetrate secrets, raise visions, and throw his victims into a deep sleep.

---

(1) Forbonius and Prisceria, p. 62.

(2) Ioh. Baptistae Portae Neapolitani Magiae Naturalis. Libri viginti. Amsterodami. 1664. (First published 1588?), p. 574.

"Ut litternae Parieti Longe Remoto Legendae Jaculentur-Quod eodem plano speculo praestabimus, & amantes longius distracti, clanculu loqui poterunt. In superficie plani speculi nigro atramento, vel cera litterae solidiusculi figurentur, ita ut speculi fulgor intercipiatur, obnubiliturque, speculum claro solidi luminis objectetur, taliter ut reflexi e speculo procidentes radii in cubiculi opposito pariete jaculentur, non dubium sane est, quin fulgor, & litterae in pariete conspiciantur. Solis illuminatio pars, characterum minus spectata, ut clare nunciata conspiciantur.

In Euphues Shadow Philamis retires to the mountains of Sticia and studies magic, and after a few months of study has the power to turn lambs into heifers. By taking his book in his hand and "turning towards the east" he causes Laiete a small stream to overflow its banks so that "sodainly of a little riuer, (it) began to exceed Danuby". He conjures up visions of himself and Harpaste and shows Philamour in a glass the whole course of his travels. He has eunuchs to attend him and when he and Philamour sit at table they eat from "bowles of Saphir"<sup>(1)</sup>. Arsinous' art in A Margarite of America is of a smiliar order. He reads the future in the stars and can conjure spirits. He raises up a feast in the desert and has the power to throw Margarita in a deep sleep. The catastrophe of the story is, moreover, brought about by his magic, for it is the magic box which he has given to Margarita "to keepe vntill such time as he she loued best should depart from her", and which she has given to the faithless Arsadachus, which, when opened, causes his madness and the wholesale slaughter of his wife, son and Margarita and his own suicide.<sup>(2)</sup> It may be noted, however, that in both cases the power is acquired by legitimate study and in both cases it is used for a good end; Lodge describes Philamis' art as a "pryuate intellectuall science"<sup>(3)</sup> and it is possible that to Lodge's reader Philamis and Arsinous would have a more present day cast than appears to us.

The use of modern material is clearer in Lodge's treatment of the romantic motives of love and fighting.

(1) P. 77 and pp. 80-81.

(2) Pp. 82-4 and 96-7.

(3) P. 79.

(b) Love.

One of the additions which the sixteenth century made to the stock of love motives handed down from mediaeval romance was that of falling in love with a portrait. The portrait does not seem to play any part in mediaeval romances; princes and courtiers fell in love with a lady through hearing of her beauty, as legend relates of the troudadour Rudel, but the portrait seems to have been unknown in mediaeval fiction. The sixteenth century was, however, the century par excellence of portrait painters, the century of Titian, Holbein, Rubens, Velasquez, and the outcrop of portraits in sixteenth century fiction can only be attributed to a reflection of this art in ~~XXX~~ literature. Ladies of fiction carried about the portraits of their lovers and knights bore the pictures of their ladies on their shields. There are no portraits in the original Amadis but they soon appeared in its successors and the motive of falling in love with a portrait was handed down from them to French heroic romance. In the romance of Nuñez, before quoted, portraits of the princess Narcisiana were circulated among various courts and admirers flocked from far and near to the Isla Deleitosa to try to win her affection. Cervantes, who in most respects adhered closely to the canon of Byzantine fiction, introduced this motive into his imitation of Heliiodorus' romance. In English literature the motive appears in the Arcadia of Sidney in the incident of Pyrocles falling in love with the portrait of Philoclea and in the constant references to the pictures of ladies

---

(1) See Dunlop, History of Fiction. London. 1888. Vol. I, p. 397 and Vol. II, pp. 405, 411.

(2) Cf. p. 24.

(3) Persiles y Sigismunda. Rivadeneyra. Vol. I. Madrid. 1849. P. 664.

carried by knights on their helmets and shields. All these instances show what a popular feature of romance the portrait had become and the fashion is reflected in several of Lodge's novels. In The Historie of Robert second Duke of Normandy the Soldan of Babylon falls in love with the portrait of Emine and has it hung with his own beside it in the "palace of pleasure" which he builds. (1) In Euphues Shadow the portrait of Servatia is hung over her tomb. (2) In A Margarite of America at the jousts a hundred pages bear the picture of the princess on their scutcheons; (3) Margarita has the portrait of Arsadachus hung before her bed, (4) and Arsinous, to keep him in memory of the vengeance he awaits on the slayer of Minecius and Philenia, bears their portraits to the place of his retirement in the deserts of Russia. (5)

In his treatment of mediaeval warfare Lodge's treatment varies according to his source. In The Historie of Robert second Duke of Normandy where he was drawing directly on mediaeval romance, the account of the warfare between the Christians and their pagan assailants undergoes little modification. The same may be said of the treatment ~~of the~~ of the single combats between Rabanus and the three brothers of Servatia in Euphues Shadow. In A Margarite of America, in the description of the tournament held in honour of the approaching marriage of Margarita and Arsinous, (6) the court chivalry of Lodge's own day is

---

(1) Pp. 48, 49 and 50.

(2) Pp. 31 and 33.

(3) P. 46.

(4) P. 63.

(5) P. 44.

(6) Pp. 45-6.

reflected, not however directly, but through the influence of the Arcadia. A comparison of Lodge's description of this tournament with any similar description of fighting in the Amadis de Gaula brings out the spectacular character of sixteenth century chivalric survivals. In Amadis de Gaula the emphasis is on the fighting; in Lodge's account the fighting is of secondary importance and the emphasis is placed on the ladies' clothes, the rich stuff, the display of wealth, and the splendour of the knights' armour. The interest in the spectacular side of chivalry expressed itself also in an emphasis on its symbolic aspect, seen in the prevailing interest in heraldry, and the fashion for devices, emblems and mottoes, which was affected not only by knights in armour but also by authors and printers. Symbolic armour and badges are (1) described in Lodge's account of Arsadachus' arms. It was a fashion that did not escape the pen of the satirists and Nash in his description of the arms worn by Surrey in the tournament at Florence where he defended "his Geraldines beautie" "against all commers". ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

"His armour was all intermixed with lillyes and roses, and the bases thereof bordered with nettles and weeds, signifieng stings, crosses, and ouergrowing incumberances in his loue; his helmet round proportioned lyke a gardners water-pot, from which seemed to issue forth small thrids of water, like citterne strings, that not onely did moisten the lyllyes and roses, but did fructifie as well the nettles and weeds, and made them ouergrow theyr liege Lords. Whereby he did import thus much, that the teares that issued from the well counterfeit water-pot on his head, watered and gaue life as well to his mistres disdain (resembled to nettles and weeds) as increase of glorie to her care-causing beauty (comprehended vnder the lillies and roses). The simbole annexed was this, Ex lachrimis lachrimae", etc., etc. (2)

---

(1) Ibid.

(2) Works. ed. McKerrow, Vol. II, p. 271 et seq.



The fashion was again parodied by Cervantes in his description of the "Prince of New Biscay, who comes armed with arms parted into blue, green, white and yellow quarters, and bears in his shield, in a field of tawny, a cat of gold, with a letter that says Miau, which is the beginning of his lady's name, which is, as report runs, the famous Miaulina"<sup>(1)</sup>.

Connected with this love of the symbolical in armour was the fashion for wearing liveries and badges. The dejected Montanus appears "apparailed all in tawney, to signifie, that he was forsaken; on his head he wore a garland of willowe, his bottle hanged by his side whereon was painted despaire, and on his sheepehooke hung two sonnets as labels of his loues & fortunes"<sup>(2)</sup>. Minecius "coate was accordaut (sic) to his conceit"<sup>(3)</sup> and Philamis, after his quarrel with his friend "changed his youthful colors to ruthful discontent, and in all triumphs called himself the Knight of despaire"<sup>(4)</sup>.

To Lodge's novels mediaeval romance contributed more than to the novels of any other Elizabethans, and it would appear that the mediaeval influence on his fiction increases. Rosalynde is more completely modernized than The Historie of Robert second Duke of Normandy and Euphues Shadow contains in its inset story, as has been said, a fairy tale that Mopsa might have told. This use of the mediaeval may be partly due to

---

(1) Don Quixote. Parte Prima. Cap. xviii. "----- el---principe de la Nueva Vizcaya, que viene armado con las armas partidas y cuarteles, azules, verdes blancas y amarillas, y trae en el escudo un gato de oro en campo leonado, con una letra que dice: Miau, que es el principio del nombre de su dama, que segun se dice, es la sin par Miaulina hija"et cet.

(2) Rosalynde, p. 128.

(3) A Margarite of America, p. 13.

(4) Euphues Shadow, p. 66.

the bookishness of Lodge's mind. In prose fiction fashions changed as quickly as in the drama; the novelist, like the dramatist, was in constant need of fresh themes, and in the general search for new subjects, which led Greene, for example, to "yark" up biblical stories and autobiographical material, Lodge would turn more readily than would most to mediaeval romance. We learn from the prose pamphlets that he was a gleaner in "olde feeldes". But the increasing use of this old material is also due to the date at which he was writing his novels, for it seems that in the early nineties there was something of a revival of interest in mediaeval stories. Possibly the growing bourgeois influence on literature, which followed the extension of the reading public, enforced the recognition of these perennially popular stories. To the nineties, significantly, belong Johnson's and Middleton's additions to the Arthurian cycle of stories, and although Lodge's novels were not written down to the popular level they represent an attempt to keep up with the times. The use of popular material by Greene in his plays, Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, and George a Greene and <sup>by</sup> Peele in his Old Wives Tale possibly had an influence on prose fiction. Prose tales of Friar Bacon and Faustus were first printed in the  
 (1)  
 nineties and represent an effort on the part of prose to profit by the popularity of the drama. And lastly, the publication of the first three books of the Faerie Queene in 1590 would doubtless give fresh currency to the "worn out impressions" of romance. The direct influence of the Faerie Queene is seen in the Historie

---

(1) See Esdaile p. 16 and 46.

of Robert second Duke of Normandy in the epic similes  
 (1)  
 which are a new and striking feature of the style and  
 in a passage which seems definitely reminiscent of  
 the stanza in the Faerie Queene beginning "A little  
 (2)  
 lowly Hermitage it was" - "at last (he) attained into  
 an open plaine, in the middest whereof there stood a  
 poore Chappell, with a little Cottage hard beside, and  
 by that time the dangers were ouerpast, & the dimmy  
 approach of euening foretold him that the day was  
 spent; for which cause he hasted into the chapell to  
 doo his deuotions, where he found before the Alter a  
 (3)  
 graue old man performing his deuine prayers".

---

(1) See pp. 23, 23, 31, 66 and 75.

(2) Faerie Queene. Bk. I, Canto I, st. 34.

(3) P. 43 .

## II. THE PASTORAL.

At the famous review of the contents of Don Quixote's library the niece implored the curate to consign the works of Montemayor and his followers to the flames, lest her uncle, when cured of his "knightly" disease, should "fall by reading of these in a humour of becoming a shepherd, and so wander through the woods and fields, singing of roundelays and playing on a crou<sup>(1)</sup>"d". Her fears, needless to say, were justified, for the knight inspired by his reading of pastoral tales, proposed to spend the year during which he had sworn to relinquish arms, as a shepherd, roaming "up and down the hills, through woods and meadows, singing and versifying and drinking the liquid crystal of the fountains"<sup>(2)</sup>. The pastoral in the sixteenth century was twin madness of the chivalric, and the most widely diffused literary "mode" of the period; it was also the most lasting and left its mark on all branches of literature. In Italy, the fashion set by Boccaccio and Sannazzaro was continued in the drama, culminating in Tasso's Aminta, and Guarini's Pastor Fido. In Spain, by the fusion of the pastoral and the chivalric, Montemayor produced a model for narrative prose that was imitated not only in the Peninsula by Cervantes and Lope

---

(1) Don Quijote. Primera Parte. Cap. VI. "Ay, señor! dijo la Sobrina-. Bien los puede vuestra merced mandar quemar, como a los demás; porque no sería mucho que, habiendo sanado mi señor tío de la enfermedad caballeresca, leyendo éstos se le antojase de hacerse pastor y andarse por los bosques y prados cantando y tañendo, y lo que sería peor, hacerse poeta -----"

(2) Ibid. Segunda Parte. Cap LXVII. "Yo compraré algunas ovejas, y todas las demás cosas que al pastoril ejercicio son necesarias, y llamándome yo el pastor Quijotiz, y tú el pastor Pancino, nos andaremos por los montes, por las selvas y por los prados, cantando aquí, endechando allí, bebiendo de los líquidos cristales de las fuentes, o ya de los limpios arroyuelos, o de los caudalosos ríos."

de Vega, but beyond the seas by Sidney and across the Pyrenees by D'Urfé. The Daphnis and Chloë of Longus provided a precedent for the mingling of Byzantine and pastoral romance. Pastoral episodes were grafted on to the chivalric romance by Feliciano da Silva, and on to the romantic epic by Ariosto and Tasso. The eclogue that had flourished since the days of Petrarch and Boccaccio was imitated in the vulgar by the most notable poets of France, Spain and England, and in the lyric, pastoralism united with Petrarchism in the Bergeries of Ronsard and La Diane of Desportes.

All these pastoral kinds were imitated in England in drama, eclogue and lyric, and Elizabethan prose fiction, as was natural, succumbed to the prevailing fashion. Whereas, however, in foreign pastoral fiction some of the most tedious prose is to be found in the pages of Montemayor and his followers, in its pastoral tales the Elizabethan age produced its best and freshest work. Cervantes, whose attitude towards the pastoral was much the same as his attitude towards the books of chivalry (despite the lingering affection he always retained for La Galatea) put his finger on the inherent weaknesses of Spanish pastoral tales, when, in the Coloquio de los Perros, he characterised them as "dreams well written to amuse the idle, and not truth at all", and laughed at their shepherds rehearsing from sunrise to sunset, and, "even after black night had spread its dark and dusky wings over the face of

---

(1) Novelas Ejemplares. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles. Rivadeneyra. Vol. I. Madrid 1849, p. 228, "por donde vine á entender lo que pienso que deben de creer todos, que todos aquellos libros son cosas soñadas y bien escritas para entretenimiento de los ociosos, y no verdad alguna".

(1)  
 the earth", their "well sung and better wept complaints".  
 The Spanish pastoral novel was marked by these two weaknesses; in the first place it suffered from its unreality. It had lost all contact with life through too close adherence to literary tradition; it was "the imitation of Sannazzaro's prose imitation of Virgil's imitation of Theocritus", and each step in its genealogy brought it a step further from reality; and in the second place, it suffered from too much "sensibility" and from too great an infusion of sentiment and ideas from the lyric. Petrarchan conceits as elaborated by Petrarch's sixteenth century imitators, barely tolerable in poetry, were translated into prose by Montemayor and his followers. The verse medium guards the weeping and wasting of the poet from too literal an interpretation, but when these hyperbolics are translated into prose they become merely ridiculous - as when Belisa tells her listeners that it was her sighs that shook the trees of the valley, and her tears that fed the waters that surrounded the island on which she dwelt. In the Spanish novel under the influence of lyrical sentiment the pastoral that had begun by being idyllic, became lachrimose; every tale is punctuated by sobs; every action interrupted by swoons.

---

(1) Ibid., p. 227. "y leia como el pastor de Anfriso cantaba extremada y divinamente, alabando á la sin par Belisarda, sin haber en todos los montes de Arcadia árbol en cuyo tronco no se hubiese sentado á cantar desde que salia el sol en los brazos del Auraro, hasta que se ponía en los de Tétis; y aun despues de haber tendido la negra noche por la faz de la tierra sus negras y oscuras alas, él no cesaba de sus bien cantadas y mejor lloradas quejas."

(2) Fitzmaurice-Kelly. Chapters on Spanish Literature London. 1908. The Works of Cervantes, p. 146.

(3) Montemayor. La Diana. Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles. Orígenes de la Novela. Menendez y Pelayo. Tom. II. Madrid 1907, p. 287. "Mas qué uentura ha guiado tan hermosa compañía do jamás se uio caso que diese contento? Quién pensays que haze crescer la uerde yerua desta isla, a acrescentar las aguas que la çercan, si no mis lagrimas? Quien pensays que menea los arboles deste hermoso ualle, sino la boz de mis sospiros tristes?"

English pastoral novels escaped the lifelessness and tearfulness of foreign models. Mr. Greg has re-  
 marked on the freshness and vitality of <sup>the</sup> English pastoral,  
~~production~~ <sup>(1)</sup> attributing it to its hybrid origin, and  
 has observed that literary models never acquired in  
 England the same supreme importance that they acquired  
 in Italy and Spain. Two streams of inspiration -  
 native and foreign - are discernible throughout the  
 history of the pastoral in the sixteenth and seventeenth  
 centuries. On the one hand, following in the literary  
 tradition, are the Galatea of Lyly (despite its Lincoln-  
 shire setting) the Hymen's Triumph of Daniel, the later  
 work of Drayton and the Faithful Shepherdess of Fletcher,  
 who in his preface endeavoured to correct the judgment  
 of those who concluded a pastoral play should be "a play  
 of country-hired shepherds, in grey cloaks, with cur-  
 tailed dogs in strings" and "missing Whitsun-ales,  
 cream, wassel and morris-dances" <sup>(2)</sup> condemned his play.  
 On the other hand are the Shepheardes Calender, with  
 its "framing of (the) stile to an old rustick language"  
 which Sidney "dare not allow", the early work of Drayton,  
 and the Sad Shepherd, where Jonson set out to weave his  
 pastoral <sup>of</sup> "English wool" and to provide his audience  
 with the country fare the writer of the Faithful Shep-  
 herdess <sup>(3)</sup> had rejected.

It is to Lodge's credit that in Rosalynde, his  
 chief contribution to the pastoral, he saw, as Jonson

(1) Greg (W.W.), Pastoral Poetry & Pastoral Drama.  
 London. 1906, p. 68.

(2) Fletcher. The Faithful Shepherdess. ed. Moorman.  
 Temple Dramatists. London. 1897. "To the Reader", p.7.

(3) Jonson. Works. ed. Cunningham. London. Vol. II.  
The Sad Shepherd. Prologue.

later saw, the possibility of grafting the literary pastoral on to the native "greenwood". Lodge brought his mediaeval romance up-to-date by supplying it with some of the features of pastoral romance. Rosalynde and Alinda live as shepherd and shepherdess in the forest of Arden; Montanus, a "scholar like shepherd" writes eclogues in imitation of the Shepherd's Calendar and recites a poem (in French) from La Diane of Desportes; even Coridon has a smattering of Latin, and Rosader, like all enamoured shepherds, hangs sonnets to his mistress on the trees. The spirit of the story, however, is of the woodland; Gerismond and his "co-mates in exile" are foresters and live on the venison they kill; Rosader carries not a shepherd's crook but a boar spear; the pipe and rebeck, the arms of the Arcadian lover, are not heard in the forest of Arden for Rosader does not sing, but "reads over", the poems he has written to his mistress or carves them on the bark of trees.

It is difficult to determine to what extent Lodge was influenced by individual models, native and foreign, in this novel. He was well acquainted with the pastoral convention in verse. Poems from the Diane of Desportes were included in Scylla's Metamorphosis (1589) and again in Rosalynde itself. It is also quite clear that when writing this novel he had the Shepherd's Calendar in his mind, for Montanus' eclogue imitates the "rustic" language of Spenser's poems. He would, of course, be well acquainted with Greene's Pandosto and Menaphon. It is very likely too, that he was influenced by the pastoral episodes in the Orlando

---

(1) See Kastner. Athenaeum. No. 4017.

(2) pp. 40-44.



Furioso and Gerusalemme Liberata, which seem to have made a great impression on their Elizabethan readers; Lodge refers to them in Euphues Shadow: "MEDOR in the desarts found no small cause of mirth --- (and) TASSOES EIRMINIA finding no safetie in court, was succoured in a cot"<sup>(1)</sup>. Perhaps it was the Orlando epics that suggested the forest of Arden as the setting for the woodland part of his story, which in its turn may have suggested to Shakespeare the change from the Rosader of Lodge's novel to the Orlando of As You Like It.

Lodge's excursions into the realms of the pastoral show him steadily moving away from literary tradition. In Forbonius and Prisceria, his first romance, the pastoral motives are entirely of a conventional character. Solduvius, on discovering his daughter's affection for Forbonius, removes her to a grange in the country, hoping by this means to separate the lovers, but Forbonius discovers her hiding-place and repairs to the house of a friend, which fortunately adjoins Solduvius' grange. He wanders about by day in shepherd's attire and by his skill in music wins the confidence of Prisceria's guardian, who, sad to see her melancholy, allows Forbonius to sing and play in her presence.

Rosalynde, with its fusion of the native and literary tradition, stands midway in the treatment of pastoral motives, between this early novel and Euphues Shadow, where the shepherds who appear at the rustic gathering described towards the close, in their "best sheepes Russet, wearing statelie greene laces on their strawne hattes, with a great Nosegaye before like the

---

(1) Euphues Shadow, p. 74. Cf. for further references to Angelica and Medor. Scillaes Metamorphosis, p. 11, and A Margarite of America, p. 48.

fether of a forehorse", and leaning "croslegd" on their  
 "staffes" <sup>"casting"</sup> / <sup>(1)</sup> sheepes eyes" on their sweethearts,  
 have lost all kinship with the Shepherds of Arcadian  
 romance.

### III. HISTORY.

In his use of history as a source for a prose story Lodge was abreast of the dramatists who were beginning to draw from the same source, and in prose fiction was the first in the field, before both Nash and Deloney. In two of his novels he made use of material from chronicles - in The Historie of Robert second Duke of Normandy (1591) and in William Long beard (1593).

#### Lodge's debt to the Croniques de Normendie.

Dr. Breul in his book on Sir Gowther was the first to point out Lodge's debt to this French chronicle. The French Vie of Robert the Devil formed the basis of Lodge's story, as has been shown, but he filled it out with the seemingly more authentic story of Robert the Devil as told in the opening chapters of the Croniques de Normendie. Nash had laughed at "the feigned nowhere acts of Arthur of the rounde table, Arthur of litle Brittain, Sir Tristram, Hewon of Burdeaux, the Squire of low degree, the foure sons of Amon, with infinite others", and Lodge in his rewriting of the romance of Robert the Devil was careful to insist on the "true, and historicall" foundation of his story,

(1) Euphues Shadow, p. 73.

(2) Nash, Works, ed. McKerrow, Vol. I. p. 11.

not only in the title but also in the Epistle "to the Curteous Reader": "I haue vppon the earnest request of some my good friends, drawne out of the old and ancient antiquaries, the true life of Robert second Duke of Normandie".<sup>(1)</sup> Accordingly, where the stories told in the romance and the chronicle differ, it is the details of the Chronicle that Lodge follows; thus -

- (a) Lodge. Aubert marries the sister of the Duke  
of Normandy. (2)  
Chronicle. " " " " " " " " (3)  
Vie. Ouberte " " daughter " " " " (4)
- (b) Lodge. Robert cuts his schoolmaster's throat with a penknife, while he is asleep, after being chastised. (5)  
Chronicle. "Qua(n)d Robert eut este battu, il espia son maistre ----- tant qu'il le trouua dormant: & d'vn cousteau le tua." (6)  
Vie. "It fell vpon a daye that his scole mayster sholde chastyse Robert & wolde haue made hy(m) to haue lefte his cursed co(n)dycyons, but Robert gate a murder or (=murderous?) bodkyn & thrust his mayster in the bely." (7)

In all probability Lodge worked with the Norman Chronicle at his elbow, for in many places his words are a literal translation of the French:

- (a) Lodge. "Yea such and so many were his mischiefes, that it was wondered at, yt the earth did not sink vnder him in respect of his vngratiousnesse". (8)  
Chronicle. "Il fit ta(n)t de maux que c'estoit merueilles que la terre ne fondoit sous luy." (9)

---

(1) Nash. Works. ed. McKerrow, Vol. I, p. 4.

(2) Historie of Robert, etc., p. 5.

(3) L'Histoire et Cronique de Normendie. Rouen. 1589. Sig. ai.

(4) Robert the deuyll. Printed Wynkyn de Worde.n.d. Sig.Ai.b.

(5) Pp. 13-14.

(6) Sig. ai b.

(7) Sig. av.b.

(8) P. 12.

(9) Sig. ai b.

(b) Lodge. "At last he arriued at a Nunnerie distant one league from Roan ---- where ---- he made choice of the fairest ---- and dragged her ----- into a shady Wood neere adioyning ---- (and) cut off both her papps." (1)

Chronicle. "Robert se partit tout arme, & vint a vn reclusage distant d'vne lieue de Rouen, ou il auoit femmes qui viuoyent religieusement ----- Robert entra deda(n)s --- & print laquelle qu'il luy pleut a force, & la mena au bois & la viola, & depuis luy trancha les mammelles". (2)

(c) Lodge. "In an Abbey neere to Lisseux he entered and slew all the Monks, in that they would not shew their treasures". (3)

Chronicle. "En vne Abbaye pres de Lysieux Robert occit tous les moynes pource qu'ils auoyent esconduit d'argent qu'il leur dema(n)doit". (4)

The Chroniques was clearly a very popular work. Between 1487, when the first edition of Guillaume le Tailleu<sup>(5)</sup> was printed, and 1610, ten editions had appeared, and there exist between thirty and forty manuscripts "tous offrant entre eux de plus ou moins grandes différences"<sup>(6)</sup>. These printed editions of the Chronicle differ from one another mainly in orthography and phraseology. They fall into two groups; the first five editions (i.e., all the editions in black letter) present substantially the same text, with slight differences, as against the last five (in Roman type) which present far fewer variations among themselves, and those few orthographical.

---

(1) PP. 17-18.

(2) Sig. aij.

(3) P. 21.

(4) Sig. aij.b.

(5) See Michel (F.) Les Croniques de Normendie, publiées pour la première fois d'après deux manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi. Rouen. 1837. Préface pp. lxxxv-xcvi.

(6) Pothier (A.) Le Miracle de Nostre Dame de Robert le Dyable. Publié pour la première fois d'après un MS. du xiv e siècle de la Bibliothèque du Roi. Rouen, 1836. p. 153 footnote.

An examination of the eight editions that had appeared up till 1591 when The Historie of Robert second Duke of Normandy was printed suggests that if Lodge was using a printed work at all it was one of the early editions of the Croniques to which he had  
(1)  
access.

- (a) Lodge tells us that "AUBERT the first Duke of that Countrey (Normandy), by some supposed to be RON of Denmarke, began to signorize in the same about the yeare --- 750". (2)

The editions in black letter have Rou. (3)  
" " " Roman " " Rollo. (4)

- (b) When Lodge speaks of the castle of Turnigue, which Robert the Devil seized and made his stronghold, he gives an older form of the name - "The strong Castell of Tornide", and points out that it is that "very Turnigue that flourisheth at this day". (5)

The editions in black letter also give two forms of the name - "Cestuy aubert auoit ung chasteau au pres de rouen q(ue) estoit nom(m)e Tourinde, & est le mo(n)t ou il seoit en com(m)un la(n)gage nomme turingue". Only one form is given in the Roman type editions - "lequel (Aubert) auoit vn chasteau au pres de Rouen, scitue sur vn mont que l'on appelloit Turingue". (6)

- (c) Moreover, there are in the editions in Roman type additional place and personal names (such as the mention of Adrian I, and the forest of Roueray) which are not in the editions in black letter and not in Lodge's story. (7)

No one extant version of the chronicle, however, covers all Lodge's historical additions to the romance and it is possible that in his zeal to give his readers "true

---

(1) Only one of the black letter editions of the Croniques (that printed by Iehan Bruges about 1505), is in the British Museum. It differs from the other early editions (in the Bibliothèque Nationale) in one important respect, namely in its omission of any mention of the "Lorrains" on whose behalf Aubert engages in warfare with the "Vermandois". As Lodge mentions both the "Loraynes" and the "Vermandois" (p.10) it cannot be this edition of the Chronicle he was using.

(2) P. 5.

(3) Croniques. Rouen. 1505? Sig. a1a.

(4) L'Histoire et Cronique, etc. Rouen. 1589. Sig. a1.

(5) P. 19.

(6) Croniques. Rouen. 1505? Sig. a1b.

(7) L'Histoire et Cronique, etc. Rouen. 1589. Sig. a1 and a1j (= a1ij).

and historical" matter he consulted other authorities as the phrase "drawne out of the old and ancient anti-quaries" suggests, but no source for the somewhat vague description of Aubert's campaign against the Vermandois or the building of Turnigue, which are found in Lodge's novel and not in the Vie or the Croniques, seems to be discoverable. Dr. Breul suggested the possibility of Lodge's having had access to some more remote source (1) than the Chronicle, but as the sources of the Croniques are not now extant, this question must remain undecided. Possibly Lodge was using some manuscript of the Chronicle. The phrase "old and ancient antiquaries" would certainly better describe a manuscript than a printed book. Cf. Appendix ii.

Lodge's use of Historical Material in William Long beard.

The material for Lodge's second historical novel William Long beard was in all probability taken from Fabyan's Chronicles. The story of William Fitzosbert, a popular demagogue of the reign of Richard I, who ended his career at Tyburn in 1196, finds a place in the work of most mediaeval and sixteenth century chroniclers. The account of his activities given in Fabyan, Grafton, Holinshed, Stow's Annales or the Polychronicon is substantially that given by Lodge, but certain details peculiar to Fabyan's Chronicles and William Long beard, not to be found in any one of the other accounts, point to the fact that it was Fabyan that Lodge was using and not Stow's Annales, as Collier stated. (2)

---

(1) See <sup>Breul as</sup> above p. 100.

(2) Collier (J.P.) Illustrations of Old English Literature. London. 1865. The Life and Death of William Long beard, Vol. II. Introduction. p. ii. "The story of "William Longbeard" was derived by Lodge from Stow's Annales p. 240. ed. 1608. and similar authorities".

One of the most important clues in Lodge's story that helps towards an identification of its source, is his use of three proper names - Peter Nowlay (as the name of a cobbler, whose widow Longbeard defends against the attempted robbery of the sum of forty marks), Robert Besaunt, (as the name of her assailant), and Gerard de Antiloche, (whom Lodge describes as "eldest" of the bailiffs sent to quell the disturbance caused by Longbeard). All three names Sir Edmund Gosse includes in his list of "Fictitious Names", which is to be found at the end of the fourth volume of the Hunterian Club reprint of Lodge's Works. They prove to have been taken, however, from the lists of those who held the office of Bailiff in London included in some of the chronicles. The entries are to be found in Fabyan as follows:-

|                          |                           |     |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|-----|
| Anno Domini MClxxx.xiii. | Anno Domini MClxxx.xiiii. |     |
| Balliui.                 | Nicholas Duke.            |     |
|                          | Anno iiii                 |     |
|                          | Petyr Nowlay.             | (1) |
| Anno Domini MClxxx.xvi.  | Anno Domini MClxxx.xvii.  |     |
| Balliui.                 | Robert Besaunt.           |     |
|                          | Anno vii.                 |     |
|                          | Iokell le Iosne.          | (2) |
| Anno Domini MClxxx.xvii. | Anno Domini MClxxx.xviii. |     |
| Balliui.                 | Gerarde de Antiloche.     |     |
|                          | Anno viii.                |     |
|                          | Robert Duraunt.           | (3) |

Not all the chronicles include the names of these bailiffs. They are not given by Holinshed nor Stow in his Annales, but they are included in the chronicles of Fabyan and Grafton. Grafton gives them at the end  
(4)  
of his chronicle; the forms in which he gives the names

(1) Fabyan. The New Chronicles of England and France. Reprinted from Pynson's edition of 1516. London. 1811. p. 302.

(2) Ibid. p. 304.

(3) " p. 305.

(4) Grafton's Chronicle; or History of England. London 1809. Vol. II, p. 589 et seq.

Lodge borrowed are - Peter Nowley, Robert Besant and Gerard Antiloch. It will be seen that the form in which the names appear in Lodge's romance is nearer to that in which they appear in Fabyan than in Grafton; it is also more likely that the names caught Lodge's eye as he was reading over the text than that he deliberately looked them out at the end of Grafton's Chronicle.

Almost conclusive as evidence of Lodge's having used Fabyan's Chronicles as the basis of his novel is his reproduction of Fabyan's confusion of the date at which the disturbances caused by Longbeard took place. Fabyan gives it, wrongly, as 1197, and the eighth year of Richard's reign. Lodge makes the same mistake giving the date "the eighth yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of our Lorde 1197". The date at which the disturbances actually took place was 1196 and the seventh year therefore of the reign of Richard I, and it is so given by all the above mentioned chroniclers save Grafton, who gives the right date (1196) but the wrong year (the eighth), following Fabyan.

That Lodge must have used Fabyan's Chronicles can be substantiated - if further proof be needed - by reference to other details of information that Fabyan and Lodge have in common which are not to be found in any one of the other chroniclers. After Fabyan's, ~~XXXXXX~~ the accounts given in the Polychronicon and Grafton come closest to that given by Lodge, and this is explained by the fact that Fabyan drew on Higden for much of his material in this part of his history,

(1) P. 306.

(2) P. 7.

(3) Vol. I, p. 226.



while Grafton, in his turn, drew on Fabyan. Higden, however, does not give the above mentioned names, and Grafton gives no account of the seditious sermon preached by Longbeard (given in full by Fabyan and elaborated by Lodge) but refers his reader for the substance of it to the Polychronicon or Fabyan - "And then he preached vnto them, the which Sermon is at length set out in Reynulph, the vij. booke, and xxx Chapter, And likewise in Fabyan"<sup>(1)</sup>.

As has been seen, Lodge had made use of historical material in The Historie of Robert second Duke of Normandy, but "Robert the Devil" remains romantic rather than historical. In William Long beard the historical matter forms the body of the story, which Lodge filled out, not with "strange" and romantic adventures of a chivalric nature, but with incidents from the lives of the poorer citizens among whom Longbeard worked. His novel has therefore a two-fold interest in the history of English fiction.

In the first place it is an early experiment in the historical novel, one year before Nash's Unfortunate Traveller, and four or five years before the historical novels of Deloney. The suggestion for the work in all probability came to Lodge from the Mirror for Magistrates. At the close of the story the life of Longbeard is held up as a warning for all such seditious traitors: "Thus endeth the life of WILLIAM Long beard: a glasse for all sorts to looke into, wherein the high minded may learne to know the meane, and corrupt consciences may reade the confusion of their owne wickednes"<sup>(2)</sup>. In the same year, moreover, as

---

(1) Vol. I, p. 227.

(2) P. 37.

that in which William Long beard was printed, Lodge appended to his sonnet-sequence Phyllis a complaint on the Mirror for Magistrates model, drawing his material from one of the later additions to that work,<sup>so</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> This method of approach to history was clearly in his mind at this time. The historical drama which was reaching the height of its popularity about the time when Lodge was writing this novel may have opened his eyes to the possibility of working up historical material into a prose story. An interesting addition which Lodge makes to the story as told by Fabyan, which suggests the influence of the drama, is an account of an interview between the King and Longbeard. When Longbeard's activities become a source of danger, Richard I expounds to him personally the accepted Tudor views on "innovation": "For (said he) WILLIAM, whoe seeth not whereto these routes tend? whoe thinketh not that riot will follow them? The labouring men that were kept from innouations by their worke, are now capable of all change and nouelties in their idlenesse: In liuing as they doo, they rather are drawne to detest labor, then to follow it: wherthrough the offices and mechanicall crafts in the cittie doo cease, and by the omission of industrie riseth ~~asmuch~~ the pretermission of dutie. For this cause, as you haue care of my loue, incite them not to too much libertie".<sup>(1)</sup>

In the second place Lodge's novel is interesting inasmuch as it leaves the exalted plane on which the Elizabethan novel had so far moved, and turns to "the short and simple annals of the poor" for material. Many of Lodge's additions to the story are of a domestic

---

(1) P. 24.

character that anticipate the novels of Deloney.

William Longbeard has "more Prentises clubs at his command, then the best Courtier had seruants to attend (1) him"; when pursued he "stept to a poore Carpenter who staid in Cheape for worke, and taking his Axe from him, desperatlie assailed his pursuers" (2); and when finally he is forced to seek sanctuary in Bow Church "thither repaired all the poore commons, some with bats, some with spittes" (3) to aid the champion of their cause.

The inability of the Elizabethan to forego the conventional love story (seen also in the Unfortunate Traveller in Chettle's Piers Plainnes and in Deloney's novels) is illustrated in Lodge's introduction of Maudeline. The chroniclers speak of William's "con-cubine" and Lodge, acting on this suggestion, provided Longbeard with a mistress, "A perse for beautie, and the parragon of perfections, hir looks full of quickening puritie, were able to animate loue in Marbel, nature could doo no more but wonder at hir owne handiworke; & art had nought but shadowes, in respect of such a substance" (4). The same romantic tendency is seen in the inclusion of songs, odes, and sonnets which Longbeard wrote for his mistress, as well as in the introduction of ~~XXX~~ a rival, in the person of Arthur Browne, whom Longbeard, without compunction, murders.

For the most part William Long beard is dull reading. It has not the originality of Nash's treatment

---

(1) P. 7.

(2) P. 29.

(3) P. 30.

(4) Pp. 17-18. Cf. Antony and Cleopatra, Act V, Sc. ii, l. 96 et seq.

"nature wants stuff  
To vie strange forms with fancy; yet to imagine  
An Antony, were nature's piece 'gainst fancy,  
Condemning shadows quite."

of history in the Unfortunate Traveller, nor the breadth of canvas and robustness of Deloney's historical novels, but parts of the story have a certain vigour and raciness, in particular the scene between Nowlay's widow and Besaunt, at the end of which the "sometime bailife of London", worsted in his attempt to embezzle the money entrusted to him by her husband, takes his departure "puffing, sweating, and swearing, that he would be re-  
(1)  
uenged on hir".

#### IV. THE ALLEGED SPANISH SOURCE OF "A MARGARITE OF AMERICA".

In the Epistle "to the Gentlemen Readers" Lodge declares he found the story told in A Margarite of America in the library of a Jesuit college at Santos in Brazil: "Som foure yeres since being at sea with M. Candish (whose memorie if I repent not, I lament not) it was my chance in the librarie of the Jesuits in Sanctum to find this historie in the Spanish tong, which as I read delighted me, and delighting me wonne me, and winning me, made me write it"<sup>(2)</sup>. So far, however, no Spanish source of the novel has come to light, nor does a reading of the story suggest that it was of Spanish origin since it bears no relation to the general trend of Spanish fiction in the sixteenth century - chivalric, sentimental, picaresque or pastoral.

It might, therefore, be supposed that Lodge's indication of a Spanish source was merely the well-worn literary device which he himself had employed in Rosalynde, when he advertised his work as "Euphues golden

(1) P. 13.

(2) Margarite of America, p. 4.

legacie: found after his death in his cell at Silixedra" and "fetched from the Canaries. By T.L. Gent". But although no Spanish source has been found to corroborate Lodge's words, external evidence would suggest that there was some truth in his statement. In the first place, this storyteller's device is usually quite patently a device, and Lodge's reference to a Spanish source of A Margarite of America is clearly to be put in a quite different category from the "fetching" of Rosalynde "Euphues golden legacie" from an earlier voyage to the Canaries with Captain Clarke. Secondly, we know from independent testimony that "many captains and young gentlemen" who accompanied Cavendish on his voyage were for a time lodged in the Jesuits' college (1) that Lodge mentions, and it is, therefore, quite possible that he found there some book which furnished him with at least suggestions for his story. Thirdly, where he elsewhere indicates some source for his stories a source is usually to be found; rather than parading an authority where there was none, Lodge was apt to under-acknowledge his indebtedness to others. And fourthly, had he wished to recommend his story to English readers he would surely have found some more popular source for it than a library of the Jesuits in Spanish South America.

There seems then little reason for rejecting Lodge's supposed source as merely a story-teller's device. What kind of book he was using we do not know beyond the fact that it was a "historie in the

---

(1) See Purchas His Pilgrimes. Glasgow. 1906, Vol. XVI, p. 181, in Anthony Knivet's account of Cavendish's voyage: "Master Cooke Captaine of the Vice-admirall, went Captaine of all the companie that went ashore; he favoured me very much, and commanded mee to take a Friars Cell to lodge in, in the Colledge of Jesus, where hee himselfe lodged with many Captaines and Young Gentlemen".

Spanish tongue". There is nothing to say whether it was in print or manuscript; whether it was prose, verse or drama.

How far he was indebted to this source can, however, be determined to some extent. It is quite clear that Lodge embellished his story considerably. He acknowledges as much in the dedication to Lady Russell - "Yet if it please you ----- to look into that which I have slenderly written, I doubt not but that your memory shall acquaint you with my diligence, and my diligence may deserue your applause"<sup>(1)</sup>. The work contains besides the embellishments common to all his novels (Euphuistic similes, Latin quotations, proverbs from the Adagia of Erasmus) translations from sixteenth century Italian poets (Martelli and Paschale)<sup>(2)</sup> and five passages translated from the Nuova Seconda Selva of Gieronimo Giglio, an Italian imitator of the Silva de Varia Lecion of Mexia, upon whose work Lodge had already drawn for the "most pleasant and prettie histories" appended to William Long beard.<sup>(3)</sup> One of these passages (Argias' discourse on counsel) is derived ultimately from a Spanish source, the Menosprecio de Corte y Alabanza de Aldea of Guevara, but there is no doubt that the immediate source of this embellishment to the tale was Italian.<sup>(4)</sup> A Margarite of America is, therefore, most certainly not a mere translation.

(1) P. 3.

(2) The poems which Lodge translates and ascribes to Dolce are translations not from Dolce but from Paschale. See later p. 213.

(3) See later p. 121 for these borrowings from the Nuova Seconda Selva in A Margarite of America.

(4) See later p. 125.

While, however, the plot of A Margarite of America bears no general resemblance to Spanish fiction of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, an examination of the story reveals some interesting affinities with the drama. Whatever the immediate source of Lodge's novel, the ultimate model for its main plot and tragic close is to be found in the Hercules plays of classical drama, and that Lodge himself was deliberately modelling his plot on that of the Hercules plays or recognised the similarity of his source to the Hercules story is clear from Arsadachus' words when he recovers from the madness in which he has slain his wife, child and Margarita -

"Now can I say with Hercules

"Plenus malorum sum iam nec superest locus  
Aliis novis recipiendis". (1)

The principal figures in A Margarite of America have all their prototypes in the classical story. Arsadachus plays the role of Hercules, Margarita that of Dejanira, Diana that of Megara and Arsinous that of Nessus; and the magic box, given to Margarita by Arsinous who has been biding his time to revenge himself on Arsadachus, the murderer of his daughter and son-in-law and instigator of his own banishment, plays in A Margarite of America the part the poisoned shirt of Nessus plays in the Hercules story, and, in a similar manner, brings

---

(1) P. 91. Arsadachus' words appear to be taken from some Latin translation of the Hercules Furens of Euripides. In none of the sixteenth century translations of Euripides' plays in the British Museum do the actual words Lodge quotes occur. The nearest is the translation published at Basle, about 1541.

"The: Contine os, ne superba loquens maius patiaris  
Her: Plenus sum malorum neq; amplius est ubi collocetur."  
(Sig. Tt.4)

The same translation was published at Basle in 1558.

(2) Cf. on p. 88. Lodge here speaks of the cause of Arsadachus' madness as a "medicine". "Arsinous ----- told her that the nature of the medicine which he gave her, was such, that if Arsadachus were constant to her, it would increase his affection; if false, it would procure madness:"

about its tragic close. Margarita, like Dejanira, thinks the gift is a love charm.

A Margarite of America unites therefore the motives of classical dramas on the madness and death of Hercules and it is interesting to note how well Lodge's story fits into dramatic form. It can be divided into well defined scenes. There is no going back to pick up the thread of the narrative. Had Shakespeare dramatised this story he would have met with none of the difficulties in time scheme that the adapting of Rosalynde for the stage involved. The opening of the story suggests a dramatic rather than a narrative model. All Lodge's other stories begin in the fabler's "Once upon a time" manner. Euphues Shadow, for example, opens - "At such time as OCTAVIUS possessed the monarchy of the whole world ----- there dwelt at Rauenna ----- (1) a yong Gentleman". A Margarite of America opens with the scene set for a battle between the two armies of Mosco and Cusco: "The blushing morning gan no sooner appeare ----- but both the armies (awaked by the harmonie of the birds ----) began to arme them in their tents, & speedily visit their trenches: Among the rest the two emperors (the one Protomachus of Mosco, the other, Artosogon of Cusco) ----- the prefixed houre of their fight alreadie arriued, sodainely armed themselves, commanding their coronels by sound of trumpet (2) to draw out their companies into the plain". It is impossible to read this opening paragraph of A Margarite of America and not to think of the drama rather than the novel. There are parts of the story that might

---

(1) Euphues Shadow, p. 9.

(2) A Margarite of America, p. 5.



have come straight from the theatre; the scene in  
 (1)  
 Protomachus' bedchamber, for example, Margarita enters  
 as soon as it is day and tells her father her supposed  
 dream of Thebion's treachery. Protomachus is disturbed  
 but attempts to allay her fears. Arsadachus rushes in,  
 expresses his relief at Protomachus' safety and unfolds  
 the conspiracy of Thebion. Thebion then enters but has  
 hardly uttered the words "God saue the Emperor" when  
 Arsadachus runs him through with his sword. The story  
 has a Fortinbras-like close. The emperor of Mosco  
 arrives with his army in Cusco to find the principal  
 actors in this tragedy dead - Arsadachus, Margarita,  
 Diana and her son.

A Margarite of America is, indeed, a prose re-  
 that  
 venge tragedy. Arsinous's own words suggest this model  
 was in the writer's mind: "O Emperour I heare their  
 discontented grieffe crying out in mine eares, and  
 appealing to thee by my tongue for iustice, me thinkes  
 bloudlesse Minecius standeth by thy throne vpbraiding  
 thee of his seruices, and conuicting thee of ingrati-  
 tude. Philenia cryeth iustice ----- root out that  
 bloodthirsty yongman, root out that murtherer, roote  
 out that monster, from the face of nature, that the  
 poore deceased ghostes may be appeased and their poore  
 (2)  
 father pacified". For his model Lodge need have sought  
 no farther than the English stage where The Spanish  
 Tragedy of Kyd and the early Hamlet (to which Lodge  
 alludes in a work published in the same year as A Mar-  
 (3)  
 garite of America) were popular. His work has points

(1) Ibid. pp. 36-9.

(2) A Margarite of America, p. 41.

(3) Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse, p. 62.

of resemblance with Kyd's Spanish Tragedy. Both open with a battle and a marriage arranged for reasons of state; Arsadachus plots to kill Minecius to gain Philenia as Balthazar plots to kill Horatio to gain Belimperia. In both there is the treachery of the villain towards his confederate; Arsadachus betrays Thebion, as Balthazar betrays Pedringano; and Arsinous, like Hieronimo, awaits an opportunity for revenge on the slayer of his child.

The closeness of these parallels might suggest the idea that Lodge's allusions to the "historie in the Spanish tong" might be elaborate camouflage for the "Spanish" Tragedy produced much nearer home. It is, however, more probable that the immediate model for his story was a genuine Spanish tragedy on the Senecan model. From about the mid-sixteenth century till near its close, tragedy of a highly sensational character flourished on the Spanish stage. Cervantes contributed to the fashion, and perhaps the title of Kyd's most popular play was meant to suggest likeness rather than indebtedness to similar Spanish productions. None of the extant <sup>Spanish</sup> plays described by Moratin, Schack, or <sup>(1)</sup> <sup>(2)</sup> <sup>(3)</sup> Schaeffer, correspond at all closely to Lodge's story, but there are plenty of indications that a plot such as is unfolded in A Margarite of America would have been quite normal in Spanish tragedy. In the tragedy of Attila Furioso by Cristóbal de Virues, for example, a motive not unlike that in A Margarite of America is employed. Attila, as the result of a poison given to

---

(1) Fernandez de Moratín. Orígenes del Teatro Español. Paris. pub. Garnier.n.d. (1914.)

(2) Schack. Historia de la Literatura y del Arte Dramático en España. Traducida directamente del alemán al castellano. Por Eduardo de Mier. Madrid. 1885. 5 Vols.

(3) Schaeffer (Adolf). Geschichte der Spanischen Nationaldramas. Leipzig. 1890. 2 vols.

him by Flaminia, goes mad, strangles his wife and  
 Flaminia and then falls dead himself (as Arsadachus  
 as the result of the opening of the magic box given  
 to him by Margarita, goes mad, slays his wife, child  
 and Margarita, and then himself). There are, moreover,  
 in Lodge's work certain features that would suggest a  
 Spanish rather than an English origin. One of the  
 most strongly marked features in Lodge's story is the  
 brutality manifested in certain parts. Thebion's dead  
 body is thrown to the lions; the eyes and tongue of the  
 page who bears witness against Arsadachus are cut out;  
 the emperor of Cusco when he hears of Arsadachus' sec-  
 ret marriage to Diana has her father "torne in pieces  
 at the tailles of foure wilde horses, then casting his  
 mangled members into a litter -- sent them as a present  
 to Diana in a present, vowing to serue her in the same  
 sauce her father had tasted", and Arsadachus to revenge  
 this cruelty has his father's tongue and right hand cut  
 off. The wholesale slaughter at the close abounds in  
 similar touches. Spanish tragedy is full of similar  
 savagery. In the tragedy of Attila Furioso mentioned  
 above Attila has the ears and nostrils of an ambassador  
 cut off because he had addressed him disrespectfully,  
 and a conquered king is thrown to the lions. In the

---

(1) Moratín, p. 182.

(2) A Margarite of America, p. 42.

(3) " " " p. 39.

(4) " " " p. 70.

(5) " " " p. 72.

(6) " " " p. 88.

(7) Moratín - Orígenes, etc., p. 182.

(8) " " " p. 183.

Comedia del Principe Tirano a man is fastened to a crate and dragged through the streets by two horses and on arriving at the place of execution the executioner cuts off his feet, hands and head; his head is then impaled and his dismembered parts scattered through the streets. (1) And, finally, in support of the theory of a Spanish tragedy as the source of the story, it may be urged that a Jesuit's library would be a very likely place for such a book to be found, since the Jesuits had behind them a very strong dramatic tradition and were well known in the sixteenth century for their dramatic performances.

Lodge may very well, therefore, have come across a play (in print or manuscript) in Santos which furnished him with the Senecan elements of his story and may have been encouraged to try what could be done in prose with a theme similar to that which Kyd had treated with success for the theatre.

In any case, whatever its source, the novel stands out as the most striking illustration of the influence of the drama upon fiction in the sixteenth century.

---

(1) Moratín. Orígenes, etc., p. 180.

Lodge's work, therefore, marks a transition between the novel of the eighties and the novel of the later nineties, linking on both to the work of Sidney and Greene, and on to that of Nash and Deloney. In the title-page or epilogues to all his tales, except the last, A Margarite of America, he calls attention, in the fashion of the seventies and eighties, to the profit, as well as the pleasure, to be derived from his stories. He has his predecessor's love of "forged" names of a pseudo-classical or alliterative character - Philamis and Philamour, Rosalynde and Rosader, Gerismund and Torismund. On the other hand he has Arthur Browne, Robert Besaunt, Peter Nowlay and, as has been pointed out, he seeks to give his stories historical and geographical solidity.

It is not, however, merely as a transitional writer carrying on the work of predecessors, but as an experimenter on his own lines that Lodge the novelist is important. Each of his stories represents a new venture and more than once he anticipates later developments. Not all his experiments are as successful as his combination of the pastoral and the greenwood outlaw tale, but in less happy attempts he has the merit of priority. In Forbonius and Prisceria Lodge was among the first to make use of pastoral and Byzantine romance, some years ahead of Greene, and in date of publication, ahead of Sidney. William Long beard anticipates the novels of Nash and Deloney and may perhaps be called our first piece of historical fiction. And finally there is good reason for attributing to him the unique experiment of adapting for his Margarite of America a Senecan play.

APPENDIX I.Short List of English Verse Romances printed  
before 1600.

The following list of mediaeval verse romances printed before 1600 has been compiled with a view to illustrating the survival of the romances up to Lodge's day. A list of the printed prose romances is to be found in Mr. Esdaille's List of English Tales and Prose Romances printed before 1720. The following list has been compiled from earlier bibliographies and the catalogues of the big public libraries in England. It is necessarily incomplete as many of these romances are extant in unique copies, as the following list will show, and it is exceedingly probable that <sup>other</sup> unique copies exist in private libraries of which no printed catalogue is available. The authorities consulted are:

(a) Catalogues of Public Libraries:

Catalogues of the British Museum.

Catalogus Librorum Impressorum Bibliothecae  
Bodleianae in Academia Oxoniensi. Oxford 1843.

Catalogus Impressorum Librarum Bibliotheca  
Bodleiana Annis 1835-1845. Oxford 1851.

A Catalogue of the Library of Edmund Malone, Esq.  
Now deposited in the Bodleian Library. Oxford  
1836.

Catalogue of the printed Books and Manuscripts  
bequeathed by Francis Douce Esq. to the Bod-  
leian Library. Oxford. 1840.

Sayle (C.E.). Early English Printed Books in the  
University Library Cambridge (1475-1640).  
Cambridge. 1900.

Catalogue of the John Rylands Library.  
Manchester 1899.

(b) Earlier Bibliographies:

Brunet. Manuel du Libraire. Paris 1863.

Hazlitt (W.C.) Handbook of the Popular Poetical and Dramatical Literature of Great Britain from the Invention of Printing to the Restoration. London. 1867.

Lowndes. Bibliographers' Manuel. Corrected and enlarged. Bohn. London (1858).

(c) Other Authorities:

Ames. Typographical Antiquities. London. 1818.

Duff (E.C.) Hand-Lists of English Printers 1501-1556.

Esdaille. A List of English Tales and Prose Romances printed before 1720. London 1912.

Robert Laneham's Letters. Ed. Furnivall. Ballad Society. London. 1871.

Publications of the Early English Texts Society.

A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London. 1554-1640 A.D. Ed. Arber. London. 1875.

Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers Company of works entered between the years 1557 and 1570. ed. Collier. Shakespeare Society. London. 1848.  
The same Vol. II. 1849.

BEVIS, SIR OF HAMPTON.

i. Wynkyn de Worde. 1500. B.L. Quarto.

U.L.C. (Fragment of one leaf.)

Sayle adds as being in U.L.C. "Fragment of two leaves". Duff. (Handlists) gives only one.

ii. Pynson. N.D. B.L. Quarto.

Bodl. (Douce).

iii. Copland. N.D. B.L. Quarto.

B.M.

iv. Easte. 1582. B.L. Quarto.

Bodl.

King's Coll. Cambs.

The Bodl. Cat. gives the date of printing as 1528. The date is an error for 1582. Sir Bevis was licensed to Easte (S.R. II. 408) on the 12th of March 1581-2.

BEVIS, SIR OF HAMPTON (Contd.).

- [v. Licensed to T. Marshe. 1558-9. (S.R.I.95).]
- [vi. Licensed to Tysdale. 1560-61. (S.R.I.156).]
- [vii. Licensed to J. Alde. 1569-70. (S.R.I.399).]

CURTESY, KNIGHT OF, AND THE FAIR LADY OF FAGUELL.

- i. Copland. N.D. B.L. Quarto.  
Bodl.

DEGORE, SIR.

- i. Wynkyn de Worde. N.D. B.L. Quarto.  
Britwell.
- ii. Copland. N.D. B.L. Quarto.  
B.M.
- iii. Kyng. 1560. B.L. Quarto.  
Bodl. (Selden).

EGER, SIR. SIR GRAHAME AND SIR GRAY STEEL.

Hazlitt says that this was printed before 1577.

"Printed in the year 1711. This edition is reprinted in Mr. Laing's Early Metrical Tales 1826. Originally printed before 1577, and the story is mentioned in the Complaint of Scotland, published c. 1549." Hazlitt. Handbook.

EGLAMOURE, SIR.

- i. Chepman and Millar. 1508. Edinburgh. B.L. Quarto.  
Advocates Library, Edinburgh.
- ii. Copland. N.D. B.L. Quarto.  
Bodl. Selden.
- iii. John Walley. N.D.(c.1570). B.L. Quarto.  
B.M.
- [iv. Licensed to Charlwood 1581-2 (S.R.II.405).]

EMELYN, BOOK OF MAID.

- i. John Skot. N.D.(c.1540). B.L. Quarto.  
Huth. (Hazlitt).



GAWAINE, GEASTE OF.

- i. John Butler. N.D. B.L. Quarto.  
Lambeth Library - four leaves.
- ii. Thomas Petyt. N.D. B.L. Quarto.  
Bagfords Collections - last leaf only (Hazlitt).
- [iii. Licensed to John Kynge 1557-8 (S.R.I.79).]

GENERIDES, HISTORY OF THE EXCELLENT KNIGHT.

- i. Wynkyn de Worde. N.D. B.L. Quarto.  
Trin. Coll. Cambs. - fragment (Hazlitt).
- [ii. Licensed to Thomas Purfoote 1568-9 (S.R.I.389).]

GOLAGRUS AND GAWAINE.

- i. Chepman and Myllar. 1508. Edinburgh.  
Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

GUY OF WARWICK.

- i. Wynkyn de Worde. N.D.(c.1500). B.L. Quarto.  
Bodl. (Douce Fragments). One leaf.
- ii. Pynson. N.D. B.L. Quarto.  
B.M. (fragment).
- iii. Copland. N.D. B.L. Quarto.  
B.M. (imperf.)
- iv. Cawood. N.D. Quarto. (Hazlitt).  
Hazlitt does not mention any extant copy.

IPOMEDON.

- i. Wynkyn de Worde. N.D. B.L. Quarto.  
Priv. Lib. (imperf.)
- ii. Wynkyn de Worde. N.D. B.L. Quarto.  
B.M. (three fragments).
- [iii. Licensed to T. Easte 1581-2 (S.R.II.408).]

ISUMBRAS.

- i. Copland. N.D. B.L. Quarto.  
B.M.
- ii. [ ? ] N.D. B.L. Quarto.  
Bodl. Douce Fragments. One leaf.

"Mr. Douce supposed this to have been printed by Copland and refers to Garrick's copy of that edition in the British Museum, upon comparing them however, it is evidently from another press." Bodl. Cat. of the Douce Collection.

JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA.

- i. Wynkyn de Worde. N.D. ("before 1519" - Sayle). B.L. Quarto.  
U.L.C.
- ii. Pynson. 1520. B.L. Quarto.  
B.M.

LAUNFAL, SIR .

- i. Kynge. B.L. Quarto.  
Bodl.

"No perfect copy is known but a fragment is extant consisting of two perfect and six imperfect leaves. Licensed to John King the printer, and Captain Cox is reported to have had it in 1575." Hazlitt - Handbook.

Licensed to John Kynge. 1557-8. (S.R.I.79.).

? LIBEAUX DESCONNUS.

I have found no record of a printed edition of this romance. It is referred to in Richard Hyrde's Translation (c.1540) of Vives De Institutione foeminae Christianiae (See Thomas. Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry, p. 163.) It is again referred to in Wits Commonwealth. 1600. See Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit. Vol. I, p. 295.

MERLIN.

- i. Wynkyn de Worde. 1510. B.L. Quarto.  
Priv. Lib.
- ii. Wynkyn de Worde. 1529. B.L. Quarto.  
Bagford Papers - "last leaf" - Hazlitt.
- ?iii. Hawkins. 1533.

The only authority for this is Warton. History of English Poetry. London. Ward, Lock and Tyler. N.D.p.719.

OCTAVIAN.

- i. [Copland?] B.L. Quarto.

"Here begynneth Octavyan the Emperor of Rome. London (xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle) in 4, avec un bois sur le titre. Un exemplaire in-complet à la fin, et dont l'impression était attribuée à Copland est porté à 2 liv. 11 sh. dans la quatrième part de la Bibliothèque heber." Brunet. Manuel du Libraire. IV. 158.

?PARTENOPE OF BLOIS.

"I have found no record of a printed edition of this romance, but it is referred to by Hyrde (see above p. 101 under LIBEAUX DESCONNUS and Thomas. p. 163).

RICHARD COEUR DE LION.

- i. Wynkyn de Worde. 1509. B.L. Quarto (Rylands Cat.)  
So. (Bodl.)  
John Rylands.  
Bodl.

- ii. Wynlyn de Worde. 1528. B.L. Quarto.  
B.M.  
Bodl.

[iii. Licensed to T. Purfoote. 1668-9. (S.R.I.389).]

- ?iv. Copland. N.D.

"It was originally printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1528, and again by William Copland without date." Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers Company. ed. Collier. I. 199.

SQUIRE OF LOW DEGREE.

- i. Wynkyn de Worde. N.D. B.L. Quarto.  
? Four leaves sold at Sotheby's, July 1861.

- ii. Copland. N.D. B.L. Quarto.  
B.M.

[iii. Licensed to John Kynge. 1560. (S.R.I.128).]

ROBERT THE DEVIL.

- i. Wynkyn de Worde? or Rynson? N.D. B.L.  
Bodl. (six leaves).

TORRENT OF PORTUGAL.

i. Wynkyn de Worde. N.D. B.L. Quarto.  
Bodl. (fragment).

ii. Pynson. N.D. B.L. Quarto.  
Bodl. (Douce.)

TRYAMOUR, SIR.

i. Wynkyn de Worde. N.D. B.L. Quarto.  
U.L.C. (two leaves).

ii. Copland. N.D. (c. 1550) B.L. Quarto.  
B.M.

iii. Copland. N.D. B.L. Quarto.  
Bodl. (Selden.) Differs in title-page  
from i.

---

APPENDIX II.Possible Alternative Sources of The Historie of Robert  
Second Duke of Normandy.

Dr. Breul suggested that the Norman chronicle or "derren quelle" was the source which Lodge was using for his Historie of Robert second Duke of Normandy. From the parallels quoted above between the Croniques and Lodge's novel, it would appear unlikely that Lodge was using the source of the Norman Chronicle since in places the wording of his novel corresponds so closely to the wording of the chronicle. None the less there are episodes in his novel of an apparently historival character which are not in the Croniques and which would justify the supposition that he had ~~XXXXXXXX~~ access to material other than that which was to be found in the opening chapters of the printed Croniques de Normendie. These are of varying importance. Some may be nothing more than Lodge's elaboration of motives from the common stock of jest and anecdote (as, for example, Robert's offences against the friars of Ambois and the trick played upon the bishop of Caen). Of more interest are Lodge's accounts of the warfare between the Lorraines and the Vermandois and his account of the building of Turingue.

All ten editions of the Norman Chronicle state explicitly that they are not going to give any account of Aubert's campaign in aid of the Lorraines against the Vermandois "car l'hystoire en racompte assez". Lodge, however, gives a fairly full account of this expedition. He tells how Aubert came upon the Vermandois "in a faire

---

(1) See above, pp. 7<sup>3</sup>-9.

(2) Croniques de Normendie. Jehan Bruges. Rouen. 1505? Sig. A1.

plaine --- where was neither hope of flight, nor expectation of delay", and how a battle was fought in which the Lorraines had the victory "losing onely sixe hundred men in the battaile, and the Vermandoies, beside those that were taken prisoners, lost the flower of their Nobilitie, beside nine thousand Commoners who fell in that fight". In this battle Aubert "slewe the Generall on the aduerse partie, and renting the Colours from the staffe, trampled it vnder the feete of his horse in contempt of his maligners"<sup>(1)</sup>. The account of this warfare given by Lodge does not carry conviction; the locality is vague, and the slaying of the leader of the opposing army too common to heroes of romance to be allowed to carry much weight as a historical fact. There is, however, little external evidence to prove or disprove Lodge's account of this battle. If later editions of the Chronicle are correct in connecting this warfare with Griffon, the landless and therefore troublesome younger brother of Pipin, and if one is to suppose that by "the Generall on the aduerse partie", Lodge intended Griffon, then Lodge's story can be dismissed as a piece of fiction, since it is a generally accepted historical fact that Griffon was killed near Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne, in the South of France while on his way from Aquitaine to Lombardy<sup>(2)</sup>. It is by no means certain, however, that this warfare was against Griffon, since the early editions of the Chronicle suggest that Aubert was drawn into this warfare through his wife's "grant lignage". On this point<sup>(3)</sup> the MS. of the Chronicle in the British Museum is more explicit than any of the printed editions: "A pres le

---

(1) P. 11.

(2) Histoire Generale du iv<sup>e</sup> Siècle à Nos Jours. Lavisse & Rambaud. Tome I. Paris. 1896, p. 299.

(3) Bibl. du Roi. 15. Evi.

duc sen alla en une guerre contre les fromondais en laide des lorrains, car sa fe(m)me estoit du lignage du duc Garin de lorraine. Et au duc begues de besin qui fut ocis pour le porc cenglier. Mais cy se taist de leur guerre. Car le livre en racompte assez". All therefore that can be said of Lodge's story of this warfare is that his account lacks circumstantial detail, but it is possible that he may have had some fuller account than that given in the printed editions accessible to-day.

Lodge also gives an account of the building of Turingue not derived from the Chronicle: "This strong castle and fort," he says, "was first builded by Aubert against the/Brittons, where he reposed his greatest war-like prouitions, and the most part of his Treasurie".<sup>(1)</sup> As no account of the early history of Turingue (save such as is contained in the scanty accounts before quoted)<sup>(2)</sup> is forthcoming the question of the "true and historicall" foundation of this statement must be left undecided. Mention of the Britons who did about this time make inroads into Normandy suggests that Lodge may have had supplementary material. As the sources of the Croniques de Normendie are not now extant, it is impossible to judge whether the above additions made by Lodge to the historical material to be found in the extant editions of the Norman Chronicle were drawn from this source. It is possible, however, that his authority was not the source of the Cronique but some manuscript of the Cronique. As has been said the manuscript of the Norman Chronicle in the British Museum contains information not to be found in any of the extant printed editions and it is quite likely that Lodge had before him some manuscript which contained the above quoted apparently historical matter.

---

(1) P. 19.

(2) See above, p. 80 .

SECTION III.

THE NON-NARRATIVE SOURCES OF LODGE'S NOVELS.

It is impossible to determine the immediate source of all the allusions, literary, mythological and zoological, scattered through the pages of Lodge's novels. Many of them were commonplaces of Elizabethan prose style. In the two novels where the non-narrative element is most strongly marked (Euphues Shadow and A Margarite of America) it is, however, quite clear that Lodge was supplementing the common stock of allusion and ornament from some special supply of his own.

Lodge's borrowings from the Concetti of Garimberto.

Most of the saws from Plato, Menander, Euripides, Epictetus, etc., scattered through the pages of Euphues Shadow are to be traced to the Concetti of Hieronimo Garimberto, a collection of commonplaces on favourite Renaissance themes drawn up as the title states "per scriuere, & ragionar familiarmente". In its own country  
 (1) the Concetti seems to have been a very popular book since it was printed at Rome in 1551, and at Venice in  
 (2) 1552, 1556, 1562, 1563, 1567, 1579 and 1585.  
 (3) Lodge himself acknowledges Garimberto as the authority for

---

(1) Concetti di Hieronimo Garimberto, et Altri Degni Autori. Raccolti da Lui per scriuere, & ragionar familiarmente. Con nuoua aggiunta à suoi luoghi. In Venetia. MDLXXIX.

(2) See the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library.

(3) " " " " " British Museum.



(1)  
two short passages (of a few lines each) in this novel. These two acknowledged borrowings, however, by no means conclude Lodge's debt to this Italian book. Many of the "sayings of philosophers" in this work are drawn from this source. Unacknowledged borrowings from the Concetti are the following:-

Euphues Shadow.

"For flatterers are like rich tombes, on which the only name of amity is written: or worse then rauenous Crowes, who (as ANTISENES was wont to say) do only feed on dead bodyes, where flatterers corrupt the liuing spirit", (p.10).

"I answer with CLEANDER, they in times past which were not ouermuch studious of Philosophie, became most braue and renowned men by their actions, and more famous then wee be, because they practised vertue indeed, and we in these daies only vse it in woord, by which meanes they are more happy then we be". (p. 15).

"Protesting with PLATO that loue was a sage Poet, and made other Poets." (p. 20)

Concetti di Garimberto.

"Gli adulatori sono simili à certi sepolcri, ne i quali è scritto solamente il nome dell'amicitia. Antisthene diceua, che gli era manco male trouarsi tra i corui, che tra gl'adulatori, perche questi corrompono l'animo de' viui, & quelli solamente il corpo de' morti." ("Biasimare Adulatione", p. 37.)

"Cleanthe addimandato d'onde si causaua, che gli antichi, non hauendato molt'opera alla filosofia, dipoi fussero riusciti piu chiari, & piu famosi in quei tempi, che in questi, rispose: Perche allhora si esercitauano nella cosa istessa: & adesso si esercitano solamente nelle parole." ("Riprendere Attione", p.190.)

(Above marg. note "Platone".)  
L'Amore è cosi sapiente poeta che fa gli altri poeti." ("Laudare Amore", p. 146b.)

---

(1) P. 19: "But Fortune which is accustomed with greate Arte (as GARIMBERT wrighteth) to take feare from those ouer whom she most meaneth to tyrannise p-". The passage is taken from the Concetti, p. 255. "Temere la Fortuna"; "La fortuna suole artificiosamente leuare paura à coloro, che vuol poter ferir piu sicuramente."

And on p. 61: "Loue (as GARIMBERT saith) surmounteth the fortresse of the spirit, carueth the hard Diamonds, warmeth the cold Isicles that often lie hidden in the brestes of delicate Ladies". This passage is taken from p. 146b of the Concetti "Laudare Amore": "Amor vince la rocca di quell' animo, spezza quei duri diamanti, scalda quei freddi giacci, che spesso stanno nascosti ne i delicati petti di queste donne".

"learne of SOCRATES with the good Sailer to haue all necessarye instruments in a readinesse, that in faire weather and fowle stormes, thou maist be prepared for all changes, since the world consisteth by change; marke what EURIPIDES saith, euen as all ayre is penetrable to the eyes of the Eagle, so all townes & Citties are a valiant mans countrie: heere EPICETUS counsailed: euen as (saith he) it is better in health to bee layd on a meane materis, then to be sicklie on a magnificent and ritch bed: so it is better to liue happily in poore estate, then to be vnhappy in prosperitie." (pp. 36-7.)

(Marg. note: "Socrate".)  
 "Si come i nauiganti hanno instrumenti necessarij parati nella prospera, e nell'auersa nauigatione, cosi debiamo noi hauer noi parati gl'affetti dell'animo conuenienti alla buona, & alla catiua fortuna. ("Consolare di Esilio", p. 52b.) (Marg. note, Euripide.) Si come ogni qualità d'aria è penetrabile à gli occhi (sic) dell'Aquila, cosi ogni Città et paese, è patria ad vn huomo forte. (Ibid. p. 53.) (Marg. note "Epitette".) "Si come è meglio con sanità giacer' in vn pcuero e picciol matterazzo, che in vn ampio, e ricco letto starsi amalato, cosi anchora è meglio in vna picciola fortuna viuer felicemente, che in vna grande esser' infelice." ("Consolare di Pouerta", p. 54b.)

"Thou wilt say that each things according to nature is good, for so sayd TULLIE", (p. 48).

"Tutte le cose che sono secondo la natura, sono buone". (Marg. note, Cicero de Sene.) ("Consolare di Morte", p. 42b.)

"SOCRATES deusing among his familiars, newes was brought him that his sonne SOPHERINISCUS was dead, and what followed? he couered not his face with a vaile, but confirmed his heart with vertue, and in steed of bewayling him, he sayd come let vs burie him." (p. 49.)

"Stando Socrate à ragionar con altri, li fu annu(n)ciato la nuoua, che Sofronisco, suo figliuolo era morto, ond'egli troncato il ragionamento non disse altro, se non andiamo a sepelir Sofronisco." ("Consolare di Morte Immatura", p. 46.)

"Well sayd MENANDER, that he that is sick in body had neede of the Physition, but he that is crucified in spirit, had need of a friend." (p. 53.)

(Marg. note "Menandro").  
 "Chi è ammalato del corpo ha bisogno del medico, et chi è dell'animo, ha necessitá dell' amico." ("Dolersi di non essere con gli amici". p. 19b(=61b)).

"PLATO hauing long time lead a chast life, finally in his latter dayes made a sacrifice to satisfie and appease nature, in that he seemed greatly to haue offended her, by his seure chastitie." (p. 61.)

"Platone hauendo tenuto lungo tempo castissima vita, giunto al fine fece sacrificio alla natura per placarla, percioche li pareua con la castità hauerla offesa grauemente." ("Laudare Amore", p. 146b.)

"knowing with MENANDER that the enuious man is enemy to himselfe, in that his spirit combats continually in contrary passions", p. 64.

(Marg. note "Mena(n)dro".)  
 "L'inuidioso è nemico di se stesso, imperoche sempre è combattuto dalle continue passioni dell'animo suo".  
 ("Biasimare Inuidia", p. 30b.)

"more intraged than CELIUS the Senator of whome TULLY maketh mention (1) (who being angry with one of his seruants and bond men, who was alwayes most obseruant and dutifull, full of disdaine said vnto him: why doest thou not contradict mee in some thing, because we may be enemies in all things", p. 64.

"Costui è piu sdegnoso, & iracondo, che no(n) fu mai Celio senatore, ilquale essendosi adirato con vn suo cliente, che in tutte le cose gli consentiua, et vbediua, pien di sdegno gli disse: perche non mi contradici tu in qualche cosa, acciò para che siamo duè". ("Biasimare Ira", p. 29b.)

"Eneen (sic) as (saith ARISTOTLE) the smoake offending the eyes, hindereth vs from seeing those things which are before our feet: so anger assailing the mind and iudgement, blemisheth reason. NAUCRATES a man of great wisdom, was wont to say that the cholericke men resembled lampes, which the more cyle they haue the more they are inflamed", (p. 65).

(Marg. note "Aristotele".)  
 "Si come il fumo, offendendo gli occhi c'impedisce il veder quelle cose che ci sono tra i piedi, cosi l'ira assalta(n)do l'intelletto, ci offusca la ragione. (Ibid.) Naucrate huomo sapiente diceua, che gli irati sono simili alle lucerne, lequali quanto piu abondano d'olio, tanto piu s'inflammanno." (Ibid. pp. 29b-30.)

Lodge's borrowings from the Nuova Seconda Selva of Gieronimo Giglio.

A more important source of allusions, examples and illustrations in Lodge's work was the Nuova Seconda Selva of Gieronimo Giglio, an Italian continuation and imitation of the Silva de Varia Lecion of the Spanish chronicler Mexia. Upon this Italian work Lodge drew for the "manye ---- most pleasant and prettie histories" appended to William Long beard. These "short models of histories", as Lodge calls them in his dedication,

---

(1) In no edition of the Concetti is this anecdote referred to Cicero. The attribution to Cicero is apparently Lodge's own.

eleven in number, consist of collections of "examples" (such as the chapters "Of many famous men whoe ----- gaue themselues ouer to a priuate life" and "Of many learned men who --- violently and infortunatellie ended their daies"), of notable events from history (such as the stories of "Partaritus, king of Lombardie", and of Roderick last of the Goths) and of expanded anecdotes (such as the "most subtile dispute made in Antioch in the presence of King Ptolemy" and the "excellent example of continence in Frauncis Sforza"). These histories are drawn from ultimately very different (1) sources, but the immediate source of all (though Lodge (2) makes no acknowledgment) was, as Koeppel pointed out, this Italian work. Lodge's method of using his material is that of the translator rather than of the adaptor. He worked with the Italian at his elbow and followed the original sentence by sentence, adding or omitting a word or a phrase, and changing a construction, but never departing far from his original. An addition and an omission of some interest are: the addition of some English names to the examples of "learned men who ----- violently and infortunatellie ended their daies" - "Fisher and Thomas Moore were beheaded, Cranmer and Latimer burned, the rest since fresh in memorie I need not trouble you with ----" - and the omission of the closing sentence of the story

(1) The story of the dream of Aspasia, for example, goes back through the Selva to Aelian's De Varia Historia Libri xiv. Lib. xii; that of Partaritus to Paulus Diaconus' Historia Langobardorum Lib. v; that of Valasca to Aeneas Silvius' De Bohemorum Origine Cap. vii, and the anecdote of Ptolemy and the Ambassadors to Guevara's Menosprecio de Corte y Alabanza de Aldea, Cap. xiii.

(2) Koeppel, E. Studien zur Geschichte der Italianischen Novelle in der Englischen Litteratur des Sechzehnten Jahrhunderts. Strassburg. 1892. Ch. XIV, pp. 68-70.

of Roderick, last of the Goths - "Ho voluto narrare questo successo accioche gli Principi considerino molto bene, auanti che facciano dispiacere ad alcuno".

The material which Lodge selects from the Selva is, as he himself suggests, all of a quasi-historical nature. He has not included in his work any of the miscellaneous information in which this Selva, like its predecessor and successors, dealt. Within this limitation to historical or quasi-historical material Lodge seems to have aimed at providing his reader with variety, inasmuch as in the limited number of histories selected there are stories from Greek, Egyptian, Roman, Bohemian, Spanish and Italian history.

Koeppel's article pointing out Lodge's debt to the Nuova Seconda Selva seems, however, to have been overlooked and misunderstood. Lodge's indebtedness to this Italian work is not mentioned in the series of articles by Miss Scott on "Elizabethan Translations from the Italian"; she mentions the histories of Par-<sup>(1)</sup>taritus and Francis Sforza as dealing with Italian history but is clearly unacquainted with their source. It has, too, been frequently supposed that this Selva upon which Lodge drew was a translation of the original Silva de Varia Lecion of Mexia. Menéndez y Pelayo, speaking of the influence of Mexia in England, says "Da una traducción italiana de la Silva está enteramente sacada la collección de once novelas de Lodge, publicada con este título The life and death of William Longbeard." He bases his statement on Farinelli (of<sup>(2)</sup> <sup>(3)</sup>

(1) Publ. of Mod. Lang. Ass. of America. Baltimore. 1895. Vol. X. Art. vi, p. 279.

(2) Orígenes de la Novela. Tome II, p. xxxvi. Madrid. 1917.

(3) Farinelli (Arturo) "Sulle Richerche ispano-italiane di Benedetto Croce" in the Rassegna Bibliografica della Letteratura Italiana. Pisa. 1899, p. 269 (footnote, continued from p. 268) "Da una traduzione

whose words his own are a translation) acknowledging that he was not himself acquainted with Koepfel's article. Canby makes a similar statement. Even Lodge's own marginal note to a passage in Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse where he was using material from the Nuova Seconda Selva and acknowledged its source, suggests that he too took the Selva as the work of Mexia.

The Italian Nuova Seconda Selva was not, however, a translation, but a continuation of the Spanish work. The title states as much, and it is made equally clear in the dedication. On the title-page no author's name is mentioned but in the dedication we hear that he was a certain Gieronimo Giglio. The earliest edition of this work in the British Museum is of 1565 and it seems to have been the first. An Italian translation of the first three parts of the Silva of Mexia with the addition of a fourth part by Sansovino, published at Venice in 1564, promises its readers on the title-page a "nuoua seconda Selua non piu data in luce", and the Selva of Giglio published the following year was probably the fulfilment of this promise. The

---

italiana della Silva del Mexia è cavata interamente la raccolta di 11 novelle del Lodge pubblicata col titolo The Life and Death of William Longbeard (Vedi. E. Koepfel. Studien zur Geschichte, etc. Strassburg. 1892.)

(1) Canby (Henry Seidel). The Short Story in English. New York. 1909, p. 359.

(2) Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse, p. 22. "Second. Sel de Messia. lib. 2. cap. 117 (for 17)."

(3) Nuova Seconda Selva di Varia Lettione che segue Pietro Messia; Nella quale sono gloriosi fatti --- etc. (from the title-page of edition of Venice, 1565).

(4) Ibid.

(5) The dedication of the 1565 edition is as follows: "Magnifico Sig. Mio, hauendo il Reuerendo Missier pre Gieronimo Giglio mio fratello co(m)posta la seconda parte della Selva di Uarie Lettione laqual segue Pietro messia -----".

(1)  
 book was reprinted in 1573. Koepfel mentions an  
 edition of 1587, and the Nuova Seconda Selva was again  
 reprinted in Venice in 1616 with an Italian translation  
 of the original Silva and the continuations of Mambrino  
 Roseo and of Sansovino, under the title of Selva  
 (2)  
Rinovata di Varia Lettione. This was reprinted in  
 (3)  
 1638. Here, however, the Nuova Seconda Selva appears  
 as an anonymous piece of work, partly no doubt because  
 of the omission of the author's name from the title  
 page of earlier editions, but partly too perhaps,  
 because of his obscurity. In 1658 a Nuova Terza Selva  
 (4)  
 was added and the three Selvas were published for the  
 (5)  
 last time in 1682.

As has been said, the Nuova Seconda Selva was  
 an imitation of the Silva of Mexia. It was, like the  
 original Silva (so called, as Mexia himself explained  
 "porque en las silvas y bosques están las plantas y  
 (6)  
 árboles sin orden ni regla") a hodge-podge, or "mingle-  
 mangle", as Florio called the kind, a compilation of  
 miscellaneous information calculated to provide its  
 readers with information on a variety of topics. There  
 are chapters on "Recreative Archaeology" (to borrow  
 Menéndez y Pelayo's apt description of similar material  
 (7)  
 in the Silva of Mexia) drawn for the most part from  
 Polidore Vergil's De Rerum Inventoribus, and ranging

---

(1) A copy of this edition is in the British Museum.

(2) Sic. Cejador y Frauca. Historia de la Lengua y Literatura Castellana. Madrid, 1915. Vol. II, p. 154. Passano. Novellieri Italiani in prosa. Torino. 1878. Parte Ia, pp. 569-71 gives the date, wrongly, as 1526.

(3) A copy in the B.M.

(4) See Passano. as above.

(5) A copy in the B.M.

(6) Quoted by Menéndez y Pelayo. Ibid. p. xxx.

(7) " " " " " Ibid. p. xxxiii.

in subject matter from information on the origin of nations, institutions and ceremonial rites, to the origin of certain games of skill and chance, bread-making and the dyeing of the hair. Some chapters deal with the origin of customs of ordinary social life, such as exchange of greetings in the street, while others deal with topics of modern interest, such as the invention of printing, the development of the art of navigation and the discovery of the new world. Other chapters consist of collections of Examples (of Generosity, Equanimity, of famous and notable deaths) and of Precepts, (such as the chapters on Avarice, Secrecy, Marriage, Counsel and Friendship) for the most part taken from the works of Guevara. Historical material is included. There are chapters on Bohemian history from Aeneas Silvius, and on Lombard history from Paulus Diaconus. Somewhat akin to this material are the chapters on famous personages of the old world and of the new (Lamia, Lais and Flora, Prester John and Joan of Arc). Other chapters retail expanded jests and anecdotes (such as Megalo's revenge and the "Subtle dispute made in Antioch before King Ptolemy"), and others deal with marvels of various kinds, (such as the triumph of Antigonus Epiphanes, a temple of Venus at Corinth, the marvellous properties of certain lakes and fountains and a sea-monster captured in Boetia).

Like its predecessor, the Nuova Seconda Selva was a compilation from several sources, some of which can be identified. Many of the chapters in Parte Prima are from Polidore Vergil's De Rerum Inventoribus<sup>(1)</sup> - a work well known to most sixteenth century compilers.

---

(1) De Rerum Inuentoribus Libri Octo. Basileae. 1532.



Chapters ii, iv, vi, vii, viii, x, xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xv, xvi, xvii, xix, xx, and xxi of Parte Prima are from this source. An equally extensive use was made of Guevara's Epistolas Familiares; from here came chapters xxviii, xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxv, xxxvii, xl, xli, xlii of Parte Seconda and chapters ii, iv, v, vi, of Parte Terza. From the same writers Libro delos Inventores del arte de marear came chapter xii and possibly chapter xiv of Parte Quarta, and from another work of Guevara's Menosprecio de Corte y Albanza de Aldea came chapter xxvi of Parte Prima, chapter i of Parte Seconda, and chapters i and xv of Parte Terza. For some of his historical material (chapters iii and xxxi of Parte Prima) Giglio drew on Aeneas Silvius' De Bohemorum Origine. Of Paulus Diaconus' De Gestis Langobardorum he made a more extensive use taking from it ten chapters of the Parte Terza, chapters xvii to xxiii (inclusive) and xxv to xxvii (inclusive). Some of the material can be traced back to the Varia Historia of Aelian (chapters xxx, xxxii, xlv of Parte Terza and i, vi, vii, viii of Parte Quarta) but it is possible that this material came into the Selva through some intermediate source.

---

(1) Libro primero delas epistolas familiares d(e)l illustre señor do(n) Antorio de Guevara. Valladolid. 1544.

Segunda Parte de las epistolas familiares. Valladolid. 1545.

(2) Libro delos inue(n)tores del arte de marear. Anueres. [1550?]

(3) Libro llamado Menosprecio decorte y Alaba(n)ça de aldea. Anueres. [1550?]

(5) De gestis Langobardorum. Libri VI.

(4) De Bohemorum Origine. Coloniae. 1524.

(6) De Varia Historia Libri xii. Lugduni. MDLIII.

The Nuova Seconda Selva and the Diverses Lecons of Du Verdier.

There can be no doubt that Lodge was acquainted with Giglio's Selva, but it does not seem to have been observed that many of the chapters of the Nuova Seconda Selva are also to be found in the Diverses Lecons of Du Verdier. It has generally been supposed that Du Verdier's Diverses Lecons -- Suyuans celles de Pierre<sup>(1)</sup> Messie, one of the best known books of its kind, and in its own day one of the most popular, was an independent compilation, as Du Verdier himself seems to claim in indicating as his source "plusieurs bons<sup>(2)</sup> auteurs, Grecs, Latins, & Italiens", but a comparison of the Nuova Seconda Selva and the Diverses Lecons reveals a debt on Du Verdier's part to the Italian writer that seems hitherto to have escaped notice. Menéndez y Pelayo speaks of Du Verdier as a continuator<sup>(3)</sup> of Mexia, without any mention of Giglio, and the writer of the article "Antoine de Guevara ses lecteurs et ses<sup>(4)</sup> imitateurs Français au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle", notes Du Verdier's debt to Guevara, observing that "Scaliger a traité Du Verdier de demi-savant (semi-doctus); non sans raison: sa science était de seconde main. Il ne s'en cachait pas sans doute, puisqu'il déclare qu'il a recueilli son livre de plusieurs bons auteurs grecs,<sup>(5)</sup> latins et italiens. Que n'ajoutait-il espagnols?"

---

(1) Les Diverses Lecons d'Antoine du Verdier ---- Suyuans celles de Pierre Messie. Lyons. MDXCII.

(2) Sig. A3a to A3b.

(3) Origines, etc. Tome II, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.

(4) Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France. 8<sup>o</sup> Année. Paris. 1901. "Antoine de Guevara ses lecteurs et ses imitateurs Français au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle." Par Louis Clément. p. 214 et seq.

(5) Ibid. p. 224.

Elsewhere in this same article the writer observes (1) that Du Verdier "mettait au pilage les Epistres dorées". Du Verdier's debt to Guevara was, however, a debt he owed at second hand. As has already been shown Giglio drew extensively on Guevara's letters, and it was by this route that material from the popular Spanish writer found its way into the Diverses Lecons as the following passages will show.

(2)

Guevara. Epistolae Familiares.

[Oy día d(e) los reyes: y en casa de reyes y en presencia de reyes, justa cosa es q(ue) hablemos de reyes: aun que los principes mas quiere(n) ser obedescidos, q(ue) no aconsejados y porque predi- camos oy delante aquel que es emperador delos romanos, y rey d(e) los hispanos: sera cosa justa, y avn necessaria, relatar aqui que quiere dezir rey, y de donde vino este nombre de emperador: para que sepamos todos, como ellos nos han de gouernar, y nosotros a ellos obedescer.] Acerca deste nombre de rey, es d(e) saber, que segun la variedad delas naciones, assi nombraua(n) por varios nombres a sus principes: es a saber, los egyptios los llamauan pharaones, los bithinios tholomeos, los partheos arsacidias, los latinos murranos, los albanos siluios, los siculos tyranos, y los argibos reyes. [El primero rey del mundo dizen los argibos que fue foroneo, y los griegos dizen que fue corodlaomor: qual destas opiniones sea verdad, sabe lo aquel solo, que es summa verdad. Aun q(ue) no sabemos quien fue el rey primero, ni quien sera el vltimo rey del mundo, sabemos alo menos vna cosa: y es, que todos los reyes passados son muertos: y todos los que agora biue(n) se moriran: porq(ue) la muerte tambien llama al rey q(ue) esta enal(sic) trono, como al labrador que esta arando.] Es tambien de saber, que enlos (sic) tiempos antiguos ser alguno rey, no era dignidad, sino solame(n)te officio: assi como lo es agora el corregidor y el regidor dela republica: por manera, que cada an(n)o proueyan de officio de rey que rigiesse, como agora proueen a vn viso rey que gouerne. Plutarco dize, enlos libros de re- publica, que enel principio del mundo llamauan a todos los que gouernauan tyranos: y despues que vieron las gentes lo que yua delos unos a los otros, ordenaron entre si, de llamar a los malos gouerna- dores tyranos, y a los buenos llamarlos reyes.

Nuova Seconda Selva. (3)

"Gli antichi secondo la diuersità delle nationi con nomi diuersi adimandarono gli loro principi gli Egitij gli chiamarono Faraoni; gli Bithinij Tolomei. I parti Arsacidi. I Latini Marrani. Gli Albani Siluij. I Siciliani Tiranni; & gli Argiui Re.

(1) Ibid, p. 223.

(2) Libro primero delas epistolae familiares d(e)l illustre senor do(n) Antonio de Guevara. Valladolid. 1544. Sig. aij.

(2) Nuova Seconda Selva. Venice. 1565. Parte Seconda. Cap. xxviii. p. 78.

Et è da sapere, che nelli tempi passati l'essere Re non era dignità, ma un officio solamente, come hora è tra noi un governatore d'una Republica; & ogni anno si cangiaua questo magistrato. Dice Plutarco ne i libri della Republica; che nel principio del mondo tutti quelli, che governauano, si chiamauano tiranni, & uedendo poi la gente quanta differenza fusse tra questi, & quelli determinarono tra loro, che li cattiuu governatori si douessero adimandare tiranni, & li buoni, Re."

(1)

Du Verdier. Diverses Lecons.

"Les Anciens, selon la diuersité des nations, apelloyent de diuers noms leurs Princes. Les Egyptiens les apellerent Pharaons; les Bithyniens, Ptolomees: Les Parthes, Arsacides: Les Albans, Sylules: Les Siciliens, Tyrans: & les Argiues, Rois. Et faut sçauoir que iadis, estre Roy n'estoit pas dignité, ains vn office seulement, comme est maintenant entre nous vn gouverneur d'un Republicue. Plutarque en ses liures de la Republicue dit qu'au commencement tous ceux qui gouvernoyent, estoyent apellez Tyrans: mais depuis les meschans gouverneurs furent nomme tyrans, & les bons, Rois, pour la difference d'iceux."

Du Verdier's borrowings from the Nuova Seconda Selva begin in the second book of his compilation, and the following table of the chapters he incorporated in his "Diuerses Lecons" will illustrate the extent of his debt to the Italian work.

Diverses Lecons. Liv. 2, corresponding to Giglio's Selva. Parte 1a.

Du Verdier takes over the whole of the first part of the Nuova Seconda Selva. He adds no chapters of his own and takes over the chapters (in all thirty-one) in the order in which they occur in the Nuova Seconda Selva.

Diverses Lecons. Liv. 3, corresponding to Giglio's Selva. Parte 2a.

Du Verdier takes over the first thirty chapters of the second part of the Italian Selva, omitting only

---

(1) Diverses Lecons. Lyons. 1592. Vol. II. Liv.3. Ch. 32, p. 237.

chapter xxii. He omits also the twelve closing chapters (Chs. xxxi-xliii). He adds seven chapters of his own.

Diverses Lecons. Liv. 4. Corresponding to  
Giglio's Selva. Parte 3a. (1)

Here Du Verdier borrows less and adds more of his own. His debt to the Nuova Seconda Selva is still, however, considerable. From the Selva he took chapters i, iii, ix, xii, xiii, xv, xvii, xix, xx, xxii, xxiii, xxiv, xxv, xxvi, xxvii, xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv, xl, xli, xlii, xliii, xliv.

Diverses Lecons. Liv. 5. Corresponding to  
Giglio's Selva. Parte 4a.

Here Du Verdier's borrowings are comparatively slight. Nine chapters only of the Selva (chs. i, vii, viii, x, xi, xvi, xvii, xix, xxvi) appear in the Diverses Lecons.

Du Verdier's work achieved a success which equalled that of the original Silva of Mexia, and far surpassed that of Giglio. It was first printed, as  
(2)  
Du Verdier himself states in 1576, and further editions followed in 1580, 1584, 1592, 1596, 1604, 1610 and 1616.

It was by way of Du Verdier's Diverses Lecons that many of the chapters originally in the Nuova Seconda Selva of Giglio appeared in the Treasurie of Auncient  
(3)  
and Moderne Times published by Jaggard, in the opening

(1) In the Nuova Seconda Selva the numbering of the chapters is wrong after ch. xvi. The Tavola omits ch. xxiv. The references given to Parte Terza are to the correct numbers of the chapters in the text (not Tavola).

(2) La Bibliotheque d'Antoine du Verdier. Seigneur de Vauprivat, Contenant le Catalogue de tous ceux qui ont escrit ou traduit en Francois ----- Lyons. 1585, p. 88.

(3) Vol. I. The Treasurie of Auncient and Moderne Times. Translated out of that Worthy Spanish Gentleman, Pedro Mexia. And M. Francesco Sansovino, that Famous Italian. As also, of those Honourable Frenchmen, Antonie du Verdier, Lord of Vaupriuaux: Loys Guyon, ----- etc. London 1613.

Vol. II. Times Store-House. Containing The Learned Collections Judicious Readings, and memorable obseruations of sundry worthy Personages. English, French, Italian, Spanish. London. 1619.

years of the seventeenth century. Not all the material Du Verdier borrowed was included in this English compilation but between sixty and seventy chapters that has passed from the Nuova Seconda Selva to the Diverses Lecons passed from the Diverses Lecons to the Treasurie.

This hitherto unnoticed debt of Du Verdier to Giglio reopens the question of the source of Lodge's "most pleasant and prettie histories", but there can be no doubt that the source was the Italian work, as Koepfel stated, since one of Lodge's histories, that "of manie famous pirats, who in times past were Lordes of the Sea"<sup>(1)</sup>, was not included by Du Verdier in his compilation. There are too, hitherto unnoticed borrowings in Lodge's work from the Nuova Seconda Selva, some of which were not included by Du Verdier in his Diverses Lecons.

Borrowings from the Nuova Seconda Selva in A Margarite of America.

Koepfel did not observe that elsewhere in his work Lodge had frequently turned to the Nuova Seconda Selva for material. He made use of it in his last pamphlet Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse<sup>(2)</sup> and in the second eclogue of A Fig for Momus,<sup>(3)</sup> and five passages translated from the Selva were skilfully incorporated in A Margarite of America.

Two of these chapters Lodge used to provide the speakers in the discussion at Asaphus dinner party on the question whether love "best worketh by the eie,

(1) William Long beard, p. 38. Selva. Parte Quarta, cap. xiv.

(2) See p. 113 for borrowings from the Selva in this pamphlet.

(3) See p. 130 for borrowings from the Selva in A Fig for Momus.

the touch, or the eare" with collections of examples in support of their arguments. Arsadachus opens the debate in favour of the eye, and quotes as illustration of its power a series of examples taken from the last chapter of Parte Terza. "Ridicolosi, & insoliti amori, di alcuni huomini, & donne".

A Margarite of America (p.53).

"and that the eie only beside the ministerie of other senses, procureth loue, you many perceiue by these examples following. Xerxes, who despising the sea, and scorning the land found out new meanes to nauigate, and armies to choake the earth, yet fall in loue with a tree; for hauing seene a plantane in Lydia of huge greatnesse, he staid vnder it a hote day, making him a shelter of his shadow, a louer of his loues; and afterwarde departing from the same, he adorned it with collars of golde and iewelles, as if that that tree had bene his enamoured, ouer which he appointed a guardian to assist it, fearing lest any should doe violence vnto the branches thereof. And what I pray you moued this affection in Xerxes but the eie? A noble yong man of Athens loued so much the stature of good fortune erected neere vnto the Prytaneum, that he embraced it, and kissed it, and offered a great summe of money to the Senate to redeeme the same, and not attaining his suite, hee slew himselfe; and what wrought this in this noble yong man but the eie? for this marble image had neither sent to delight the sent, speach to affect the eare, not other meanes to moue affection; it was then the sole force of the eie----".

Ridicolosi & insoliti amori di alcuni huomini & donne. (2).

Diversi sono stati quelli, che hanno amato cose, delle quali li huomini si sono mossi à marauiglia, et à ridersene insieme, tra li quali fu Xerse, ilquale sprezzando il mare, & la terra, & ritrouò nuoue uie di nauigare, nondimeno rimase uinto da un albero. Narrasi, che hauendo egli ueduto in Lidia un Platano molto grande, uì si fermò quel giorno, et si serui per tabernaculo dell' ombra di quell'albero, & poi partendosi l'ornò di colane d'oro, & maniglie (1), lasciandoui uno per guardiano, como se questo albero fusse stata una sua innamorata, allaquale quel guardiano douesse porgere aiuto. Ma che ornamento diede costui a questo Platano? Certo niuno, percioche la bellezza della pianta è, che ella habbia robusti rami, copiose frondi, il tronco fermo, le radici profonde da resistere alli uenti, che la scrolino, l'ombra copiosa, & le stagioni dell'an(n)o, che ritornino a riuertirlo. Un giouane nobile Atheniese amò tanto la statua della buona Fortuna posta appresso il Pritaneo, che l'abbracciaua, & basciaua, & faceua diuerse altre pazzie, & offerse al Senato gran quantità di danari, accioche li fusse data la detta statua in sua libertà, & essendoli negata, la coronò con molte bende, & altre cose pretiose, doppo molte lagrime s'uccise. Glauca Sonatrice di Citara amò un Cane, & secondo alcuni, un Montone, ouero un occa. Xenofonte, essendo giouanetto un cane. Et

un giouane in Sparta amò un uccello chiamato Grola.

(1) "Iewelles". Italian "maniglie" - bracelets.

(1) A Margarite of America, p. 53.

(2) Not in the Diverses Lecons of Du Verdier.

Plicotus replies to Arsadachus' arguments by quoting a series of examples in support of the sense of touch, taken from Parte Prima, ch. xxiiii, "Sentenza d'Apollonio Tiano contro un Eunuco del Re di Babilonia-----  
Et di molti huomini, & donne che per Amore fecero molte cose indegne".

A Margarite of America,  
(pp. 54-5)

"In the dayes of Apollonius Tianeus, who by euery man was held for the fountaine of wisdom, there was an eunuch found out in Babylon who had vnlawfully conuersed with a paramour of the Kings; for which cause the king demanded of Apollonius what punishment the eunuch ought to haue for that his rash and bold enterprise: no other answered Apollonius saue that he liue to behold and touch without further attempt. With which answer the king being amazed, demanded why he gaue this answer. To whome Apollonius replied, Doubt not you, O King, but that loue shall make him feele exceeding paines and mar- (1) tirdomes; and like a simple flie, he shall play so long with the flame vntill he fall to cinders. And for further prooffe the Egyptians (as Ororius reporteth) when as they would (2) represent loue do make a net: and the Phenitians describe him in a hand laide in fire, approving them by the touch which of all senses suffereth most, and hath greatest power in the bodie. Asaphus that was still all this while, sodainely brake off the discourse, saying thus: What sense (I pray you) was that (ye philosophers) that perswaded Ariston of Ephesus to lie with an asse, and to beget a daughter, which was afterwards called Onoselino? What sense had Tullius Stellus to be in loue with a mare, of whome he begat a faire daughter which was called Sponano? What made Cratis the Illoritane (3) shepheard to loue a goate? Pasiphae to fancie a bull?

Sentenza d'Apollonio Tiano.

Gli Egitij (como scriue Oro nel suo libro delle lettere Gierogli fece) quando uogliono rappresentare l'Amore, fanno un laccio & questo credo io, perche quasi sempre à miserabile conditione ci conduce. Fu al tempo d'Apollonio Tiano, il quale da ciascuno era tenuto un fonte di sapienza, ritrouato un Eunuco, che si trastullaua al meglio, che poteua con l'amata del Re di Babilonia, il Re uolto ad Apollonio li adiamandò, che pena se gli douesse per questo suo temerario ardimento dare. Non altro, rispose Apollonio, saluo ch'egli uiua; Dilche fortemente marauigliandosi il Re; soggiunse Apollonio; Non ti dubitare signore mio, che Amore (s'egli perseuerara in cosi folle pensiero) non li faccia sentire accerbissime pene, & martiri, & come semplice farfalla uolera il meschino al fuoco, & alla morte. Et in un tratto hauera in dio, & la uita, & la morte. Et che è quello che non sappia, che Amore fu quello che trasse dal senno il saggio Salomone, & lo fece preuaricare la Santa legge. Indusse anchora Aristone Effesino à giacersi con un asina, & generarne una figliuola, che fu poi chiamata Onoselino. Questo anchora persuase a Tullio stello l'innamorarsi d'una caualla, e di quella generarne una bellissima figliuola, le quale fu detta Sponauo. Il medesimo sospinse Cratis pastore Ibaritano ad accendersi d'una capra. Costui mosse Fedra, & Cidica all'amore de fibliastri. Bilbi ad amare il fratello. Pasiphe a congiungersi con il toro, & altri infiniti inco(n)uenienti causò l'amore, liquali, per uolere essere breue lascio adietro.

(1) "flie". It. farfalla - butterfly.

(2) This sentence is transposed. In the Selva it occurs at the beginning of the chapter.

(3) "Illoritane". It. "Ibaritano".



Two more chapters of the Nuova Seconda Selva were utilised in a similar fashion. Cap. viii of Parte Terza "Di quanta importanza sia all'huomo essere secreto" provided Lodge with Arsadachus' commendation of "Secrecy" (p. 56), and cap. xv of this same part furnished Argias' reply in praise of "Counsel" (pp. 67-8).

A Margarite of America (p.66).

To be of faire words (Argias) becommeth a man of much vertue; and no small treasure findeth that Prince who hath a priue and faithful secretarie, in whose bosome he may powre his thoughts, on whose wisdom hee may repose his secrets. Plutarch writeth that the Athenians hauing warre with king Philip of Macedon, by chaunce lighted vpon certaine letters which he had written to Olimpias his wife, which they not onely sent backe sealed and unsearched, but also said, that since they were bound by their laws to be secret, they would neither see nor reade other me(h)s priuate motions, Diodorus Siculus, writeth that among the Egyptians it was a criminal act to open secrets which he proueth to be true, by example of a priest, who had vnlawfull companie with a virgin of the goddesse Isis, both which trusting their secrecie to another priest, and hee hauing little care to keepe their action concealed, sodainely cried out, where through the offenders were found out and slaine, and he banished. And where as the same priest complained against the vniust sentence, saying: that whatsoever he had reueled was in fauour of religion, he was answered by the Iudge, if thou alone hadst knowne it without being priue to them or hadst thou had notice without corrupt consent (ix), thou shouldst haue reason to be agreed; but sodainely (iv)

Di quanta importanza sia all'huomo essere secreto. E che pena dauano li antichi a quelli che reuelauano gli secreti.(1)

Non picciola, anzi grandissima uirtù è, l'essere un' huomo di poche parole, il quale tutte le cose, che li uengono dette in secreto, non ne fa piu altro segno, che se egli le gettasse in un pozzo. Et non si pensa l'huomo d' hauere trouato picciolo tesoro, quando ritroua persona, nella quale possi confidare li suoi secreti; perche non è mai di tanta importanza il confidare li tesori, che si chiudono nelle casse, come è li secreti, che si serrano nel cuore. Narra Plutarco, che hauendo li Atheniesi guerra con il Re Filippo, a caso uennero nelle mani loro certe lettere, che egli scriueua ad Olimpia sua moglie, lequali loro le rimandarono in dietro serrate, & sugellate, come erano, senza mouerle punto, dicendo; che poscia che loro erano per le legge obligati, ad essere secreti, non uoleuano ne uederle, ne leggerle in publico. Scriue Diodoro Siculo, che fra li Egizij era atto criminale à tutti il palesare li secreti: doue proua essere uero per un essemplio d'un sacerdote che hebbe comertio co(n)una uergine della Dea Iside, & fidandosi ampidue d'un altro sacerdote, & non curandosi quello di tenerli secreti, subito ne mandò il grido intorno; per ilche li peccatori furono uccisi, & egli bandito. Et querelandosi il detto

(i) "religion", It. "ragione" = reason.

(ix) "corrupt consent", It. "fallo" = error. (iii) Ibid.

(iv) "sodainely", It. "subito" = as soon as.

(1) Not in the Diverses Lecons of Du Verdier.

whereas they trusted their secrecie vnto thee which they had in hand, and thou promisedst them to keepe silence, hadst thou remembered thee of thy bond and promise, and the law which we haue to be secret in all things, thou hadst neuer had the courage to publish it. Plutarch in his booke of banishment saith, that an Athenian sought vnder the cloke of an Egyptian, asked him what hee carried hid, to whom he answered: Thou shewest thy selfe smally read and worse nurtered (O thou Athenian sith thou perceiuest not that I carrie this hid for no other respect, but that I would haue no man know what I carrie, many other are the examples of Anaxileus, Dionisius, Plato, and Bias, which were too long for me to report ---".

sacerodte di cosi ingiusta sentenza, dicendo, che quello, che egli haueua riuelato era stato in fauore della ragione: (1) li rispose il giudice. Se tu solo l'hauessi saputo senza che loro si fussero auueduti, che ne hauesti hauuto notitia senza fallo, haueresti ragione di ramarcarti; ma subito che essi si confidarono in te di quello, che haueuano da fare, & tu prometttesti loro di tenerli secreti; se tu ti fusti ricordato dell'obbligo, che habbiamo da essere secreti nelle cose, che a carico ti uengono date, non haueresti tu mai hauuto ardire di publicarlo, si come hai fatto. Plutarco nel libro d'Essilio dice; che un Atheniese ricercò una uolta ad un Egittio, che era quella, che egli portaua nascosta sotto la cappa; a cui egli rispose. Molto poco, ò Atheniese, dimostri tu d'hauere studiato, poscia tu non auedi, che non per altro rispetto la uado cosi celando sotto la cappa senon, perche ne tu, ne altri sappiano quello, che io mi porto qui. Anasillo capitano delli Atheniesi, essendo preso da Lacedemoni, & messo al tormento, accioche egli dicesse loro quello che sapeua, & faceua il Re Agislae suo signore; alli quali rispose cosi. Voi altri Lacedemoni hauete bene libero potere quanto à grado ui sia di tagliare tutte le membra della persona mia: ma io non lo tengo per discoprire li secreti del mio signore; perche si costuma in Atene, che gli huomini piu tosto si lasciano uccidere, che mai palesare alcun secreto che a loro uengono fidato. Fu detto una uolta a Dionisio Siracusano che Platone l'aspettaua alla porta, & egli subito mandò a lui Brias suo camerieri fauorito ad intender quello, che egli uolessi; & addimandando Platone quello che facessi Dionisio,

Brias li rispose, che se ne staua ignudo sopra una tauola à giacere; il che saputo per Dionisio, si accese di tanto sdegno, che subito commesse, che li fusse tagliata la testa: dicendoli. Io uoglio Brias come traditore farti tagliare il capo, poscia che tu sei stato cosi ardito, & habbi hauuto tanta prosontione, di palesare li secreti della mia camera: perche io non ti mandai à Platone accioche tu le dicessi quello, che io faceua, ma solamente perche tu li addimandassi quello che egli uoleua da me.

(1) "~~religion~~", It. "~~ragione~~" = reason.

Argias' reply in praise of "Counsel" is the passage  
 (1)  
 mentioned above as ultimately from a Spanish source -  
 the Menosprecio de Corte y Alabanza de' Aldea of (2)  
 Guevara. It was taken immediately, however, from  
 cap. xv of Parte Terza "Quanta sia cosa utile il  
 ricercare nelle cose sue il consiglio & parere d'altrui".

A Margarite of America (p.67).

Aristarchus the Philosopher (most noble prince) was wont to say, that by reason of their instabilitie, knew (i) not that which the most men ought to desire, nor that which they should flie, because that euerie day changeth and swift Time flieth: Eubeus the Philosopher, was wont many times to talke this at the table of great Alexander; by nature euerie one is prompt & sharpe witted, to giue counsell and to speake his opinion in other mens affaires, and fond and slow in his owne purposes. Truly this sentence was both graue and learned, for manie (ii) there be that are discreet in other mens causes, & iudge rightly, but among ten thousand there is not one that is not deceiued in his own causes (iii). This considered, your grace doth most wisely, to seeke to disburden your thoughts in a secret bosome, and to aske counsell of another in your earnest occasions, for by the one you shall benefite your grieffe, by the other conquer it. Histories report that the valiant captaine Nicias, was neuer mistaken in any thing which (iv) atchiued by another mans counsell, neither euer brought any thing to good effect which he managed according to his owne opinion.

Quanta sia cosa utile il ricercare nelle cose sue il consiglio & parere d'altrui.

Aristarco Filosofo soleua dire: Che noi per essere instabili non sappiamo quello, che sia da desiderare, ne quello, che sia da fuggire, perche ogni giorno si cangia, & uola il tempo. Eubia filosofo, diceua molte uolte alla tauola del grande Alessandro; Naturalmente ogn'uno è pronto, & acuto in dare il consiglio, & il parere suo nelle cose d'altrui, & nelle sue proprie è tardo & inetto; Graue per certo fu questa sentenza, perche se mille si trouano, che nelle case altrui se regonno bene, & conoscono il uero, se ne ritrouano diece mille, che nelle sue particolari s'ingannano sempre. Sono alcuni, che per dare un consiglio, & ordinare presto una espeditione nelle cose d'altrui, discorono eccellenteme(n)te, & hanno ingenni eleuati, tolti poi da questi negotij, & posti i pensieri alli loro particolari, è gran pietà d'udire quello, che dicono, & gran uergogna uedere quello, che fanno, perche non hanno sapere per gouernare le case, ne per nascondere le loro miserie. Giulio Cesare, Augusto, Marco Antonio, settimo Seuero, & il buon Marco Aurelio, tutti questi, & molti altri infiniti furono principi molto illustri cosi nell'opere, che fecero, come nelle cose della Republica, che gouernauano, ma furono poi sfortunati nel uiuere politico nelle cose loro, & nella honesta delle mogli, & figliuole, per ilche uissero

- (i) There is some omission here. Probably "men".  
 It., "noi --- non sappiamo".  
 (ii) "manie" - It., "mille" = thousand.  
 (iii) Not a literal translation.  
 (iv) Omission of "he".

(1) See p. 39.

(2) Menosprecio de Corte, etc. Anueres. [1550?] Cap. xij,  
 Sig. Fiv.b - Fv.b.

sempre molto trauagliati et more(n)do ne rimasero co(n)fama dishonorata. Sono ancora di quelli, molto atti, & destri per com(m)adare ad altri, & molto ineti, et uili d'animo per ubedire, & per il co(n)trario di quelli, che solamente sono per seruire, & per comandare non uagliano nulla. Narra Plutarco, che il ualoroso capitano Nicia, mai non errò cosa, che per consiglio d'altrui facesse, ne mai li successe bene effetto alcuno, che per proprio parere terminasse.

The fifth, and last, chapter from the Nuova Seconda Selva which Lodge incorporated in A Margarite of America is of a different order. It is the description of a triumph of Antigonus Epiphane and Lodge adapts it to his own description of Arsadachus' triumph at his coronation. Lodge observes that "the triumph of Antigonus Epiphane in co(m)parison" with the triumph of Arsadachus (1) "was but a trifle", but he adds little to the Italian beyond heightening the description a little and increasing the display of rich clothing, gold and jewels.

A Margarite of America,  
(pp. 85-86).

The courtiers to grace their Emperor, spared no cost, the citizens no triumphs, so as the triumph of Antigonus Epiphane, in co(m)parison hereof was but a trifle, the maner whereof, since it was miraculous, I haue thought good to mention in this place. First came five thousand of the yoongest Cuscanes (i) out of the pallace, trotting along the streets vnto the temple armed, according to the Roman fashion: after them as many Tartars (ii) armed after their maner, who were folowed with three thousand Thracians, and Plessians (iii) all of which carried siluer lances and shieldes, hauing their headpeeces decked with ostrige plumes and emeralds

D'una celebratissima pompa fatta d'Antigono Epiphane in un suo triumpho.

Antigono Re di Siria, cognominato Epiphane, ilquale per la sua inconstantia fu da suoi cittadini adimandato Epimono hauendo inteso del magnifico trionfo di Paulo Emilio del Re de Persi, & de Macedoni, li sali tanta inuidia, che per uanità & arroganza, si propose di fare anchora lui una pompa, che di gran lunga l'auanzasse; per ilche mandò à dire per tutta la Grecia, et regno suo, che ad un determinato giorno uenissero in Daphne città di Asia, che uoleua far alcuni giuochi stupendissimi. Per ilche, non solamente dalla Grecia, ma ancho da diuerse altre parti del mondo, ui andò gente infinita; Liguagli giuochi, & ordine di spettacolo, cominciava in questo modo. Veniano prima cinque mille, delli piu giouani de Grecia armati alla

(1) A Margarite of America, p. 85.

after them marched two hundred and fiftie sword-players, who followed the braue caualliers that marched before: after whom trotted the horsemen, of which one thousand, together with their horses, were all pompously garnished with golde and siluer, with a garland of gold vpon their heads: after the(m) rode another thousand horsemen, decked with golde and purple, with lances of golde, headed with pointed diamonds; next them rode those who were called the emperours minions, clothed in cloth of tissue, their horses trapped in greene cloth of gold, their stirrups of siluer: after them came the Emperours guard on horse backe, hauing their caparisons studded with iron and brasse, wearing vpon their armors a certain curious stoale, wherein, with gold and siluer, silke, and gossapine threed of many colours, were wouen the images of those gods, which the Cuscans most worshiped: after whome came one thousand fiue hundreth (iv) armed chariots, the most part drawn by two (v) white genets, but fortie of them by foure: after them came a chariot drawne by elephants, and attended by six and thirtie elephants, with eight hundred yong men attending them as their keepers, attired with ornaments of golde, and hauing their temples encompassed with wreathes of roses, and siluer (vi) bends: after them came eight hundred yong lads leading many fat oxen with gilded hornes to be sacrificed to the gods: next vnto them eight hundred ministers bearing platters of gold with pretious stones, vnicornes horns, and elephants teeth to be sacrificed for the health of the emperour: next which, an infinite number of statues were carried, not onely of the gods, but also of those fiends they feared; likewise the images of all their kings deceased, according as euery one deserued for his excellence, (vii), aparelled in goodly garments of golde and siluer, and other precious and inestimable iewelless, each of them hauing a table at his feete, in which al his noble and worthy actions were written. There were

Romana, poi altrettanti di Misia armati ad uso loro; alli quali seguivano tre mille Thraci, & cinque mille Galati; dietro alli quali andauano molti altri con certi scudi d'argento, liquali si chiamauano Argiraspidi; Veniuano dopo costoro 250. mani di Gladiatori, alliquali seguivano gli cauallier, mille delli quali loro, & li caualli erano guarniti: d'oro, & d'argento con una ghirlanda d'oro in capo. Veniuano dopo questi altri mille cauallieri ornati d'oro, liquali adimandauano compagni; appresso di loro ui era una compagnia delli amici del Re, dietro laquale andauano mille huomini nobili, seguiti da mille altri caualli chiamati la ciurma del Re, doppo liquali ueniuno mille, & cinquecento cauallieri armati loro, & gli caualli di ferro, & loro erano uestiti sopra l'armatura d'una uesta militare lauorata, & ricamata d'oro, et d'argento con molte figure d'animali; Veniuano poi cento carrette, ciascuna tirata da sei caualli; e quara(n)ta da quattro. Seguiva poi un carro menato da Elephanti, seguitato da 36. Elephanti, con 800. giouani dietro inghirlandati di certi ornamenti d'oro; dietro alli quali ueniuno mille buoi grassi, 800 denti di Elephanti de India; Veniua poi un numero infinito di statue, & simolachri non solamente delli Dei, ma delli demoni anchora, & di molti huomini, liquali fussero stati in qualunque professione eccellenti uestiti di bellissime uesti d'oro, d'argento, & d'altre preciose cose, con gioie infinite, & haueuano certe tauole da piedi, nelli qualli era scritto il nome, il titolo, & i fatti di coloro in honore di cui erano dirizzate. Vi erano ancho alcuni simolachri del giorno, della notte, del cielo, dell'aurora, & del mezo giorno, insieme con un numero infinito di uasi d'oro, d'argento, portati dalli schiaui di ualore inestimabile. Seguivano à questi seicento paggi del Re, tutti uestiti d'oro, alliquali ueniuno dietro. 200. donne, con certi bossoli d'oro in mano, spar-gendo odoriferi unguenti,

likewise other semblances of the day, the night, of heauen, of the morning and mid-day, with an infinit number of vessels likewise forged out of gold and siluer, and borne by the slaues: of the empire: after these came six hundred pages of the emperour apparelled in golde: after whome came three hundred vergins (viii) in white cloth of tissue, burning with (sic) censurs in their handes of siluer -----".

seguitate da cinquanta lettiche d'argento con altre tante donne sopra; & 80. d'oro con altre tante donne uestite di preciosissime uesti, con gioielli al collo di gran ualore. Fatto questo assegno 30. giorni -----.

- (i) "Cuscans". Lodge adapts the Italian "cinque mille delli piu giouani di Grecia" to the context.
- (ii) "Tartars", It. "di Misia".
- (iii) "Plessians", It. "Galati".
- (iv) "One thousand fiue hundred", It. "cento".
- (v) "two", It. "sei".
- (vi) "siluer", It. "de oro".
- (vii) This is not a translation of the Italian.
- (viii) "three hundred", It. "200 donne".

The first of these is the fact that the pamphlet is a
 single sheet of paper, folded in two, and is
 usually printed on one side only. This is
 in contrast to a book, which is bound in
 two or more sheets of paper, and is
 usually printed on both sides. The second
 fact is that the pamphlet is usually
 printed on a smaller size of paper than
 a book. This is because the pamphlet
 is intended to be read in a single
 sitting, and therefore does not need
 to be as large as a book. The third
 fact is that the pamphlet is usually
 printed on a smaller size of paper than
 a book. This is because the pamphlet
 is intended to be read in a single
 sitting, and therefore does not need
 to be as large as a book.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE PROSE PAMPHLETS.

The rest of Lodge's prose works before 1600 were contributed to the most flourishing and most characteristic kind of prose literature of the last years of the sixteenth century. The invention of printing and the consequent increased popularity of prose created this new pamphlet literature that proved itself a successful rival of the ballad, through which the public had hitherto been supplied with its sensations, and through which it had expressed its opinion on political and social questions. It offered scope to the "university wit" for the display of his learning; it provided unrivalled opportunities of self-advertisement and of attracting the notice of a patron, and was the medium that could be best employed for the expression of the critical, satirical and controversial temper of the closing years of Elizabeth's reign. It lived by exploiting abuses and by controversy, ecclesiastical, literary and personal. That the danger of the continuance of this outspoken criticism was recognised, at least by the Church, is seen in the issue of an edict in 1599 directing the works of Nash and others to be burnt and forbidding the future publication of this kind of literature. (1)

Most of Lodge's pamphlets were therefore of a topical nature, contributions to questions of interest in their day. His first work (c. 1580) was a reply to the puritan attack on poetry, music and stage plays. His second the Alarum Against Usurers (1584), exposed one of the most frequently attacked social abuses of the time. In Catharcs:Diogenes in His Singularitie (1591)

---

(1) Walker (H.). English Satire and Satirists. London. 1925, p. 68.



under cover of a general satire on vices economic, ecclesiastical and social, Lodge hints darkly at personal and political implications that would seem to have been clear to his contemporaries. The Diuell Conjured (1596) though neither satyric nor controversial was a contribution, in dialogue form, to some of the questions most widely discussed in the sixteenth century, principally magic, astrology, and alchemy, padded out with reflections on the Solitary Life, Contempt of the World, Counsel Justice, Peace and War. His last work Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse (1596) followed in the wake of Nash and, under cover of the Seven Deadly Sins, satirises familiar types of London life in the last decade of the sixteenth century.

Lodge did not find the best medium for his talents in this kind of writing. He had not the vigour and originality of Nash, nor the humour and quaintness of Dekker. The bookishness, already noted in his novels as compared with the novels of Greene, is even more apparent in his prose pamphlets. The Renaissance reader looked for evidence of the writers "learning" in his work. Hence Nash's apology in Lenten Stufe for the absence of illustration, since he writes from the country and has not his note-books with him, and Lodge frequently speaks of having "employed" his "readings" as a matter for commendation rather than blame. Whereas, however, Nash employed his reading to supplement his own exuberant fancy and critical observation of men and manners, Lodge, who was neither critical nor observant, used his reading as a substitute for original matter. He received

---

(1) Works. ed. McKerrow. Vol. III, pp. 175-6.

(2) See A Margarite of America, Dedication, p. 3. A Fig for Momus, Epistle p. 6. Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse, pp. 116-7.

his stimulus not from the life around but from books, and the imagination and invention which he undoubtedly possessed could only work happily and fruitfully in a world that he had apprehended through literary channels - in a forest of Arden or in an imaginary Mosco and Cusco. Just as he seems to have been unable to use the varied experiences of his career in his novels, so in all his prose pamphlets up till Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse, he seems to have been unable to make use of the life at his doors. There is therefore something paradoxical in Lodge the pamphleteer, in that while the impulse ostensibly came from the life of the day he could, for the most part, only see his subject through the spectacle of books, nor did he consider it necessary that the spectacles should be new. Even in dealing with such a subject as Counsel, on which so much had been written in Renaissance times, Lodge was content to rely on a mediaeval work, the Liber Consolationis et Consilii of Albertanus of Brescia. For fourteen pages in the Diuell Conjured he translates, without acknowledgment, this thirteenth century book, making no attempt to reinterpret his material in the light of experience to be gained in the days of Burleigh and Walsingham, and not troubling even to provide his reader with an intelligent translation  
(1)  
of his original.

Hence possibly the little attention his works attracted in their own day and the equally little attention they have received in more recent times. The <sup>two</sup> first pamphlets are the best known. The Reply to Gosson holds an historical place in the controversy between the puritans and the stage and on that account,

---

(1) See later, p. 209-11.

rather than on its intrinsic merit, has been several times reprinted. The Alarum Against Usurers has attracted notice on account of the personal interest that Lodge seems to have infused into his contribution to the general baiting of the usurer. The rest have all but been forgotten. They are interesting neither as the work of Nash is interesting - as a running commentary on the fashions of the day and the expression of a vigorous personality; nor as the work of Greene and Dekker is interesting - as "holding up the mirror" to the ways of the "coney-catcher" and "London by candle-light".

The absence of the qualities for which the best of Elizabethan pamphlets are read and remembered does not mean, however, that these tracts are negligible historically or devoid of interest. Although they reflect little of the every-day life of Shakespeare's England, they are interesting documents for the study of Elizabethan methods of compilation. Lodge's habits of unacknowledged translation in his verse did not escape the notice of his contemporaries, and his indebtedness to Italian and French poets has been copiously illustrated by Sir Sidney Lee, the late Professor Kastner and Bullen.<sup>(1)</sup> It has not, however, been recognised that Lodge's prose works reveal raids on other books, English and foreign, even more daring than those in his verse. A study of the sources of these pamphlets, therefore, sheds interesting light on the extent and variety of Lodge's reading, and like his novels, though more clearly, proves the survival in general currency of works of the mediaeval period which might be expected to <sup>have</sup> been displaced by the Renaissance. No

---

(1) See above, p. 9.

better examples could be found of the use of mediaeval books, old-fashioned but not yet out-classed, that were still apparently in general circulation and within reach of the reasonably studious writer in the last decade of the sixteenth century.

That Lodge should have put together his pamphlets by "conveying" passages that in one instance cover as much as twenty pages at a stretch is not, of course, unparalleled in Elizabethan literature. It was one of the "tricks of the trade" resorted to by many of his most notable contemporaries; witness Lyly's borrowings from Cicero and Plutarch; <sup>(1)</sup> Greene's from Primaudaye; <sup>(2)</sup> Nash's incorporation of practically the whole of a treatise by Pictorius in Piers Pennilesse. <sup>(3)</sup> It was a survival of mediaeval habits, strengthened by certain tendencies of the Renaissance, its study of rhetoric and its emphasis on Imitation, but as the century advanced, this reliance on second-hand material became subject to increasing criticism. In poetry pointed comments on this practice are frequent. There are slighting references to the plagiarising habits of Elizabethan sonneteers in Sidney's verse. Drayton echoes his words -

"Yet these mine owne; I wrong not other men,  
Nor trafique further than thys happy Clyme,  
Nor filch from Portes nor from Petrarchs pen,  
A fault too common in this latter time.  
Diuine Syr Philip, I auouch thy writ,  
I am no Pickpurse of anothers wit." (4)

The writer of the Return from Pernassus advises Daniel to -

---

(1) Feuillerat (A.) John Lyly. Contribution a l'Histoire de la Renaissance en Angleterre. Cambridge Univ. Press. 1910, p. 260 et seq.

(2) See the series of articles on "Greene and Primaudaye" in Notes and Queries. Series X Vols IV and V.

(3) Nash. Works. ed. McKerrow. Vol. V, p. 120.

(4) Drayton. Minor Poems. Oxford 1907. Introductory Sonnet to Ideas Mirrour (1594).

"more sparingly make vse  
Of others wit, and use his owne the more"; (1)

Nash observed that slavish imitation was allowable in preachers but that more originality was expected of the professional writer, and Bacon in the manuscript (2) preface to his Essays makes a claim which had special significance at the time when he says, "Much in experience, little in books". The convenience of the practice, however, overcame the scruples of most writers, and Lodge, even more perhaps than the majority of his contemporaries, succumbed to this labour-saving method of book production.

An investigation of the sources of Catharos and Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse has supplied ample proof of the second-hand character of these pamphlets and it affords also evidence of the elaboration with which Lodge occasionally put his patchwork together. Here and there in parts of Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse he might almost say with another great borrower (3) "I do concoquere quod hausit", but for the most part it must be acknowledged that Lodge does not emerge with heightened reputation from such an investigation.

---

(1) The Return from Pernassus. ed. Macray. Oxford. 1886. Act I, Sc. ii, 144-5.

(2) Nash. Works. ed. McKerrow. Vol. III p. 36 .

(3) The Anatomy of Melancholy. ed. Shilleto. London. 1893. Vol. I, p. 23. Democritus to the reader.

SECTION I.

CATHAROS: DIOGENES IN HIS SINGULARITIE.

This pamphlet was published during Lodge's absence on his voyage with Cavendish; it was licensed to Chettle and dedicated to Sir John Hart by John Busbie (to whom Lodge had entrusted it to "bestow vpon some worthie patron"). It is a satire in dialogue form delivered by Diogenes in his tub to two "Athenian" magistrates. In the first half of the pamphlet the satire is conveyed by means of fables; the second half consists of long tirades against Usury and Luxury. There are indications that the pamphlet had for its Elizabethan readers some topical or political interest, particularly in the opening pages, which contain constant references to the dangers of plain speaking - "Silence these days is a trim safe conduit"<sup>(1)</sup>. Lodge, indeed, imputes to his satirist a most un-Diogenes-like caution, for he several times defends himself from the imputation of a personal attack - "Whatsoeuer I say, I will not stand too, if anie man say I speake ill, I will desire him to teach me better: if I hit by hap like a blind woodman in the dark, let men not blame my frowardness but their owne fortune"<sup>(2)</sup>; and when magistrates are under discussion "then mattereth it not how ambiguouslie I speake, for wee ought not to bee too playne with such as they"<sup>(3)</sup>. When Philoplutos warns Diogenes that his "comparisons may be excepted against" he replies, "Why dare men be touched with the shadow of beasts?"<sup>(4)</sup> It is

---

(1) Catharos, p. 7.  
 (2) " p. 18.  
 (3) " p. 18.  
 (4) " p. 15.

difficult to identify the younger of Diogenes' interlocutors, Philoplutos, from the scanty data, but Cosmosophos has more distinctive marks. He is grey-haired, (1) has been married twice (2) and Diogenes hints at some scandal in connection with his daughter's father-in-law in his gibe - "How doth the father of your son-in-law?" (3) He is probably to be identified with Walsingham who was twice married and whose daughter Frances was first the wife of Sir Philip Sidney and then of (4) Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, stepson of Leicester whose disgrace before his death is probably here alluded to. That some topical reference was understood by Lodge's contemporaries is supported by what appears to be an allusion to this trace in T.B.'s (Thomas Bowes') Epistle prefixed to his translation of the Second Part (5) of the French Academie of Primaudaye. After a tirade against some writer who is not named, but can almost (6) certainly be identified as Greene, he goes on to say: "And if the rest of his crew may be permitted so easily as hee did without controlment to distill their venomous inuentions into the minds of our English youth by meanes of printing, what other thing can wee looke for, but that the whole land should speedily be ouerflown with the deadly waters of all impieties, whenas the flood-gates of Atheism are thus set wide open? Are

---

(1) Catharos, p. 8.

(2) " p. 12.

(3) Catharos, p. 12. The N.E.D. notes this reference in Catharos. It queries the suggestion "reputed son". No other examples of this meaning of the word are given.

(4) See Art. on Walsingham in the D.N.B.

(5) The Second Part of the French Academie. By Peter de la Primaudaye Esquier, Lord of the same place and of Barre. And translated out of the second edition (by T.B.) London. 1594.

(6) The existence of the attack on Greene was pointed out by Collier. Poetical Decameron. 1820, Vol. II, p. 278. He gave no explanation of this passage which I take as a reference to Catharos, but pointed out a possible reference to Lodge's Reply to Gosson later in this Epistle.

they not already grown to this boldness, that they dare to gird at the greatest personages of all estates and callings vnder the fables of sauage beasts, not sparing the very dead that lie in their graues?" That (1) this reference is probably to Catharos, and that in this pamphlet Walsingham was attacked is supported by the fact that Walsingham had died in 1590, a year before Catharos was published.

The topical significance of this pamphlet does not, however, go very far, for the satire soon becomes more general and less personal, and Lodge may have intended nothing more by this air of mystery than to gain for his pamphlet some "succès de scandale". The way in which, after the opening pages, he settled down to the wholesale borrowing of material from earlier books would point to this conclusion. The pamphlet is indeed, with the exception of a few pages at the opening and close, made up of borrowings from two works, the Dialogues of Creatures Moralyed and the Somme des Pechez of Jean Benedicti, with other borrowings, slight in comparison, from the Adagia of Erasmus, the Viridarium Poetarum of Octaviano Mirandola and the Vicissitude des Choses of Louis Le Roy.

(1) Borrowings from The Dialogues of Creatures Moralyed in Catharos.

The fables with their moralisations by which the satire is conveyed in the first half of this pamphlet were all taken, without the slightest acknowledgment, from the Dialogues of Creatures Moralyed, a collection of fables apparently very popular, especially in the

(1) The Second Part of the French Academie. Sig. b4.b. The above quotation is in Italics in the original.



140

Low Countries, at the close of the fifteenth and opening of the sixteenth centuries. It was first printed in Latin by Leeu at Gouda in 1480 under the title Dyalogus Creaturarum Optime Moralizatus, and before the end of the century eight Latin, three Dutch and two French editions had appeared. No English translation was printed until well on in the sixteenth century when the popularity of the book on the continent, to judge from the decrease in the number of editions, was on the wane. The only complete English translation was published abroad, probably at Antwerp, about 1535. The first seven dialogues were translated and printed by Wyer, without date, a little earlier. The book does not seem to have been translated into German, Spanish or Italian.

This collection of fables, one hundred and twenty-two in number, consists of dialogues not only of animals, but also of the elements, of "Gemmys and precyous Stonys" and of birds, fishes and mythological beasts. The book opens with dialogues "Of the Sunne and the Moone", "Of Saturne and the clowde", "Of the Euyne Sterre & the Morowe Sterre" and passes from these to dialogues between stones and metals - "Of the

---

(1) The colophon of the first edition is as follows: "Presens liber Dyalogus creaturarum appellatus iocundis fabulis plenus Per gerardum leeue in opido goudensi incept(us) munere dei finitus est Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimo mensis iunij die tercia".

(2) Hain. Repertorium Bibliographicum. Stuttgart. 1826.

(3) The Dialogues of Creatures Moralyed. Applyably and edificatyfly, to euery mery and iocunde mater, of late tra(n)slated out of latyn into out Englysshe tonge right profitable to the gouernaunce of man. And they be to sell, upo(n) Powlys churchye yerde.

Colophon: "Thus endith the Dialogus of Creatures Moralyed. Applyably ----- of man. And they be to sell, upo(n) Powlys churchye yerde."

(4) Here be vij Dialogues. The fyrst is of the son(n)e and of the Moone.--- By these dialogues, a man may take to hym selfe good Counsayle. Colophon: Im-  
prynted by me Robert Wyer, dwellynge in seynt Martyns parysshe. [London. 1530?]

Smaragde and the rynges", "Of the precyous Topazyon", "of Siluer and Iron". Then come dialogues between birds and animals and "many dyuerse wormys and beastis", and the book closes with dialogues "of man and woman" and "of lyfe and death". The fables range in length from two to seven pages, but for the most part they seldom extend to more than three. First comes the fable, then the moral delivered in a couplet; then the moral is driven home by further examples, sometimes by another fable from the writer's own pen or from Aesop, sometimes by sayings from the scriptures and the fathers, sometimes by an anecdote from late classical and mediaeval "Exempla". The writer quotes the Scriptures, Bernard, Augustine, Chrisostome, Isidore, Jerome, and the Vitae Patrum; among more secular writers he quotes Aesop, Valerius Maximus, Seneca, the Sayings of Cato, Boethius, Petrus Comestor and the Gesta Romanorum.

No author's name seems ever to have been associated with the book, but some of the editions have a preface in which the writer recommends his "dulce cum utili" to the reader: "Et ideo auctor libri istius her (sic) rite considerans quosda(m) dyalogos creaturarum ad sana(m) et moralem doctrina(m) applicauit, confinxit et composuit. vt p(er) creaturaru(m) quasi nobis loque(n)tiu(m) p(ro)rietates. simul in moribus erudiamur et tedium audientiu(m) euitemus. et ipsoru(m) audienciu(m) memoriam adiuuem(us) quod maxime per reru(m) similitudines procuratur".

A comparison of the sixteenth century English translation and Lodge's version of the fables makes

---

(1) Dyalogus, etc. Gouda, 1480. Prefacio.

it clear that it was the English version and not the Latin or French that he knew. The wording of Lodge's fables is often so close to that of the sixteenth century English translation that it seems impossible to explain the coincidence as due to independent rendering of the Latin. Thus in the fable "Of the hare that was a lawyer" (Dialogo cv) the original Latin runs:

"Leo quoq(ue) prouerbiu(m) laudauit et ipsu(m) secu(m) in urbem duxit vbi inueniens que(n)dam dominu(m) depompantem idest vitupera(n)tem seruos suos. Vn(us) illo(rum) patienter auscultabat alter vero contra d(omin)um verbosari cepit et non cessabit p(ro) quo d(omi)n(u)s iratus ipsu(m) grauissime verberauit et expoliatum ipsu(m) reiecit. patiente(m) aute(m) retinuit et exaltauit". (1)

The English translation and Lodge's Catharos are as follows:

English Translation.

And the Lyon commendyd this prouerbe and led the hare with him, to a cyte, where they fownde a lorde rebukynge his seruauntis. and oone of the seruauntis toke pacyentlye the rebukys of his mastir. The other was impacient and not sufferable, but full of frowarde answers. Wherefore the Lorde in his ire all to bete him and spoyld hym and expulsyd him owte of seruice, (2)

Catharos.

The Lyon -- commended the Prouerbe, and led the Hare with him to a Citie, where they found a Lord rebuking his seruants, of which the one patiently endured the seuerer reprehensions of his Master, the other was impacient, and full of froward answers: for which cause, the Lord in his yre all to beate him, and spoyled him, and expelled him out of his seruice. (3)

Lodge took seven of the fables from the "Dialogues of Creatures Moralised" and incorporated them, with their moralisations, in his pamphlet. He uses his material fairly skilfully, fitting the fable and moralisation into Diogenes' discourses with interspersed

(1) Ibid. Dialogus cv.

(2) Sig. M.M4b.

(3) Pp. 21-2.

scraps of dialogue and comment. His treatment of the fables varies. Some (for example, "of the wolf and the Asse" and "Of the Tyrant Gryfon") he reproduces as they stand but others are enlivened with picturesque details. In the fable "Of the hare that was a lawyer" he adds the picture of the young lawyer soliciting patronage, "after a Schollers curtesie, with his round cap in his right hand, his pen and inke at his girdle, and his hood on his shoulders"<sup>(1)</sup>. The "tway hawkis" "seeking in the Summer euening for their ordinarie Supper"<sup>(2)</sup>, the description of the flattered capon "tickled like a Sammon trout in the gill"<sup>(3)</sup> and the fox "like a graue fellow in a garded gowne"<sup>(4)</sup> are again Lodge's additions to the original. Of special interest as recalling Lodge's seafaring is the change, in the fable "Of a beaste or a byrde callyd Laurus which occupyd shippmannys crafte", of "An Ape that was in a ship" to "An Ape at that time playing aboute the hatches", and the change of "sitting thereupon" to "sitting thereupon", and beholding the playing of the billowes against the barke side"<sup>(5)</sup>. He inserts a few classical references - to Philip of Macedon's lameness, to Seneca's philosopher of the "unkembed" locks. He gives "a kinge" and the "kynge of Perce" their respective names, Midas and Cyrus, and corrects "tarcy" to "Tomyris" and "Apollynde" to "Apollo". Perhaps it was some scruple of scholarship that led him to

---

(1) Catharos, p. 21. Dialogo. cv.

(2) " p. 24. " lvii.

(3) " pp. 27-8. " lxi.

(4) " p. 27. " lxi.

(5) " p. 31. " xcix.

omit the delightful etymology of the word quail given in the original - "A Quayle is a byrde that hath her name of Qualis, or ellys of the noyse that she makyth. For she cryeth, quaquera, quaquera"<sup>(1)</sup>.

A comparison of the style of Lodge's version with this early Tudor original throws light on a stage of the language. The translation of the sixteenth century retains mediaeval features of vocabulary and syntax which Lodge discards; only occasionally does he retain an old-fashioned phrase; "delycis" becomes "deliciousness"; "adicynante" becomes "adioning"; "venditours" becomes "sellers"; "agayne", "against"; "fro", "from"; "aftir", "according to", etc. "They twayn togider" becomes "they both at once"; "fownde noon eggis in hir" becomes "found hir void of eggs" and "to the other nothing sufficeth" becomes "the other will be satisfied with nothing". Besides such modernising of vocabulary and syntax Lodge alters the character of the style by his Elizabethan embroideries. "Went to the lion" becomes "repaired to the lyon the soueraigne of beasts and the sole patterne of bountie" and "that I may proue thy lernynge" becomes "that I may prooue thy learning and relieue thy lack". The syntactical development of English prose style during the mid-sixteenth century from "loose, and as it were vngyrt" to "strongly trussed vp together", to which E.K. refers in his praise of Spenser's style, is well illustrated in Lodge's recomposition of the following passage:

"The foresayde regulus was sent home to Rome for an exchange. But or euyr he departyd fro the Cartagenensis, he was sworn that if the Romaynes wolde not delyuer the prysoners of Cartage he shulde come agayne. And whan he came to Rome, he

---

(1) "Of tway Hawkys and a Quayle". Dialogo. lvii.

counseylyd the Romaynes not to be greable to theyr petycyon, for as moch as he was an olde man, and be lykelyhode shulde lyue but a whyle. And ther prysoners were yongmen, and likely to doo greate myscheef to the Romaynes in tyme comynge. And they prayde hym to go no more to cartage, but to abyde styll with them at Rome. But in no wyse he wolde not be greable, but forth he went to cartage, And whan he came thedir, he was cruelly put to deth, It had bene profitable to hym to haue hydde styll at Rome, but for his oth it had not bene honeste. And for the profyt of the Romaynes it had not bene vayleable nor profitable." (1)

Catharos:

"Marcus Regulus being taken prisoner in a certaine battaille by the Carthaginians, was sent by them to Rome vpon his faithful promise of returne, to raiunsome other captiues which were in the hands of the Romanes: who entering the Senate house being an old man well stept in yeares, in steede of perswading his associates for the safetie of the enemie, voluntarilie dissuaded them from exchange, alledging his olde yeares, his broken memorie, his vnable bodie, whereby he was vnfit to pleasure his countrie, nay rather he feared to be a burthen: for which cause he humbly intrated them with teares in his eies, to returne him home to Carthage, and to detaine the noble yong enemies: in briefe with much admiration he attained his suite, returned to Carthage, & dyed constantly and confidently for his countrie." (2)

The following fable will serve as an illustration of the kind of work that Lodge was using and his method of adapting it to this theme.

Of the sea bankys and the see. Dialogo viij.

The see is the halfer of the worlde, the well of al showrys, and the lodginge place of all floodys as the Philosofre sayth. For as it is wryttn Ecclesiastici primo. Al floodes entre the see, and he yeldith them not (sic) agayn. And the flodes retourne to the place that they cam fro, that they shulde flowe agayne. This see is greate and large as it is wrytyn in the Psalme ciiij. And so the see by his magnificence and greate power wente to

Catharos (pp. 15-18).

The sea (according to the Egyptian Philosophers) is the well of all showers, and the lodging place of all floods. All floods (saith one, I would either of vs were so honest) enter the sea, and hee yeeldeth them out againe, and the floods returne to their place they cam from, that they should flowe againe. I will for this neither alleadge lines nor leaues; but so the Scripture saith, by the head of Diogenes.

(1) Dialogo. lvii.

(2) P. 25.

Of the see bankys and the  
see. Dialogo viij.

the bankys and sayde. I meruayle greatly of thy hardnes and of thy styf harte. Thowe arte euyr contrary to me, and with stondist me and lettyst me that I maye not ete the erthe and consume it as I wold doo. Wherefore I desire the to be remouyd fro thy place, that I maye preuayle agayne the erthe and put hym underfote or ellys I shall notte cese to warre on the and put the to greate trowble. To whom the banke answerd and sayd. It is euyll sayd brodir. For the maker of all thinge hath ordeyned me so, and I suffre great labour infraying the for ye obedience yt I owe to hym. Thou comyst vppon me pftyn tymes & puttist me to great gref. I bere yt & suffre yt pacyently for ye loue of god, therefore thowe owyst not to multiplie vnkynde wordis agayne me for I may not change my place. This hering ye see answerd in great wode-nes, & thou mayst suffre tha(n) suffre styl for I shal neuir let ye to be i(n) peace. but I shal bete & punysh ye with al my pow(er). The ba(n)k pacie(n)tly put hi(m)self vn- dir ye yocke of obedience. & sayde thus.

Godemen may both Chyde and fyghte.

And punysh them that doth not ryghte.

Euery prelate & rular owith to be manlye & resiste them that be synfull yt thei preuayle not. Neuerthe lesse Gregory saith. As ye see euir rebellyth & repugnith agayn ye bankys by whome it is refraynyd & kept In lykewyse some personys in relygion euir rebell again ther prelatis, which can not coarce them nor bringe them to godenes. But good shepherdis nede not to drede ye malicyous thretyngis of the(m) yt be badde. But rath(er) lyke as a wakyng shepherde is wonte to kepe his shepe fro(m) cruel beastis, so good curatisowe(sic) to be diligent to co(n)serue ther flocke fro(m) peryshing. Therfor saith Isidir. Euill shepherdis take no hede of ther shepe. but as it is rede in the Euangely of the(m) yt

Catharos (Contd.).

This sea by reason of his great magnificence and power went to the banke thereof and saide, I meruaile greatly at thy hardnes, and wonder at thy stout heart, thou art euer contrary vnto me, and continually withstandest me, thou letttest me that I may not eate the earth, and sufferest me not to confound that which I would consume: I desire thee therefore to be remoued from thy place, that I may preuaile against the earth, & put him vnder foote, els shall I not surcease to procure thy torment, and incense my selfe to thy trouble. The banke hearing this holde attempt, answered and said, Thou art deadly bewitched my good brother, for the maker of all things hath ordained me in this sort, and I suffer great trauail in containing thee, in respect that I would please him. Thou comest vpon mee oftentimes, and putttest mee to great griefe, I beare and suffer for the loue of God, in seeking to reprehend thee of thy gluttonie, thou oughtest not then to multiplie vnkynde wordes against me: for I may not change my place, nor be mooued for thy peremptorie threates. The sea hearing this, aunswered in great woodnes; Since thou maist suffer, suffer still, for neuer shalt thou haue peace, but I will beate and punish thee with all my power. The Banke said nothing, and so I tooke a peece of bread and cheese, & went my way.

Cosmo: And what meane you by this, Diogenes?

Dio: That which I sweare neuer to tell thee, vnless thou wilt be vn honest.

Cosmo: How meane you that?

Dio: I meane thus, I sweare neuer to tell it vntill thou hearest it, neither can I tell it so soone as thou wilt be dishonest: This caueat is for such as you Philoplutos, or (if you please) for all sorts. Such as are to gouerne in Cities, ought to admit Counsailers ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ like the sea bankes to containe them, and such as are

Of the see bankys and the see (Contd.).

be but hyrid men which take no gret charge of ye flocke, for & if they see ye wolf cominge anone they flee. Whe(n) fle they away. Certainly whan they be styll & dare not speke befor the(m) yt be myghty & of pow(er) & whan thei be tymerous & fereful to withstonde them yt be synful and euyldisposyd(sic). Therfor Iherom comfortith vs & sayth, let vs intend to please god, & as for ye thretinge of man, we shal not nede to care. Petrus Comestor tellith yt ther was a kyng of Macedone callyd philippe & he besigid a cite callyd Athenis, & at last he spake to the(m) of ye cite & sayd. Deluyer me x oratours such as I shal chese emc(n)g you, & I shal be cdfedrid (1) (sic) with yowe, and go my ways The moste wise Creature callyd demosthenes answered to the kyng and sayde. wolues on a tyme spake to the shepherdis and sayde. All the discorde betwene you and vs cawseth yowr doggis yf ye entende to be at one with vs, delyuer vs your dogs and we shal be frondys for euyr. And whan they had so done, The woluyes at ther owne wyll deuowryd the shepe. By the which example hitte apperyth howe greate perell hitte is whan doggis by whome is vnderstonde prechours and Curatis forsake ther flockys, and be negligent to barke and preche agayne synne.

(1) = co(n)fedrid?

(for that should bee the best style) I marrie will I, thus said he to the people, and thus say I to Philoplutos: Wolues on a time spake to the shepherds, and said, Your dogs are al the cause of the discord which is risen twixt you and vs: if you will be at one with vs, deliuer vs your Dogges, and we shal be friends for euer. When the shepherds had done so, the Wolues at their owne pleasure deuoured the sheepe.

Catharos (Contd.).

Counsailers, are to behaue themselues like the sea bankes, to resist the sinfull if they exceede, as the banks withstandest the billowes if they mount: yet is there an honest Church man saith, As the sea euer rebelleth, and repugneth against the bankes, by which it is restrained and kept in: in like sort some persons repugne aduice, which prooueth they are worthie of punishment. Such as counsaile, must haue Clarkes which like good shepherds need not dread the malicious threatnings of the bad: yet such as counsell the diuell, cannot mend him of his euill. But to the purpose: The sea banke I told you of, should resemble you, if you dissemble not. Oh how I mistake? You should resemble the sea bankes, which as they resist al stormes whatsoeuer: so should you (in such manner as waking shepherds are wont to doo) keepe your sheepe from cruell beasts, least Leodore (sic) come in with this Item. Euill Shepherds take no heede of their sheepe, & hired men if they see the Wolfe charging the flocke, they sodainly flie. O you sea bankes let me speake vnto you before one of your Masters, when flie you away? Certainly, when you are still and dare not speake before the mightie, and when you are timorous and fearfull to withstand such as are tyrannous and froward. Shall I comfort you with an olde father? I marrie sir, and will I: Entend you to please the Gods, as for the threatning of man you neede not care. Philip of Macedon (Philoplutos) was a wise fellow as thou art, lame on his legs as I wish thee: This Philip besieging Athens, in steede of raunsome of the Estate required ten Orators of his choyce: but harke what Demos-thenes said, I tell you, or your worship, or your manship



The other six fables, "Of the Wolf and the Asse" (Dialogo cvii), "Of the hare that was a lawyer" (Dialogo cv), "Of tway Hawkys and a Quayle" (Dialogo lvii), "Of a Cok and a Capon" (Dialogo lxi), "Of the Tyrant Gryfon" (Dialogo lxxxvii) and "Of a beaste or a byrde callyd Laurus whiche occupyd shippmannys crafte" (Dialogo xcix), were incorporated in Catharos in a similar manner. Altogether the borrowings from the Dialogues of Creatures Moralyed in this pamphlet cover about  
 (1)  
 thirteen pages.

(ii) The Somme des Pechez of Jean Benedicti.

About half way through his pamphlet Lodge set aside the Dialogues of Creatures Moralyed for another work of a very different character. This was the Somme des Pechez of Jean Benedicti. Lodge, again, gives not the slightest indication that his material was not of his own composition. His borrowings from this French work cover some thirty quarto pages of his pamphlet. The tirade against Usury (pages 32-40, with the fable of Laurus sandwiched in), the attack on Luxury (pages 41-60) and the passage on Envy (pages 61-2) are all from this work. In a later pamphlet Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse Lodge acknowledges "Iohn Benedicti" as the authority for an anecdote  
 (2)  
 which he there relates, giving no indication, however, of his extensive debt, in either that pamphlet or this, to this French book.

---

(1) A transcription of these six other fables incorporated in Catharos has been made but it has not been possible to include it.

(2) P. 48.

The Somme des Pechez was first published in 1584  
 (1) at Lyons. No copy of this edition of the book, which must have been the edition Lodge knew, is in any of the big public libraries of England or in the Bibliothèque Nationale. It was reprinted at Paris in 1595 "augmentée & amplifiée"<sup>(2)</sup>; a copy of this edition is in the British Museum. On the title-page the author describes himself as the "reuerend P.F.I. Benedicti, Professeur en Theologie, de l'ordre des Freres Mineurs de l'obseruance & Père Prouincial de la Prouence de Tourraine Pictauienne". Nothing more seems to be known of this writer and the Somme des Pechez seems to have been his only work. It appears to have been fairly popular, for it was reprinted in 1600, 1601, 1602, 1610 and 1620.<sup>(3)</sup>

The book deals with the nature of sin and its correction, as its title states. The subject matter is divided into six books; the first book deals with the cause, origin and definition of sin and the first three commandments; the second with the rest of the ten commandments; the third with the commandments of the church and the Seven Deadly Sins, Simony and Usury; the fourth with the Sacraments and sins against the Holy Ghost, the five senses, and sins of the tongue; the fifth with the destruction of sin and penitence, and the sixth with Restitutions. The book has every appearance of being the work of a man of vast erudition. The margins of its seven hundred folio pages are

---

(1) Brunet. Manuel du Libraire. Paris 1878. The Privilege for the printing of the book to be found in the 1595 edition is dated "Lugduni die lan. decima--- 1584".

(2) La Somme des Pechez. Et le Remede d'Iceux -----  
 Premierement recueillie & puis nouvellement reueue, corrigee, augmentee & ampliee, Par Reuerend P.F.I. Benedicti, Professeur en Theologie, de l'ordre des Freres Mineurs de l'obseruance, & Pere Prouincial de la Prouince de Touraine Pictauienne. A Paris. 1595.

(3) See the Catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

covered with references in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French and Italian to writings sacred and profane. The writer quotes the scriptures, the Fathers and Church councils; Homer and the Greek tragedians; Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Juvenal, etc., among classical writers, Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto among modern; and there are many references to popular works of the sixteenth century - the Celestina, Amadis de Gaula, the Heptameron of Margaret of Navarre and the works of Rabelais. In addition to this display of learning in the margins, the work is prefaced by an elaborate table of authorities consulted, which may, or may not, have been drawn up in the manner satirised in the Preface to Don Quijote.

The material Lodge borrowed from the Somme des Pechez in Catharos was all taken from the section of the third book that deals with the Seven Deadly Sins. The material was more intractable than the Dialogues of Creatures Moralysed. He makes a few half-hearted efforts to preserve verisimilitude of time and place by an occasional "we Greeks" or "in Athens" and once naively makes Diogenes explain his knowledge of the Old and New Testament, which the ascription to him of these passages translated from the Somme des Pechez entailed in the words "which though I haue neuer read, yet as inspired I will preache them foorth: for I am  
(1)  
assured of the truth thereof", but on the whole he translates the words of the sixteenth century friar with scriptural, patristic, classical and renaissance quotations complete. One kind of change, is, however, noticeable. Where Benedicti, for the benefit of

---

(1) P. 35.

(1)

the unlearned translates his quotations from languages other than French in the text, giving the original in a marginal note, Lodge, less concerned with the salvation of souls than with the maintenance of the "university wit" tradition, frequently quotes not the translation but the original, in Italian or Latin as the case may be. In the passage on Usury a few interspersed remarks - "a plague on the fathers of such monsters", "the poor borrowers hatch worms ad infinitum to their utter wrack" - betray some personal interest, but the passage on Luxury is a close, even slavish translation of the original with errors showing signs of inattention and haste"; for example, "plus cher" is translated "more charily", "acquiesce a l'opinion" "acquit the opinion", "la plaie" "the smoke", and in some places Lodge avails himself of the French word; he speaks of the "siege of humane seed" ("le siège de la geniture humaine"), of "fire which is inextinguible" ("mieux ayant estre bruslé du feu materiel -- que de celuy<sup>qui</sup> est inextinguible"). Sometimes the French word he uses was later adopted in the English language; his use of "palliardise" is the first given in the New English Dictionary, and his use of "feneration" is earlier than any example there recorded.

The following extract (the beginning of Lodge's borrowing from the Somme de Pechez) will give some idea of the kind of work he was using.

---

(1) Somme des Pechez. "Or pour autant que ceste Somme ne sera moins vtile que agreable à toutes manieres de gens, aussi là-il bien voulu accomoder à la capacité d'vn chacun, ayant pour ceste cause dressé les cotta-tions des autheurs Hebreux, Syrie(n)s, Grecs and Latins à la marge en faueur des doctes: & la substance de leurs propos au texte du François, pour les moins scauans." Avertissement au Lecteur. [Par.] F. Francois Iany Chartreux. Sig. h[iv]b.

SOMME DES PECHEZ, Liure III.  
Ch. ix. DE L'VSURE, p. 287,  
et seq.

Prologue sur la matiere des  
vsures tres-vtile pour la  
resolution d'icelles.

----- Les Hebrieux la nomme  
e(n)t Neschech, c'est à dire,  
morsure, diction qui est  
tiree (sic) du theme Naschach,  
mot attribué aux serpe(n)s:  
car tout ainsi que le serpent,  
ronge & mord, aussi fait  
l'vsure, suyuant ce que dit  
Rabi Salomon, lequel apres  
les autres ancie(n)s Thalmu-  
distes, escrit, que, le sur-  
croist de l'vsure est comme  
la morsure d'vne certaine  
espece de serpent, lequel mord  
l'homme au pied, sans luy in-  
ferer trop grand'douleur au  
commencement, mais peu à peu  
le venin du pied monte au  
cerueau, & le fait mourir:  
ainsi la morsure de l'vsure  
ne se sent point au commen-  
cement, sinon iusques à tant  
qu'elle ayt monté en haut, &  
consumé toute la substance du  
pauvre homme. En voilà  
l'opinion des Hebrieux. La  
Theologie des Chaldeens nomme  
l'vsure Habuliah, c'est à  
dire, perdition & corruption:  
car elle perd & gaste les  
hommes, St. Chrysostome suyuant  
l'etymologie des Hebrieux,  
fait comparaison de l'vsure  
au venin procedant de la  
morsure d'vn certain serpe(n)t,  
duquel la morsure est si  
douce, au commencement, qu'  
elle enge(n)dre le desirde  
(sic) sommeil, & puis en fin  
le dormir tue celuy qui est  
nauré, lors que le venin se  
dilata par tous les me(m)bres  
du corps. Ainsi celuy qui  
prend argent à vsure, pense  
en receuoir au commencement  
quelque profit, mais il ne  
fait, que s'y endormir, en  
ne s'aquitant iamais du prin-  
cipal, en fin il se consume  
du tout. Il y a des legistes,  
qui (apres S. Hierome) com-  
parent l'vsure à vn certain  
ver, duquel le natural est si  
maling, qu'apres auoir ta(n)t  
rongé le bois, qu'il ne peut  
tourner au trou qu'il a fait,  
il engendre vn autre ver de  
mesme malice: car le pauvre

Catharos, p. 32.

Diogenes: ----- The Hebrues  
well looking into the lament-  
able effectes thereof, called  
it Neschech, that is to say,  
a biting: a diction which is  
drawen from the theame Naschech,  
a word attributed to Serpents:  
for as the Serpent stingeth and  
biteth, so Vsurie (according to  
the opinion of Rabbi Salomon)  
is the venemoust poyson among  
men. For as hee that is stung  
by a Serpent in the foote, with  
small paine falleth a sleepe(1),  
and in his slumbers (the poyson  
beeing dispearsed) suffereth  
death: so the biting of Vsurie  
makes but a little wound at the  
first, vntill such time as it  
hath growen to fulnes, it con-  
sumeth a poore mans whole estatay  
and substaunce. The Chaldees  
in their Theologie, call it  
Habuliah, that is to say, perdi-  
tion and corruption: for it  
destroyeth and ouerthroweth men  
according to the saying of S.  
Chrisostome, who following the  
Etymologie of the Hebrue, com-  
pareth Vsurie with the Venome  
proceeding from the biting of  
a certaine Serpent, whose  
wou(n)d and sting is so sweete  
at the beginning, that it en-  
gendreth a desire of sleepe,  
and then in the end the sleepe  
killeth him which is wounded,  
at such time as the venome  
spreadeth it selfe through all  
the members of the bodie: so  
hee which is chained in  
Vsurers debts, thinketh in the  
beginning to receaue some pro-  
fit, but he doth but cast him-  
selfe a sleepe, and not acquit-  
ting himselfe at any time of  
the principal, in the end he  
consumeth himselfe altogether.  
There are Lawyers and Legists,  
who (according to the opinion  
of Saint Hierome) compare vsurie  
vnto a certain worme, who  
naturally is so malignant, that  
after he hath so long gnawen  
the wood that he may turn him  
in the hole which he hath made(2)  
he engendreth another worme of  
the same mallice: so the Vsurie  
with the debtor that makeath  
satisfaction vpon the dayes of  
paiment, hatcheth vp another  
vsurie: & the poore borrowers  
hatch wormes ad infinitum to

(1) Not a literal translation.

(2) The negative of the French is omitted after "may".

Somme des Pechez. De L'Vsure,  
(Contd.).

debteur, que ne satisfait au terme de payer la vieille vsure, souuent est contraint d'en creer vne nouvelle. Et voila comment vsure engendre vsure Et pour autant que l'vsurier est comparé à vn ver, il aura pour recompense vn ver, qui luy rongera incessamment la pauvre co(n)-science, comme les vautours qui rongent le foye du paillard Tytie ainsi que dit Homere. C'est ce ver qui ne mourra point dit le Prophete Esaie. On compare aussi l'vsurier au feu qui est vn element actif & insatiable: car il brusle & consume tout le bois qu'on luy baille, ainsi l'vsurier d'autant que plus il a en la bourse & plus il ronge & deuore, comme la gueule d'Enfer. Mais helas ce feu là bruslera son auteur, no(n) seulement en ce monde où les mechans souuent commence(n)t leur Enfer, ains en l'autre, où le feu d'Enfer le bruslera sans iamais estre esteint. - /9 lines/ - Et à ce propos saint Bernard dit que l'vsurier est vn bourgeois & citoyen voleur: à quoy i'adiouste que tout ainsi que le brochet en vn estang, ronge & mange les autres poissons, ainsi fait l'vsurier le pauvre populat és villes, bourgades, & autres lieux où il se trouue. Ce n'est donc pas sans cause que Caton au rapport de Ciceron comparoit l'vsurier a l'homicidiare. Car il hume la substance de l'homme & luy oste les choses necessaires à la vie, & en fin le met au biffac. C'est ce que dit Ausone en vn mot, Vsure tue subitement les pauvres. Et quant au Grecs ils appellent l'vsure Tocos qui est vn nom deriué de Ticto, c'est a dire, enfanter: car elle enfante, comme vn monstre, & belüe force deniers du laps du temps: & de là vient que l'Aristote dit, que ce n'est autre chose que mo(n)noye engendree d'autre mo(n)noye, qui est vn fruit produit contre nature. Comment contre nature? ----- (10 pages). P.299. It rests maintenant à veoir comme l'vsure est co(n)tre la loy naturelle, diuine & humaine. Qu'elle soit contre la loy naturelle, les Philosophes l'ont assez demo(n)stré, lesquels ont detesté le gaing

Catharos (p. 33) (Contd.).

to their utter wrack. And in that the vsurer is compared to a worme, he shall haue in recompence of his villanie, a worme which shal incessantly feede vpon him, and tyre vpon his conscience, as the Vultures that gnaw the poore liuer of Titius, according to Homers opinio(n): & this is my opinion. This is the worme that shall not die as a Prophet spoke, more famous than Plato for a Philosopher. The Vsurer likewise is compared vnto fire, an actuall (1) and insatiable element: for as it burneth and consumeth all such wood as is cast vpon it, so the usurer the more he hath in his purse, the more he gnaweth and deuoureth, resembling in this poynt hell mouth. But I I (sic) may say to thee Cosmosophos, I must now laugh hartelie.

Cosmo: And why?

Dio: Because this their fire of Couetousnesse shall burne the Author, not only in this world, where the wicked begin their hell: but in the other world, where the fire of hell is vnquenchable. In briefe, these vsurers (as Barnard saith) are Master burgesse theeues, who as the Pyke in the pond deuoureth all other fish, so doth the Vsurer the poore people in Cities, Townes Villages, till some wilde fire cut them short. Cicero and Cato accompteth them for homicides, & Ausonius the Poet saith Vsurie killeth so dainly. We Greekes cal Vsurie Tocos, which is a name deriued from Ticto, which signifieth as much as to bring forth, in such manner as infants, are begotten: for with losse of time it bringeth foorth and begetteth much money: a plague on the fathers of such monsters. Aristotle calleth this cursed lucre, an infant begotten against Nature To speake in a word, this Vsurie is against the lawes both naturall diuine and humane. That it is against the lawes naturall, the Philosophers haue sufficiently testified, who haue detested the gaine of Vsurie: Plato in his lawes hath forbidden

Somme des Pechez. De L'Vsure,  
(Contd.).

vsuraire. Platon en ses loix a defendu l'vsage des vsures & comma(n)dé de punir l'vsurier de la perte du sort principal & des arrerages. Plutarque aussi fait vn traicté tout expres, où il monstre par nature, qu'il ne faut exercer la feneration & vsure. C'est pourquoy toutes natio(n)s les ont eu en horreur, comme les Turcs, Mores, Sarrasins, Tartares, & autres infideles. La premiere probatio(n) en est prinse de l'Aristote, qui dit que pecune ne peut engendrer pecune, car c'est contre nature, qu'une chose sterile de soy porte fruct. Celuy donc qui cherche fruct de son argent, qui n'est mis au nombre des genitures naturelles, commet peché contre le droit naturel. La seco(n)de, c'est iniustice de vouloir tirer profit de ce que n'est pas sien: or est-il que l'argent presté n'est plus sien, l'ayant baillé (& quant à la proprieté, & qua(n)t à l'vsage sans rien se reseruer, & pour-autant tel prest s'appelle en latin mutuum, c'est a dire, du mien il est fait tien: s'il est tien, il n'est plus mien. Il n'est plus mien, ie n'en doy donc prendre aucun proffit. La troisieme, pre(n)dre vne chose deux fois c'est larreci(n) l'vsurier fait le mesme et co(m)ment? Premiereme(n)t il reçoit & prend la somme principale, & secondement le surcroist d'icelle, qui est tres grande iniustice. La quatrieme, Celuy qui vend deux fois une chose, commet larrecin & iniustice: or est il que l'vsurier le fait car en receuant sa somme il reçoit argent pour argent en mesme equalité & puis en exigeant le surcroist, il vend l'vsage, qui est ve(n)dre deux fois: attendu que l'vsage ne se peut separer de la chose.

Cátharos, pp. 33-34 (Contd.).

the vsage of Usurie, and hath commaunded to punish the Usurer with the losse of his principall, and the forfeiture of the arrearage. Plutarch hath also made an expresse Treatise vpon the same, where he prooueth that by Nature we ought not to vse feneration and vsurie: and for this cause all Nations haue it in horror, as the Turkes, Moores, Saracens, Tartares and other Infidels. The first prooffe is taken from Aristotle, who saith, that money cannot ingender money, for it is against Nature, that a thing beeing of it selfe barraine, should beare frute. Hee then that seeketh frute from his money, which is not admitted in the number of natural genetrices, how sinneth he against the right naturall? The second reason, It is iniustice to seeke to draw profite from that which is not his owne: but it is certaine that siluer lent, is not his own that hath lent it, but both in the propertie and vsage is his for the time to whom it is lent, and therefore such a loane in Latin is called Mutuum, of mine it is made thine, and if it be mine, it cannot at that instant be thine. The third reason, To take anie thing twice, is Larceny: the Usurer doth the same. And how? First he receiueth and taketh the principall summe, and secondly the interest of the same, which is most gret iniustice. The fourth, He that selleth one thing twice, committeth Larcenie & iniustice: but the Usurer dooth so. For in receiuing his money, he receiueth siluer for siluer in the same equalitie, and then in exacting the ouer-plus he selleth the vse, and that is (in effect to sell twice, considering that the vsage cannot be separated from the thing.





iv.

The Viridarium Poetarum or Flores Illustrium  
 (1)  
Poetarum of Octavianus Mirandola, a collection of com-  
 monplaces from the poets of the classical and silver  
 ages of Latin literature, which Lodge never mentions,  
 but with which some thirty quotations in Wits Miserie  
and the Worlds Madnesse and other borrowings scattered  
 through his novels and prose pamphlets show him to  
 (2)  
 have been acquainted, furnished him with two quotations -  
 (3)  
 "Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis" (ultimately  
 from Claudian) and two lines (ultimately from Ovid's  
Tristia) -

"At simul intonuit, fugiunt, nec noscitur ulli  
 Agminibus comitum qui modo cinctus erat." (4)

v.

Lastly, the Vicissitude des Choses of the French  
 (5)  
 Humanist Louis le Roy, an outline history of civilisa-  
 tion down to the Renaissance, first published between  
 (6)  
 1575 and 1580, seems to have been the source of the

(1) Flores Illustrium Poetarum. Per Octavianum  
 Mirandulam collecti in locos communes digesti. Venetiis.  
 1574. MDLXXIIII.

(2) See later, p. .

(3) Catharos, p. 11. Cf. Flores. "De Regno," p.550.  
 "Claud. de A Honorii Consul.  
 - Componitur orbis  
 Regis ad exemplum, nec sic inflectere sensus  
 Humanos edicta ualent, quam uita regentis.  
 Mobile mutatur semper cum principe uulgas."

(4) Catharos, p. 14, et Flores. "De Adversitate",  
 p. 18.

Ouid. 1 Trist.  
 "Scilicet ut fuluum spectatur in ignibus aurum,  
 Tempore sic duro est inspicienda fides.  
 Dum iuuat & uultu ridet fortuna sereno  
 Indelibatas cuncta sequuntur opes.  
 At simul intonuit, fugiunt, nec noscitur ulli  
 Agminibus comitum qui modo cinctus erat."

(5) De la Vicissitude ou Variete des choses en  
 l'Vniuers. Par Loys le Roy dict Regius. Paris 1579.

(6) See Becker (AM). Un Humaniste du XVI<sup>e</sup> siecle.  
 Paris. 1896. p. 389,

miscellaneous information Lodge displays in the closing pages of this pamphlet. In Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse Lodge alludes to "Lewis Regius" as the authority for the story of Changuis the Smith, which is to be found in the Ninth book of the Vicissitude des Choses. It is to be inferred from evidence in his first prose work, the Reply to Gosson, that he was acquainted with this work at an early date, He never made any such transcript from it as from the Dialogues of Creatures Moralysed or the Somme des Pechez, but he seems to have gained much miscellaneous information from its pages. He would probably know the work in the original French since no Italian translation appeared until 1592 and no English translation until 1594. To this source can with probability be referred the allusions in the closing pages of Catharos to "the great buildings of Constantine", "Sesostris of Egypt", the overthrow of Darius by Alexander, the wealth of Xerxes, and the rise of the Tartars under Changuis, which seems to have made a great impression on Lodge since he refers to it not only here and in Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse, but also in William Long beard.

---

(1) P. 12.

(2) See later, p. 207.

(3) Catharos, p. 63. Vicissitude des Choses. Lib.VI, p. 73.

(4) " p. 63. " " " Lib.IV, p.33, et seq.

(5) " p. 64. " " " Lib.IV, pp42-3

(6) " p. 64. " " " " IV, p.41.

(7) " p. 64. " " " " IX, p.90 et seq.

(8) P. 27.

SECTION II.

WITS MISERIE AND THE WORLDS MADNESSE.

Lodge's last pamphlet and his best Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse reveals a much more legitimate, original and interesting method of composition than Catharos. This pamphlet, in which the mediaeval classification of the Seven Deadly Sins serves as a framework for satiric pictures of London types in the last decade of the sixteenth century, was clearly inspired by Nash's Piers Pennilesse which had appeared four years earlier. There are three references to (1) Nash in this work and a comparison of the lifeless translation of the passages on Usury and Luxury in Catharos and the vividly visualised portraits of these sins which Lodge combines with material from more bookish sources in Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse, shows how much Lodge had learnt from the younger writer. Sandwiched in between passages from the Somme des Pechez, packed with learned allusions of every kind, and borrowings, less extensive, from eight or nine other books, are portraits of the Seven Deadly Sins and their Branches made vivid by first-hand observation of the life and manners of the time.

The work gains considerable vitality from its setting, not in "the inhospitable mountains of Egypt" in the time of Constantine, like The Devil Conjured, nor in the Athens of Alexander's day like Catharos, but in Elizabethan England. Through the pamphlet there runs a stream of allusion to the most outstanding

---

(1) Pp. 33, 63 and 85.

events of sixteenth century history (to the struggle between France and Spain for supremacy, the wars in Italy, the battles of Serisoles and Lepanto) and to the figures that played an outstanding part in its making (Charles V, Francis I, Henry of Navarre, Don John of Austria, etc.). There are allusions to domestic history, political and social (the activity of the Star Chamber in the year 1596 and the unrest caused by enclosures and rack rents). Attention is drawn to the rise in the standard of living that marked the closing years of the sixteenth century, more particularly in fashions of dress - "The Plowman that in times past was contented in Russet, must now adales haue his doublet of the fashion with wide cuts, his garters of fine silke of Granado to meet his SIS on Sunday: the farmer that was contented in times past with his Russet Frocke & Mockado sleeues, now sels a Cow against Easter, to buy him silken geere for his credit"<sup>(1)</sup>. The Seven Deadly Sins are visualised against a London background, skulking "in the back Isles of Powles", "in a fray in Fleetstreet", "haunting the Exchange", "studying ouer the reuersions of an ordinarie" and "sitting in the Stationers shop ---- libing and flearing ouer euery pamphlet with Ironical leasts". Affectations of dress and speech are satirised; there is the stock satire on the dress of the travelled Englishman of the period "with the Spanish hat, the Italian ruffe, the French doublet, the Muffes cloak, the Toledo rapier, the German hose, the English stockings, & the Flemmish shoe"<sup>(2)</sup>, and the mimicry of the user of ink-horn terms who "chops the fragments of Lattin in euery feast of

---

(1) P. 20.

(2) P. 41.

his phrase" shows that the prose pamphlet, like the novel, learnt something from the stage -

"To the cobler he saith, set me two semicircles on my suppeditarie; and hee answers him, his shoes shall cost him two pence; to his seruant ----- My deminitue and defectiue slaue (quoth hee) giue me the couerture of my corpes to esconse my person<sup>er</sup> frigiditie; (and al this while he cals but for his cloak.) Get him to write letters to his friend, and marke mee his Method: Sien of my Science in the Catadupe of my knowledge, I nourish the Crocodile of thy conceit; my wrath-venger (hee meanes his sword) shall annihilate their identities, and separate the pure of their spirits from the filthie of their flesh, that shall frustrate thy forwardnesse, or put out the candel of thy good conceit towards me." (1)

There are many literary allusions; to popular works of the day (Palmerin, the Nine Worthies, the ballad of Mistress Saunders) and to the works of French and Italian writers that had achieved fame or notoriety (Rabelais, Bonaventure des Perriers, Du Bartas, Aretine, Machiavelli, Bandello); there are allusions to the stage (to the ghost in Hamlet) and to well-known actors (Tarlton, Elderton, Singer) and to Lodge's own contemporaries "LILLY the famous for facility in discourse; SPENCER, best read in ancient poetry; DANIEL, choise in word, and inuention; DRAITON, diligent and formall; TH. NASH, true English Aretine".<sup>(2)</sup>

Lodge's work gained considerable colour through the stimulus of Nash's racy language. The Seven Deadly Sins and their branches are described in telling similes; the picture of Hate-Virtue who "walks for the most part in black vnder colour of grauity, & looks pale as the Visard of ye ghost which cried so miserably at ye Theator like an Oister wife, Hamlet, revenge"<sup>(3)</sup> is well known; equally lively are the similes describing

---

(1) Pp. 29-30.

(2) P. 63.

(3) P. 62.

Drunkenness who "shawmes like a cow had broke her fore-  
 legs" and "hath no more sence then a shoat in pickle"<sup>(1)</sup>.  
 Ire "looks red in the gils like a Turkie cocke"<sup>(2)</sup>. Arro-  
 gance "neuer speaks but he first wags his head twice  
 or thrice like a wanton mare ouer her bit, and after  
 hee hath twinckled with his eies (as hee would read  
 his destinie in the heauens) and chewed the wordes  
 between his lips ---- out braies hee foorth so simple  
 a discourse as would make a man(n)s heart burst with  
 laughing to hear it"<sup>(3)</sup>. The looks, gestures and cloth-  
 ing of the Seven Deadly Sins are described, and Lodge's  
 descriptions show not only the influence of his con-  
 temporary Nash but also the influence of the tradi-  
 tion handed down from Langland. Derision appears "with  
 a lean face: and hollow eies, biting in his lips for  
 feare his tongue shulde leape out of his mouth"<sup>(4)</sup>; De-  
 traction goes "his hat without a band, his hose vn-  
 gartered, his Rapier punto r'enuerso, his lookes sus-  
 pitious and heauie, his left hand continually on his  
 dagger"<sup>(5)</sup>; Usury is narrow browd, and Squirril eied"<sup>(6)</sup>;  
 Brawling Contention's "common gait is as proud as a  
 Spaniards, his ordinary apparrell is a little low crownd  
 hat with a fether in it like a forehorse; his heares  
 are curld, and full of elues-locks, and nitty for want  
 of keming; his eies are still staring, and he neuer  
 lookes on a man but as if he would eate him".

Here and there in the balanced epigrammatic  
 sentences in which Lodge draws the portrait of one of

(1) Pp. 85 and 87.

(2) P. 79

(3) P. 29.

(4) P. 16

(5) P. 23.

(6) P. 33.

the sins can be seen the germs of the Character literature that was developing about this time. Impatience

"will not dine for anger if his napkin haue a spot on it, nor pray if he haue not that graunted him which at the first he requireth: he will not stay to hear an answere whilist a man may excuse himselfe, nor endure any reading if it fit not his purpose, nor affect any learning that feedes not his humour". (1)

#### Malitious Hatred

"when he heares of peace, then is he pensieue, and if he want credit with ye mighty, he fals at working among the comminalty: he neuer coulors with any man, but to betray him; nor lends any man mony but to vndoe him, nor contriues any stratagem without murther, or dwels by any neighbor, but to hurt him: he hath a cause at law in euery court, and prefer him conditions of accord, he will fret himselfe to death". (2)

The influence of another kind of prose literature very popular about this time, namely, the Paradox, is seen in the description of Slovenliness and Uncleanliness.

He

"is a meere enemie to the Sopemakers, for he washeth not a shirt in tweluemonth ----- he neuer washeth his hands and face, because he saith that Sol vrit puriora, The sunne burneth and tanneth the purest: neither weares hee apparel, except it come of beneuolence; for (saith he) Bene venit, quod gratis venit, It comes well that comes of free cost. In wearing his apparel he is a Cinicke, for brushing (saith he) weareth away the wool, beating driues the dust in a mans eies, and the heauier a garment is, the better it weares". (3)

---

(1) P. 78 .

(2) P. 65.

(3) P. 95.

All this part of Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse "holding up the mirror" to London life in the last decade of the sixteenth century is to-day the most interesting part of the work. It covers, however, only about half of his pamphlet. The rest consists of bookish material - a mosaic of borrowings from many sources, Renaissance and Mediaeval, English and foreign, dovetailed together in a very skilful way.

(1). The chief source of the pamphlet was the Somme des Pechez of Jean Benedicti. This work furnished Lodge in the first place, with the framework of his pamphlet. The idea came from Nash, the scheme from Benedicti's section on the Seven Deadly Sins in the Third Book of the Somme des Pechez. Lodge's classification of the Seven Deadly Sins and their branches is based entirely on the classification in Benedicti's work. The order in which the Seven Deadly Sins appear (Pride, Avarice, Lechery, Envy, Ire, Gluttony, and Sloth) follows the order in which they are dealt with in the French work. Their names (Leviathan, Mammon, Asmodeus, Beelzebub, Baalberith, Beelphegor, Astaroth) and the names of their branches, are taken from this work. Benedicti, for example, observes that

"[Yuronnie] enge(n)dre cinq filles & branches.  
La premiere, c'est Estourdissement d'esprit.  
La seconde. Ioye desordonne. La troisieme,  
Multiplication de paroles. La quatrieme, Badignage  
ou bouffonnerie. La cinquieme, Immondicite", (2).

and Lodge has under this sin "Dulnesse of Spirit",  
"Immoderate and Disordinate Joy", "Multiplication of

---

(1) Cf. Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse, p.8,  
and Somme des Pechez, pp. 241-2.

(2) P. 371.



(1)  
 Words", "Scurilitie" and "Slouenlines & Uncleannes".  
 Sometimes Lodge changes the order of the branches of  
 the Seven Deadly Sins a little; sometimes he runs two  
 or three together, so that it is at times difficult  
 to know of which he is speaking, but on the whole he  
 follows very closely Benedicti's classification.

In the second place the Somme des Pechez fur-  
 nished Lodge with suggestions for the picture of these  
 sins. The sketch of Curiosity provides an excellent  
 example of the way in which Lodge developed Benedicti's  
 abstract definition of the various sins, into con-  
 crete pictures. Benedicti observes

"Celuy qui par curiosité veut apprendre les sciences  
 prohibees, comme la Necromantie, Astrologie, Magie,  
 & autres sciences noires, pour faire ses incanta-  
 tions & charmes peche griefuement" (p. 248).

"Ceux qui ----- bien lient au corps certaine(sic)  
 Phylacteres, & Caracteres entendus ou no(n) en-  
 tendus ---- ou font porter certains petits breuets  
 escrits au col, y entremeslant quelques mots de  
 l'escriture, avec certains noms prophanes, & in-  
 connuz, & entremeslez d'Hebrieu, d'Arabic, de  
 Chaldee, de Grec & de latin ---- peche(n)t" (p.43).

"De mesme pechent ceux qui regardent à quel iour,  
 à quelle heure ils sortiro(n)t du logis, ou de  
 quel pied ils commenceront à marcher ----- ou  
 croient estre mauuais presage de ----- se peigner  
 le Samedy" (p. 48).

"Ceux qui retiennent des esprits familiers en des  
 anneaux, phioles --- c'est idolatrie" (p. 44).

Lodge's picture of this sin is based on these extracts  
 but is considerably enlivened by the addition of de-  
 tails of his own:

"Another sonne hath he, and his name is CURIOSITIE,  
 who not content with the studies of profite and the  
 practise of commendable sciences, setteth his mind  
 wholie on Astrologie, Negromancie, and Magicke.  
 This Diuel prefers an EPHEMERIDES before a Bible;  
 and his PTOLEMY and HALI before AMBROSE and golden  
 CHRISOSTOME. or S. AUGUSTINE: Promise him a familiar,

and he will take a flie in a box for good paiement: if you long to know this slaue, you shall neuer take him without a book of characters in his bosome. Promise to bring him to treasure-troue, he will sell his land for it, but he will be cousened: bring him but a table of lead, with crosses (and ADONAI and ELOHIM written in it) he thinks it will heale the ague, and he is so busie in finding out the houses of the planets, that at last he is either faine to house himselfe in an Hospitall, or take vp his Inne in a prison: he will not eat his dinner before he hath lookt in his Almanake; nor paire his nailes while Munday, to be fortunate in his loue: if he lose any thing, he hath readie a siue and a key; and by S. PETER and S. PAULE the fool rideth him: he will shew you the Deuill in a Christal, calculate the natiuitie of his gelding, talk of nothing but gold and siluer, Elixer, calcination, augmentation, citrination, commentation; and swearing to enrich the world in a month, he is not able to buy himselfe a new cloake in a whole yeare: such a Diuell I knew in my daies, that hauing sold all his land in England to the benefite of the cosener, went to Antwerpe with protestation to enrich MONSIEUR the Kings brother of France, LE FEU ROY HARIE I meane; and missing his purpose died miserably in spight of HERMES in Flushing". (1)

In the third place, besides borrowing the framework of the pamphlet, and suggestions for original descriptions of the sins/<sup>Lodge</sup> translated and incorporated in Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse passages from the Somme des Pechez varying in length from a few lines to a few pages. In all, his borrowings cover about twenty-one out of the hundred and seventeen pages of his pamphlet; that is, rather less than one-fifth of the work, when preliminaries (title-page, dedication, etc.,) and the opening and closing address to the reader are allowed for, came from the Somme des Pechez. The longest of the borrowings covers about three pages; there are about a dozen passages covering roughly a page, and many shorter pieces varying in length from

---

(1) Pp. 17-18.

(1)

about two lines to twenty. By the time Lodge wrote Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse he seems to have known the work of Benedicti from cover to cover. He does not only borrow from the section on the Seven Deadly Sins, as in Catharos, but from other sections of the book as well, from the First (on the origin and

(1) The longer borrowings (all more than 10 lines in length) from the Somme des Pechez in Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse are as follows. The first figures refer to the pages and lines in Lodge's pamphlet, the second to the pages in the Somme des Pechez where the original of these passages is to be found.

|            |                |                                      |
|------------|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. p. 8.   | 11. 1-18.      | <u>Somme des Pechez</u> , pp. 241-2. |
| 2. p. 18.  | 11.19-37)      | " " " pp. 45 & 46.                   |
|            | 19. 11. 1-11)  |                                      |
| 3. p. 19.  | 11.22-27)      | " " " pp. 250, 251 &                 |
|            | 11.32-37)      | 252.                                 |
| 4. p. 21.  | 11.22-32.      | " " " p. 153.                        |
| 5. p. 26.  | 11.21-27)      | " " " pp. 530 & 531.                 |
|            | 27. 11. 1-31)  |                                      |
| 6. p. 36.  | 11. 6-37)      | " " " pp.                            |
|            | 37. 11. 1-17)  |                                      |
| 7. p. 42.  | 11.18-37)      | " " " pp. 543, 541,                  |
|            | 43. 1-18:      | 542.                                 |
|            | 21-32)         |                                      |
| 8. p. 47.  | 11.24-27)      | " " " p. 271.                        |
|            | 48. 11. 1-18)  |                                      |
|            | 11. 24-37      | " " " p. 341.                        |
|            | 49. 11. 1-21)  |                                      |
|            | 11.22-37)      |                                      |
| 9. p. 53.  | 11.22-37)      | " " " p. 344.                        |
|            | 54. 11. 1-14)  |                                      |
| 10. p. 55. | 11.15-35)      | " " " pp. 116, 117,                  |
|            | 56. 11. 1-15)  | 118, 119.                            |
| 11. p. 57. | 11. 3-17.      | " " " pp. 116, 123.                  |
| 12. p. 60. | 11.32-7 )      | " " " p. 349.                        |
|            | 61. 11. 1-10)  |                                      |
| 13. p. 64. | 11. 5-29.      | " " " p. 353.                        |
| 14. p. 72. | 11. 1-5 )      | " " " p. 61.                         |
|            | 6-23:          | " " " p. 2.                          |
|            | 24-37)         | " " " p. 64.                         |
| 15. p. 79. | 11. 8-20.      | " " " p. 69.                         |
| 16. p. 82. | 11.31-7 )      | " " " p. 367.                        |
|            | 83. 11. 1-32)  |                                      |
| 17. p. 93. | 11.11-32)      | " " " p. 548.                        |
|            | 94. 11. 1-13)  |                                      |
| 18. p.104. | 11. 2-19)      | " " " p. 380.                        |
|            | 33-37:         |                                      |
|            | 105. 11. 1-5 ) |                                      |
| 19. p.109. | 11.28-37)      | " " " pp. 381 & 382.                 |
|            | 110. 11. 1-37) |                                      |
| 20. p.113. | 11.33-7 )      | " " " p. 382.                        |
|            | 114. 11. 1-33) |                                      |

A transcription of these borrowings from the Somme des Pechez has been made, but it has not been possible to

definition of sin), the Second (on the ten commandments) and the Fourth (on the Sins of the tongue). Sometimes Lodge gives a straightforward translation of a passage from the Somme des Pechez, sometimes he rearranges his material, and sometimes he attaches together two or more passages from different sections of the book.

This material from the Somme des Pechez Lodge supplemented with material from other sources, most of which can be identified. Some of the sources are unacknowledged, others Lodge mentions in the text or in marginal notes among the many references taken at second hand from these works. These acknowledged debts to a writer prove, almost always, far more extensive than Lodge's references would lead the reader to suppose, and if an examination of the book Lodge mentions proves him to have had a first-hand acquaintance with its contents he nearly always will be found to have made further use of it.

(ii). Among his unacknowledged sources were two books of commonplaces. The first of these was the Manipulus Florum or Flores Doctorum of Thomas Palmer (Hibernicus), a collection of commonplaces mainly from the fathers, compiled in the first half of the fourteenth century and fairly frequently printed in the  
(1)  
fifteenth and sixteenth. It cannot be proved

---

include it. The way in which Lodge incorporated shorter borrowings from the French work in this pamphlet is illustrated later on pages 173 and 196, and a longer passage will be found in the annotated pages from Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse on pp.204-5.

(1) The British Museum possesses copies of five editions printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

|             |       |                |
|-------------|-------|----------------|
| Placentiae. | 1483. |                |
| Venetis.    | 1485. |                |
| Lugduni.    | 1558. |                |
| "           | 1575. | Venetis. 1576. |

---

1. Flores Doctorum. Auaritia, p. 99e. "Auarus est caecus, credendo, enim diues est non videndo. Amas pecuniam, o caece, quam nunquam videbis, caecus possides, caecus moriturus es, quod possides hic, relicturus es." (Marg. n. Augu. lib. de doctrina.)

2. Holkot. Lectio clxxix. p. 590(1). "Quinta infirmitas spiritualis est auaritia, & comparatur hydropisi secundum Bedam, cuius proprietas est: quanto magis bibit, tanto plus sitit, ---- Et eodem modo auarus nunquam dicit, sufficit."

3. Flores Doctorum. Auaritia, p. 99c. "Auarus vir inferno est similis. Infernus enim quantoscunque deuorauerit, nu(n)quam dicit: Satis est. Sic & si omnes thesauri confluxerunt in auarum." (Marg. note Au. in epi ad comiten.)

4. Flores Doctorum. Auaritia, 99d. "Quae est ista auaritia concupiscentiae (cu(m) & ipsae beluae habea(n)t modu(m)? Tunc etiam rapiunt, qua(n)do esuriunt; parcunt vero praedae, quum senserint sacietate(m). Insatiabilis est sola auaritia diutum. Semper rapit, & nunquam satiatur, nec Deu(m) timet, nec hominem reueretur, nec patri parcat, nec matrem cognoscit, nec fratri obtemperat, nec amico fidem seruat. Viduam opprimit, pupillum inuadit, liberos in seruitium reuocat, testimonium falsum profert. Res mortui occupantur, quare & qui faciunt non moriuntur? Quae est ista animarum insania? Amittere vitam, appetere mortem, acquirere aurum, & perdere coelum?"

(1) Wits Miserie, pp. 50-51.

"Heare AUGUSTINE what he saith, Amas pecuniam quam nunquam videbis, caecus possides, caecus moriturus es, quod possides hic relicturus es: Thou louest mony which thou shalt neuer see, blind thou possess-est it, blind thou must die, and that which thou enioyest, thou must leaue behind thee.

(2) (Marg. note Aug. lib. de doct. Christ.) A couetous man is like him that is sick of the dropsie, who the more hee aboundeth in disordinate humors, the more exceedingly he desireth and thirsteth; and the more he thirsteth, the more he drinketh; till at last he dieth: So the more stored a couetous man is with riches, which hee vseth not, the more ardently desires he the possession of more.

(3) The couetous man likewise is very rightly compared to hell, for with possessing in excesse, he is still insatiate. The couetous man buyeth earth, and sells his soule made for heauen: and looke as water (saith AUGUSTINE) is poured on the earth, so thirst they after the blood of their neighbours.

(4) All beasts of rauine do neuer prey on other till they be hungry, and being fully satisfied, they refrain from further spoile: but the couetous man doth euer desire and is neuer satisfied, he neither feareth God, nor regardeth man; he neither obeieth (i) father, nor respecteth mother; to his friend he is vntrustie, to the widow iniurious, the fatherlesse he despiseth, the free he brings in bondage, he corrupteth false witnesses, & occupieth the goods of the dead as if hee should neuer die. Oh what madnes is this for man to get gold, &

(1) Confusion of parcat and paret.

(1) For Lodge's borrowings from Holkot, see later p. 173.

5. Holkot. Lectio clxxix, p.590.  
 "Istam infermitatem sanat sermo  
 diuinus, persuadens eleemosy-  
 na(m), & opera pietatis. Esa.  
 58. Frange esurienti pane(m)  
 tuum, & egenos uagosq(ue) induc  
 in domum tuam, & sequitur: Tunc  
 erumpet quasi mane lumen tuam,  
 & sanitas tua citius orietur."

6. Flores Poetarum. De Avaritia,  
 p. 98. (1)  
Manilius lib. 4 Astro.

"Vt veniant gemmae, totus  
transibitur orbis:  
Nec lapidum pretio pelagus  
coepisse pigebit.  
Annua solliciti consumunt(sic)  
uota coloni,  
Et quantae mercedes erunt  
falaciae rura,  
Quaeremus lucorum nauis, mor-  
temq. sequemur  
In predas, pudeat tanto bona  
uelle caduca."

to loose heauen?(5) The cure  
 hereof is gotten by almes  
 deed, according to that of  
 ESAY, (marg.n. Isay.58) Frange  
esurienti panem tuum: Breake  
thy bread to the hungry: and  
it followeth, Tunc erumpet  
quasi mane lumen tuum, & sani-  
tas tua citius orietur: Then  
shall thy light breake forth  
like the morning, and thy  
health shall quickly rise. I  
will trouble you no further:  
I feare me I preach too tedi-  
ously, only let me end)

with this of MANILIUS: (6)  
 (marg. note Manil. lib. 4.Ast.)  
Pudeat tanto bona velle caduca.

O be ashamed so much your  
 hearts to stay,  
 On things so fraile that  
 swiftly pass away."

### iii.

For the quotations from the Latin poets and dramatists  
 (Plautus, Terence, Seneca, Horace, Ovid, Juvenal, Martial,  
 Claudian, Ausonius, Silius, Italicus, Manilius), scattered  
 through the pages of this pamphlet, Lodge relied mainly on a  
 collection of commonplaces from the Latin poets and drama-  
 tists compiled by Octavianus Mirandola and first published  
 under the title Viridarium Illustrium Poetarum and later  
Flores Illustrium Poetarum. The first edition of this book  
 in the British Museum is of Venice of the year 1507. It  
 seems to have enjoyed a widespread popularity since it was  
 published later in Paris, Lyons, Antwerp, Amsterdam and London. (2)

(1) For Lodge's borrowings from the Flores Poetarum, see  
 later below.

(2) The British Museum possesses copies of twelve editions  
 of this work published during the sixteenth century:-

|             |       |            |       |
|-------------|-------|------------|-------|
| Venetiis    | 1507. | Venetiis   | 1574. |
| Lugduni     | 1512. | Lugduni    | 1582. |
| Parisiis    | 1513. | Parisiis   | 1585. |
| Argentorati | 1538. | Lugduni    | 1586. |
| Antwerpiae  | 1539. | Antwerpiae | 1588. |
| Venetiis    | 1539. | Londini    | 1593. |
|             |       | Amsterdam  | 1616. |

Although Lodge's marginal notes would lead one to suppose that he had taken his extracts from the originals, there can be little doubt that he used this work, although he mentions neither its compiler nor its title. There are in all forty-one Latin verse quotations in this pamphlet; of these eight were taken at second-hand from the Somme des Pechez, and of the remaining thirty-three all but four are to be found in the Flores Illustrium Poetarum of Mirandola. (1) Once he translates a passage from this book and incorporates it in the prose

(1) Flores Illustrium Poetarum. Per Octavianum Mirandulam collecti & in locos communes digesti. Venetiis. MDLXXIIII.

The following list of borrowings from the Flores Poetarum in this pamphlet will give an idea of Lodge's debt to this book of commonplaces.

The first reference is to the authority Lodge cites; the second to the page in Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse where the quotation is to be found. When the Latin poet's name is within brackets Lodge mentions no authority. The last reference is to the number of lines quoted in Lodge's pamphlet.

|                         |           |                        |      |                  |           |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------------------|------|------------------|-----------|
| Cornelius Gallus, p.13. |           | <u>Flores</u> , p.203. |      | De Dissimula-    |           |
|                         |           |                        |      | tione            | - 2 lines |
| Seneca                  | ... p.16. | "                      | 379. | De Malitia       | - 1 "     |
| Plautus                 | ... 21.   | "                      | 284. | De Gratia        | - 2 "     |
| Juvenal                 | ... 22.   | "                      | 324. | De Ingratitudine | - 1 "     |
| Seneca                  | ... 23.   | "                      | 625. | De Veritate      | - 1 "     |
| Seneca                  | ... 31.   | "                      | 603. | De Superbia      | - 1 "     |
| Plautus                 | ... 35.   | "                      | 592. | De Simulatione   | - 1 "     |
| Claudian                | ... 36.   | "                      | 102. | De Avaritia      | - 2 "     |
| Tibullus                | ... 38.   | "                      | 478. | De Parvo et      |           |
|                         |           |                        |      | Modico           | - 1 "     |
| Terence                 | ... 40.   | "                      | 326. | De Iniuria       | - 1 "     |
| [Terence]               | ... 42.   | "                      | 625. | De Veritate      | - 1 "     |
| Juvenal                 | ... 46.   | "                      | 538. | De Pueritia      | - 1 "     |
| Manilius                | ... 51.   | "                      | 93.  | De Avaritia      | - 1 "     |
| Silius Italicus         | ... 52.   | "                      | 452. | De Oblivione     | - 1 "     |
| Horace                  | ... 56.   | "                      | 23.  | De Adulterio     | - 6 "     |
| Martial                 | ... 63.   | "                      | 333. | De Invidia       | - 1 "     |
| Claudian                | ... 66.   | "                      | 393. | De Metu          | - 2 "     |
| Ovid                    | ... 67.   | "                      | 330. | De Invidia       | - 1 "     |
| Horace                  | ... 67.   | "                      | 333. | De Invidia       | - 2 "     |
| Lucan                   | ... 75.   | "                      | 114. | De Bello         | - 9 "     |
| Ovid                    | ... 76.   | "                      | 468. | De Pace          | - 1 "     |
| Juvenal                 | ... 78.   | "                      | 633. | De Vindicta      | - 1 "     |
| Horace                  | ... 88.   | "                      | 136. | De Cibo          | - 3 "     |
| [Juvenal]               | ... 92.   | "                      | 282. | De Hypocrisi     | - 1 "     |
| Horace                  | ... 93.   | "                      | 369. | De Loquacitate   | - 2 "     |
| Seneca                  | ... 102.  | "                      | 599. | De Spe           | - 1 "     |
| Ovid                    | ... 103.  | "                      | 597. | De Spe           | - 1 "     |
| Lucan                   | ... 104.  | "                      | 267. | De Fortitudine   | 2 "       |
| Ausonius                | ... 107.  | "                      | 453. | De Occasione     | - 2 "     |
| Ovid                    | ... 115.  | "                      | 322. | De Ingenio       | - 4 "     |

(1)  
text, making in all thirty borrowings from this work.

As a rule, where the extracts given in the Flores Illustrium Poetarum are fairly long, Lodge selects a line or two, sometimes, even only a word or two, for quotation, and the majority of his borrowings are not more than a couple of lines in length. There are, however, a few longer passages, one of nine lines from Lucan and one of six from Horace. In one instance only does he add to Mirandola's extract - in the last quotation in the pamphlet where he adds four lines to a passage from Ovid. Often the quotation is translated, usually, where the length of the passage admits it, into couplets. The long passage from Lucan, however, contrary to this general rule, is translated into a kind of heroic stanza, rhyming ababcdcdee.

Although in no other work of Lodge's do extracts from the Flores Poetarum of Mirandola appear in such numbers, there is evidence that he had an early acquaintance with this work. All the quotations from the less well known Latin poets in his works, and many of the lines he quotes from Horace, Ovid and Vergil, are to be found in this book of commonplaces. All the verse quotations from the Latin poets in the Reply to Gosson are to be found here; three in the Alarum

---

(1) The passage from Juvenal on p. 58. See later, p. 199.

(2) P. 115.

(3) Horace, 17. Flores, 129. De Carminibus, 9 lines.  
 Horace, 37. " 118. De Bonitate, 1 "  
 Juvenal, 43. " 653. De Vita ... 3 "  
 Silius  
 Italicus, 47. " 468. De Pace ... 4 "  
 Ovid. 47. " 468. De Pace ... 1 "



(1) Against Usurers; eight in Rosalynde; one (the same) in  
 The Historie of Robert Duke of Normandy and William  
 (3) (4)  
 Long beard, two in Catharos; three in the Diuell Con-  
 (5) (6)  
 jured and one in A Margarite of America.

The pamphlet is also stuffed with quotations from Cicero (usually acknowledged) that Lodge may have acquired at first hand, but which were more likely taken from some "gatherer of Tully". There are also many references (acknowledged and unacknowledged) to Diogenes Laertius' Vitae Philosophorum and to Plutarch's Lives, that may, again, have been taken direct from their respective sources or from some book of common-places.

#### iv.

Among the sources which Lodge acknowledges, though most inadequately, was a mediaeval doctrinal work, the In Librum Sapientiae Praelectionones of Robert Holkot, one of the best-known English theologians of

---

|     |           |         |         |      |                |           |
|-----|-----------|---------|---------|------|----------------|-----------|
| (1) | Ovid,     | p.28.   | Flores, | 14.  | De Abstinencia | - 1 line. |
|     | Ovid,     | 45.     | "       | 406. | De Morbis      | - 2 lines |
|     | ( )       |         | "       | 110. |                | - 1 "     |
| (2) | Horace,   | 15.     | Flores, | 440. | De Natura      | - 1 line. |
|     | Terence,  | 19.     | "       | 71.  | De Amore       | - 1 "     |
|     | Virgil,   | 35.     | "       | 478. | De Passione    | - 1 "     |
|     | Horace,   | 98.     | "       | 209. | De Divitiis    | - 5 "     |
|     | Ovid,     | 110.    | "       | 50.  | De Amore       | - 2 "     |
|     | Ovid,     | 115.    | "       | 50.  | De Amore       | - 1 "     |
|     | Ovid,     | 29      | "       | 436. | De Muneribus   | - 1 "     |
|     | Terence,  | 45      | "       | 55.  | De Amore       | - 5 "     |
| (3) | Virgil,   | 71.     | Flores, | 630. | De Victoria    | - 1 line. |
|     | "         | 27.     | "       | "    | "              | - 1 "     |
| (4) | See above | p. 156. |         |      |                |           |
| (5) | Manilius  | 4.      | Flores, | 93.  | De Attentione  | - 1 "     |
|     | Ausonius  | 89      | "       | 124. | De Brevitate   | - 1 "     |
|     | Martial   | 89      | "       | 124. | De Brevitate   | - 1 "     |
| (5) | Ovid,     | 36.     | Flores, | 480. | De Patria      | - 1 "     |
| (6) | Lucan.    | 34.     | "       | 545. | De Regno.      | - 1 "     |

the fourteenth century. Lodge alludes to Holkot in the text and in a marginal note on page twenty-five of this work, but as usual his acknowledged borrowings give little indication of the more extensive debt he owed to this writer. That Lodge borrowed from Holkot at first hand cannot be proved conclusively. It is possible, of course, that he took his references to Holkot from some intermediate source, but it seems unlikely that he would have found the long extracts (in one instance three quarto pages of the pamphlet) already transcribed for him in any intermediate work, and the original was quite accessible. The British Museum possesses five editions of the In Librum Sapientiae Praelectiones printed before 1500 and three printed during the sixteenth century, the last of which appeared in 1586, only ten years, therefore, before Lodge's pamphlet.

As he dealt with each sin Lodge seems to have made a practice of turning to Holkot, since one passage at least from this work is included under each of the Seven Deadly Sins. As a rule, these passages are near the close of Lodge's sections, as if before dismissing the subject he looked to see what Holkot had to say on it. The passages he borrows vary in length  
(1)  
from a few lines to a few pages; in his account of the

---

(1) M. Roberti Holkoth Angli Ordinis Praedicatorum, Professoris olim in Academia Oxoniensi celeberrimi & doctissimi: In Librum Sapientiae Regis Salomonis Praelectiones CXXIII. Anno Domini MDLXXXVI.

The borrowings from this work in Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse are as follows. The first figures refer to the pages and lines of Lodge's pamphlets; the second to the pages in the above edition of Holkot's work from which these passages are a translation.

- |           |            |                 |              |
|-----------|------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 1. P. 22, | ll. 28-37) | Lectio clxxxvi, | p. 613.      |
| 23,       | 1-7 )      |                 |              |
| 2. P. 25, | ll. 4-30.  | Lectio x.       | pp. 37 & 38. |
| 3. P. 31, | ll. 1-4.   | Lectio          | pp. 299-30.  |
| 4. P. 50, | ll. 24-29. | Lectio clxxix,  | p. 590.      |
| 5. P. 51, | ll. 7-12.  | " " " "         |              |
| 6. P. 59, | ll. 33-7 ) | Lectio clxxix,  | p. 591.      |
| 60,       | 1-3 )      |                 |              |

sin of Pride he takes about a page of material on De-  
 traction and an anecdote of about twelve lines on Ingra-  
 titude from Holkot; in his accounts of Avarice, Lechery,  
 Envy he takes only a few lines; in Ire a long passage  
 covering three quarto pages; in Gluttony, he borrows two  
 fairly long passages; one (about two pages in length)  
 on the evil effects of the immoderate drinking of wine,  
 and another (about a page) on the evil results of diver-  
 sity in diet, ultimately from Macrobius; and in his  
 description of Sloth he incorporates a moralised anecdote  
 (again about a page in length) ultimately from Julius  
 Sextus.

V.

From another mediaeval work, this time of the  
 thirteenth century, the treatise De Oculo Morali, Lodge  
 borrowed several moralised stories which he incorporated  
 in this pamphlet. This work, apparently very popular  
 in its day as the number of manuscripts now extant shows,  
 and printed at least five times at the close of the  
 fifteenth and opening of the sixteenth centuries, has  
 been attributed to some of the best known theologians

---

(note continued)

|            |                |                |            |
|------------|----------------|----------------|------------|
| 7. P. 67,  | ll. 8-11.      | Lectio clxxix, | p. 590.    |
| 8. P. 80,  | ll. 7-37)      |                |            |
|            | 81, ll. 1-37)  | Lectio cxxvi,  | p. 424.    |
|            | 82, ll. 1-17:  |                |            |
|            | 82, ll.18-25)  | Lectio clxxix, | p. 590.    |
|            | 82, ll.26-30)  | Lectio cciiii, | p. 673.    |
| 9. P. 88,  | ll.13-37)      | Lectio xxi,    | pp. 76-7.  |
|            | ll. 1-35) &    | Lectio cxxii,  | p. 410.    |
| 10. P. 98, | ll.10-37.      | Lectio clxxii, | pp. 568-9. |
| 11. P.111, | ll.16-28.      | Lectio clxxix, | p. 590.    |
| 12. P.114, | ll.33-7 )      | Lectio clxx,   | p. 563.    |
|            | 115, ll. 1-15) |                |            |
|            | 115, ll.15-19) | Lectio cxxi,   | p. 407.    |

A transcription of these passages has been made. Illus-  
 tration of the way in which Lodge incorporated them in  
 his pamphlet will be found above on page 64 and below on pp. 201-4.

of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries - Jean de Galle, Pierre de Limoges, Raimund Jordan and John Peckham. (1)  
 The two first editions, in Latin, printed at Augsburg about 1475, attribute it to Joannes Pithsanus (= John Peckham), Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1292. (2)  
 Two later editions, the first in Latin, the second an Italian translation, both printed at Venice in 1596, attribute it to "magistro" ("maestro") "P. Lacepiera", whom Hauréau claims to be the real author of the work and identifies with "Pierre de Limoges, Chanoine d'Evreux en Latin surnommé de Seperia, de Cyperia, Perius, en français de La Sepiera, de Laceyrie", the compiler of three well-known collections of sermons who died in 1306. (3) (4) (5)

---

(1) The British Museum Catalogue queries the printer, the place and the date of printing.

The title of both editions runs Johannis Pithsani archiepiscopi Canthuariensis ordinis fratrum minorum liber de oculo morali and the colophon "Tractatus Johannis Pithsani archiepiscopi Canthuariensis de oculo morali foeliciter finit".

(2) See D.N.B. Art. on Peckham (John).

(3) Title: Liber de oculo morali. Colophon (Sig. h[8]b): "Explicit Liber de oculo morali: editus ab eximio sacrarum litteraru(m) professore magistro P. Laceyrie & c(um) summa cum dilige(n)tia reuisus: atq(ue) omni menda detersus: Impresus Venetijs per Joanne(m) hertzog alemanu(m) Anno christianissime natiuitatis post millesimu(m) quaterq(ue) centesimu(m) nonagesimosexto. Kalendas Aprilis".

(4) Title: Libro de locchio (sic) morale et spirituale uulgare. Colophon (on Sig. h. 8 a): "Con le aiuto del Signore idio siamo peruenuti al desiderato fine del occhio spirituale dal reuerendo professor di sacra theologia. Maestro. P. lacepiera con sun(m)ma acuita di ingegno & artificiosamente composto: nella traduction del quale secondo chel (sic) spirito sancto ne ha data la gratia diligenti stati siamo. Impresso in la i(n)-clita citta di Venetia. Mccccxvi. adi. (sic) xxi. Mazo".

(5) See Histoire Littéraire de la France. Tome XXVI. Paris. 1873. "Sermonaires" (par) B.H. (Barthelemy Hauréau), pp. 460-467.

Lodge's references in his account of Sloth, to "an old  
 dunce Petrus de Lapiaria"<sup>(1)</sup> as the authority for the story  
 of the king and his three slothful sons, is therefore  
 an error on Lodge's part or on his printer's for the  
 "P. Laccipera" of these two Venice editions.

Besides this one acknowledged borrowing from this  
 mediaeval work Lodge took as well a few short allusions  
 and two more anecdotes of a similar nature. The first  
 of the anecdotes he incorporated in his account of  
 Ingratitude. His description of this sin, a branch  
 of the deadly sin of Pride, opens with one of his shorter  
 borrowings from the Somme des Pechez; then follow a  
 couple of extracts from the Flores of Mirandola and a  
 series of "sayings" of philosophers and fathers from  
 the Flores Doctorum and Holkot; Lodge then tells the  
 story of the husbandman and the asp, translated from  
 the chapter "Sexta proprietates (oculi)" of the De Oculo  
Morali; this passage is followed by a reference to the  
 story of "Andronicus" and the Lion, as told in the same  
 chapter of the De Oculo Morali, and the description of  
 Ingratitude is brought to a close with an anecdote,  
 ultimately from Seneca's De Beneficiis, but immediately  
 from Holkot's In Librum Sapientiae Praelectiones.

The two pages that Lodge's description of this sin  
 covers illustrate remarkably well the way in which he  
 makes a mosaic of borrowings from the above-mentioned  
 works.

---

(1) P. 112.

(1)  
Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse, p. 21.

But let vs leaue this Diuell at his cutting bord intentiue for new fashions against next Christmas, and see what Diuell and sonne of pride marcheth next, forsooth INGRATITUDE, carelesse both in apparrell and lookes: This is a generall fellow, and thinkes scorne to be vnseene in all the sinnes of the world. [If hee receiue

(2) graces from God, it is not his mercie that giueth them, but his owne industrie; he is a right PELAGIAN, presuming by naturall vertue (without the grace of God) to attaine Paradise: (2)] [Giue

(3) him what you can, hee condemnes you for your labour: he calls his maister old dunce that taught him learning; and to his father that brought him vp, he protests he knows him not poore groome, nay if he beg he scornes to releue him: his benefactors might haue kept their money with a vengeance: (3)] and for his Lord (if he serue at any time) none but Ingratitude if hee decay, will soonest sell him to a sergeant, he is the fittest instrument to hang his Maister, so that of [PLAUTUS is verie aptly applied

(4) vnto them.

Si quid benefacias lenior pluma gratias.

Si quid peccatum est plumbeas iras gerunt. (4)]

Lighter then feather, thanks if thou befriendest.

But

[p. 22]

But leaden wrath they beare if thou offendest.

(5) To be short with [IUVENAL in his Satires.

Ingratos ante omniapone sodales. (5)]

Of all men flie vngratefull friends.

(1) The lines in this and the following annotated extracts from Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse correspond to the lines in the originals.

(2) Somme des Pechez. Liure III, Ch. vi. Ingratitude, p. 253.

"----- celuy qui dit auoir les biens de grace, de l'esprit, du corps, & de fortune, de soy & non de Dieu, il est ingrat envers son Createur. Tels estoye(n)t les Palagie(n)s qui pehsioient acquerir paradis par leur vertu naturelle sans la grace diuine.

(3) Ibid. Si quelqu'vn ne daigne reconoistre le bien qu'il a receu de son bienfacteur, ains le nie, ne le voulant louer & remercier, il peche ----- Item qui contemne de coeur, ou de bouche son bienfacteur, ne luy voulant rendre la pareille en sa grande necessite le pouuant bien faire, il peche mortellement".

(4) Flores Illustrium Poetarum. De Gratia, p. 284.

Plautus in Poenulo

"Si quid beneficias, leuoir pluma est gratia,  
 Si quid peccatum sit, plumbeas ira gerunt?"

(5) Ibid. De Ingratitudine, p. 324.

Iuuen. ll. Satyr.

-Ingratos ante omnia pone sodales.

Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse, p. 22 (Contd.).

Nihil augetur ingrato (saith BARNARD) sed quod accipit, vertitur ei in perniciem, To an vngratefull man nothing is encreased, and that which he receiueth, turneth to his destruction. PLINY in the Prologue of his naturall Historie calleth them fures & infelices, Theeues, and vnhappy, that acknowledge no benefites: and SENECA the Philosopher counteth them worsen then Serpents, for Serpents (saith he) cast out their poison to other mens destruction, but vngratefull men without their owne disgrace cannot be vnthankfull (1). [HERMES TRIMEGESTUS counteth the best sacrifice to God to be Thankfulnesse (2),] it followeth then a contrarijs that the worst thing in his sight is Ingratitude. [The commenter vpon ARISTOTLES Book De animalibus telleth a storie to this purpose: A certaine husbandman nourished an Aspis in his house, feeding him daily at his own table, and chearing him with his owne meat; it fortuneda little while after that hee brought forth two yong ones, the one of which poisoned the husbandmans sonne, and brought sorrow to his household: The old breeder considering this (in the sight of the father) murdered the offender, and as if ashamed of his ingratitude, departed the house with the other. Behold sence of benefite in a Serpent, and will man be vnthankfull? The Lion that was healed by ANDRONICUS in the wood, did he not saue his life in the Theator?(3)]

(1) Flores Doctorum. Ingratitudo, p. 513 c, 514 h and 514 o.

Bernar. ser.35. "Gratiarum cessat discursus, vbi recursus non fuerit: nec modo nil augetur ingrato, sed quod accipit, vertitur ei in perniciem:"

Plinius in prologo de naturis animalibus. "Est enim benignissimi, vt arbitrator, & pleni ingenij pudoris, fatere p(er) quos, p(ro)feceris: obnoxij, p(ro)fecto animi & felicitis ingenij, deprehendi in furto malle, q(uam) mutuum reddere, cum praesertim fiat ex vsura sors."

Ibidem (= Sen. 48 ep.) "Ingrati esse vitemus, non aliena causa, sed nostra. Venenu(m) quod serpentes in aliena(m) pernitie(m) proferunt, sine sua co(n)tinent: non ita vitium(m) ingratitude(m) continetur. Torquet se ingratus & macerat: oditque accepta, quia redditurus est, & extenuat, iniurias vero dilat atque auget."

(2) In Librum Sapientiae Lectio clxxxvi, p. 612.

"Et ideo dicit Hermes Trismegistus lib. suo qui logostyleos dicit(ur) in fine. Quod non est co(n)ueniens DEO thus, uel myrrham incendere, & sic eum adorare, si non (inquit) gratias agentes adoremus."

(3) De Oculo Morali. Venetiis 1496. Sexta Proprietas Oculi. Sig. C[2]b-C[3]a. "Refert co(m)mentator super libru(m) de a(n)i(m)alib(us) q(uod) quida(m) paterfamilias aspide(m) quenda(m) adeo domesticauerat vt quotidie veniens de cauerna sua ad mensam patrisfamilias hora pra(n)diij quasi petens cibum(m): post comestionem ad cauerna(m) vnde venerat accedebat. Qui progressu te(m)p(or)is duos filios genuit: quos secum ad mensam hospitibus sui vt cibarentur adduxit. Vnus e(or)um fillioru(m) tanqu(a)m indomest-icus filium patrisfamilias venenauit. Quod cerne(n)s mater velut ingratu(m) filium(m) puniens in co(n)spectu omniu(m) interfecit, & quasi rationis capax co(n)fusa cu(m) altero filio verecunda recesit. Adhuc aut ad plena(m) confusione(m) humane aliud ingratitude(m) aliud exemplum(m) gratitudinis bestialis. Scribit(ur) in historijs romanoru(m): & idem refert polycraticus li.v q(uod) in vrbe romana homo quida(m) andronic(us) nomine ad morte(m) propter sua facinora co(n)demnatus leoni obiect(us) est deuora(n)dus", etc.

Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse, p. 22 (Contd.).

Man consider this, and to bring thee the more in hatred with this fiend, weigh this one example of [SENECA written in his fourth Booke De beneficijs: A certaine souldior indangered by shipwracke, and floating (for the space of twenty daies) on a broken mast in a sore tempest, was at last cast ashoare in a Noblemans Lordship, by whom he was releued with meat, clothes, and monie: This Nobleman comming to PHILIP of Macedon his King, and encountring a little after with this vnthankfull souldier, was by him accused of false Treason: and so much for the time did iniquitie preuaile, that not only he indangered the Noblemans life, but he possest his goods likewise, by the beneuolence.

[p. 23]

lence of the King: notwithstanding truth (which according to SENECA in [OEDIPUS, odit moras (1),] hateth delay) being at last discovered, and the king ascertained of the wretched souldiors ingratitude, he branded him in the face with a burning yron, and dispoiling him of his ill gotten goods, restored the other (2): so deale you by this Diuell of our age, and beware of his subtilties, for if once he proue an intelligencer, he will helpe to hang you.

The two other longer passages that Lodge borrows from the De Oculo Morali occur in his description of Sloth. For the first of these Lodge quotes "HELINANDUS (3) in his Chronicles" as his authority, but the anecdote he relates was taken from the chapter "Quarta differentia oculi de accidia" of this mediaeval treatise.

(1) Flores Illustrium Poetarum. De Veritate, p. 625.  
Seneca in Oedipo.

"Quid uerba quaeris? Veritas odit moras."

(2) In Librum Sapientiae Lectio clxxxvi, p. 613.  
"Et Senec. de Beneficijs: miles quida(m) naufragus littore est appulsus, & in hospitis cuiusdam per tres dies refocillatus, tandem licentiam recipiens ait: Gratias tibi referam si Imperatorem meum me uidere contingat. Veniens apud Philippum regem Macedonum, praedia illius apud quem hospitatus fuit poscit, annuit Philippus, suis expulsis, non ut iners uel rusticus illud tulit, sed ad curiam Imperatoris accessit, ingratitude militis exposuit Philippus haec audiens iussit, ut reprobissimo militi, & ingrattissimo hospiti stigmata infigerentur, qu(a)e eius ingrattitudinem perpetuo testarentur, & hospiti omnia redderentur."

(3) P. 111.



De Oculo Morali.

"Helina(n)dus frigidi montis monachus in suis chronicis. li.viiij. inter o(mn)ia narratione(m) huiusmodi refert de seipso. Audi inq(ui)t fabula(m) no(n) fabula(m) sed rem gestam: phillip(us) belucenn(sis) ep(i)s(copus) ap(u)d nos aliqu(m)(l) hospitatus est non vt quida(m) deuorationis causa sed deuotionis. Iam eni(m) ordinis n(ost)ri co(m)munis hospitalitas plures inuenit q(ui) ea(m) deuore(n)t. Singularis sanctitas qui ea(m) honore(n)t. Precepit aute(m) mihi p(re)fatius ep(i)s(copus) vt eu(m) facere(m) missam matutinale(m) audire. Ad que(m) cum die crastina p(ri)ma iam ca(n)tate venissem inueni eu(m) adhuc dormiente(m): et nemo de familia vel de familiaribus excitare eu(m) p(re)sumebat. Ego autem accessi p(ro)prius: & excitauit eu(m) q(ua)si iocando dice(n)s. Iam diu est q(uod) passeris surrexeru(n)t ad benedicendu(m) d(omi)no: et nostri pontifices adhuc sunt in cubili suo. Attende pater quid dicat psalmographus. Preueneru(n)t oculi mei ad te diluculo (sic) Super quo verbo dicit glosa ambrosij Indee(n)s est xpiano si ipsum ociosum in lecto radius solis inueniat Ad quam voce(m) expergefact(us) ep(iscop)us & co(n)fusus indignatus aduersum me quod eu(m) tam libere arguissem substomacha(n)s ait. Vade miser interfice pediculos tuos. Ego aute(m) motum illius co(n)uertens in iocu(m) respondi. Vide tu pater ne te interficiant vermes tui. ego eni(m) iamvermes(sic) meos interfeci. Scito pater hanc esse differentia(m) intervermes (sic) diuitiu(m) & vermes pauperum: q(uod) vermes diuitium diuites occidunt: vermes aute(m) pauperum a pauperibus occiduntur." (2)

Incarnate Deuils.

"HELINANDUS in his Chronicles reporteth, that when a certaine Bishop (called PHILIPPUS BELUACENSIS) was for a night lodged in their Monastery, hee slept so long, that hee was neither present at Gods seruice, neither ashamed to let the sunne (it being then Winter time) to behold him sleeping, which when HELINANDUS perceaued, and saw no man readie or bold enough to tell him of his fault, hee confidentlie stept neare vnto his bed, and in briefe spake thus vnto him, Sir the Sparrows haue long since forsaken their nests to salute God, and wil a Bishop yet lie sleeping in his chamber? Consider (father) what the Psalmist saith, Mine eies haue preuented the day; and that of AMEROSE, It is vncomely for a Christian that the beame of the Sunne. should behold him idle; and let this perswade you to cast off your slugginnesse: The Bishop (rowzed with these wordes all in rage) said vnto him, goe wretch as thou art and louse thyselfe, I disdaine thy counsailes: to whom the Moncke answered in a pleasant manner, Take heed father least your wormes kill you, for mine are alreadye slaine: hee meant the worme of conscience, which shall at last bite them, who are giuen ouer to their sensualities.(3)

Lodge then goes on "I haue read also a prettie storie in an old dunce PETRUS DE LAPIARIA, which because of the pithie

(1) Latin aliqn = aliquum?

(2) Sig.d[5]a.

(3) Pp. 111-2.

allusion I will not sticke to tell you". The story told (that of the king who promised to leave his kingdom to whichever of his three sons proved himself the most slothful) is to be found in the same chapter of the De Oculo Morali as the above quoted story from Helinandus, and was one of the most popular mediaeval tales. It is also to be found in Bromyard's Summa Praedicatorum, Holkot's Moralitates, the Destructorium Viciarum and in the Gesta Romanorum.

#### vi.

From the work of Albertanus of Brescia Lodge borrows surprisingly little in view of his extensive borrowings from the work of this writer in The Devil Confuted. He twice refers to this writer in Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse as the authority for short passages of a few lines each. Both references are to the treatise De Amore et Delectatione Dei. In addition to these acknowledged debts Lodge seems only to have made use of this treatise on one other occasion in this work. The first half of a very short passage from Albertanus' "Della Superbia, come si dee porre in contro l'vmilitade" (Cap.48), opens his closing paragraph on Pride.

---

(1) Sig. d[5]b.-d[6]a.

(2) See Gesta Romanorum. ed. Oesterley. Berlin. 1972, p. 726.

(3) See later p.10q-11.

(4) Pp. 9 and 67.

"Sempre incontro alla superbia, porrai l'vmilitade, accio ch  tu possi schifar tutti adastiamenti, e possi seguitar li beni dell'vmilitade: e per ci  dice lo Saui. L  dou'   superbia, lui sono adastiamenti, e l  doue   vmilitade   fauere, insieme con gloria." (1)

"As euerie mischiefe is best auoided by opposing against him his contrarie, so arme yourselfes with Humilitie against Pride and his faction, and he shall not confound you." (2)

The rest of Lodge's paragraph is a tissue of borrowings from the scriptures, Holkot, the Somme des Pechez and Mirandola, but it closes with the last half of the above quoted extract.

"And let this serue for a due conclusion set downe by SALOMON, that Vbi superbia, ibi & contumelia est; vbi autem humilitas, ibi sapientia cum gloria, Where pride is, there contumely is also; but where humility is, there is wisdom with glory." (3)

#### vii.

Other sources that furnished material for Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse were of a more secular character. Among them was an old favourite, the Nuova Seconda Selva of Gieronimo Giglio. One long passage from this source is acknowledged, although the reference is wrongly given to the "Second. sel. de Messia. lib. 2. cap. 117" instead of "cap. 17".<sup>(4)</sup> There are, as well, several short passages, which are unacknowledged, from this same source. None of these borrowings are as long as the passages in William

---

(1) As no Latin edition of this work is in the British Museum I have had to use the Italian translation of 1610. Tre Trattati d'Albertano Giudice da Brescia. In Firenze. 1610. Sig. 01 v. p. 106. Cf. later P. 209.

(2) P. 30.

(3) P. 31.

(4) P. 28.

Long beard or A Margarite of America, as Lodge does not translate but draws from the chapters of the Nuova Seconda Selva series of examples to illustrate his theme. From a chapter which he had translated in A Margarite of America ("Ridicolosi & insoliti amori di alcuni huomini, & donne") he uses a few examples which he incorporates in his opening paragraph on Lechery, giving here the close of the chapter in the Selva which he had omitted in the earlier work. (1)

"PASIPHAE hee brought enamoured with a Bull, and XERXES with a Plantaine tree: he caused a young Athenian to fall in loue with the liuelesse picture of Fortune standing neare the Pritaneum, and to offer a great quantity of mony to the Senate to buy it from their hands; of which being denied, and for which wholly enraged, after embrasing, kissing (and such other ceremonies) he crowned the statue, & lamenting slew himselfe: he made GLAUCA of Cythera to loue a dog, a young Spartan to be besotted on a bird, XENOPHON to affect a hound." (2)

From the chapter "Quanto prima furono anticamente in pretio gli cuochi, ----- Et di molti non mangiatori, ma devoratore", he took in a similar manner a series of examples which he incorporated in his description of the deadly sin of Gluttony. (3)

"----- Milone Crotoniese, il quale soleua mangiare in una cena trenta pani, senza gli altri cibi, & Fagone il quale in un di diuorò alla tauola d'Aureliano Imper. un cingale intiero, cento pani, un castrato, un porcello; & beuè poi con una peuerata piu che non haurebbe beuto una balena. Sarebbero ancho uenuto a noia ad Alboino Imperat. ilqual diuorò in una cena cento persiche, dieci pipone, cinquecento fichi, & trecento ostrigie; & à Massimo

To this sinne MILO CROTONIATES and TAGON (the belly-god) were so addicted, that the one bare an oxe on his shoulders, and after deuoured it and the other (at the table of AURELION the Emperor) eat a Goat, a Hog, and drunke a Tierce of wine, and far more in boast of his intemperance. ALBOINUS and MAXIMINUS Emperours, yeelding nothing in sensuality to this; for ye one deuoured at a supper a hundred Peaches, ten Pepins, fiue hundred figs, besides

(1) Cf. above p. 122 .

(2) P. 51.

(3) Parte Seconda. Cap. xxiii, p. 72.

Imperatore, ilquale mangiò  
in un giorno 40, libre di  
carne, et beuè un'amphora  
di uino.

diuers other things: the  
other in one day eat forty  
pounds of flesh, and dronke  
a whole vessell of nine  
gallons of wine, to digest  
it". (1)

The anecdote of Geta the Emperor at the opening of the  
chapter on Gluttony is from the same chapter of the  
Nuova Seconda Selva. It follows on in the Italian  
from the anecdote of Maximinus just quoted.

"Et à Getta, Imperatore,  
ilquale per tre giorni co-  
(n)tinui stette à tauola,  
& gli furono portate le  
uiuande, secondo l'ordine  
dell' alfabeto."

"In the time that GETA the  
Emperour had made his fes-  
tiuall of three daies long,  
and his messes were serued  
in according to the order  
of an Alphabet:--". (2)

Similarly another section of Wits Miserie and the  
Worlds Madnesse opens with a recollection of material  
in the Selva. Lodge's apostrophe to "BELZEBUB the  
enuious, grand God of flies", Archduke of Grecian  
fantasies" (3) embodies a scrap of information he had  
picked up from the chapter in the Nuova Seconda Selva  
where the significance of certain Greek, Hebrew and  
Syrian words was explained (4), among them "Biel-  
zebug" "pedre(sic) delle mosche, phantasma in Greco  
imagine spauentosa significa". From the chapter "Di  
molti huomini, liquali per la sua prodigalità in poco  
tempo consumarono le loro facultà" (5) Lodge took the  
examples of "EPICARIDES the dwarfe, who in fine daies  
spent all his patrimony in Athens" and of "ETHIOPUS

(1) Pp. 96-7.

(2) P. 84.

(3) P. 61.

(4) "Interpretatione utile ad ogni christiano,  
d'alcune parole Hebreè, Greche, & Soriane, lequali  
sono nella mess-a & in altri luochi della scrittura  
sacra. Parte Prima, Cap.xv, p. 28.

(5) Parte Seconda. Cap. xii, p. 62 (=63).

the Corinthian, who sold all his possessions to ARCHIAS, that hee might follow dishonest drinking", which he worked in as a parenthesis in a long passage taken from the Somme des Pechez.<sup>(1)</sup> The only other passage of any length he owes to the Selva was derived from the unusually long chapter on the origin of heresy<sup>(2)</sup> "Quando primieramente cominciarono l'heresie" (I.xv.). From this chapter Lodge selected what was little more than a list of names, cutting down a chapter of some pages to about ten lines.

"----- Di questa scelerata impietà, ~~Amixaxixupadix~~ cioè d'ogni heresia, fu capo, & origine Simone Mago samaritano, et Selene do(n)a impudica.----- Successe à Simone Menandro samaritano costiu nell' (sic) arte Magica non meno del suo maestro esperto ----- Nacque al medesimo tempo l'heresia de Nicolaiti liquali haueuano le mogli commune --- Nelli medesimi tempi Corinthe hebbe ardire d'affermare, che era bisogno osseruare la circumcissione ----- Sorse quasi à questo tempo, l'heresia d'Ebione, che affermaua Christo primo che la madre non essere stato ----- Circa gli anni poi del signore. 109. al tempo di Telestoro.1. Pontifice suscitò Marcione heretico, ilquale, hauendo seguita la setta di Cerdone negaua il padre di Christo essere Dio creatore --- --- In questi medesimi te(m)pi crebbe la heresia Valentiniana; Costoro, settatori d'un certo Platonico, diceuano; Christo non hauere tolto alcuna cosa della Vergine Maria. --- Al tempo di pio 1. Pontifice furono gli Catafrigi ----- Fu ancho in questi tempi Tatiano huomo dottissimo ----- (chi) suscitò noua heresia, laquale poi Seuero aumentò, dalquale ebbero origine gli Seueriani --- Floriano, & Elasco furono nel pontificato di Eleuterio 1."

Wits Miserie, p. 17.

----- Next him marcheth HYPOCRISIE ----- Oh how ancient a Gentleman would hee be he claimes from Simon Magus his petigree, and by discent tels of SPLENE the Harlot, his first by the mothers side, the comes he to MENANDER the coniuurer, from him rekons he to the Nicolaites, who held ye axiome of ARISTOTLE in a sinister sence, Bonum quo communius eo melius, a good faire wench the commoner shee were the better she were: Then CHERINTHUS, EBION, the one confirming that circumcission was necessary, the other, that Christ was not before his mother: next these the yeare 109. MARCION, denying God the creator to be the father of Christ: then VALENTINIAN, alleaging that Christ participated nothing with the Virgine MARIE: from them to the CATAPHRIGI, TATIANI and SEUERIANI; after these to FLORUS and BLASTUS in the time of ELEUTHERIUS the first.

(1) P. 48.

(2) Parte Prima. Cap. xix, p. 31.

viii.

In a similar, though not so extensive a manner, Lodge provided himself with anecdotes from the work of Machiavelli. In a marginal note he refers to Macchiavelli "lib.3, chap.6" as the authority for a "golden saying of Cornelius Tacitus" that he quotes. <sup>(1)</sup> The reference is to the Discorsi sopra la prima decca di Tito Livio. <sup>(2)</sup> Two more short anecdotes on the same page of Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse are to be found in the same book (Book II) - one of them in the same chapter - of the Discorsi. The three examples are worked into a short paragraph and linked together by a few words from Lodge's own pen.

Ill would they obserue that golden sentence of CORNELIUS TACITUS registred by MACHIAUEL, who saith, That men ought to honour things past, and obey the present, desiring and wishing for good Princes, and howsoeuer they procure to endure the(m): I but (answers SCANDALE) I neuer respect how things bee, but how I wish them to be: notwithstanding (sir Deuil) let this be your glasse, That neuer scandale or conspiracie hath ben raised, but the practiser hath at last rewd it. The little Spaniard that assailed FERDINANDO the wise king with a knife: DERUIS the Turkish Priest (3) that assaulted BAI AZETH, what end came they to? Either their enuie (to their shame) was discovered by their feare, or drowned in their blouds. The schoolemaister that betrayed the Phalerians children, was hee not whipt home by CAMILLUS?

Discorsi. Libro Terzo. Cap. vi.  
Et veramente quella sentenza di Cornello Tacito è aurea, che dice, che gli huomini hanno ad honorare le cose passate, & ubidire alle presenti, & debbono desiderare i buoni Prencipi, & comunque si siano fatti, tollerargli." (p. 139.) "Vno Spagnuolo pouero, & abietto dette vna coltellata insu'l collo al Re Ferrando Re di Spagna, non fu la ferita mortale, ma per questo si vide, che colui hebbe animo & commodità a farlo. Vno Deruis sacerdote Turchesco trasse di vna scimitarra a Baisit padre del presente Turco, non lo ferì, ma hebbe pur animo, & commodità a volerlo fare." (p. 140b.)  
IBID. Libro Terzo. Cap. xx.  
Essendo Cammillo con l'esercito intorno alla città de' Falisci & quella assediando, vn maestro di scuola de' piu nobili fanciulli di quella città, pensando di gratificarsi Cammillo, & il Popolo Romano, sotto colore di esercizio vscendo con quelli fuori della città, gli condusse

(1) Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse, p. 24.

(2) I Discorsi di Nicolo Machiavelli, sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio. Palermo. 1584.

(3) Lodge takes the Italian "Deruis" (dervish) as a proper name.

tutti nel campo innanzi a Cammillo, & presentatigli, disse, come medianti loro quella terra si darebbe nelle sue mani. Il quale presente non solamente non fu accettato da Cammillo, ma fatto spogliare quel maestro, & legatogli le mani di dietro, & dato a ciascuno di quelli fanciulli una verga in mano, lo fece da quelli con molte battiture accompagnare nella terra. (1)

ix.

Some of the books which Lodge mentions not as authorities, but as books to be avoided and condemned, furnished him, notwithstanding his censures, with examples and anecdotes for this pamphlet. Among these was another Italian book, the Specchio di Scientia Vniuersale of Leonardo Fioravanti, a writer on miscellaneous subjects, mainly medical, whose works appeared in the second half of the sixteenth century. It is quite clear that Lodge had no opinion of Fioravanti, in either his medical or literary capacity. On page nineteen of this pamphlet he speaks of his prescriptions as "poisons to kill lingeringlie", and on page fifteen, where Boasting is compared with this writer, his style is held up for ridicule: "He condemneth all mens knowledge but his owne, raising vp a Method of experience with (mirabile, miraculoso, stupendo, and such faburthen words: as FIEROUANTI doth) aboue all the learned Gallienists of Italie, or Europe". This contempt for Fioravanti was doubtless inspired by the third book of his Specchio Vniuersale where, after treating in the first and second books "di tutti l'arti liberali, & mecanice" and "di diuerse scientie, & di molte belle contemplationi de'Filosofi antichi" (2) the writer went on to recommend to his readers, in

---

(1) A summary of this last anecdote is all Lodge gives.

(2) Dello Specchio de Scientia Vniuersale Dell'Eccellente Medico, & Cirugico M. Leonardo Fioravanti Bolognese, Libri Tre. Venetia. MDLXIIII.



the hyperbolic language to which Lodge objected, several inventions of his own: "Delle belle inuentioni dell'Autore, et prima dell'elettuario angelico & delle mirabili sue uirtù", "Secreto Mirabile", "Rimedio Miracoloso", "Della nuoua inuentione della stupenda pegola",  
 (1)  
 etc., etc.

Lodge first made use of the Specchio Universale in The Deuill Conjured where it furnished him with a  
 (2)  
 list of names. In Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse he did not make as extensive a use of the Specchio as might have been expected in view of the fact that a number of chapters in the second book of Fioravanti's work deal with the Seven Deadly Sins. All that Lodge borrowed were a number of commonplaces from Fioravanti's  
 (3)  
 account of Envy, which he made use of in his own account of that sin and, possibly, an anecdote from Fioravanti's

(1) Caps. 5, 8, 9 and 18 of the Third Book.

(2)

The Deuill Conjured.  
 No man in this world is so perfect, but there is in him to be amended, neither any man so euill that hath not in him to be praised. The historie writers doe note Homer of vaine speech, taske Alexander for fury, Caesar for ambition, Pompey for pride, Demetrius for vices, Hanniball for periurie, Vespatian for couetousnesse, Traian for a winebibber, Aurelius for amorous: Amongst men so great glorious and famous as these ----- (p. 87).

Specchio di Fioravanti.  
 "Ma nel mondo non è huomo alcuno si perfetto che non sia in lui qualche cosa da amendare da un'altro; non è ancora alcuno così sattuio, nel quale non sia qualche cosa da lodare. Gli Istoric antichi notarono Homero di uanità, Alessandro di furioso, Giulio Cesare di ambizioso, Pompeo di superbo, Democrito di uitioso, Annibale di perfido, Vespasiano di auaro, Traiano di uolento, & Marco Aurelio d'innamorato. Fra tutti questi tanti famosi principi non ne fu ueruno così uitioso, che in lui non ui si trouasse ----- ". (p. 237b-238a).

(3) See later p. 196.

chapter "Della uanagloria, & de suoi mali effetti".<sup>(1)</sup>  
 The same anecdote appears in the Nuova Seconda Selva<sup>(2)</sup>  
 and the two Italian versions are so much alike that  
 it is difficult to say from which of these sources  
 Lodge took it.

x.

Another book which Lodge condemns, this time on moral grounds, but from which, none the less he borrowed nearly two pages of material, was the Serees of Guillaume Bouchet. Lodge classes this work, rather unfairly, with the Ragionamenti of Aretine and the "novels" of Bonaventure des Perriers. His portrait of "Scurrilitie" closes with the recommendation to the reader "that longs to know more" of him to "read BOUCHETS Serees, and if he find a leafe without a grosse least hee may burne the Book", "and if he require further insight into the filthy nature of this fiend, in Artine in his mother NANA, RABLAIS in his Legend of Ribaudrie, and BONAVENTURE DE PERRIERS in his Nouels, he shall be sure to loose his time, and no doubt, corrupt his soule".

The Serees was published in three parts, and of these Lodge uses the first only. The most extensive borrowings are in the account of Drunkenness, for which Bouchet's first Serée "Du Vin" provided pertinent material. The first anecdote in Lodge's passage founded on the Serees came from the second Serée "De l'eau", but after that he seems to have concentrated his attention on "Du Vin" turning over its pages and incorporating

---

(1) See later p. 199.

(2) Parte II. Cap. xxvii.

into his drunkard's "common-place of wine" any quotation or piece of information that caught his eye.

Wits Miserie, p. 86.

Of all nations and citizens  
he can not abide a Romane:  
aske him why, Fie on them  
(quoth he) the slaues kill  
their wiues for drunkennesse.  
Draw him but into the common-  
place of wine, he will weary  
the whole company (with one  
quart & a morcell more, and  
so God be at your sport M.  
TARLTON:) first he saith that  
it is vitis, quasi vita, a  
man were as good misse his  
life as wine: againe, that  
in Almaine and France) wine  
is the most honourable pre-  
sent to strangers: he alled-  
geth you these verses out of  
RALEAIS (but with this  
breathing point, One pottle  
more of that next the doore  
NED,)

Furiena est de bon sens ne  
iouist,  
Qui boit bon vin & ne s'en  
reiouist.

Mad is the knaue and his  
wits haue the collicke,  
That drinckes good wine and  
is not frolicke.

After the company hath drunke  
carouse about, and sung Choro-  
bent, and Gaude Plurimum, for-  
ward goes he, By gots hundred  
towsand ton a deuils, all  
CAESARS armie had bene lost  
without wine: and the only  
medicine for the flegme is  
(in his knowledge) three cups  
of Charnico fasting: he hath  
the Prouerbe of the old Phi-  
sicians (post crudum purum)  
a gallon of wine to an apple  
is pure simetry and propor-  
tion in drinking: fill his  
cup againe of Madera wine,  
and let him wipe his eies  
after his fashion, you shall  
haue stories too, as true  
as the voyage of PANTAGRUEL.

Bouchet's Serees.

"Les Romains defendoient le vin  
à leur femmes: la femme de  
Messenius estant occise pour  
aouir crocheté vn celier  
(Deuxiesme Serée. De l'eau,  
p. 134.)

"Les Latins disent q(ue) la  
"vigne est appelle uitis quasi  
"uita" (Premiere Serée, p. 3).

"Encores aujourd'huy le vin est  
si precieux, & tant estimé &  
honoré de tous, que les Allemans  
& François quand ils veulent  
honorer les estrangers, leur  
enuoie(n)t du vin (p.5).----  
"Rabelais ne dit pas sans raison,  
Furieux est: de bon sens ne  
iouyst,  
Qui boit bon vin & ne s'en  
reiouist". (p.6)

"Plutarque parlant de la vertu  
du vin, dit que la peste Xesta(n)t  
en l'armee de Cesar, il vint à  
pre(n)dre vne ville d'assault  
où estans les soldats entrez, &  
y trouuans de fort bons vins,  
ils en beurent tant que la peste  
cessa" (p. 10).

Le vieux prouerbe des vieux  
medecins --- qui dit "Post  
crudum purum ne fait il pas  
totalement pour moy? Car si  
apres auoir mange du fruit cru,  
vous beuez du vin --- (p. 36).

Here Lodge ceased this patch work method and translated an  
anecdote from Bouchet as it stood, but still with imaginary  
interspersed comments:

Wits Miserie.

I was (will he say) sometime in a Tauerne, and it was with some of my neighbours that it was (this drinks too flat IOHN, fill better, saith he, and carousing in stead of a full point he prosecutes his matter,) and it chanced as we were a drinking I saw mine host carry two pitchers full of water into his wine seller, hauing two other carried after by his apprentice full of good wine (as I supposed:) now Sir, (suspecting some knauery) I thrust my head out of the window, and cried mainly with a full throat, Fire, fire, fire; By reason it was somewhat towards night (now a bit, & than a cup more) I was quickly heard, so that at the last, the Tauerne was full of all sorts of people, some bringing water, (as the contrary to fire,) others oile, (good to quench lightning) some ladders to clime the house top, some vineger to lay on scalding: The people entring into the chamber where I was, and seeing neither fire nor smoake, fearefully aske mee where the fire was? I also hoarse with crying, at last answered them that it was in the seller, and I was sure of it, and for prooffe thereof (quoth I) I saw the host very now carrie down store of water. They hearing this, suddenly ran downe into the seller, where they found the Tauerner with his prentice mingling water and wine together, all the companie detesting his knauerie, one cast his paille of water at his head, another his oile, another his vineger, another broake a sticke out of his lather, and all to beat him: the host suoced in souce like a pickled herring, ran away to saue himselfe, the people fell a drinking til they left him neuer a drop in his seller and I (a pottle more of Charnico, Edward) without paying pennie for my Wine, went away with the goblet, (and I drink to you good man Pouling) this last period is a pottle at least, and how say you by my taleteller?

Bouchet's Serees.

I'estois vn iour, disoit-il, en vne tauerne, avec aucuns miens voisins; il arriua ainsi que nous beuic(n)s, ie vay apperceuoir nostre hoste, qui portoit deux seaux tous pleins d'eau en sa caue, & deux autres pleins de vin que portoit son valet: tout sur l'heure, me mettant à la fenestre, ie crie à pleine teste, au feu, au feu, aussi effroyablement que le petit bossu de Turc, qui rou-tissoit le ge(n)til Panurge, crioit "dalbaroth, dalbaroth:" toute la ville fut tout inco(n)-tine(n)t esmeuë", car craigna(n)t le feu, à cause que c'estoit sur le soir: tellement quela (sic) tauerne(sic) se trouua pleine de toutes sortes de gens. Les vns y apportans de l'eau, comme contraire au feu: les autres de l'huyle, le feu estant aucunefois si grand, que l'eau à cause de sa frigité ne peut penetrer iusques là où est la nourriture du feu, mais l'huile, qui est lente & crasse, ne s'escoulant pas si aisément estoupe & assopist ce qui nourrist le feu: les autres apportoyent du vinaigre, estant par sa grande frigidité du tout contraire au feu, & par sa tenuité penetrant où l'eau ne l'huyle ne peuuent penetrer: Le peuple entrant en la chambre ou nous estions, & ne voyant ne feu ne fumee, nous demande ou estoit le feu: (tout enrroué d'auoir si fort crié au feu, ie respons,) ie respons qu'il falloit bien qu'il fust en la caue, & que tout maintenant (sic) l'auois veu le maistre de la maison. nostre hoste, qui y portoit de l'eau. Ils descendent subitement en la caue, & là trouuent le tauernier, avec son valet, qui mettoient(sic) de l'eau dans le vin, & brouilla-yent tout: Alors l'vn leur iette son eau & son seau, à la teste, l'autre son huyle l'autre son vin-aigre, si que bien peu s'en-fault qu'il (sic) ne fussent noyez & assomez de coups. Nostre hoste esbahy de voir tant de ge(n)s en sa caue, & ne sachant pourquoy ils luy en vouloye(n)t, se sauue en vn petit cauereau: & qui luy ayda bien a se sauuer, c'est que la plus part s'amusa tellement à boire, qu'il ne demoura pas vne goutte de vin en sa caue. (pp. 42-44).

Two more short passages from the Serees of Bouchet appear in this pamphlet. The anecdote of the Archbishop of Magdeburg who died dancing was taken from the fourth Seree.

"A wise man neuer danceth: flie therefore this Deuill, except you long to be fooles with him, and vnfortunately end in your dancing (like LEWIS Archbishop of Magde(n)burge) who in treading his lauoltos and corrantos with his mistresse, in trying his horsetrick broke his necke." (p. 90.)

"Aucuns blasmeient la danse, & ne vouloyent danser, de peur qu'il leur aduint com(m)e il arriua de nostre temps, à vn Louys Archeuesque de Magdebourg, qui dansa si gail-lardement & legerement qu'en dansant avec vne Dame, il se ro(m)pit le col." (p. 243.)

Another short passage from the fourth Seree "Du Chien", from which Lodge had taken and versified extracts for the Sixth Epistle in A Fig for Momus, forms a part of the traveller's tales which Lodge quotes as characteristic of the conversation of "Lying".

He will tell you that a league from Poitiers, neere to Cronnelles, there is a familie, that by a special grace from the father to the sonne, can heale the biting of mad dogs: and that there is another companie and sort of people called Sauueurs, that haue Saint Catherines Wheele in the pallate of their mouthes that can heale the stinging of Serpents. (p. 41) \*

Quelque autre prenant la parole, va dire qu'il y auoit a vne lieue de Poitiers, pres de Crounelles vne familie, qui par grace speciale, de pere en fils, guerissoit la morsure des chiens enragez, non seuleme(n)t és hommes, mais aussi à tous animaux, & aussi empeschoit le venin de la morsure des serpents. Ne seroyent point ces gens la, repliqua quelqu'un, de la compagnie de ceux qu'on appelle Sauueurs? Ce qui est aysé a sçauoir, car on dit: que ces gens la ont la roue de S. Catherine au palais de la bouche. (p. 443.)

There are also one or two allusions to material in the Serees; for example, the reference to the "King of France his Switzer when he had drunk vp a bottle of Greek wine" was probably suggested by a story told in

(1) See later, p. 231 .

(2) P. 91.

the first Seree ("Du Vin") of a King of France and a  
 Scotch soldier who drank up the King's "Greek wine".<sup>(1)</sup>

Interesting as an indication of the width and catholicity of Lodge's reading is the inclusion in his account of War, of fourteen lines from the Seconde Semaine of Du Bartas. Having mentioned Du Bartas by name,<sup>(2)</sup> Lodge quotes three lines in French and translates these three and the eleven following lines of Du Bartas' description of War into blank verse.

"La guerre vient apres, casse loix, casse meurs  
 Raze fortes, verse-sang, brusle-hostels, aime-pleurs,  
 Desus ses pieds d'arrain croulle toute la terre, &c.<sup>(3)</sup>  
 Next marcheth war, break-law-and custome breaker,  
 Race-fort, spil-bloud, burne-hostry, louing-teares.  
 Vnder his brason feet sttops all the earth,  
 His mouth a flaming brand, his voice a thunder: etc.

Scattered through the pages of this pamphlet there are numerous references, allusions and quotations that came from sources with which Lodge had been long acquainted. The Adagia of Erasmus supplied a few Latin tags ("Aquila non captat muscas", "Hominem quadratum omnem moltens (=mouens) lapidem"). There are also references (of a similar order to those in

---

(1) Serees, pp. 18-20.

(2) P. 76.

(3) Les Oeuures Poetiques de G. de Saluste, Seigneur du Bartas. Rouen. 1623. Les Furies. I Jour II Semaine, pp. 256-7.

(4) Adagia. [Geneva.] Roberti Stephani. 1558.

(5) P. 30. Adagia. Chil. III. Cent. ii, No. 65.

(6) P. 47. " " IIII. " viii, No. 35.

(7) P. 13. " " I. " iiii, No. 30.

xii. Catharos) that seem to have come from the Vicissitude  
 (1)  
des Choses of Le Roy, besides the one acknowledged  
 allusion to Changuis from this source, as, for example,  
 the allusion to the effeminacy of Sardanapalus and the  
 (2)  
 "tyrannies that raged in the Primitiue Church from  
 (3)  
 Aurelius to Valerian".

These borrowings from writers as far apart in date as Albertanus and Machiavelli, Pierre de Limoges and Bouchet, Lodge dovetailed together in a very skillful way so that not until the various sources of the pamphlet have been discovered do the transitions from one source to another become apparent. Sometimes Lodge borrows from one work for several pages at a stretch, at other times one page of his pamphlet reveals on examination material from as many as half-a-dozen sources, as in the two following pages with which he closes his description of the sin of Envy.

---

(1) Vicissitude des Choses. Paris. 1579.

(2) P. 52. Liv. IV, p. 37.

(3) P. 68. Liv. VI, p. 75.

Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse, p. 66.

The children of BEELZEBUB thus briefly brought in knowledge, let vs with some consideration examine the workings, & giue remedie against the assaults of the father. [ENUIE in his nature is agriued at the prosperity of another man: he enuieth ye great, since he can not equall them: hee enuieth the weake, dreading they should compare themselves with him: finally, he enuieth his equals, because he were very loth they should be his companions.] In Kingdoms, Common-weales, Princes courts, and priuat families, he is still working, no man hunteth after honour, but he affronts him: only the miserable man he maligneth not, because he suspects not his risings, yet hath he a scorn for him, [such as PHALARIS had to heare PERILLUS groning and roaring in his brasen Bull.] This capital sin of all other is of most antiquity, and shall be of longest continuance. Griueous were the warres raised by this fiend betwixt the Romans and Carthaginians, and as fatall those betwixt CAESAR and POMPEY, who contended not vpon iniuries but vpon enuies. Hee it was that poisoned SOCRATES, slew CRASSUS, destroyed DARIUS, ouerthrew PYRRUS, brought CYRUS to his end, made CATALINE infamous, and SOPHOMY be vnfortunate. HERMOCRATES the tyrant of Cicely knowing the venim of this vice gaue his sonne this last, and not the least instruction: That he should not be enuious, (adding thereunto this consequence) But do thou (saith hee) such deeds, that others may enuy thee: for to be enuied is the token of

(1) Somme des Pechez. D'enuie, p. 351.

"Par iceluy l'enuieux porte enuie aux gra(n)ds, voyant qu'il ne les peut egaller: porte enuie aux petits, craignant qu'ils se veuillent comparer a luy: & finalement porte enuie a ses egaux, pour-ce qu'ils (sic) ne les peut auoir pour co(m)pagno(n)s."

(2) Ibid. D'enuie, p. 355.

"Ce vice est fort commun, principalement en la Cour des Roys & des Princes, & Republiques, ou Magistrats, és Colleges, és Vniuersitez, & Monasteres, &c."

(3) Gesta Romanorum.

De justa sequela malorum. Gesta. ed. Oesterley. Cap.48, p. 346.

(4) Fioravanti. Specchio di Scientia Vniuersale, p. 197b.

"Il uitio adunque piu antico nel mondo, fu la inuidia, & cosi non hauera mai fine vsque ad consumptionem seculi."

(5) Ibid, p. 198b.

"Vediamo che molto piu crudeli furono le guerre che insieme hebbero i Romani e i Cartaginesi che non furono ----- L'inimicitie inestimabili che nacquero fra Giulio Cesare e Pompeo, non furono gia perche l'uno di loro hauesse ingiurato l'altro: ma perche Pompeo haueua grande inuidia alla gran fortuna di Giulio Cesare nelle cose di combattere, & Cesare parimente haueua grande inuidia alla gran gratia che Pompeo haueua nel gouernare."

(6) Ibid, p. 199b.

"Al veleno di Socrate, all'esilio di Eschine, al suspensio di Grasso, alla distruttion di Dario, all scaigura di Pirro, alla fine de Ciro, all'infamia di Catalina, all'infortunio di Sofonisba mai niuno hebbe inuidia; ma piu tosto compassione."

(7) Ibid, p. 200a-b.

"Venendo adunque à morte l'ultimo di questi tiranni, il quale fu Hermocrate, dicono che egli disse al suo figliuol Saul; la ultima parola che io ti dico è figliuol acche tu non uogli esser inuidioso, ma che facci tali opere che altri habbino inuidia di te."



[p. 67]

of good deserts, but to be enuious, the signe of a corrupt nature, It is TULLIUS in his Orator; that the most flourishing fortune is alwaies enuied: agreeing with that in OUID,

(1) Summa petit liuor, perflant altissima venti;

Hate cliimes vnto the head: winds force the tallest towers.

(2) This infirmitie is compared to a simple feuer, that is now hot, straight cold; for now doth the enuious man reioice at the aduersitie of the good, now waxe sad at the prosperitie of the righteous. (2) CAIN was sicke of this disease, enuying the prosperitie of ABEL: RACHEL enuied the fecunditie and fruitfulness of LEA; SAUL the felicity of DAUID. To conclude the fall of ye world, and the death of Christ, was wrought by this sinne. (3) Wisely saith CASSIODORUS, Quicquid ex inuidia dicitur, veritas non reputatur For who hath enuy in his heart, is neuer without lying in his tongue There is no man rightly enuieth another mans knowledge, but hee that suspecteth his owne. (4) The remedie of this vice (as ALBERTANUS saith) Is the loue of God, and of our neighbour: and in ascribing all things to the goodnes of God, we shall haue nothing to maligne at, which is good in his creatures. (5) Besides, if we hate death (as a thing most contrary and grieuous to nature) we must needly hate Enuie, that first brought it into the world. The blessed soules (saith GREGORY) do as much reioice at the felicitie of others, as their owne. (6) It is then consequently an act of the cursed, to be agreed at any mans prosperaty. Not to detaine you long, with this I end with TULLY, Est huius seculi labes quaedam & macula virtuti inuitere. It is a certaine infirmitie and deformity of this world, to enuy vertue. And not to forget HORACE,

(7) Virtutem incolumen odimus,  
Sublatum ex oculis quaerimus inuidi. (7)  
Vertue assignd we enuy coredly,  
But rest from vs, we seeke for greedily.

- 
- (1) Mirandola. Flores Illustrium Poetarum. Inuidia, p. 330.  
Ouidius lib. 1. de remed. amoris.  
Summa petit liuor, perflant altissima uenti.
- (2) Holkot. In Librum Sapientiae Lectio clxxix, p. 590.  
"Tertia infermitas est inuidia: & haec comparatur febriseu febricanti. Febricitans namque modo calescit, modo frigescit: eodem modo inuidus modo gaudet de aduersitate bonorum, modo dolet de eorum prosperitate.
- (3) Flores Doctorum. Inuidia, p. 525 d.  
"Vnde Cain inuidit Abel prosperitati, Rachel Liae foecunditati, Saul Dauid felicitati. Per inuidiam procuratus est lapsus mundi, & mors Christi."
- (4) Albertanus. Della Dilezione d'Iddio, p. 107. Sig. 0 2a.  
"E certo notabil regola e quella, che dice Cassiodoro, Egli dice. Cio, che si dice per inuidia non si reputa verita -----  
Non ha inuidia dell'altrui scienza, o virtude colui, che confida della sua".
- (5) Ibid, p. 108. Sig. 0 2b.  
"Adunque contrapponi alla 'nuidia l'amor d'Iddio, e del prossimo, e sie dolente de'loro mali, e allegati de'lor beni".
- (6) Somme des Pechez. Enuie, p. 336.  
"d'autant plus tu t'en dois resiouyr à la facon des ames bien heureuses qui se resiouyssent autant de la ioye des autres, comme de la leur propre." (marg.n. Gregor.)
- (7) Mirandola. Flores. Illustrium Poetarum.  
Horatius oda. 24 lib.3.  
Clarus post genetis, quaternus heu nefas,  
Virtutem incolumen odimus,  
Sublatum ex oculis quaerimus inuidi".

No one of Lodge's accounts of the Seven Deadly Sins is short enough to be quoted in full, but the following extract from the close of Ire will suffice to give an indication of the manner in which Lodge fitted together the more original descriptions illustrated at the beginning of this section and material from these bookish sources.

Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse, p. 77.

Next WAR followeth a froward furie called VENGEANCE: if you long to know him he hath these marks, his face pale, his eies inflamed, his browes bent, his hand shaking, his nostrils yawning, his passion expressed with othes, & satisfied with blood; he wil not stand lawing to disiest his iniuries, but a word and a blow with him; no man must abuse him, no man controule him: he is generallie blind in his owne affaires, and harebraind in all his actions, his custome is either to purchase the galloves by murthers, or to bee beggered by the law: Bee not acquainted

[p. 78]

acquainted with him in any case, for he that feeds on REUENGE, respecteth not reason; [PLATO knowing the force of this infirmitie, being displeased with his seruant who had greeuously offended him, would not punish him himselfe, but gaue him to bee corrected by his friend TENOCRATES with these words; Chastice mee this boy (saith hee) for in that I am angrie I cannot punish him: SENECA reporteth the same of SOCRATES, and Saint IEROME of ARCHITAS TARENTINUS, and all such like actions of memorie are worthie to bee registered.] For (to accord with Philosophie and Poesie) REUENGE is but an abiect thing, and infirmitie of the spirit, a default in iudgement, which becomes not THALES or CHRISIPPUS (as IUVENAL saith) but rather an intemperate and dissolute THAIS: where contrariwise clemencie, and remission, and forgiuenesse of iniurie, it is an act of pietie; [wherein CAESAR though otherwise an usurper) gloried, telling one (and swearing it by the immortal gods) that in no act of his he more iustly deserued glorie, or more perfectly delighted himselfe, than in pardoning those who had offended him.] and in gratifieing those who had serued him. To make short, [whosoeuer Reuengeth, is sure of Gods vengeance, for the law of God especially interdicted

- (1) Somme des Pechez. Liv. III. Cap. xiii. Vengeance, p. 359.

"A ce propos il se lit de Platon, lequel estant vne fois courroucé contre un sien seruiteur, qui l'auoit grandement offensé, ne le voulut point punir, ains en bailla la charge à son amy Xenocrates. Chastie moy, dit-il, ce garson: car pour-autant que ie suis cholere ie ne le puis punir. Propos qui fut asseurement digne d'vn tel Philosophe. Seneca refere le mesme de Socrates, & saint Hierosme de Architas Tarentin".

- (2) Mirandola. Flores Illustrium Poetarum. De Vindicta, p. 633.

Iuuenalis Satyra 13.

"At uindicta bonum vita iucundius ipsa,  
Nempe hoc indocti, quorum praecordia nullis  
interdum, aut leuibz uideas flagrantia causis,  
Quantulacunque adeo est occasio, sufficit irae  
Chrysippus non decet idem, nec mite Thaletis  
Ingenium, dulcique senex uicinus Hymeto,  
Qui partem acceptae saeua inter uincla cicuta  
Accusatori nollet dare.

Et post paulum

Semper & infirmi est animi exiguique uoluptas  
Vltio.

- (3) Fioravanti Specchio Vniuersale, or Nuova Seconda Selva. II. xxvii.

"a cui rispose Cesare; Per li Dii immortali ti giuro ò Mamilio, che di niuna cosa di questa uita stimo hauere meritato gloria, ne niuna altra mi porta tanta allegrezza, quanto e il perdonare a quegli i quali mi fanno qualche ingiuria".

Leuit.  
19.

and forbiddeth it, in these words, Seeke not reuenge; neither remember thou the iniuries which thy neighbors haue done vnto thee. The Philosophers likewise accorded herein, as appeareth by SOCRATES and PLATO, who in his first of his Common weale saith thus, that Referre iniuriam, est inferre, To render and do iniurie is all one. (1)

But leaue we this fiend to the tyranny of his owne thought, for here marcheth forward the spirit of IMPATIENCE now incarnate, a fleshlie fiend I warrant him: This is he will beat his wife, lame his children, breake his seruants backes, vpon euerie light occasion; he will not dine for anger if his napkin haue a spot on it, nor pray if hee haue not that granted him which at the first he requireth: he will not stay to hear an answere whilist a man may excuse himselfe, nor endure any reading if it fits not his purpose, nor affect anie learning that feedes not his humor: hee will beat his Phisitian

[p.79] if his purge worke not presently; and kill his horse if he gallop not when he commands him: he is like captaine CLOUX foole of Lyons that would needs die of the sullens, because his master would entertaine a new foole besides himselfe: this deuill is an arrant swearer, a swift striker, a short liuer, three good marks to know him by, and of all his imperfections this is not the least, that if he be detracted he stormeth, be it either iustly or vniustly, not considering what an honour it was for XERXES, CEASAR, DOMITIAN, TITUS, TRAIAN, and TIBERIUS, who being certified that a certaine man had spoken ill of him, answered, That tongues are free in a city. For to heare a mans fault is wisdom, but to be flattered is meere misery. A certaine Emperour confirming the lawes of THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, and of HOMER, said thus: If any one not knowing the law of modesty, so far forth forget himselfe to speake ill of vs, our will is/ he be not punished for the same, for if it proceed of lightnesse of spirit, and readinesse of tongue, it is to be neglected: if it proceed of folly or choller, it is to be pitied: and if it proceed of iniury it is to be pardoned: A golden saying, and worthy an Empe

(1) Somme des Pechez. Liv. III, Ch. xiii. Vengeance, p. 359.

"Au reste ceux qui se veulent venger seront vengez de Dieu, dit l'Ecclesiastique: & pour autant dit Salomon "Ne dy point ie feray à vn tel comme il m'a fait &c. Aussi l'auoit-il appris de la loy de Dieu, qui dit, ne cherche point vengeance, & ne sois point memoratif de l'iniure que t'ont faicte ses voisins. Les Philosophes mesmes ont bien cognu qu'il ne failloit point venger, comme Platon, Socrates, & les autres. Il ne faut dit Platon, que celui qui est offensé rende iniure pour iniure: car rendre iniure & la faire, c'est tout vn. (Marg. note - neque malum malo reddere/ quia referre iniuriam est inferre.)

(2) Ibid, p. 361.

"Il s'est mesme trouue des Emperours, tant payens que Chrestiens, qui ont porte patiemment les iniures, & brocards de leurs subiects & vassaux: comme il se lit de Xerxes, de Iules Cesar, de Domitian, de Titus, & de Traian. Tybere lequel lors qu'on luy rapportoit que quelques vns auoient dit mal de luy, respondoit que les langues estoient libres en la cite. Vn certain Empereur Chrestien confirmant les loix de Theodose, d'Arcade, & d'Honore, dit ainsi: Si quelqu'vn ne scachant la loy de modestie s'est desborde a mal parler de nous, nous ne uoulons point qu'il soit pour cela puny: car s'il procede de legerete d'esprit & promptitude de la langue, il n'en faut tenir conte, s'il vient de folie, ou de cholere, il en faut auoir commiseration, & s'il est procede d'iniure il le faut pardonner. Voyla vn trile(m)me qui est digne d'vn Empereur Chrestien".

rouer, which if you follow my friends, you haue a sufficient spell about you, to coniuere the spirit of Impatience from you. Thus haue I briefly shewed you the whelpes of WRATHES litter: now for a conclusion, let vs a litle canuase this cursed fiend BAALBERITH. To discourse therefore of this immoderate passion (proceeding from the sensetiuue appetite, as AQUINE saith) (1) it is the increase of the gall (according to the Phisitians) but the decrease of all modesty, by the law of reason: for he that is affected with (2) this short madnesse (according to SENECA) (3) is angry with his quill if it deliuer not inke; with his dice, if he play loose, and then he bites them: his gesture is inconstant, he looks red in the gils like a Turkie cocke, his eie lids deprest, his lips tremble, his tongue stutters, and he is vnquiet in all his body. Sometimes from words he breaketh into cries, from cries into slaunders, from slaunders into contumely, from contumelies into cursings, from cursings into blasphemies. Sometime like an ague it seaseth the whole body, & sometimes

[p.80] like a frensie, peruerteth the mind: sometimes it lifteth vp the hand to hurt another man, sometimes himselfe: sometimes hee heares not, eates not, speakes not, but is his owne plague. What shall I say? this Deuill in all men darkeneth reason, & confoundeth memory: and as smoke driueth a man out of his house, so wrath expelleth the Holy-Ghost from our hearts. Those that write of Ire, dissuade and debar men from the vse thereof for three causes: First because it iniureth God; next their neighbours; and lastly themselues. For from God it taketh the effect of his power; and from our neighbour it taketh the affect of due beneuolence; and from mens selues it taketh the aspect of reason and vse of intelligence. For first of all, it behoueth God in respect of his power, iudicially to reuenge and punish sinne, spiritually to inhabite the good, and liberally to bestow his benefits on them. But the Irefull man is contrari-ous to God in all these things: first, he taketh from God his reuenge, because Ire is a disordinate appetite of reuenge: and God saith. To me belongeth reuenge, Et ipse retribuam. For God hath reserued two things vnto himselfe, glory and reuenge; and the proud man robbeth him of the one, and the irefull man of the other; secondly, an Irefull man iniureth God, because he expelleth him from the rest of his habitation: In pace factus est locus eius, His place is made in peace: but according to the Prouerbs, An Irefull man prouoketh brawles, ergo he displaceth God of that (3)

+ Rom.  
13.

- (1) Somme des Pechez. Liv. III, Ch. xii. D'Ire, p. 356.  
"S. Thomas dit que Ire proprement est vne passion humaine, prouena(n)t de l'appetit sensitif".
- (2) In Librum Sapientiae. Lectio cxxvi. Vnde antiqui dixerunt iram esse breuem insaniam, secundum Senecam 3 de ira.
- (3) In Librum Sapientiae. Lectio cxxvi, p. 424 et seq.  
"Notandum quod ira facit iniuriam DEO, proximo, & subiecto proprio. Subtrahit enim DEO effectu(m) suae potentiae, proximo affectum debitae beniuolentiae, proprio subiecto aspectum rationis & intelligentiae. Primo ergo subtrahit DEO effectum suae potentiae. Conuenit enim DEO ratione suae potentiae culpas iudicialiter uindicare, bonis specialiter inhabitare, & eis liberaliter sua bona legare. Sed contra ista iniuriatur iracundus, DEO in omnibus: primo aufert a DEO uindictam: quia ira est deordinatus appetitus uindictae. Et DEUS dicit: Mihi uindictam & ego retribuam(m). (Marg. note. Roman 12 Et Deuteron. 32. Mea es ultio, & ego retribuam.) DEUS enim duo sibi retinuit, gloriam & uindictam: alterum superbus aufert, & alterum iracundus, Esa 48. Gloriam meam alteri non dabo. Secundo iracundus DEO iniuriatur quia expellit eum a quiete suae habitationis Psalm. Et factus est in (p. 425) pace locus eius. Ira autem turbat pacem & destruit, Prouerbior. 15. Vir iracundus prouocat rixas. Et domum, quae tota die

habitation wherein he would dwell, by corrupting his heart with contentions: thirdly, God is iniured, in that the peace he sent into the world, is by the irefull man disturbed. Secondly, Ire taketh from our neighbor the affect of due beneuolence, for we are bound to defend him in substance, fame and person: and contrariwise this Ire compelleth vs to hurt him in rauishing his substance, impeaching his fame, and killing his person.

\*Arist.  
Mb. 3  
de ani-  
ma.

\*Iob 5.

[p.81]

(3)  
continued

ARISTOTLE (a great searcher into nature) saith, that as soone as the Bee looseth her sting shee dieth: and so fareth it (if we morally allude) with the Irefull and reuenging man; for whilst either indeed or word he exerciseth his mallice on his neighbour, hurting him in his substance, person, or fame, he first of all spiritu- ally killeth himselfe, according to that of IOB, Virum stultum in- terficat

terficat iracundiam: Ire killeth the foolish man. Thirdly, wrath drowneth & destroyeth in a mans owne selfe three kind of goods: For first of all, it subuerteth the honesty of corporall disposition; secondly, it hindreth reason: and thirdly, shorterth life. That it destroyeth the honesty and comelinesse of mans disposition, it appeareth, because how faire soeuer a man be, it deformeth his lookes, it discolours his face, it altereth his gesture, it transpor- teth his tongue, and euery way disgraceth him. And therefore SENECA saith, Nothing more profiteth an Irefull man then to behold his owne deformity: and therefore another Philosopher said, that it was requisite for a wrathfull man to see his owne face in a myrrour, to the end, that by the reflection thereof, hee might behold his vnnaturall alteration. It is said of MINERUA, that being delighted in the musicke of a cornet, she once plaid by a transparent and christall fountaines side, wherein spying her cheekes mightily puft and swollen with winding, shee cast

In Librum Sapientiae (Continued).

"moueretur & tremeret nullus magnus dominus libenter inhabi- taret. Tertio DEO iniuriatur impediendo, ne legatum possit stare ----- (3 lines) ----- Secundo principaliter ira subtrahit proximo affectum debitae beniuolentiae Teneor enim proximi saluare substantiam, famam, & personam, & contra ista tria compellit ira ad nocendum proximo: in substantia depr(a)edando, in fama diffamando: & in persona trucidando, Ecclesiast. 27. Ira & furor utraque execrabilia: quia Ecclesiast. 28. obiurgatio et ira annihilabunt substantiam. Dicit Aristot. 3. de Animalibus, quod apis cum eicit aculeum, moritur: Et ita est moraliter de iracundo & appetituo uin- dictae. Dum enim exercet maliciam suam co(n)tra proximu(m) uerbo uel opere laedendo, in substantia, persona, uel fama: primum interficit spiritualiter semetipsum, Iob. 5. Virum stultum interficit iracundia.

Tertio ira subiecto proprio subtrahit tria bona. Primo namq(ue) destruit honestatem corporalis dispositionis: Secundo impedit potestatem naturalis rationis: Et tertio minuit quantitatem uitae durationis Primo ergo destruit honestatem corporalis dispositionis. Quantumcunq(ue) enim persona sit pulchra, ira tamen subuertit oculos, gennae fiunt minis rubeae, uel nimis pallidae: Gestus est tremulus, lingua cespitat, & totus homo dehonestatur: De isto loquitur Seneca. 2. de Ira: Nihil aeque profuit iratis, sicut intueri deformi- tatem rei, scilicet irae: nam in ea facies turbatior, ora pulcherrima foedat toruos uultus ex tranquillissimis reddit, linquit decor omnis iratos. Et sequitur: Qualem putas esse animam cuius imago tam foeda est: ideo dicit quidam philo- sophus, quod iratus profuit aspexisse speculum, ut imago repercussa ostenderet homini sua(m) deformitatem. Haec Seneca. Idem. 3. lib. de ira: Nulla facies ferae quantumlibet agitetur, est ita turpis sicut hominis ira flagrantis. Narra(n)t fabulae quod Minerua aliquando delectata est in Musica tiliarum. Cum ergo semel insufflaret tibias iuxta quendam fluium, uidit guttas turpiter tumescentes, & statim

away her instrument and repined the further vse of it: As it happened to MINERUA the goddess of wit, so fortuneth it often times to many wise men subject to indignation, who sometimes distracted with Ire, and perceiuing in the cleere fountaine of their iudgement, the vndecencie and errour thereof, vtterly disclaime it: secondly wrath hindreth the power of reason, according to CATOS saying:

Impedit ingenium ne possit cernere verum,

(3) continued.  
It hindreth the judgement and vnderstanding, least it should discern truth: and for that cause the Deuill behaueth himselfe like a cunning fisherman, who purposing to catch and insnare the fish more cunningly, troubleth the waters, to the end, that blinding their sight, they may the sooner fall in his net. In like manner doth the Deuill demeane himselfe, who struing to draw men to sinne, hee stirreth perturbation, strife, and dissentions among them, to the end they may the sooner fall into sinne, and be seduced by his mallice. ARISTOTLE in the first of his Topiques saith, that Ire neuer subuerteth reason, but when the mind and soule is peruerse and froward: and euen as it is the craft of the L. Elench. Sophister (as the same Philosopher saith) to prouoke his aduersary to Ire, to the end he may hinder his iudgement, so it is the policy

[p.82] pollicie of the Deuill to blind our vnderstanding with wrath, least we would discern his villany: thirdly, Ire shorteneth life, as may appeare in beasts, which being naturally cholericke, haue but short time of continuance; as namely, in the dog, and that in Ecclesiastes it is approoued, where it is said, Zelus & iracundia minuent dies, & ante tempus senectam adducent, Zeale and wrath shorten life, end hasten age. It is said of the Onyx (a stone gathered in India and Arabia) that it tieth spirits, presenteth dolefull visions, multiplieth strife, & causeth brawles: The like may be said of Wrath, for it banisheth all good thoughts from

In Librum Sapientiae (Continued).

"fistulas suas proiecit: Minerua est dea sapientiae, & sapientes interdum sunt indignantis naturae Ecclesiast.1. In multa sapientia, multa est indignatio. Contingit ergo quod sapiens aliquis quandoq(ue) per motu(m) iracu(n)diae tangitur: Sed statim si est sapiens considerat indecentiam sui status, & alias sibi cauet. Secundo impedit potestatem naturalis rationis: Iuxta illud Catonis:

Impedit ira animum ne possit cernere verum.

Et ideo Diabolus facit, sicut astutus piscator, qua(n)do uult faciliter decipere pisces, turbat aquam, & tunc est securus quod pisces non poterunt praeuidere rete suum. Eodem modo Diabolus facit in congregatione quacunq(ue): immittit turbationem, per aliquem iracundum in totam co(n)gregationem, & tunc ducit eos ad peccata & malicias excogitandas, sicut sibi placet, & totam congregationem reddit turbatam. Dicit Aristotel.5.topi. quod irascibilis non imperat rationi, nisi cum fuerit peruersa anima hominis: & ita est qua(n)do peruersa fuerit anima, ira dominatur, & nunquam alias. Dicit etiam Aristotel.1.Elenchorum: quod ista est cautela specialis sophistae ut uidelicet socium suum prouocet ad iram: quia impedit ira animum, &c. Iste sophista est Diabolus. ----- (5 lines) ----- Tertio ira minuit quantitatem uitalis durationis. Animalia enim excessiue cholericum sunt naturaliter breuis uitae, sicut maxime patet de cane. Et hoc est quod dicitur Ecclesiastici.30.Zelus & iracundia minuent dies, & ante tempus senectutem adducunt. Vnde antiqui dixerunt iram esse breuem insaniam(m) secundu(m) Senecam.3. de ira; ----- (2 lines) ----- Vnde ira merito comparatur cuidam gemmae, quae uocatur Onyx, cui malae proprietates attribuuntur in lapidario. Ad collum enim suspensa

(3)

"Il dit donc en ce traitté --- qu'il conuient des la tuerie  
leuasse l'inter uere mission de cholere, & n'attendre pas

(3)  
continued

the heart, filleth the imagination with vntoward visions, and increaseth enuy, wrong, and contention: and as the stone Sardius hindreth the properties thereof, so doth Patience mollifie & pacifie trouble: according to that of the Wise man, Responsio mollis frangit iram, A soft answer putteth downe strife. SENECA did in his third book de Ira saith, If it be a friend that offended, hee/ did that he would not: if an enemy, he did as he ought: So howsoever displeasures come, if they be wisely construed, they are easily digested. [Wrath by the Schoolemen likewise is compared to a burning feuer, which as it hath two accidents (according to CONSTANTINE) continuall heat, and great thirst; so a wrathfull man vpon euery froward word in gesture, words, and lookes, is drawne into a great heat, and afterward is seased with a great thirst of reuenge.] [A wrathfull man likewise is compared to a beast called Abbane, which being a creature of the bignesse of a Hart, yet (against the custom of all other beasts) hath her gall in her eare: so a wrathfull man (although he be kindly spoken to) yet taketh he all things in bitterness:] and according as he interpreteth words, so giueth hee short and crosse answers. Thus far haue I drawn a line, to square the foundation against the assaults and battery of Baalberith. Now with Gallen I will mortifie some chiefe stones of the building, and leaue the rest to your finishing: and thus saith he [in a certaine treatise of his, That from our tender youth we ought to tame this passion of choller, and not attend till our yeeres be ripened; at which time hauing taken root, it is the harder to be weeded out: for if wee yeeld this headstrong fury one foot, it will take two, and by litle and (1)

+ Lib. 7.  
orat.  
cap.  
de  
caus.

+ Gal. de  
cognes-  
cendio  
cu ren-  
disque  
animi  
affecti-  
bus.

In Librum Sapientiae (Continued).

in aegritudine:

In somno lemures & tristia cuncta figurat,  
Multiplicat vites & commouet vndiq(ue) rixas.

Haec gemma uenit de India & Arabia, nullam bonam uirtutem uel paucas habens. Et merito designat iracundiam: quae ad nihil ualet sed saepe facit lemures: id est diabolicas imaginationes: quando irruit in hominem, & turbat cerebrum, & commouet rixas & lites ----- (9 lines) ----- Sed tamen sic in lapidario dicitur contra maliciam praedictae gemmae, inuenitur uirtus alterius, qu(a)e uocatur Sardis. In cuius praesentia non potest Onyx nocere: Moraliter ista secunda gemma designat patientiam, Prouerbiorum. 15. Responsio mollis frangit iram. Et Seneca tertio de ira: Si amicus est qui offendit, fecit quod uoluit: Si inimicus, fecit quod debuit.

Lectio clxxix, p. 590.

"Secunda infirmitas spiritualis est ira: & haec comparatur febril acutae: eo quod habens eam, patitur calorem continuum, & sitim magnam, secundum Constantinum lib. 7. uiat. ca. de Cersi. uel causon. Et isto modo est de homine iracundo, qui statim ad quodlibet uerbum calorem cholerae suae ostendit gestu, uerbis, & uultu: habent etiam sitim magnam semetipsum uindicandi."

Lectio cciiii, p. 673.

"Dicit Aristotele libro secundo de Animalibus, capite secundo, quod Abane est animal magnitudine cerui, quod contra naturam omnium aliorum animalium habet fel in aure, simile felli hominis in colore: & est animal amarum & uelox nimis. Et significat inuidum cui fel in aure gerit: quia quidquid audit in offensionem amaritudinis conuertit. Ouidius 2 Metamorph."

(1) Somme des Pechez. Liv. III, Ch. xii. Ire, p. 367.

"Il dit donc en ce traité ---- qu'il convient dès la tendre ieunesse domter ceste passion de cholere, & n'attendre pas



[p.83]

Ber.  
Donato  
Interp.

and litle will in such sort creepe and attaine to the seignurie of the heart, that by no meanes or medicine it will be vnseated therefrom. The heauen (said GALLEN) hath so much faouced me, that I had a iust, good, and courteous father, & no waies oppressed with passion and choller; whose good precepts and instructions, I haue euer retained: for at no time, in what choller soeuer he hath beene, haue I seene him transported so farre, as to strike any man, but (which more is) hee had alwaies a custome to reprehend those, that beat and stroke their subiects and seruants. But if I were fortunate in a father (said he) I was lesse fortunate in a mother, for I had one the most chollericke and troublesome woman liuing vpon the earth, shee was alwaies at the staffes end with my father, to whome shee was no lesse troublesomethen was earst XANTIPPE to her SOCRATES: she neuer ceased to raile against him, continually filling the house wt tumult, yea, choller had such power in her from her youth, that when she entred into any discontents, she flung, stampt, strooke, yea so far forgot her selfe, that she strooke her chambermaids. The same author saith likewise, that the first time he began to detest that vice, was, that being a young lad he beheld a man seased with this passion, who was so far disguised by choller, that hee seemed rather a monster then a man, for hee had his countenance changed, his eies staring, his haire bristling on his head, his lookes furious, and all the rest of his body trembling, and agitated with fury; he cried, he stamped, he threatned, he fomed at the mouth like a bore, and to conclude, he shewed such strange, insolent, and prodigious countenances, that hee gaue manifest euidence that this brutall passion, brings a man besides himselfe, and makes him like vnto beasts. Thus farre GALLEN, by whose counsell if wee propose vnto our selues the image and picture of a distempered and wrathfull man, no doubt but the obscene, filthy, and lothsome behauiour which he vseth, will bring vs in detestation of his vice, and determination to auoid and conquer such like perturbations and affections.

+ Somme des Pechez (Continued).

Galen. de "sur l'eage, lorsqu'elle aura pris racine, & sera moult  
cognoscer- difficile à oster. Car si on donne à ceste, farouche beste  
dis curan- vn pié, elle en prendra deux, & peu à peu viendra si bien à  
disque seigneuriser le coeur de l'homme, qu'il ne s'en pourra  
animi af- iamais despestrer. Le ciel, dit-il, m'a tant fauorizé que  
fectib. i'eu vn pere iuste, bon, humain, & fort esloigné d'ire & de  
Bernardino cholere, duquel i'ay retenu de bo(n)s precepts & enseigne-  
Donato me(n)s: car iamais ie ne m'arriua pour cholere que i'eusse,  
Interprete. de frapper ou battre mes seruiteurs: ce que i'auois appris  
de mon Pere, lequel iamais ne vis transporté de cholere, ne  
frapper personne, ains qui plus est, il auoit de coustume  
de doucement reprendre ceux qui battoient leurs subiecs &  
seruiteurs. Mais si i'estoys bien fortuné (sic) en Pere,  
dit-il, ie l'estois d'autant peu en mere: car i'en auois vne  
la plus cholere & turbulante de la terre. Elle estoit tous-  
iours en pique avec mon pere, auquel elle n'estoit pas moins  
moleste que fut iadis Zantippe à Socrates. Elle crioit,  
elle tempestoit, ell faisoit du to(n)nerre, menant en mer-  
ueilleux tantamarre en la maison. Ma quoy? La cholere l'auoit  
si bien dominee dès la ieunesse, que quand elle entroit en  
ses alteres, elle ruoyt, elle fraploit, voire iusques à  
mordre ses pauures chambrières. Voila que c'est, Dames  
Chrestiennes, que de se laisser ainsi gagner a la cholere:  
laquelle en rien ne differe de phrenerie. Aussi dit le mesme  
auteur, que la premiere fois qu'il commença à detester ce  
vice, c'est, qu'estant ieune enfant, il aperceut vn ho(m)me  
saisi de ceste passion, lequel, c'estoit si bien altere par  
cholere, qu'il sembloit plustost à vn monstre, qu'à vn homme:  
car il vous auoit le visage changé, les yeux estincelants,  
les cheveux heressez en la teste, le regard furieux, & tout  
le reste du corps tremblant & agité de furie. Il crioit, il  
tempestoit, il menacoit, escumant de la bouche, comme vn  
verrat: & en somme faisoit d'autres insolentes, & prodigieuses  
contenances, qui monstroyent bien que ceste brutale passion  
met l'ho(m)me hors des gens, & le rend semblable aux bestes."

## SECTION III.

There are indications that the rest of Lodge's pamphlets were "compiled" in a similar manner. The Reply to Gosson is a bookish piece of work, in which Lodge doubtless made use of much that he had learnt in his school and college days. He several times alludes to Donatus and Iodicus Badius in his reply to Gosson's attack on the stage, and much of his knowledge of the history of the theatre in Rome seems to have been drawn from the accounts of the life of Terence by these two writers prefixed to an edition of Terence's comedies, (1) which he possibly used as a schoolboy. A short passage of about a dozen lines in reply to Gosson's attack on music is from the chapter "De Musica" in Cornelius Agrippa's De Incertitudine et Vanitate Omnium Scientiarum et Artium. (2) There are Latin tags from the Adagia of Erasmus, ("Ictus piscator sapit", "Nodum in Cirpo (sic) quaerunt") (5) and from the Flores of Mirandola. (6)

(1) Pub. Terentii Afri Comoediae In sua metra restituta. Impressum Tusculani apud Benacum. MDXXVI.  
Cf. Reply to Gosson p.35, ll.16-20 and the above Sig.AA[vi]a  
" " " " 35, 22-26 " " " Sig.AA[ix]b  
" " " " 36, 16-20 " " " Sig.AA[vi]b  
" " " " 25-9)  
" " " " 37, 1-2) " " " Sig.AA[ix]b  
" " " " 37, 6-16 " " " Sig.AA[xi]b.

(2) Henrici Cornelii Agrippae --- de Incertitudine & Vanitate omnium scientiarum et artium Liber. Francofurti Lipsiae, MDCCXIV.  
Cf. Reply to Gosson p.30, ll.23-29) and the above  
" " " " 31, ll. 1-9 ) pp. 83-4 and 85.

(3) Adagia. [Geneva]. 1558.

(4) Reply to Gosson p. 33 and Adagia Chil. I, Cent i. No.29.

(5) Reply to Gosson p. 4 and Adagia, Chil. II, Cent. iv, No. 76.

(6) See above p. 173 .

A few scraps of information of a miscellaneous character suggest that Lodge was already acquainted with the Vicissitude des Choses of Louis Le Roy, for example, the reference to the esteem in which Homer was held by Alexander, to the controversy between the Chians and Colophonians and the Smirnians and the Salamani, and the anecdote of Hesiod.

The Alarum Against Usurers is the least bookish of all Lodge's pamphlets. On the whole he tells a straightforward story, with little embellishment, of a youth who, on leaving the university, fell into the hands of usurers, brokers and "such like catterpillers of the commonwealth". Each effort to disentangle himself from their toils only results in further embarrassments. The abuses against which Lodge warns his readers are those commonly exposed in Elizabethan works on this subject - promises of money on apparently easy terms, the cozening of the youth by exploiting his ignorance of the law, and the loan of "refuse commodity" such as "lute-strings". Lodge quotes examples of the laws against Usurers made by the Greeks, the Romans, the Lacedaemonians and the Egyptians, possibly drawn from his law studies, and there are a few proverbs and Latin tags from the usual sources - the Adagia and the Flores of Mirandola. Two anecdotes related in the Epistle suggest that Lodge was acquainted with some collection of Apothegmata, probably of Italian origin. For one of the two anecdotes the reader is referred to

---

(1) Reply to Gosson, p.2. Vicissitude (1579 edn.) Liv. V, p. 60.

(2) Reply to Gosson, p.11, Vicissitude (1579 edn.) Liv. V, pp. 53-4.

(3) Reply to Gosson, p. 13. Vicissitude (1579 edn.) p. 54.

(4) Pp. 7 and 8.

(1)  
 Petrarch and the story is to be found in the Rerum Memorandarum libri IV,<sup>(2)</sup> Petrarch's unfinished imitation of the Dicta et Facta Memorabilia of Valerius Maximus. The absence of other material from the same source suggests that Lodge was using some intermediary collection of anecdotes. Possibly from the same source came the story of the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, in the Reply to<sup>(3)</sup> Gosson, where Lodge quotes an Italian phrase indicating the use of some Italian source, and a jest related in Catharos,<sup>(4)</sup> attributed to Arlotto, but not to be found in any collection of the Facetie of Arlotto, where, again, Lodge quotes the Italian phrase on which the point of the jest depends.

The Deafe mans Dialogue addressed by Philamis to Philamour, includes as might be expected from its date, material from the Dialogues of Creatures Moralised. Lodge's borrowings from this work, upon which he had drawn so freely in Catharos, are taken not from the fables but from the moralisations and consist of "sayings" of the philosophers and the fathers, and of anecdotes.<sup>(5)</sup> There are also a few illustrations taken from the Concetti<sup>(6)</sup> of Garimberto, as might also be expected since Lodge had used this work so freely in Euphues Shadow to which the

---

(1) P. 7.

(2) Rerum Memorandarum Libri iv. Bernae. 1604, p. 108.

(3) Pp. 21-2.

(4) P. 29.

(5) From the Dialogues of Creatures Moralised Lodge takes the moralisation of Dialogo xxxii "Of the Rosyar and the Partryche", of Dialogo xxiii "Of the Locke and the Kaye", and of Dialogo xvi "Of the precyows Topezyon". Cf. these fables and The Deafe Mans Dialogue, pp. 96, 98-99.

(6) Cf. Deafe mans Dialogue (Sophocles & Leonidas), p. 93 and Garimberto Concetti (15 ), p. 150b. Deafe mans Dialogue (Democritus) p. 103, and Concetti 53a.

Deafe mans Dialogue is appended. Possibly the subject of this dialogue was suggested by the De Incertitudine of Cornelius Agrippa. Its theme is the vanity of the arts and sciences, and the branches of learning which Lodge reviews had all been treated by Cornelius Agrippa in his work.

The remaining pamphlet, The Deuill Conjured, reveals in the very diversity of subjects with which it deals, traces of a composite origin. For the greater part of this pamphlet no source has been found, but about fourteen pages towards its close (Anthony's long harangue on Counsel<sup>(1)</sup> and the shorter passage on the eight righteous causes of War<sup>(2)</sup>) can be identified, although Lodge makes no acknowledgment of his source, as a translation of extracts from the Liber Consolationis et Consilii of Albertanus of Brescia. This dialogue, written by Albertanus in 1248, had furnished Chaucer (indirectly through the adaptation of Jean de Meung) with the Tale of Melibeus. Lodge, however, seems to have drawn directly from the original since his translation includes material<sup>(3)</sup> which Jean de Meung had omitted. There is record of only one edition in Latin of this book before 1600.<sup>(4)</sup> Several Dutch and German translations were printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but no Italian translation appeared until 1610 and no French or Spanish translations of this period are known. The frequency with which Lodge quotes in Latin from the Fathers and Cato

---

(1) Pp. 72-84.

(2) Pp. 85-6.

(3) Jean de Meung omits the passage in Albertanus' dialogue on the eight righteous causes of war.

(4) See Albertani Brixienensis Liber Consolationis et Consilii-- Edidit Thor Sundby. Pro Societate Chauceriana. Londini. MDCCCLXXIII. p. xii. "These discourses (De Amore etc. De Arte Loquendi etc. Liber Consolationis etc.) written in Latin, exist in a great number of manuscripts; but as it seems, bibliographers do not know the existence of an impression mentioned by Casimir Oudin, who says that in the year 1680 he had seen in the library of a monastery in Artois a copy printed at Coni, 1507, in 4to, by Master Viotus de Dulcis."

would point to his having used a Latin text, either the edition of 1507 or a manuscript of the work.

Lodge's borrowings may be described as an abridged translation of the corresponding section of Albertanus' work. They begin on page 72 of this pamphlet and for the next twelve pages Lodge relies entirely on this mediaeval work. He adds nothing but shortens his original by omitting a few lines here and there. His translation is slavish and often careless. It is often too literal to drive home the point of the Latin and sometimes the point is missed altogether. For example, Lodge translates "Propter amicos non probatos: provide tibi semel de inimicis, et millesies de amicis; quia forsan amicus fiet inimicus, et sic levius poterit dampnum tuum perquirere" - "In steed of vnaproued friends. furnish thy selfe a thousand times rather with enemies than friends, because by good hap thine animie may be made thy friend, & so by that meanes he may the more lightly procure the indomagement". He translates Albertanus' "simulatione officii" as "the office of dissimulation" again losing the point of the Latin "Nullae sunt occultiores insidiae, quam eae, quae latent in simulatione officii aut in aliquo necessitudinis nomine" in his translation "and there are none so secret treasons as those that are coloured with the office of dissimulation, or vnder the name of friendship". In one place he seems to take a nominative masculine singular pronoun "is" as an Ablative plural "eis" for he translates "Ita

---

(1) Pp. 31-63.

(2) Liber Consolationis, etc. Chaucer Society, p.41.

(3) The Diuell Coniured, p. 76.

(4) Liber Consolationis, Chaucer Society, p. 48.

(5) The Diuell Coniured, p. 79.

fit, ut is assentatoribus patefaciat aures suas maxime,  
 qui sibi assentetur et se maxime ipse delectet" as "so  
that if hee open his ears to those flatterers he greatly  
 delighteth both him that flattereth, and himselfe most  
 of all".<sup>(2)</sup>

The study of the sources of these pamphlets thus throws considerable light on Elizabethan methods of "bookmaking". It also gives a very good idea of the extent and variety of Lodge's reading. Gabriel Harvey's doggerell lines in his letter-book describe Lodge's reading as aptly as his own.

"All kynde of bookes, good and badde,  
 Sayntish and Diuelish, that are to be hadd,  
 Owle and yunge,  
 For matter and tunge,  
 Whersoever they dwell,  
 In heauen or in hell;  
 Machiauell Aretine, and whome you will,  
 That ar any renownid for extraordinary skill."<sup>(3)</sup>

A very wide range of work in date and subject went to the making of these pamphlets - theology (Holkot, Benedicti), didactic works (Albertanus, Dialogues of Creatures Moralsed), books of commonplaces (Mirandola, the Flores Doctorum, and the Concetti of Garimberto) miscellaneous works (the Nuova Seconda Selva, the Vicissitude des Choses and the Specchio of Fioravanti), poetry (the Semaine of Du Bartas), and recreative literature (the Serees of Bouchet). Some of the books Lodge read are still read to-day, others are known only to the book

---

(1) Liber Consolationis, etc. Chaucer Society, p. 47.

(2) The Diuell Coniured, p. 78.

(3) Renwick, W.L. Edmund Spenser, An Essay on Renaissance Poetry. London. 1925. Quoted on p. 138.

collector and the student of the by-ways of Renaissance literature. He read Horace and Juvenal, Holkot and Albertanus, Machiavelli and Aretine.

This study of the prose pamphlets shows, as an analytical study of most Elizabethan literature would show, that Lodge's knowledge of the works of antiquity was not nearly so extensive as would appear from his references, in which full weight is given to anything that bore the hall-mark of Greece or Rome, while greater debts to more modern writers are passed by unacknowledged. When the numerous borrowings from the Flores of Mirandola and the Somme des Pechez, etc. are borne in mind, Lodge's first hand knowledge of the classics is seen to have been confined within the radius of those works to which he had been introduced at school and at Oxford.

The most interesting fact that this study brings to light, however, is the number of mediaeval books with which Lodge proves to have been acquainted. Work of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was represented in Lodge's library; of the thirteenth, the work of Albertanus and the De Oculo Morali; of the fourteenth, the work of Holkot and the Flores Doctorum, and of the fifteenth, the Dialogues of Creatures Moralysed; material from all these was reproduced in these pamphlets.



APPENDIX I.Lodge's Authorship of Prosopopeia.

In 1845, in the publications of the Shakespeare  
 (1) Society, Collier drew attention to the tract Prosopopeia  
 and gave reasons for believing it to be the work of Lodge.  
 On the title-page of this work no author's name is men-  
 tioned, but the Dedication and Epistle in some copies is  
 signed "T.L." Others, however, bear the signature  
 (2) (3) (4)  
 "L.T." Laing contested the ascription of this work to  
 Lodge and on the strength of the signature "L.T." suggested  
 Lawrence Twynne as a possible author of the  
 work. The Hunterian Club evidently considered Lodge's  
 authorship probable enough to justify the inclusion of  
 this tract in their reprint of Lodge's Complete Works.

The book, subtitled "The Teares of the holy,  
 blessed, and sanctified MARIE, the Mother of GOD", is  
 an exercise in devotional meditation. In the Epistle  
 the author expresses repentance for "the foule forepassed  
 progenie" of his thoughts begotten "in the night of" his  
 (5) "error", but the penitential mood must not be taken too  
 literally, for the work was a contribution to a "genre",  
 which ultimately mediaeval, flourished, more particularly  
 in verse, in Renaissance Italy. (6) The author states that

(1) The Shakespeare Society's Papers, Vol. 2. London. 1845, pp. 156-9

(2) The copy in the Lambeth Library is signed "T.L."

(3) The copy in the Bodleian Library is signed "L.T." See later p. 234. According to the Catalogue of the University Library Edinburgh (Edinburgh. 1923) the copy there is signed "L.T.". Only three copies of this work known.

(4) T. Lodge's Defence of Poetry Music and Stage Plays. ed. Laing. Shakespeare Society. London. 1853. Introduction pp. xlv-xlvi.

(5) P. 10.

(6) See, for example, Tasso's Lagrima di Maria bergins.

"in imitation of no lesse than fiue & twenty ancient, holy, and Catholique Fathers of the Church", he has  
 (1)  
 "enterprised this Prosopopeia", and the work bears every trace of a composite origin. It opens in a passionate metaphorical style to which the author draws attention  
 (2)  
 in the Epistle but sinks at intervals to a pedestrian symbolism of a marked mediaeval character. In marginal  
 (3)  
 notes the writer several times refers to Luis de Granada and it is highly probable that the style, if not the contents, of passages of a more lyrical character, was inspired by Granada's work. It has not been possible to examine in detail all the works of this voluminous writer but in certain passages there is a general correspondence between Prosopopeia and portions of the work of  
 (4)  
 the Spanish writer.

A study of the sources of Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse has, however, led to an identification of the source of about twelve lines of this pamphlet and this, together with the evidence of the style of the Dedication and the Epistle, which is certainly Lodge's, may be taken as conclusive proof of Lodge's authorship. These twelve lines, on pages 66-7 of the pamphlet, are a translation of a passage from the De Oculo Morali, the thirteenth century treatise of Pierre de Limoges, described above among the sources of Wits Miserie and the  
 (5)  
Worlds Madnesse.

---

(1) Pp. 10-11.

(2) P. 11, "Some there be that will accuse the stile, as to stirring, some the passion, as too vehement."

(3) P. 24, "Granaten. li. meditationu(m)", p. 29, "Granatensis lib. de vita Christi", p. 93 "Granaten".

(4) To Lodge is attributed the translation of the Flowers of Lodowicke of Granado published in 1601. (See Notes and Queries X Series Vol. V. pp. 246-7.) These Flowers were a translation from the Latin Flores --- Lodolci Granatensis published at Cologne in 1598. The extracts Lodge translates are taken entirely from the Guia de Pecadores of Granada.

(5) See above p. 170 .

Prosopopeia.

"The Naturalistes write, that Bats haue weake sight, because the humor Crystalline, which is necessarie for the eie to see with, is translated into the substance of the wings to flie with, whereupon they haue leatherne winges, and so for their flight sake, haue lost their sight, because that is subtracted from the eies, which is employed in the wings: These bats betoken these proud neglecters, who by how much the more they strue to flie, by so much more are they deprived of the grace of the diuine light, because all their intention, which ought to bee in consideration of heavenly things is translated into the feathers of ambition."

De Oculo Morali.

"In hoc similes vespertilionibus (us): qui ideo debiliter vident: quod humor chrySTALLIN(us) qui est necessarius oculo ad videndum tra(n)sit in substantia(m) alaru(m). U(n)de vident(ur) habere alas coriales de quibus dicit Quidi. Sustinuere in se perlucetibus (us) alis. Et ideo propter volatu(m) amiserunt visum: quia subtractu(m) est oculis quod posituru(m) est in alis. Et illos significat: qui quanto magis elati per scientiam extollerunt(ur): tanto magis lumi(n)e gratie diuine priuant(ur)." (1)

The use of this out-of-the-way source, together with the evidence of an allusion, taken at second hand from Holkot, to Hermes (Trismegistus) for which Lodge quotes as his authority in a marginal note "Libro de logostyleos", may be taken as satisfactory proof of Lodge's authorship.

Prosopopeia.

"They knowe with Hermes, that thy acceptable & best incense is thanksgiuing". (Marg.note. "Libro de logostyleos".)(3)

In Librum Sapientiae Lectio clxxxvi, p. 612. "Et ideo dicit Hermes Trismegistus lib. suae qui logostyleos dicit(ur) in fine. Quod non est conueniens DEO thus, uel myrrham incendere, & sic eum adorare, si non (inquit) gratias agentes adoremus.

- 
- (1) De Oculo Morali. Venice. 1496. Sig. di b.  
 (2) See above p. 179.  
 (3) Prosopopeia, p. 65.

The first part of the book is devoted to a general introduction to the subject of the history of the English language. It deals with the various influences which have shaped the language from its earliest beginnings to the present day. The author discusses the contributions of different peoples and cultures, and the changes in pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary over time. This section provides a comprehensive overview of the historical context in which the English language has developed.

**CHAPTER III.**

**THE VERSE.**

The second part of the book, Chapter III, is titled "THE VERSE." This section focuses on the history and development of English poetry. It explores the various poetic forms and styles that have been used throughout the centuries, from the simple ballads of the Middle Ages to the complex sonnets of the Renaissance and the dramatic verse of the 17th century. The author discusses the influence of classical and foreign poetry on English verse, and the evolution of poetic language and meter. This part of the book provides a detailed analysis of the art of poetry in English literature.

The best of Lodge's lyrical verse is accessible both in modern anthologies of Elizabethan verse and in reprints of Elizabethan miscellanies, more particularly Englands Helicon which contains some of the best of Lodge's lyrical work. His lyrical verse has seldom failed to charm. In the Restoration period when the majority of his works were "lost to the generality of (1) Scholars", he was still remembered as "one of the writers of those pretty old Pastoral Songs and Madrigals, which were very much the strain of those times" (2) and when, in the early nineteenth century, the pioneers of the revival of Elizabethan literature were making its lyrical verse accessible in the first reprint of (3) Englands Helicon, Lodge was at once recognised as second to none of his contemporaries in this branch of his work.

Much of Lodge's verse, however, more particularly the poems in sonnet form, is translation (largely unacknowledged) from the work of Italian and French poets. Few of his translations rank among his best work, but as a rule his original loses nothing, and sometimes gains, in his translation. Lodge's dependence on foreign models has been copiously illustrated the late (4) by/Sir Sidney Lee, and Professor Kastner, and Bullen, who pointed out Lodge's debt not only to the authors he himself mentions (Martelli, Paschale, Desportes) but to many other writers, Italian and French, as well -

---

(1) Antony à Wood. Athenae Oxonienses. London 1691. Vol. I, p. 424.

(2) Phillips. Theatrum Poetarum. 1669, p. 178.

(3) England's Helicon. ed. Brydges and Haselwood. London. 1820, pp. iv-vii.

(4) See above p. 9. Footnotes 2, 3 and 4.

Petrarch, Ariosto, Sannazzaro, Bembo, and Ronsard. It has been possible, however, to shed some further light on Lodge's debt to Italian poets, more particularly on his supposed debt to the work of Dolce and his borrowings from the Rime of Paschale.

i. Lodge's supposed debt to the poems of Dolce in A Margarite of America.

In A Margarite of America, Lodge acknowledges that certain "sonets" which he includes in his romance are written "in imitation of Dolce the Italian"<sup>(1)</sup>. His statement has been generally accepted and his supposed debt to Dolce frequently mentioned.<sup>(2)</sup> Kastner wrote, however, of being unable to find these "sonets" in any accessible edition of Dolce's poems.<sup>(3)</sup> Further investigation brings to light that three of the four poems which Lodge attributes to Dolce were translations not from Dolce but from Paschale, an obscure Italian poet of the first half of the sixteenth century, from whose Rime Volgari<sup>(4)</sup> Lodge had borrowed (with acknowledgment) the sonnet "Those glorious lampes that heauen illuminate" also included in A Margarite of America.<sup>(5)</sup>

The first of the group of four poems which Lodge ascribes to Dolce is the sonnet "If so those flames

(1) A Margarite of America, p. 13.

(2) Art. on Lodge in the D.N.B. Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit. Vol. III, p. 359. Elizabethan Translations from the Italian. Reprinted from the Publications of the Mod. Lang. Ass. of America. Vassar Semi-Centennial Series. New York. 1916, p. 65.

(3) "Thomas Lodge as an imitator of the Italian Poets." <sup>MLR</sup> Vol. II, No. 11, p. 158.

(4) Rime Volgari di M. Ludovico Paschale. In Vinegia. 1549.

(5) P. 78.

I vent when as I sigh" (p. 13) which is a translation of Paschale's "Se 'l foco di sospir noiosi & greui".

"Se 'l foco di sospir noiosi & greui  
 Ch'io spargo ogn'hor in questa bassa ualle  
 Trouar potesse qualche strada ò calle  
 Ch'in cima all'Alpe lo conduca & lieui,  
 Arder uedresti le gelate neu  
 Et adornarsi le lor nude spalle  
 Di uiole uermiglie bianche & gialle  
 Hor sott'i giorni nubilosi & greui,  
 Ma uoi Donna uedete l'empia fiamma  
 Che me strugge per uoi fuor di misura  
 Et mi consuma tutto à dramma à dramma,  
 Ne però anchor qualche pietosa cura  
 De'l mio tanto martir il cor u'infiamma  
 De'l gelo piu fredda, & piu de'l alpi dura." (1)

"If so those flames I vent when as I sigh,  
 Amidst these lowly vallies where I lie,  
 Might finde some meanes by swift addresse to flie  
 Vnto those Alpine toplesse mountaines high:

Thou shouldest behold their Icie burthens thawe,  
 And crimson flowers adorne their naked backs,  
 Sweete roses should inrich their winter wracks,  
 Against the course of kind and natures laws.

But you faire Ladie see the furious flame,  
 That through your will destroyes me beyond measure,  
 Yet in my paines me thinkes you take great pleasure,  
 Loth to redeeme or else redresse the same:  
 Nor hath your heart compassion of mine illes,  
 More cold then snow, more hard then Alpine hils."

For the second poem of this group, "O desarts be you  
 peopled by my plaints", I have found no source, but  
 the third, a sestina, is again from the Rime of  
 Paschale:

"S'aggira hormai con Ganimede il sole  
 Et sparge al mondo le sue fredde fiamme  
 Et copren d'ognintorno(sic) i campi è i monti  
 Tempeste et neu, et l'acque indura il gelo  
 Ne 'n prato ò selua appar piu uerde foglia  
 Che cosi porta la staggion dell'anno,  
 Et io ne'l tempo ch'è piu freddo l'anno  
 A guisa d'huom che fusse ignudo al sole  
 Quando si secca ogn' herba & ogni foglia,  
 Ardo et mi struggo et d'amorose fiamme  
 Auampo, ne mi gioua il ghiaccio è 'l gelo  
 Di questi oscuri et nubilosi monti,

---

(1) Rime Volgari. Sig. C[viii]a. p. 24.





But when againe her morrow gathered Ice  
 The morne displaies, and frostieth drouping leaues,  
 And day renewes with rising of the sunne,  
 Then wailful forth I wend through vales & mountaines:  
 Ne other thought haue I day, moneth, and yeare,  
 But of my first the fatall inward flames.

Thus loue consumes me in his liuely flames,  
 Thus loue doth freeze me with his chillie Ice,  
 So that no time remaines me through the yeare  
 To make me blithe: ne are there any leaues:  
 Through al the trees that are vpon the mountaines,  
 That may conceale me from my sweetest sunne.

First shall the sunne be seene without his flame,  
 The wintred mountaines without frost or ice,  
 Leaues on the stones, ere I content one yeare." (1)

The fourth poem of the group, a sonnet beginning "O  
 curious Gem", is a translation of Paschale's "Quanto ti  
 porto inuidia ó bel Monile":

"Quanta ti porto inuidia ó bel Monile  
 Ch'al bianco collo di Madonna pendi  
 Et indi spesso in quel bel sen discendi  
 Oà ogn'hor ride il gratioso Aprile,  
 Et hor ti spatij in quel giardin gentile  
 Fra poma d'or, & hor al cor ti stendi  
 Et tutti i suoi pensier secreti intendi  
 Sotto un bef uelo candido & sottile,  
 Perle gentil oue ui fè natura?  
 Ne'i liti d'India, ò pur negl' Erithrei  
 Ò ne'l giardin ou anchor uiue Helia,  
 O's'io potessi uscir di mia figura  
 Et tuorne un' altra à mio piacer, uorrei  
 Farmi Monile della donna mia." (2)

O curious Gem how I enuie each while,  
 To see thee play vpon my Ladies paps,  
 And heare those Orbes where Cupid layes his traps  
 From whence a gracious Aprill still doth smile.

And now thou plaist thee in that Garden gentill,  
 Twixt golden fruite and neere her heart receiuest  
 Thy rest, and all her secret thoughts conceiuest  
 Vnder a vaile faire, white, diuine, and subtill.

Ye gentle pearles where ere did nature make you?  
 Or whether in Indian shoares you found your mould,  
 Or in those lands where spices serue, for fuel:  
 Oh if I might from out your essence take you  
 And turne my selfe to shape what ere I would,  
 How gladly would I be my Ladies Iewell?" (3)

Later, in A Margarite of America (p. 76) Lodge states  
 that another poem, "I see with my hearts bleeding", is

(1) Pp. 14-16.

(2) Rime. Sig. Evi.a, p. 38a.

(3) P. 16.

"written in imitation of Dolce the Italian, beginning thus: Io veggio, etc.". This poem too was translated not from Dolce but from Paschale.

"Io veggio apertamente  
 Ch'io mi consumo & struggo à poco à poco,  
 Sento la fiamma ardente  
 Che m'arde il cor con inuisibil foco,  
 Mà bench'io ponga mente  
 Trouar non sò di questo ardor il loco,  
 O' marauiglia eterna  
 Ch'io arda in foco, & 'l foco mio non scerna." (1)

"I see with my hearts bleeding  
 Thus hourelly through my pain my life desires,  
 I feele the flames exceeding,  
 That burne my heart by vnderued fires.  
 But whence these fires haue breeding,  
 I cannot finde though great are my desires.  
 O miracle eternal!  
 That thus I burne in fire, and yet my fire  
 cannot discerne."

That Lodge should make this mistake, if mistake it was, of confusing the work of Dolce and Paschale, is curious. For a poem of one writer to be erroneously attributed to another was by no means an infrequent occurrence. A sonnet by Lodge in The Phoenix Nest translated from the Italian is ascribed to Pietro Barignano and also to Vincenzo Quirino, and there is some doubt as to the authorship of an Italian madrigal which Lodge translated and included in William Long beard.

(1) Sig. Cij a, p. 18.

(2) See later, p. 226.

(3) Sir Sidney Lee (Elizabethan Sonnet Cycles, Vol. I. Introduction, p. lxxv) says that the poem included in William Long beard beginning "When I admire the rose" is a translation of a madrigal of Bianciardi's. Miss Scott (Elizabethan Translations from the Italian, reprinted in the Vassar Centennial Series. New York. 1916, p. 61) notes that "Three of the poems of this romance (William Long beard) ----- are imitations of madrigals by Livio, Celiano, taken from the Rime di diuersi celebri poeti dell'età nostra: nueuamente raccolte, & posta in luce in bergamo, MDLXXXVI". The three poems, which she does not name, are - "My mistress when she goes", a translation of "La bella /Dori quando", "Oh faire of fairest Dolphin like", a loose translation of "Nuouo Delfin tra l'onde del mio pianto" and the poem which Sir Sidney Lee attributes to Bianciardi "When I admire the rose", a translation of "Quando io miro le rose". Miss Scott does not seem to have noticed, however, that this poem was included in the three she mentions as translated from Celiano,

<sup>but</sup>  
 that as many as four poems should be ascribed to the wrong author seems unlikely. Had these poems of Paschale's appeared in any of the collections of "Rime" edited by Dolce such a confusion on Lodge's part would be understandable and it would provide a satisfactory explanation of his mistake, but none of these poems, nor indeed any of Paschale's verse, are included in the Rime edited by Dolce in the British Museum. According to Quadrio selections from Paschale's verse appear in only one sixteenth century anthology, the second book of the Rime Spirituali published at Venice in 1550, which would not therefore include the above love lyrics. A possible explanation is that Lodge hoped to give his poems an additional interest for his English readers by attributing them to Dolce, well known as a translator and commentator, rather than to their real author, the obscure Paschale.

ii. Further translations from the Rime of Paschale in A Margarite of America.

The four poems attributed to Dolce and the one acknowledged translation from Paschale ("Those glorious lampes that heauen illuminate") do not conclude Lodge's debt to this writer in A Margarite of America. Two more sonnets included in this romance are from the same source. The sonnet "I pine away expecting of the houre" is a translation of Paschale's "Io mi consumo in aspettando un'hora".

---

for on the same page of her study she observes that "When I admire the rose" is "a loose translation of Francesco Bianciardi's madrigal Quand'io miro le rose" (doubtless following Sir Sidney Lee). I have been unable to find any of Bianciardi's verse in the British Museum but the poem is certainly attributed to Celiano in the verse collection Miss Scott mentions, published, however, in 1587, not 1586. Later, (p.155) when speaking of John Wilbye's translation of the same madrigal she speaks of it as by Celiano.

(1) Quadrio (Francesco Saverio) Della Storia e Della Ragione d'ogni Poesia. Milano. 1741. Vol.II, Pt.I, p.355.

(2) Libro Seconda delle Rime Spirituali. In Venezia. 1550.

"Io mi consumo in aspettando un'hora  
 Che per mia dura sorte unqua non uiene  
 Che ponga fin alle mie dure pene  
 Et al tormento che mi strugge ogn'hora,  
 E'l triste cor perche di duol non mora  
 Pasco di uana & di fallace spene,  
 Et à me istesso fingo un certo bene  
 Che s'allontana à me piu d'hora in hora,  
 Si come Naue che lontan da'l porto  
 Da fieri uenti combattuta & spinta  
 Hor all'ocaso & hor si uolge àll'orto.  
 Cos'io con l'alma gia da'l tedio uinta  
 Freddo ne'l cor per tema, in uiso smorto  
 M'aggio, & ueggio ogni mia luce estinta. (1)

"I pine away expecting of the houre,  
 Which through my waiward chance will not arriue,  
 I waite the word, by those sweete sacred power,  
 My lost contents may soone be made aliue:  
 My pensieue heart, for feare my grieffe should perish,  
 Vpon fallacious hope his fast appeaseth;  
 And to my selfe my frustrate thoughts to cherish,  
 I faine a good that flits before it ceaseth:  
 And as the ship farre scattred from the port,  
 All welnie spent and wreckt with wretched blast,  
 From East to West, midst surging seas is tossed,  
 So I, whose soule by fierce delaies effort,  
 Is ouercome in heart and lookes desart,  
 Runne, heere, runne there, sigh, die, by sorrow  
 crossed." (2)

Lastly, from Paschale came the sonnet beginning "I see  
 a new sprung sunne that shines more cleerely", a transla-  
 tion of "Io ueggio un nuouo Sol che uiè piu splende":

"Io ueggio un nuoue Sol che uiè piu splende  
 Lucido, & chiaro, & uie piu coce in terra,  
 E uiè piu lunge il suo ualor estende,  
 Che l'altro Sol, che 'l giorno & apre & serra  
 Che quel di fuor co'l suo calor m'offende  
 Quest'all'ossa, & al cor mi face guerra,  
 Da quel'hò pace quand'egl'è sotterra  
 Questo di notte piu m'abbaglia, é 'ncende,  
 Da quel di poggio ò di qualch'arbor'ombra  
 ò qualche nebbia può copprirmi ogn'hora  
 Questo le nubi è l'ombre passa & sgombra,  
 Il uerno é freddo quel & non hà forza  
 Quest'in ogni staggion, & loco, & hora  
 M'arde, & ogn'hor il suo ualor rinforza." (3)

"I see a new sprung sunne that shines more cleerly  
 That warmes the earth more blithly with her brightnes  
 That spreads hir beames more faire & shines more cheerly  
 Then that cleere sun that glads the day with lightnes.

For but by outward heate the one offends me,  
 The other burnes my bones, and melts their marrow:

---

(1) Sig. Fla, p. 41a.

(2) AA Margarite of America, p. 65.

(3) Sig. Biiij.b, p. 12b.

The one when he sets on further blends me,  
The other ceases makes her eie loues arrow.

From that a shower a shadow of a tree, (1)  
A foggie mist may safely me protect,  
But this through clouds and shades doth passe & perce  
me

In winters frosts the other force doth flee:  
But this each season shines in each respect, (2)  
Ech where, ech houre, my hart doth plague & perce me."

iii. Other borrowings from the Rime of Paschale in Lodge's work.

The six poems above quoted exhaust Lodge's un-  
acknowledged debt to the Rime of Paschale in A Margarite  
of America. Kastner noted that two of the sonnets in  
Phillis (1593) were from this same poet, and to these  
early instances of borrowings another, a sonnet in William  
Long beard, "That pittie Lord that earst thy hart inflamed",  
(a translation of Paschale's "Quella pietá Signor che gia  
t'accesse") can be added.

"Quella pietá Signor che gia t'accesse  
A sottoporti á uoluntaria Morte,  
Per liberar dalle tartaree porte  
Il seme human che 'l primo Padre offese,  
Scoglia la rete in cui mi strinse et prese  
Il cieco mondo; è le mie uoglie torte  
Guidi al dritto sentier; che l'hore corte  
Della mia uita in te seguir sian spese,  
Son graui le mie colpe, et grandi eccessi  
Ma s'ogn'un fusse giusto, non saria  
Loco, oue tua pietá mostrar potessi,  
Vinca dunque Signor, la colpa mia  
Et gl'infiniti error da me commessi  
L'alta ineffabil tua Pietá natia." (4)

"That pittie Lord that earst thy hart inflamed  
To entertaine a uoluntarie death,  
To ransome man by loathed sinnes defamed,  
From hel, and those infernall paines beneath:

Vouchsafe, my God, those snares may vnlose  
Wherein this blinded world hath me intrapped:  
That whilst I traffique in this world of woes,  
My soule no more in lusts may be intrapped.

---

(1) Lodge confuses the Italian "poggio" = hill, with "pioggio" = rain, thus missing the construction of the line "Da quel di poggio ò di qualch'arbor'ombra".

(2) A Margarite of America, pp. 74-5.

(3) "Thomas Lodge as an imitator of the Italian Poets".  
See above. P. 9

(4) Sig. Iib, p. 65b.

Great are my faults, O me most wilfull witted:  
 But if each one were just, there were no place  
 To shew thy power that sinnes might be remitted.  
 Let then O Lord thy mercy quite displace,  
 The lewd and endlesse sinnes I haue committed,  
 Through thine unspeakable and endlesse grace." (1)

Lodge's debt to the Rime of Paschale is therefore much more extensive than has hitherto been recognised. In all he translated ten poems from the work of this obscure Italian. His debt to Paschale is, indeed, much greater than to any other single Italian writer, as great even as his debt to Desportes, from whom he borrowed about the same number of poems.

iv. Some further Italian sources of Lodge's verse.

From an Italian source came one of the sonnets contributed by Lodge to the Phoenix Nest, "Midst lasting griefes to haue but short repose", a translation of a sonnet "Brieue ripose hauer di lunghi affanni", attributed in sixteenth century Italian anthologies sometimes to Pietro Barignano, sometimes to Vincenzo Quirino. (2)

"Brieue riposo hauer di lunghi affanni,  
 E in poco sicurtà molto sospetto;  
 Veder fosco piacer, chiaro dispetto,  
 In cor uoto di fe, colmo d'inganni;  
 Ridendo l'hore, & lagrimando gli anni  
 Di uera noia trar falso diletto;  
 Trouar morto l'ardir, uiuo il rispetto  
 Col perder nel guadagno de miei danni;  
 Gir cercando il mio ben, ne saper doue;  
 Sentir di chiusa frode oltraggio aperto,  
 Et d'antichi pensier fauole nuoue;  
 Coperti sdegni in lusingar scoperto  
 Son le cagion ch'ogni hor meco si troue  
 La speranza dubbiosa, e 'l dolor certo." (3)

"Midst lasting griefes, to haue but short repose,  
 In little ease, to feede on loath'd suspect,  
 Through deepe despite, assured loue to lose  
 In shew to like, in substance to neglect:

(1) William Long beard, p. 36.

(2) This poem is attributed to Barignano in the Rime Diverse (ed. Domenichi). Venice. 1545 and 1546, and in the Rime di Diversi Eccellenti Autori Bresciani (ed. Ruscelli) Venice. 1553,

and to Vincenzo Quirino in several of the collections of Rime published by Giolito de' Ferrari in Venice; e.g. in the Rime Scelte da Diversi Autori. Primo Volume. 1565, and in the Rime di Diversi Eccellenti Autori (ed. Dolce) 1553.

To laugh an howre, to weepe an age of woe,  
 From true mishap to gather false delight,  
 To freeze in feare, inward hart to glowe:  
 To read my losse within a ruthles sight:

To seeke my weale, and wot not where it lies,  
 In hidden fraud, an open wrong to finde,  
 Of ancient thoughts, new fables to devise,  
 Delightfull smiles, but yet a scornfull minde  
 These are the meanes that murder my releefe,  
 And end my doubtfull hope with certaine greefe." (1)

Lodge is generally supposed to have borrowed from  
 Guarini certain poems in William Long beard.<sup>(2)</sup> The state-  
 ment seems ultimately to derive from Collier who noted  
 that the madrigal "When I admire the rose" was an adap-  
 tation of a madrigal of Guarini's.<sup>(3)</sup> As has been seen,  
 however, this poem was a translation from a madrigal of  
 Celiano's (or, possibly, Bianciardi's).<sup>(4)</sup> The only in-  
 stance of borrowing from Guarini in Lodge's verse that  
 I have been able to find is the following poem "For  
 pittie pretie eies surcease", a translation of the "Non  
 più guerra, pietate" ascribed to Guarini in the Rime di  
 Diuersi Celebri Poeti Dell'età nostra published at  
 Bergamo in 1587, in which were included the madrigals  
 of Celiano which Lodge borrowed in William Long beard.

---

(3) (From preceding page.) Domenichi. Rime Diverse.  
 Lib. 1o. Venice. 1546, p. 23.

(1) Hunterian Club. Miscellaneous Pieces, p.9.

(2) See Art. in D.N.B. Scott. Elizabethan Transla-  
 tions from the Italian, p. 61, et frequenter.

(3) See A Catalogue Bibliographical and Critical of  
 Early English Literature; forming a Portion of the  
 Library at Bridgewater House. London. 1837, p. 170.  
And A Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest  
 Books in the English Language. London. 1865. 2 vols.  
 Vol. I, p. 474. The madrigal of Guarini's to which  
 Collier refers and from which he quotes a few lines is  
 that beginning "Donò Licori a Batto". (See Guarini. Rime.  
 Vinetia. 1601, p. 54b. Sig. E6 b.) This madrigal and  
 Lodge's have very little in common.

(4) Cf. above p. 223. FOLIO 3.

"Non più guerra, pietate,  
 Pietate occhi miei belli:  
 Occhi miei triunfante, à che v'armate  
 Contr'un cor, ch'è già preso, e vi si rende?  
 Ancidete i rubelli,  
 Ancidete che s'arma, & si diffende;  
 Non chi vinto v'adora.  
 Volete voi, ch'io mora?  
 Morrò pur vostro; e del morir l'affanno  
 Sentirò sì, ma vostro sarà il danno." (1)

"For pittie pretie eies surcease,  
 To giue me warre, and graunt me peace,  
 Triumphant eies, why beare you Armes,  
 Against a hart that thinks no harmes.  
 A hart alreadie quite appalde,  
 A hart that yeelds, and is enthrald,  
 Kill Rebels Prowdly that resist,  
 Not those that in true faith persist.  
 And conquered serue your Deitie,  
 Will you alas commaund me die?  
 Then die I yours, and death my crosse,  
 But vnto you pertains the losse." (2)

Generally Lodge translates from his Italian and French sources but there are one or two poems that show a different manner of working and another way in which foreign influence left its mark on his work. This second method is seen in a few of the poems in non-sonnet form, for example, in the paraphrase of Celiamo's madrigal "Nuouo Delfin" in William Long beard. Even greater independence in treatment of his model is seen in two poems which would seem to extend Lodge's debt to Petrarch hitherto estimated at one poem only. These poems, "All day I weepe my wearie woes, / That when that night approacheth neere" in the Phoenix Nest and "When with aduice I weigh my yeares forepast, / And count the course that in my youth I kept" in Scillaes Metamorphosis

(1) Miscellaneous Pieces, p. 16.

(2) Rime Diversi. Bergamo. 1587. Sig.N2a, p. 195.

(3) Kastner: "Thomas Lodge as an Imitator of the Italian poets". P.q.

(4) Miscellaneous Pieces, pp. 8-9.

(5) Pp. 46-7.



seem to have been suggested by two of Petrarch's sonnets "Tutto 'l di piango; e poi la notte, quando/Prendon  
 (1)  
 riposo i miseri mortali" and "Quand'io mi volgo in dietro  
 a mirar gli anni/C'hanno, fuggendo, i miei pensieri  
 (2)  
 sparsi". In writing these poems Lodge seems to have had in mind the opening lines of Petrarch's sonnet and to have used them as starting-point for independent poems of his own. Neither of Lodge's poems, it may be noted, are in sonnet form. The first is in sapphic stanzas and the second is in the decasyllabic six-lined stanza so popular among Elizabethan poets. The different metre in which he was writing probably modified Lodge's method in treatment of his Italian source.

v. Some sources of the Non-lyrical Verse of Lodge.

The study of the sources of Lodge's prose works in the preceding chapters has thrown some light on hitherto unrecognised prose sources of some of the verse of A Fig for Momus. The classical influence on the five satires included in this collection has been exhaustively illustrated by Mr. Alden, but he does not, (3)  
 of course, include <sup>in his study</sup> the eclogues and epistles. The eclogues although of considerable interest as throwing light on Lodge's friendship with contemporary English writers do not reveal quite so much of Lodge's "diligence" in study as the address "To the Gentlemen Readers" might lead one to suppose. In the second eclogue, however, in which Philides urges the old statesman Eglon to leave his retirement and return to public life, Lodge is seen to be again using material from the Nuova Seconda Selva.

(1) Petrarch. Rime. Firenze 1922. No. ccxvi.

(2) " " " " No. ccxcviii.

(3) See above, p.9.

Philides reminds Eglon of the reverence which was paid to age in ancient times:

A Fig for Momus. Eglogue 2. To happie Menalcius.

Philides.

"Can men so farre forget the reuerence and awe,  
They should in iustice, yeeld to siluer-suted haire?  
Is duetie so dispis'd, (enloyn'd by natures lawe)  
That youth impugne age, in managing affaires?  
Then worse then Ethnicks farre, may Christians be esteem'd,  
For both among the Greeks and Romanes, I haue red,  
Such honors giuen to eld, that nothing happie seem'd  
Wherein their counsell mist, and wisdom had not led:  
In Solons happie lawes, in olde Licurgus schooles,  
In Numas sage decrees, and graue Prometheus books,  
Amercements were set downe for such misgouern'd fooles,  
As did maligne at eld, and loath their reuerend looks:  
For where they first ordain'd, the Gods should be ador'd,  
Next, that the silly poore, should want no due reliefe,  
They lastlie, did command the yonger to afford  
All honour vnto age, and still to hould them chiefe:  
The Romane Senate wont, in giuing dignities  
To take respect of yeares, of iudgement, and discretion,  
The Lacedemon state, in all their souerainties,  
Did yeeld their publique charge, to aged mans possession:  
Taught by these flouring states, by men so fortunate,  
(As reading what they did, our mindes are stir'd to follow)  
I wonder that our world, should so degenerate,  
From perfect awe, and carrie harts so hollow?" (1)

The greater part of this passage is based on Chapter xxxii of the second part of the Nuova Seconda Selva -

"In quante ueneratione hebbero gli Antichi la uechiezza":

"SOLONE, Ligurgo, prometeo (sic) & Numa Pompilio, furono quelli, che diedero le leggi al mondo, & benché in molte cose fussero differenti, furono però in tre cose molto condordi. Et queste furono. Che ogn'uno douessi adorare gli Dij, che tutti fussero compassionevoli uerso gli poueri. Et che ciascuno douesse honorare gli uecchi. Narra Aulo Gellio, che appresso gli Antichissimi Romani non si faceua tanto honore, ne erano tenuti in tanta riueranza quelli che nella repubblica erano ricchi, ne quelli che erano nel Senato generosi, quanto era gli uecchi, & nella grauità riposati. In quelli antichi secoli erano tenuti gli uecchi in tanta ueneratione, che erano quasi come Dij honorati, & in luogo di proprij padri tenuti. La consuetudine d'honorare tanto gli uecchi dicono bauer (sic) pigliatali (sic) Romani dalli antichi Lacedemoni."

Eglon replies to Philides by quoting examples of Romans who had in their old age retired from public life.

drawing his examples mainly from another chapter of the Nuova Seconda Selva which Lodge had already translated  
(1)  
in William Long beard.

In a similar manner Lodge turned his reading to account in the Epistles included in this collection. Many of them, more particularly the first "Ad Momum", the second "To Master Wm. Bolton" (on dreams), suggest a prose source though none has yet been found, but it can be shown that one, the sixth "In praise of his Mis-  
(2)  
tris dogge", is a versifying of extracts from Serées of Bouchet, with which Lodge has been shown to have been acquainted in Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse. Here, as there, he seems to have turned over the pages of the Serées and to have thrown into couplet form any piece of information or any anecdote that seemed of interest:

A Fig for Momus. Epistle 6. In praise of his Mistris dogge.

Madam, my Muse wing'd by your kind request,  
To praise a dog hath solemnly profest,  
And for reward, desires no further grace,  
Then for a night to grant me Pretties place:  
Oh you hie eies the worth of my discourse,  
Succour my Muse to end her vowed course:  
Diuiner Plato, first (vnder pretence  
To teach the souldier faith, and diligence)  
Compares him to a dogge, that ceasles keeps  
His masters tent, and chamber, when he sleepes:  
That howles when he is sicke, that barks, & bites,  
When as accurst by wrongs, he eger fights:

(3)

Bouchet. Septiesme Seree. Du Chieh.

"Aussi adiousta, quelqu'on, il est bien à aymer, ne laissant iamais son/ta(n)t pauvre soit il, pour en suyure on plus riche: faisa(n)t tousiours la sentinelle pour son maistre, quelque mal q(ue) so(n) maistre luy face: a ceste cause Platon co(m)pare le bon soldat au chien, pource qu'il faut à l'vn & à l'autre vser de gra(n)d fidelité & dilige(n)ce. Et si les Grecs & les Latins ont eu les Chiens en si grande reco(n)mendation,

---

(1) Cf. William Long beard, pp. 66-68, and A Fig for Momus, p. 22.

(2) P. 63 et seq.

(3) Bouchet. Livre Premier des Serees. Lyon. 1593. p. 425 et seq.

A Fig for Momus. (Contd.)

The Greeks, and Latines, lou'd these creatures so,  
 That in their publique sessions to and fro,  
 They let them passe, where men of better sort,  
 Were not permitted freely to resort:  
 The ancient houshold Gods for ornament,  
 Wore dogskins on their backs: to this intent,  
 To signifie that as the spaniell baies,  
 When as the theefe his masters dore assaies:  
 So they, when dangers should the house attempt,  
 Propitious, should pursuing plagues preuent.  
 Them Cicero admir'd, them Aegypt lou'd,  
 And by their Hirogliphique signe approu'd.  
 The dignitie of perfect confidence,  
 And courage scorning inconuenience;  
 The Bactrians, and the Caspians, by their dombes,  
 In life made them their mates: in death their tombes.  
 Th'Aegyptians, in their sacred letters place,  
 A dog distraunged of his head, and face,  
 Fore-tokning by the same obedience due,  
 To louing masters, by their seruants true:  
 Nor can that feigned folly winne regard,  
 Wherein the former poets did award:  
 Life-taming Aconite to Cerberus:  
 Nor can the storie of Heraclitus,  
 Be held for true, whereby the spaniels skorne,  
 Tis published, that he by them was torne.  
 But of their faith, what stories cannot boast?  
Lisimachus, when as his life was lost,  
 And funerall prepar'd and herse arrai'd,  
 And fire adrest, & frends with griefe dismai'd;  
 Began to burne his corse with many teares,  
 His faithfull dog that seru'd him many yeares,  
 In selfesame fire, that burnt his kingly corse,  
 Consum'd to dust, freely without inforce:

Du Chien (Contd.).

que de coustume ancienne ils entroyent aux assemblees publiques, & aux conuocations du peuple avec les Heroës. Les Lares des ancie(n)s, c'est à dire, Dieux domestiques, estoyent vestus de la peau des chiens: parce qu'ils gardent les maisons, & veille(n)t la nuit pour la defence de ceux qu'ils ont entrepris garder, comme les chiens." (pp. 451-2)

"Cicero(n) appelle les chiens garde fidele par dessus tous autres animaux." (p. 452)

"Les Egyptiens pour le hieroglyphique d'vn noble courage, qui recherche plus volontiers l'honneur que le profit, ont mis le pourtraict d'vn chien. qui se tient coy aupres d'vn lieure mort. Les Bactrians & Caspie(n)s les ont tant honorez, que ils ont voulu que les chiens leur seruissent de sepulchres, nourissa(n)s leurs sepulchres, & appelloient tels chie(n)s, sepulchraux. (p. 452)

On ne luy scauroit faire à croire, que Cerbere, dit Medusean, Triple chef, Portier d'Enfer, soit vn chien: & que cela est faux de dire que c'est vn chien qui produit l'acondit de sa baue: & qu'on le don(n)e au Dieu de l'Enfer, quelque chose qu'e(n) die les Statues des Dieux ---- (p. 460).

A Fig for Momus (Contd.).

Zantippus sayling from th'Athenian strand,  
 Was follow'd by his faithfull hound to land:  
 And Philips sonne (as Theopompe doth wright)  
 In faithfull Perth<sup>a</sup> tooke so great delight,  
 That being dead, who gaue him so much game,  
 He built a towne in honour of his name:  
 The Ptamphaonians on the Afrique coast  
 Do reuerence the faithfull spaniel most,  
 And setting light by other liuing things,  
 Midst them, elect and chuse their crowned Kings,  
 The stout Venetians being in disgrace,  
 With Clement Pope of Rome a certaine space,  
 By no submission, could remission gaine,  
 Till their Embassadors tied in a chaine  
 Crept dog-like vnder table, where he sat,  
 And by this meanes their publique pardon gat:  
 Nor is it womanish to aid, or helpe,  
 To combe, to curre, to feede a prettie whelp,  
 Since all the kings of Persia, where they eate,  
 Play with their dogs, & kindly giue them meate:  
 Thus for your dog, my doggrell rime hath runne  
 no (sic) common course, wherein if I haue done  
 Ought pleasant to your eares, thanke both your eyes,  
 Which are the Load-stars of my poesies.

Du Chien. (Contd.).

"Et ne pouuoit croire aussi ce que dit Suidas, que  
 Heraclytus Ephesien ayt esté deuoré par ses chiens,  
 qui pensoyent, le trouua(n)s en vn fumier, que ce  
 fust vne ceste sauvage ----- (pp. 460-1).

"Tout cela est aysé à croire, luy fut il accordé, à  
 ceux qui ont leu que le chien du Roy Lysimachus, aussi  
 bien que celui de Pyrrus se iettere(n)t dans le feu,  
 où le corps de leurs maistres furent bruslez -----  
 (pp. 461-2).

Zantippus recompensant la fidelité de son chien, qui  
 l'auoit suiuy d'Athenes nagea(n)t iusques à Salamine,  
 luy faict eriger vn sepulchre, qu'on appella "Cynota-  
phum". Alexandre le Grand, ce dit Theopompus, ayant  
 perdu sa chienne Perth<sup>a</sup>, fit bastir vne ville qu'il  
 nom(m)a de son nom (p. 464).

Les Ptamphaonians, peuple d'Afrique, n'auoyent pas  
 seuleme(n)t en reuere(n)ce l'effigie du chien, mais en  
 choisissoyent vn viuant pour leur Roy (p. 465).

Franciscus Dandalus esta(n)t creé Duc de Venise ne  
 trouua point mauuais qu'on le nommast chien. Et qui  
 luy fit donner ce nom, c'est que luy esta(n)t Ambassa-  
 deur des Venetiens, & ne pouuant faire la paix avec  
 le Pape Clement, pource que les Venetiens auoyent  
 receu les Ferrarois en leur protectio(n): durant le  
 souper du Pape, ce Venetien ce (sic) mit à quatre  
 pieds sous le table comme vn chien, ayant vne chaine  
 au col. Dequoy eston(n)é le Pape, il le receut en  
 grace, & pardon(n)a aux Venetiens (p. 470).

Mesme nous trouuons, selon Plutarque, que les Roys  
 de Perse. auoye(n)t accoustumé de leur table de  
 bailler à souper à leurs chie(n)s." (pp. 470-1).

If these passages are compared it will be seen that all Lodge's epistle, with the exception of the six opening and the four closing lines with their pun that hardly does justice to Lodge's verse, are drawn from this Serée.

---

CHAPTER IV.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LODGE'S NON-DRAMATIC WORKS  
PUBLISHED BEFORE 1600.

[1. An epitaphe of the Lady Anne Lodge. 1579.]

Entry on the Stationers Register. Arber

Transcript. II. 363.

[1579] 23 December

Edward White Lycenced vnto him vnder the  
 handes of the wardens An epitaphe of the lady  
ANNE LODGE by T. Lodge iiij d

There is no record of any copy of this work.



ii. Reply to Gosson. [1580?]

(1) Early Editions.

No title page.

Octavo. Pagination from sig.A (1-48). Leaves 10 and 11 are misnumbered 14 and 15, and vice-versa. Leaf 17 is misnumbered 1.

Collation: A-C8. 24 leaves. No preliminaries. Al a-[38]b Text.B.L., Ital. and Rom.

Signatures A, A2, A3, B, B2, B4, C, C2, and C4 are signed. (All in B.L.)

Catch-words: Al his [A5] to B1 And [B5] can C1 think [C5] it. (All in B.L.)

Copy used: Bodl. (Malone 696.)

(2) Modern Editions.

i. Shakespeare Society. Ed. Laing. London. 1853.

ii. Hunterian Club. Glasgow. 1879.

iii. An Alarum Against Usurers, 1534.

Entry on the Stationers Register. Arber Transcript.  
II. 426.

Sampson Clarke. Licensed vnto him vnder the h]andes  
of the Bisshop of LONDON and master  
Newbery, Tryed experiences of worldlie  
abuses by THOMAS LODGE vj d/

(1) Early Editions:

Title:

AN // Alarum against Vsurers. // Containing tryed experien-  
ces against worldly // abuses. // WHEREIN GENTLEMEN // may  
finde good counsells to confirms them, // and pleasant  
Histories to delight them: // and euery thing so interlaced  
with // varietie: as the curious may be sa- // tisfied with  
rarenesse, and the // curteous with plea- // sure. //  
HERBUNTO AREBAN= // nexed the delectable historie of  
Forbo- // nius and Prisceria: // with the lamen= // table  
Complaint of Truth o- // uer England. Written by Tho- //  
mas Lodge, of Lincolnes // Inne, Gentleman. // O Vital misero  
longa, foelici breuis. // [Ornament] // Imprinted at London  
by // T. Este, for Sampson Clarke, and are // to be sold at  
his shop by Guyld Hall. // 1534. // [All in ornamental  
border].

Quarto. Foliation from Sig.B. (1-40).

Collation: A4, #2, B-14. 46 leaves in all. [A1] Title.  
[A1]b. bl. A1ja-A1jb [Head ornament] Dedication "To---  
Sir Philip Sidne Knight, signed on A1jb "Thomas Lodge".  
Rom. and Ital. [Tail ornament]. A1i a(=A1ii)-[A1iv]b  
[Head ornament]. Epistle "To--- the Gentlemen of the  
Innes of Court", signed on [A1iv]b "Thomas Lodge". B.L.,  
Rom. and Ital. # a-#b [Head ornament]. Commendatory poems  
by Barnabe Rich and Iohn Iones. Rom. and Ital. [#2]a  
[Head ornament] Errata. B.L., and Rom. [Tail ornament].  
[#2]b bl. Bl<sup>a</sup>-[L4] a text. B.L., Rom. and Ital. [L4]b  
bl. R-T. An Alarum / Against Vsurers. The Historie /  
of Forbonius and Prisceria. Truths complaint / ouer  
England.

Signatures in B.L., except A1j and G1i which are in  
Rom.

Catch-words: B l. [ne=]cessary C1 heart D1 now  
E1[Ci=]tie F1 open G1 was H1 shalt I1 sheepe  
K1 selfe L1 Which (All in B.L.)

Copy used: Bodl. (Tanner 220).

(2) Modern Editions:

- i. Shakespeare Society. With the Defence. ed. Laing.  
London. 1853.
- ii. Hunterian Club. Glasgow. 1870.

---

Words underlined in red ink are in Black Letter in the  
original.

iv. Scillaes Metamorphosis.(1) Early Editions:

Title: SCILLAES // Metamorphosis: // Enterlaced // with the vnfortunate loue // of Glaucus. // Wherevnto is annexed the delectable discourse // of the discontented Satyre: // with sundrie other // most absolute Poems and Sonnets. // Contayning the detestable tyrannie of Dis- // daine, and Comicall triumph of Constan- // cie: Verie fit for young Courtiers to // peruse, and coy Dames to // remember. // By Thomas Lodge of Lincolnes // Inne, Gentleman. // O vital misero longa, foelici breuis. // [Ornament] // Imprinted at London by Richard Ihones, // and are to be sold at his shop neere Holburne // bridge, at the signe of the Rose and // Crowne. 1589. //

Quarto.

Collation:  $\kappa 4$  ?, A-E4, F2. 24 pages in all.  
 [x1]a Title [x1]b bl. $\kappa$ (- $\kappa 2$ )a-[ $\kappa 3$ ]a [Head ornament]  
 Dedication to "Master Rafe Crane", signed "Thomas Lodge". Rom. and Ital. [ $\kappa 3$ ]b, bl. [ $\kappa 4$ ] and [A1] wanting. Probably cancelled. A2a- F2bText. To D3b B.L., Rom. and Ital. From D3b to end Ital. and Rom. R-T. "Glaucus and Scilla", etc.

Signatures in B.L. except E-F which are in Rom. and E2 which is in Ital.

Catch-words: A2 With B1 These C1 With D1 but E1 See F1 The (all in B.L. except E1 and F1 which are in Rom.)

Copy used: South Kensington Museum (Dyce 5880).

(2) Modern Editions:

i. ed. S.W.S. (=Samuel Weller Singer). Glaucus And Silla. With other Lyrical and Pastoral Poems.  
 By Thomas Lodge. Chiswick. 1819.

ii. Hunterian Club. Glasgow. 1875.

v. Rosalynde. 1590.

Entry on the Stationers Register. Arber transcript.II.564.

1590 6 octobris

Nicholas Lynge Entred for their copie vnder th[e h]andes  
Iohn Busbye./ of Doctor STALLARD and the wardens  
EUPHUES golden legacye found after his  
Death at his Cell at Selexidra. vjd/

(1) Early Editions:

1. 1590. Both copies of this, the first, edition are in America. See later, p. 258.
2. Title: Rosalynde [in head ornament] // Euphues golden Legacie, found af-// ter his death in his Cell at Sile-// xedra.// BEQVEATHED TO PHILAVTVS // Sonnes, nursed vp with their Father in // England, // Fetcht from the Canaries by T.L. Gent. // [Device] // LONDON. // Printed by Abell Ieffes for T.G. // and Iohn Busbie. 1592. //

Quarto.

Collation: A-P4. 60 leaves. [A1]a Title. [A1]b bl. A2a-A2b [Head ornament]. Dedication "To ----- the Lord of Hunsdon", signed "Thomas Lodge". Ital. and Rom. [A3]a [Head ornament] "To the Gentlemen Readers" signed "T.L." Rom. and Ital. [A3]b [Head ornament] "The Scedule annexed to Euphues Testament. [A4]a-[P4]b Text. B.L., Rom. and Ital. R-T. Euphues / golden Legacie.

Signatures in B.L. except A2, B2, D1, E3, G3, M1 and P1 which are in Ital. and I1, I2, and L3 which are in Rom.

Catch-words: B1 fancie C1 her D1 what E1 to F1 that G1 and G1 Ro-[sader] I1 And K1 of L1 therefore M1 when N1 eares O1 Thou P1 And (all in B.L. except H1 which is in Rom. and D1, I1, M1 and P1 which are in Ital.).

Copy used: British Museum. Huth 40.

3. 1596. Huntington (De Ricci).
4. 1598. (Heber iv) (Esdaile).
5. 1604. Britwell. Sold to Rosenbach. 1921.
6. Title: [Head ornament] ROSALYND: Euphues Golden // Legacie. // Found after his death in his Cell at // SILEXEDRA.// BEQVEATHED TO // PHILAVTVS Sonnes, nursed // vp with their Father in // ENGLAND. // Fetcht from the Canaries, by T.L. Gent. // LONDON // Printed for IOHN SMETHVICK, and are to bee sold // at his shop in Saint Dunstanes Church-yard, in // Fleete-streete vnder the Dyall. // 1609. //

Quarto.

Collation: A-04. 56 leaves. [A1]a Title. [A1]b bl. A2a-A2b Dedication "To ---- the Lord of Hunsdon" signed "Thomas Lodge". Rom. and Ital. A3 a [Head ornament] "To the Gentlemen Readers", signed "T.L." Ital. and Rom. A3b "The Scedule annexed to Euphues Testament". Ital. and Rom. [A4]a-[04]b Text. B.L., Rom. and Ital. R-T. Euphues golden Legacie.

Signatures in B.L. except A3 which is in Ital. and A2, E1, E2, G3, L1, L2, O1 and O3 which are in Rom. E3 and H3 are not signed.

Catch-words: A1 [sna=]reth C1 [Nor-]man D1 witnesses E1 And F1 giue G1 knowne H1 haue I1 selfe K1 some L1 With M1 loue N1 was O1 And (in B.L. except C1, E1, L1, and O1 which are in Rom.).

Copy used: British Museum. (C.30.d.20).

7. Title: Euphues Golden // Legacie. // Found after his death in his Cell at / SILEXEDRA. // Bequeathed to PHILAVTVS Sonnes, // nursed vp with their Father in ENGLAND. // Fetcht from the Canaries, by T.L. Gent. // [Device] // Imprinted at London for Iohn Smethwick, and are to be sold at his // shop in Saint Dunstanes Church-yard in Fleetstreet // vnder the Dyall. 1612. //

Quarto.

Collation: A-04. 56 leaves. [A1]a Title. [A1]b bl. [A2]a-[A2]b [Head ornament] Dedication "To ----- the Lord of Hunsdon", signed "Thomas Lodge". Rom. and Ital. A3a "To the Gentlemen Readers", signed "T.L." Ital. and Rom. A3b "The Scedule annexed to Euphues Testament". Ital. and Rom. [A4]a-[04]b Text. B.L., Rom. and Ital. R-T. Euphues golden Legacie.

Signatures in B.L. except A3 which is in Ital and E1, E2, G3, L1, L2, O1 and O3 which are in Rom. D3 and H3 are not signed.

Catch-words: B1 [sna=]reth C1 [Nor-]man D1 witnesses E1 And F1 giue G1 knowne H1 haue I1 yeeres K1 some L1 With M1 loue N1 was O1 And (all in B.L. except C1, E1, L1 and O1 which are in Rom.).

Copy used: British Museum. (1076.h.5).

---

The B.M. Catalogue has "Another edition. For J. Smethwicke. London. 1614." The copy is, however, not another edition but the 1634 edition in which the third figure of the date has been altered in ink to 1 - thus turning 1634 into 1614. Mr. Esdaile mentions no 1614 edition.

---

8. Title: Euphues Golden // Legacie. // Found after his death in his Cell at // SILEXEDRA. // Bequeathed to PHILAVTVS Sonnes, // nursed vp with their Father in // ENGLAND. // Fetcht from the Canaries, by T.L. Gent. // [Device] // Imprinted at London for John Smethwick, and are to be sold at his // shop in Saint Dunstanes church-yard in Bleetstreete, // vnder the Dyall. 1623. //

Quarto.

Collation: A-04. 56 leaves. [A1] Title. [A1]b bl. A2a-A2b [Head ornament] Dedication "To ---- the Lord of Hunsdon", signed "Thomas Lodge". Rom. and Ital. A3a "To the Gentlemen Readers". Ital. and Rom. A3b "The Scedule annexed to Euphues Testament". Rom. and Ital. [A4]a-[04]b Text. B.L., Rom. and Ital. R-T. Euphues golden Legacie.

Signatures in B.L. except A3 which is in Ital. and A2, D2, E1, E2, G3, LL, L2, O1 and O3 which are in Rom. O3 is unsigned.

Catch-words: B1 [sna-]reth C1 [Nor-]man D1 [wit-]nesses E1 And F1 giue G1 knowne H1 I I1 selfe K1 some L1 With M1 loue N1 was O1 And (all in B.L. except C1, E1, L1 and O1 which are in Rom.).

Copy used: South Kensington Museum. Dyce. 5884.

9. Title: Euphues Golden // Legacie. // Found after his death in his Cell at // SILEXEDRA. // Bequeathed to PHILAVTVS Sonnes, // nursed vp with their Fvther in // ENGLAND. // Fetcht from the Canaries, by T.L. Gent // [Device] // Imprinted at London for John Smethwicke, and are to be sold at his // shop in Saint Dunstanes Church-yard in Fleetstreete, // vnder the Dyall. 1634. //

Quarto.

Collation: A-04. 56 leaves. [A1] Title. [A1]b bl. [A2]a-[A2]b [Head ornament] Dedication "To ----- the Lord of HVNSDON", signed "Tho. Lodge". Rom. and Ital. A3a "To the Gentlemen Readers" signed "T.L.". Ital. and Rom. A3b "The Scedule annexed to Euphues Testament" Rom. and Ital. [A4]a-[04]b Text. B.L., Rom. and Ital. R-T. Euphues golden Legacie.

Signatures in B.L. except E2, G3, L1, L2, O1 and O3, which are in Rom. and A3 which is in Ital. Signatures of A2, B2, B3, C2, C3, E1, E3, F3, I3, K3, L3, have been cut off or partially cut off by the binder.

Catch-words: B1 [sna-]reth C1 [Nor-]man D1 [wit-]ne[sses] E1 [And] F1 giue G1 knowne H1 [I] I1 selfe K1 some L1 With M1 loue N1 was O1 And (in B.L. except A2, C1, E1, L1, O1 which are in Rom.).

Copy used: British Museum. (12403.a.27(1)).

---

Sic: Fvther.

---

10. Title: Euphues Golden// LEGACIE.// Found after his death in his Cell at // SILEXEDRA.// Bequeathed to PHILAVTVS Sonnes, nursed up with their Father in // ENGLAND. // Fetcht from the Canaries, by T.L. Gent.// [Device] // LONDON// Printed for Francis Smethwicke, and are to be sold at his// shop in Saint Dunstanes Church-yard in Fleetstreet, // vnder the Dyall, 1642.//

Quarto.

Collation: A-04. 56 leaves. [A]a Title. [A]b bl. A2a-A2b [Head ornament]. Dedication "To ----- the Lord of HVNSDON", signed "Tho. Lodge". Rom. and Ital. A3a "To the Gentlemen Readers". Ital. and Rom. A3b "The Scedule annexed to Euphues Testament". Rom. and Ital. [A4]a-[04]b Text. B.L., Rom. and Ital. R-T. Euphues golden Legacie.

Signatures in B.L. except A3 which is in Ital. and A2, E1, G3, L1, I2, O1 and O3 which are in Rom. Sig. E2 cut off by binder.

Catch-words: Bl [snar=]reth Cl [Nor-]man  
Dl [wit=]nesses E1 And F1 giue G1 knowne  
H1 I I1 selfe K1 some L1 With M1 loue  
N1 was O1 And (all in B.L. except Cl, E1, L1 and O1 which are in Rom.).

Copy used: British Museum (12403.aa.59).

(2) Modern Editions:

1. Included in Waldron's Shakespeare Miscellany. c. 1794.
2. ed. Collier. Shakespeare Library. 1843. Vol. I.
3. " " " " 1875, Vol. II.
4. Cassel's National Library. No. 63. 1886.
5. Hunterian Club. Glasgow. 1878.
6. With illustrations by Maybank. London and New York. 1907.
7. ed. Greg. The Shakespeare Library. Vol. I. 1907.
8. The Caxton Series. London. 1902.
9. ed. Baldwin. Standard English Classics. Boston and London (1910).

vi. The Historie of Robert second Duke of Normandy, 1591.

(1) Early Editions:

None accessible. See p. 258.

(2) Modern Editions:

i. Hunterian Club. Glasgow. 1878.



vii. Catharos:Diogenes in his Singularitie, 1591.(1) Early Editions:

Title: CATHAROS. [In Head ornament].// Diogenes  
 in his//Singularitie.// Wherein is comprehended  
 his merrie // baighting fit for all mens bene-  
fits: // Christened by him, // A Nettle for Nice  
Noses. // By T.L. of Lincolns // Inne, Gent: // 1591.  
 [In ornament] // AT LONDON, // Printed by VWilliam  
Hoskins & Iohn Danter, // for Iohn Busbie. //

Quarto.

Collation: A2, B-I4. 33 leaves in all. Wants  
 all after I3. [A1] Title. [A1]b bl. A2  
 Dedication "To --- Syr Iohn Hart Knight",  
 signed "Iohn Busbie". Rom. and Ital. A2 b  
 "Diogenes to such as are disposed to Reade".  
 Ital. and Rom. Bl a-I3 b Text. B.L. Rom. and  
 Ital. R-T. A Nettle / for nice noses.

Catch-words: A2 Dioge-[nes] Bl Ladies  
 C1 thou D1 found E1 this F1 them  
 G1 [massa=]cred H1 is I1 the (All in B.L.)

Copy used: British Museum (C.27.b.12).

(2) Modern Editions:

i. Hunterian Club. Glasgow. 1875.



ix. The Life and Deathe of William Long beard, 1593.(1) Early Editions:

- 1(a) Title: THE // Life and Death of // william Long beard, the // most famous and witty English // Traitor, borne in the Citty // of London. // Accompanied with manye other // most pleasant and prettie histories, By T. // L. of Lincolns Inne, Gent. // [Device] // Printed at London by Rychard Yardley and Peter // Short, dwelling on Breadstreat hill, at the // Signe of the Starre. // 1593. //

Quarto.

Collation: a2, A-H4, I? Wants all after II. 35 leaves. [a1] Title. [a1]b b1. [a2] Dedication "To ----- sir William Web Knight" Signed "Tho. Lodge". Rom. and Ital. [a2]b [Head ornament] "To the Gentlemen Readers", signed "T.L." Rom. and Ital. Ala-Ilb Text. B.L., Rom. and Ital. R-T. The life and death / of William Long beard.

Signatures in B.L. All fourth leaves signed.

Catch-words: A1 and B1 of C1 life  
D1 Thi=[ther] E1 Of F1 is G1 [com=]passionate  
H1 towards I1 Orators (all in B.L.).

Copy used: Guildhall Library.

- 1(b) The same but with a different title-page.

Ouvrey's copy. Inaccessible. Cf. p.260. See for a description of this copy Gosse Bibliographical Index p. 9. Except for the addition of the Latin motto "Et nugae seria ducunt" on the title-page Ouvrey's copy and the two other existing copies of the work are identical so far as can be judged from the Hunterian Club reprint for which Ouvrey's copy was apparently used.

(2) Modern Editions:

- i. Collier. Illustrations of Old English Literature. London. 1866. Vol. II.
- ii. Hunterian Club. Glasgow. 1880.

---

The copy of the 1593 edition in the Bodl. which belongs to la, lacks the Dedication Sig. a2. It has the leaf 12 which is missing in the Guildhall copy. The text goes to 12a 12b is b1.

---

x. Phyllis, 1593.(1) Early editions:

Title: PHILLIS: // Honoured With Pa= // storall Sonnets,  
 Elegies, and amo-// rous delights. // VWhere-vnto  
 is annexed, the tragicall // complaynt of Elstred.//  
Iam Phoebus disiungit equos, iam Cin-// thia iungit.//  
 [Ornament] // At London, // Printed for Iohn Busbie,  
 and are to // be sold at his shoppe, at the West-  
 doore // of Paules. 1593.//

Quarto.

Collation: A4? B-L4. 42 leaves. [A1] wanting.  
 Probably bl. [A2] Title. [A2]b. bl. A3a-A3b [Head  
 ornament] Dedication "To the ----- Countesse of  
 Shrewesbury", signed "Tho. Lodge". Ital. and Rom.  
 [A4]a-[A4]b The Induction. Rom. and Ital. [B1]  
 wanting. Cancelled B2a-I4b Text Rom. and Ital.

Signatures in Rom. except A3 which is in Ital.  
 B4, C4, D4, E4, F4 and G4 are signed.

Catch-words: B2 You C1 NO D1[I] E1 Come  
 F1 Ye G1 I H1 These I1 Hys K1 Amidst  
 L1 So (all in Rom.).

Copy used: British Museum. (C.39.d.55).

(2) Modern Editions:

- i. Hunterian Club. Glasgow. 1875.  
 [The only complete reprint.]

---

Laing. Defence. Shakes. Soc. Introduction p. lxx pointed  
 out the existence in the Britwell copy (now Rosenbach.  
 See p. 260) of a duplicate leaf "The Induction" at B1. He  
 quotes the variations between the two inductions and ob-  
 serves that the variations suggest "that the poems, before  
 publication, were intended to have been dedicated to some  
 person of distinction, referred to in the seventh verse  
 "Under a great Mecenas I have past you;"  
 and that a prose dedication as well as this lead may have  
 been cancelled, and replaced with that to Lady Shrewesbury".  
 This explains the absence of Sig. B1 in the B.M. copy. It  
 is also wanting in the copy in the Capell Collection. (See  
 Greg. As above.)

xi. A Spydere Webbe, 1594.

Entered on the Stationers Register. Arber Transcript.  
II. 652.

7o die Junij./

Nicolas Lynge./. Entred for his Copie vnder th[e  
h]ande of Master Cawood a booke  
entituled a spiders webbe vj d

Now lost. A copy of a work of this title was  
attributed to Lodge and sold among the books of  
John Hutton in 1764. See p. 5 footnote.

xii. A Fig for Momus.

Entry on the Stationers Register. Arber Transcript.II.295.

Secundo die Aprilis [1595].

CLEMENT Entred for his copie vnder the wardens handes  
KNIGHT / a booke intituled A figge for MOMUS vj d

(1) Early editions:

Title: A fig for Momus:// Containing // Pleasant  
varietie, included in Satyres, // Eclogues, and  
Epistles, by T.L. of Lin-// colnes Inne Gent. // The  
pecora si fa, il lupo selo mangia. // [Ornament] //  
AT LONDON // Printed for Clement Knight, and are to  
bee // solde at his shop at the little North-//  
doore of Paules Church. // 1595.//

Quarto.

Collation: A-I4. Wants all after I3. 35 leaves.  
[A1] Title. [A1]b bl. A2a-A2b [Head ornament].  
Dedication "To the Right Honourable ---- Lord,  
William Earle of Darbie", signed "Thomas Lodge".  
Rom. and Ital. A3a-[A4]a [Head ornament] "To the  
Gentlemen Readers" dated "6 Maij 1595" and signed  
"T.L." Ital. and Rom. [A4]b Errata. Rom. and Ital.  
Bla-I3b Text. Rom. and Ital. R-T. A fig for Momus.

Signatures in Rom. except A3 and C1 which are in  
Ital. F3 is wrongly signed E3.

Catch-words: B1 For C1 To D1 The E1 This  
F1 By G1 Example H1 For I1 And. (all in  
Rom. except G1 which is in Ital.)

Copy used: British Museum (C.39.d.50).

(2) Modern Editions:

i. Frondes Canducae. ed. Alexander Boswell.  
Auchinleck Press. 1817.

ii. Hunterian Club. Glasgow. 1878.

xiii. The Diuell Coniured 1596.

(1) Early Editions:

Title: THE DIVEL // coniuered. // [Ornament] // LONDON //  
 Printed by Adam Islip for William Mats, // dwelling  
 in Fleetstreet at the sign of // the Hand and Plough.  
Anno // 1596. //

Quarto.

Collation: A-L4, M2. 45 leaves in all. [A1]  
 wanting. Probably bl. [A11] Title. [A11]b bl.  
 A11ja-A11jb [Head ornament] Dedication "TO THE  
 RIGHT HONourable Sir Iohn Fortescue", dated "this  
 fifteenth of April. 1596." and signed "T.L." Ital.  
 and Rom. [A1v]a-[A1v]b [Head ornament] "To the  
 Reader" signed "T.L." Ital. and Rom. Bla to M2a  
 Text. B.L. and Rom. M2b bl. R-T. The Diuell  
 coniuered.

Signatures in B.L. except A11j which is in Ital.

Catch-words: Bl [Ca=] padocia Cl these  
 Dl [condem=]ned El held Fl [obseruati=] ons  
 Gl more Hl for Il hairie Kl [common=]weale  
 Ll may Ml [[dissemb=]leth] (all in B.L.).

Copy used: British Museum (232.1.2).

(2) Modern Editions:

i. Hunterian Club. Glasgow. 1875.

xiv. A Margarite of America. 1596.(1) Early Editions:

Title: A Margarite of // America // By T. Lodge //  
 [Ornament] // Printed for Iohn Busbie, and are to  
 be // sold in S. Dunstons Church-yard in // Fleet-  
street, at the little shop // next Cliffords Inne. //  
 1596 //

Quarto.

Collation: A2, B-M4, N1. Wants all after N1.  
 47 leaves. [A1] Title. [A1]b bl. [A2] [Head  
 ornament] Dedication "To ----- the Ladie Russell",  
 dated "this 4. of Maie 1596" and signed "T. Lodge".  
 Ital. and Rom. [A2]b [Head ornament] "To the  
Gentlemen Readers", signed "T. Lodge". Rom. and  
 Ital. Bla-Nib Text. B.L. and Rom. R-T. A Margarite /  
of America.

Signatures in B.L. except B3, C2, E2, H3, L2 and  
 N1 which are in Rom.

Catch-words: B1 from C1 The D1 [full]  
 E1 [di-]sloyal F1 knowing G1 fethers H1 they  
 I1 will K1 second L1 An[other] M1 to  
 N1 All (all in B.L. except N1 which is in Rom.).

Copy used: British Museum (C 14.a.2).

(2) Modern Editions:

i. ed. Halliwell-Phillips. London. 1859.

ii. Hunterian Club. Glasgow. 1876.



xv. Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse. 1596.

(1) Early Editions:

- (a) Title: [Head ornament]. VVITS MISERIE, // and the VWorlds // Madnesse: // Discovering the Devills Incarnat // of this Age // [Ornament] // LONDON, // Printed by Adam Islip, and are to be // sold by Cutbert Burby, at his shop by // the Roiall-Exchange. 1596. //

Quarto.

Collation: A-P4. 59 leaves in all. [A1] wanting. Probably bl. [Aii] Title. [Aii]b bl. Aiija-Aiijb Dedication "TO THE RIGHT worshipfull brothers, Nicholas Hare ----- Hugh Hare ----- and John Hare" dated "from my house at Low-Laiton, this 5. Nouember. 1596." and signed "T.L." Rom. and Ital. [Aiv]a-[Aiv]b [Head ornament] "To the Reader" signed "T.L." Ital. and Rom. Bla-P4a Text. B.L., Ital. and Rom. P4 b bl. R-T. Incarnate Devills.

Signatures in B.L. except Aiij which is in Rom.

Catch-words: Bl When Cl man Di and El Of  
Fl [Scri=]uener Gl [thir=] teenthly  
Hl [hus=]band Il howsoeuer Kl Atheist  
Ll like Ml bodie Nl he Ol easie Pl [be=]ing  
(all in B.L. except El which is in large Rom.).

Copy used: British Museum (C 30.d.19).

- (b) Title: [Head ornament] VVILS MISERIE, // etc.

Collation: [A1] Title. [A1]b bl. Aiiia-Aiib Dedication. Aiiia-b "To the Reader". [Aiv]a and [Aiv]b bl.

Copy used: Bold. (Malone 659).

(2) Modern Editions:

1. Hunterian Club. Glasgow. 1879.

xvi. Prosopopeia. 1596.(1) Early Editions:

- 1 (a) Title: Prosopopeia // THE TEARES // OF THE HOLY, // BLESSED, // AND SANC- // tified Marie, the Mother // of GOD. // LVKE.2: // And moreouer, the sword shall pearce thy // soule, that the thoughts of many hearts // may be opened. // [Device] // LONDON, // Printed for Edward White, and // are to be sold at the little North // doore of Paules. 1596. // [All in ornamental border].

Octavo.

Collation: A-H8. 64 leaves. [A1]a bl. [A1]b bl. [A2]a Title. [A2]b bl. A3a-[A4]a [Head ornament] Dedication "To --- the --- COVNTESSE OF DARBY --- and the Countesse of Cumberland", signed "L.T." Ital. and Rom. [A4]b bl. [A5]a-[A7]a [Head ornament] "To the Readers", signed "L.T." Rom. and Ital. [A7]b ERRATA. Rom. [A8]a and [A8]b bl. [B1]a-[H7]b Text. Rom. and Ital. [H8]a-[H8]b bl. R-T. The teares of Marie, / the mother of Christe.

Signatures: First, second, third and fourth leaves signed. All in Rom.

Catch-words: B1 clothes C1[di-]edst  
D1 Fourth-[ly] E1 giuing F1 by  
G1 [conside-]ration H1 [fil-]led (all in Rom.).

Copy used: Bodl. T.9.Th.BS.

- 1 (b) Title: Prosopopeia // THE TEARES OF THE // holy, blessed, and sanctified // MARIE, the Mother // of GOD. // Luke 2. // And moreouer, the swoord shall pearce // thy soule, that the thoughts of many // hearts may be opened. // [Device] // LONDON, // Printed for E. White. // 1596. //

Octavo.

Collation: A-H8. 64 leaves. A1 bl. except for Signature. Alb bl. [A2] a Title. [A2]b bl. A3a-[A4]a [Head ornament] Dedication "TO THE--- COVNTESSE of Darby and the Countesse of Cumberland", signed "T.L." Ital. and Rom. [A4]b bl. [A5]a-[A7]a [Head ornament] "To the Readers", signed "T.L." Rom. and Ital. [A7]b ERRATA. Rom. [A8]a-[A8]b bl. Bla-[H7]b. Text. Rom. and Ital. [H8]a-[H8]b bl. R-T. The Teares of Marie / the Mother of Christe.

Signatures and Catch-words as in (a).

Copy used: Archiepiscopal Library, Lambeth Palace.

(2) Modern Editions:

1. Hunterian Club. Glasgow. 1880. (From (b).)

II. NOTES ON COPIES OF FIRST EDITIONS OF LODGE'S NON-DRAMATIC  
WORKS PRINTED BEFORE 1600.

The following list of the extant copies of Lodge's non-dramatic works printed before 1600 has been compiled from

(a) Earlier Notices on copies of these works.

Laing. A Defence of Poetry, Music and Stage-Plays. Shakespeare Society. London. 1853. Pp. lxxvi et seq.

Gosse. Bibliographical Index. Hunterian Club. 1887.

Art. on Lodge in the D.N.B.

(b) Catalogues of Public and Private Libraries.

Catalogues of the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries.

Catalogue of the Printed Books in the Library of the University of Edinburgh. 3 vols. 1923.

A Catalogue of the Guildhall Library. London. 1889.

Greg. Catalogue of the books Presented by Edward Capell To the Library of Trinity College Cambridge. Cambridge. 1903.

South Kensington Museum. A Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts bequeathed by the Reverend Alexander Dyce. London. 1875.

Collier. A Catalogue Bibliographical and Critical of Early English Literature; forming a Portion of the Library at Bridgewater House. London. 1837.

Quaritch: Catalogue of the Library of F. Locker-Lampson. London. 1886.

The Huth Library. A Catalogue of the Printed Books--- collected by Henry Huth. London. 1880.

(c) Sale Catalogues Priced of the British Museum.

|   |     |      |       |
|---|-----|------|-------|
| Hutton (John)                           | ... | Date | 1764. |
| Farmer (Richard)                        | ... |      | 1798. |
| Steevens (George)                       | ... |      | 1800. |
| Cat. of Duplicates of Bridgewater House |     |      | 1802. |
| Roxburghe                               | ... |      | 1812. |
| Thompson (Sir Peter)                    | ... |      | 1815. |
| Bibliotheca Anglo Poetica               | ... |      | 1815. |
| Gordonstoun                             | ... |      | 1816. |
| White Knight's                          | ... |      | 1819. |
| Bindley (James)                         | ... |      | 1819. |

|                           |     |      |              |
|---------------------------|-----|------|--------------|
| Strettall (Amos)          | ... | Date | 1820.        |
| Perry (James)             | ... |      | 1822.        |
| Caldecot (Thomas)         | ... |      | 1833.        |
| Heber (Richard)           | ... |      | 1834.        |
| Freeling (Sir Francis)    | ... |      | 1835.        |
| Chalmers (George)         | ... |      | 1841.        |
| Jolley (Thomas)           | ... |      | 1844.        |
| Bright (Heywood)          | ... |      | 1845.        |
| Utterson (Edward)         | ... |      | 1852.        |
| Halliwell-Phillips (J.O.) | ... |      | 1856 & 1859. |
| Corser (Thomas)           | ... |      | 1870.        |
| Ouvrey (Frederick)        | ... |      | 1882.        |
| Collier (J.P.)            | ... |      | 1884.        |
| Brice (William)           | ... |      | 1887.        |
| Young (Alexander)         | ... |      | 1890.        |

(d) Book Prices Current, etc.

Book Prices Current, 1887 to 1924.

American Book Prices Current, 1910 to 1924.

Notes on sales in the T.L.S.

(e) General Bibliographies.

Brunet. Manuel Du Libraire. Paris. 1862.

Lowndes. Bibliographers Manual. London. 1864.

Livingstone (L.S.) Auction Prices of Books.  
Dodd, Mead & Company 1905. New York.

De Ricci (S.) The Book Collectors Guide.  
Rosenbach Company. New York. 1921.

1. Reply to Gosson.

1. Bodl. < Heber.

Bodl. copy has in MS "Heber Cat viii 1422".

2. ----- < Britwell < Heber (iv.2334).

---

Lowndes - Heber pt.iv.2334. pt. viii. Only three known.

---

ii. An Alarum Against Usurers.

(imperf.) 1. B.M. < Britwell < Heber < ?Freeling.

"Sir F. Freeling had a very imperfect one" (Hazlitt). Not in Freeling's catalogue.

Heber (vii.3937) "very imperfect" to Thorpe.

B.M. copy acquired 12 Dec.1910. It agrees with the description of the Britwell copy sold at Sotheby's 1910 (B.P.C.1910).

2. Bold. (Tanner 220) < Tanner ----- < Tho.

Spede.

Bodl. has in MS. "Tho. Spedes book".

3. Rosenbach < Britwell < Heber & < ?Perry < Bindley.

Brunet - "L'exemplaire vendu 27 liv. Bindley, a été revendu 21 liv. 10 sh. Perry et 10 liv. Heber."

Lowndes is not so clear that the first two and the last are the same. Heber (iv.1372) to Britwell (Hazlitt). Britwell to Rosenbach 1924 (B.P.C.).

(imperf.) 4. Another ----- < Brice.

Livingstone: "Alarum. Mor.g.e. (lacking Complaint of Truth over England 1 sheet) Brice July '87."  
Mor.g.e. lacking 1 sheet (Soth. '93).

---

A copy in Hutton's sale (1500).

---

iii. Scyllaes Metamorphosis.

(a) 1579 edition.

(imperf.) i. Bodl. (Malone 568) &lt; Malone.

ii. South Kensington Museum (Dyce 5880)  
< Dyce < Caldecott (700).Laing says Caldecott's and  
Dyce's copy the same.

iii. Rosenbach &lt; Britwell.

Britwell to Rosenbach 1922  
(B.P.C.)

(b) 1610 re-issue.

i. ----- &lt; Rowfant &lt; Ouvrej &lt; Collier.

---

Farmer had a copy of the 1610 edition. (7109) Sold  
to Forster. May be the same as the Rowfant-Ouvrej  
or another.

---

iv. Rosalynde.1. Rosenbach < Britwell < Heber < Strettall < Saunders  
< Bibl. Anglo-Poetica.Lowndes - "Bibl. Anglo-Poetica (4 leaves MS)  
resold Saunders 1818, resold Strettall".  
Strettall's catalogue (1237) says to Heber.  
Heber (iv.1372) "first 4 leaves supplied in MS".  
Britwell to Rosenbach 1922 (B.P.C.).

2. Another. "Now in America" (De Ricci - 1921).

Sold at Sotheby's 1901 bound up with Euphues  
1617. Resold "to an English collector" (T.L.S.  
1921. Mar.)v. The Historie of Robert second Duke of Normandy.1. Rosenbach < Britwell < Heber < White Knight  
< Roxburghe ---- < Harley.Britwell copy to Rosenbach 1922 (B.P.C.).  
For the rest see Laing.

imperf. 2. ----- &lt; Collier.

So Laing.

vi. Catharcs.

1. B.M. (C.27.b.12).
2. Bodl. (Malone 569) < Malone.
3. Huntington < Church < Rowfant < Ouvreu < Collier.  
Ouvreu copy (993) sold to Ellis. Described as "by Riviere".  
"Locker-Lampson" copy "g.e. by Riviere" sold among the books of E. Dwight Church at the Anderson Galleries 1916.  
De Ricci - Huntington "Rowfant-Church copy".
4. ----- < Huntington < Bridgewater House.  
Sold at Anderson Galleries 1918 (Amer.B.P.C.) "from the library of Henry Huntington.  
Pt. vii. "lacking title page" and described as the "Bridgewater House copy". Cf.
5. ----- < Strettall < Roxburghe < Farmer.  
Sold in the library "of a gentleman late deceased" 1897 (B.P.C.) Described as the Roxburghe copy.  
Hazlett gives Farmer > Roxburghe > Strettall.  
Strettall (1236) to Evans.
6. Another  
A copy "green mor.gt. forwarding pink silk the corners of the first 811 faintly stained" sold at Sotheby's to Quaritch. Ap.18. 1921, among "Miscellaneous books". (B.P.C.)

---

Unidentified: Perry (vii.774) To Thorpe in 1822.  
White Knight's (2352) To Lepard. In 1819.

---

vii. Euphues Shadow.

1. B.M. (Royal Library).
2. Capell Collection. Trinity College, Cambs.
3. Peterborough Cathedral Library.  
So Gosse.
4. ----- < Britwell < Collier.  
Laing says Britwell Collier.  
Britwell to sold, April 1925. (See T.L.S. April 1925).

---

Unidentified: Bright "mended" Lowndes. Must be Britwell copy or another.

---

viii. Phillis.

## 1. B.M. &lt; Corser &lt; Bright.

The Corser Cat. says from Bright.  
B.M. copy acquired "5 Oc. 70". It agrees  
with the description of the Corser copy  
sold to Boone the same year - "dark red  
morocco g.e. by Mackenzie.

## 2. Hawthornden Books. Univ. Lib. Edinburgh.

3. Capell Collection. Trin. Coll. Camb. (title  
wanting).

## 4. Rosenbach &lt; Britwell &lt; Heber\* (iv. 1374).

Britwell to Rosenbach 1924. (B.P.C.)

ix. William Longbeard.

## Edition la.

## 1. Bodl. (Malone 571) &lt; Malone &lt; Steevens (949)

< Hutton (5214).

Hutton's Cat. (5214) says to Steevens  
Steevens' " (949) " " Malone.  
Bodl. copy stamped "G. Steevens".

## 2. Guildhall Library &lt; ?Bibl. Anglo-Poetica

< Thompson.

The existence of this copy in the Guildhall  
Library does not seem hitherto to have been  
noticed.

Sir Peter Thompson's copy (529) sold to  
Longman. (=Bibl. A-P.)

Bibl. A-P. copy (935) described as wanting  
all after Sig. I.

The copy in the Guildhall was purchased  
early in the last century (exact date not  
known). Wants all after Il.

(The text in the Bodl. copy goes to I2a.)

## Edition lb. (cf. above p. 247).

## 1. ----- &lt; Rowfant &lt; Ouvrey &lt; Collier.

Rowfant. Cat. describes its copy as from  
the Ouvrey Collection.



x. A Fig for Momus.

1. Bodl. (Malone 570) < Malone -----<Simon Gunton.  
Bodl. copy has in MS "Simon Gunton".
2. B.M.< Corser.  
B.M. copy acquired "5 Oc. 1870". It agrees with the description of Corser's copy sold to Boone the same year. "red morocco g.e. by Bedford".
3. Rosenbach <Britwell < Lamport Hall.  
Britwell copy sold to Rosenbach 1922 (B.P.C.) described as "from Lamport Hall".
4. ----- <Rowfant <Earl of Jersey.  
Cat. of Rowfant Library says from the Earl of Jersey's Library.
5. Huntington ----- <Hoe ----- <Jolley.  
Jolley's copy sold to Thorpe. Appeared at Sotheby's in 1903 as "the property of a Lady". Described as having the original "bl. for Tl (=Il). Sold at the Anderson Galleries 1911, described as Jolley's copy, among Hoe's books (Amer. B.P.C.). De Ricci gives "Sotheby's -- 1903, resold Hoe Apr. 1911 now Huntington".

---

Unidentified copies. Bibl. A-P. (423) in 1815.  
Chalmers (410) to Rodd, in 1841.  
Heber (iv.1375) to Thorpe, in 1834.  
Livingstone mentions a copy sold Mar. 1891 "hf. mor. Crawford" to Quaritch.

---

xi. The Devil Coniured.

1. B.M.< Geo. III.
2. Bodl. (Malone 568) < Malone.
3. Capell Collection. Trin.Coll. Cambs.
4. ----- <Huth <Chalmers <Farmer.  
Chalmers Cat. (412) says the Farmer copy.  
Huth Cat. says the Farmer copy.  
Huth copy sold at Sotheby's 1914. To Quaritch (B.P.C.).
5. ----- <Bright.  
Bright's copy sold at Sotheby's 1890 to Mostyn "red morocco. gilt leaves".  
Bright (3499) to Rodd.

---

Unidentified: Hutton (5216) to Steevens in 1764. May be Malone.

Gordenstoun (1415) in 1816. Jolley (1655) to Thorpe in 1844. Corser (315) "red mor. by Lewis" in 1870 May be 5. Young (500) to Pickering in 1890

---

xii. A Margarite of America.

1. B.M. < Geo. III.
2. B.M. < Grenville.
3. Bodl. (Malone 569) < Malone.

---

Unidentified. Farmer (5917) to Bindley in 1798.

---

xiii. Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse.

(a)

1. B.M. < Utterson < Jolley < Perry.

Perry (ii.775) to Jolley.  
 Jolley (1654) to Thorpe.  
 B.M. copy has in pencil "J. Jolley 1844"  
 and has Utterson's book plate. Acquired  
 7 July 1852. Sold at Utterson's sale  
 the same year.

imperf. 2. B.M. < Geo. III.

3. Bodl. (Malone 568) < Malone.

imperf. 4. Bodl. (Tanner 193) < Tanner.

5. Capell Collection. Trin. Coll. Cambs.

6. Rosenbach < Britwell < Heber (iv.1376).

Heber "indifferent copy, first two  
 leaves supplied in MS."  
 Britwell to Rosenbach.

7. ----- < Huth < Chalmers < Bindley < Farmer.

Farmer (5919) to Bindley.  
 Huth Cat. says the copy "was Dr. Farmer's  
 copy and afterwards in the collection  
 of G. Chalmers".  
 Huth copy sold at Quaritch at Sotheby's  
 1913 (B.P.C.).

8. ----- < Freeling.

Freeling (1680) to Strong. Sold at  
 Sotheby's and described as Freeling's  
 copy in a "miscellaneous lot", in 1922.  
 (B.P.C.) "Title cut round and mounted.  
 Wanting Dedication. 211".

(b) Title Wits Miserie. (cf. above p. 263).

1. Bodl. (Malone 659) Malone -- < Thomas Salter. Has  
 in MS "Thomas Salter".

---

Unidentified: Hutton (5215) to Steevens in 1734. May be  
 Malone. Halliwell (257) in 1856. Corser (316) to Ellis  
 in 1870. Bateman, May 1893 (Livingstone). Bangs 1900.  
 (Livingstone). Herschell V. Jones, 1923 (Amer. B.P.C.).  
 A copy is bound up with The Devil Coniured Sotheby's  
 1839, 1903 and 1912. This seems to be a tenth copy.

xiv. Prosopopeia.

1. Archbishopal Library, Lambeth Palace.
  2. Bodl.
  3. Hawthornden Books. Univ.Lib. Edinburgh.
-

S U M M A R Y.

It has been possible in the preceding study to shed additional light on the following points connected with Lodge's non-dramatic works before 1600 and their background:

1. The oscillation of fashions in prose fiction in the last half of the sixteenth century.
2. The relation of Lodge's work as a novelist to that of his contemporaries, more particularly to that of Greene.  
Greene's hand in Rosalynde.
3. The survival of mediaeval romance in Elizabethan England.
4. The sources of Lodge's novels - mediaeval romance, the pastoral, history and the drama.
5. The use of non-narrative sources in the novels.  
Borrowings from Garimberto and Giglio.  
Problems connected with Giglio's and Du Verdier's continuations of the Silva of Mexia.  
Lodge's borrowings from the Nuova Seconda Selva in novel, prose pamphlet and verse.
6. The composite nature of Lodge's prose pamphlets, illustrative of Elizabethan methods of "book-making". Detailed examination of the sources of Catharos and Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse.
7. Exceptional mediaeval character of Lodge's prose sources.

8. Lodge's claim to the authorship of Prosopopeia.

9. Lodge's supposed debt to Dolce.

10. Additional sources of Lodge's lyrical and narrative  
verse.

---

LIST OF BOOKS CONSULTED.1. BIOGRAPHIES AND STUDIES OF THOMAS LODGE.

- Phillips (Edward) Theatrum Poetarum. London. 1675.  
 Winstanley (Wm.) The lives of the most famous English Poets. London. 1687.  
 Wood (Anthony à) Athenae Oxonienses. Oxford. 1690, 91.  
 Langbaine (G.) An Account of the English Dramatic Poets. Oxford. 1691.  
 Ritson (J.) Bibliographica Poetica. 1802.  
 Beloe (W.) Anecdotes of Literature. 1807-12.  
 Collier (J.P.) Poetical Decameron. 1820.  
 " Gentleman's Magazine. 1834. Vol. ii.  
 " " " 1850. Vol. ii.  
 " " " 1851. Vol. i.  
 " Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language. 1865.  
 Hunter (J.) New Illustrations of Shakespeare. 1845. Vol. i, p. 333.  
 " Chorus Vatum. (Add. Ms. 24487) i.77.  
 Laing (D.) Defence of Poetry Music and Stage Plays. Shakes. Soc. 1853.  
 Ingleby (C.M.) Was Thomas Lodge an Actor? London. 1868.  
 Gosse (Sir E.) Memoir. Glasgow. 1887.  
 Carl (R.) Über Thomas Lodge's Leben und Werke. Anglia X. 1888.  
 Fleay (F.G.) Bibliographical Chronicle of the English Drama. 1891.  
 Chambers (E.K.) The Elizabethan Stage. Oxford. 1923. iii.409-10.  
 Harman (E.G.) The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia (with a chapter on Thomas Lodge). London. 1924.

2. FICTION, PROSE AND VERSE.(a) Studies and Histories.

- Baker (E.A.) The history of the English Novel. London. 1924.  
 Canby (H.S.) The Short Story in English. New York. 1909.  
 Dunlop (J.C.) History of Fiction. 1816.  
 Esdaille A List of English Prose Tales and Romances. London. 1912.  
 Fitz-Maurice Kelly. Life of Cervantes. 1892.  
 Greg. Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama. London. 1906.  
 Jordan (J.C.) Robert Greene. New York. Columbia Univ. Press. 1915.  
 Jusserand. Le Roman au Temps de Shakespeare. 1887.  
 Ker. Two Essays. Don Quixote. Glasgow. 1918.  
 Menendez y Pelayo. Origines de la Novela. Vol. I, and introductions to Vols. II and III. Madrid. 1905-10.

- Rajira. Le fonti dell' Orlando Innamorato.  
Firenze. 1876.
- Raleigh. The English Novel. London. [1894]
- Razzoli. Per le fonti dell' Orlando Innamorato.  
Milano. 1901.
- Rennert (H.A.) Spanish Pastoral Romance. 1912. Univ.  
of Pennsylvania Publication.
- Reynier (G.) Le Roman Sentimental avant l'Astrée.  
.Paris. 1908.
- " Les Origines du Roman Realiste. 1912.
- Saintesbury. The English Novel. 1913.
- " Elizabethan Literature. 1887.
- Savage (H.J.) Beginning of Italian Influence in  
English Prose Fiction. (Pubrs.  
Mod. Lang. Ass. of America. Vol.32.  
Baltimore. 1917.)
- Savj-Lopez (P.) Cervantes. Traducción del Italiano.  
Madrid. 1917.
- Schevill (R.) Cervantes.
- Thomas (H.) Spanish and Portuguese Romances of  
Chivalry. Cambridge. 1920.
- Whiteford (R.N.) Motives in English Fiction. New York.  
1918.
- Woolf. The Greek Romances in Elizabethan  
Prose Fiction. New York. 1912.

(b) Texts.

- The Thornton Romances. ed. Halliwell.  
London. 1844.
- Metrical Romances. ed. Ritson. Vol.I.  
London. 1802.
- Percy's Ballads and Romances. ed.  
Hales and Furnival. London. 1868.  
Vol. II.
- Gascoigne. Complete Works. ed. Cunliffe. Cambridge English  
Classics. 1904-II.
- Painter. Palace of Pleasure. 1566, 1567.
- Fenton. Tragical Discourses. 1567.
- Pettie. Petite Pallace. 1576.
- Whetstone (G.) Roche of Regard. 1576.
- Wotton. Courtlie Controversie. 1578.
- Rich. Right Exelent and pleasant Dialogue.  
1574.
- " Farewell to the Military Profession.  
Shakes. Soc. 1846.
- " The first and second parts of Don  
Simonides, 1581 and 1584.
- " The Adventures of Brusanius Prince  
of Hungarie. 1592.
- Lyly. Euphues. ed. Croll and Clemons. London.  
1916.
- Sydney. Arcadia. ed. Grey. London. 1898.
- Melbancke (B.) Philotimus. 1583.
- Greene (R.) Works. Euth Library. ed. Grosart.  
London. 1881-3.
- Warner (W.) Pan his Syrinx. 1584.
- Dickenson.(J) Prose and Verse. ed. Grosart. Manchester.  
1878.
- Nash. The Unfortunate Traveller. Percy  
Reprints. Oxford. 1920.
- Chettle. Piers Plaines Seauen Yeres Prentice-  
ship. London. 1595.
- Johnson. Nine Worthies of London. London. 1592.
- " Tom a Lincoln. London. 1655.

- Middleton. Historie of Chinon. E.E.T.S.  
Breton. Strange Fortunes of Two Excellent Princes and Miseries of Mavillia Works. ed. Grosart. 1879.
- Deloney. Works. ed. Mann. 1912.  
---- The Cobler of Canterburie. 1608.
- Boccaccio. Il Decamerone. ed. Scherillo. Hoepli. Milano. 1924.  
" La Fiammetta. Biblioteca Universale. Milano (n.d.)  
" Il Filocolo) in Opere Volgari. Firenze. L'Amato ) 1827-34.
- Boiardo. Orlando Innamorato. Classici Italiani. Milano. n.d.
- Ariosto. Orlando Furioso. Londra. 1814.  
Castiglione. Il Cortegiano. Firenze. 1908.  
Sannazzaro. Arcadia. ed. Scherillo. Torino. 1888.  
Tasso. Gerusalemme Liberata. ed. Scherillo. Hoepli. Milano. 1918.  
" Aminta. Bibl. Poetica Italiana. Parigi. 1841.
- Guarini. Pastor Fido. Classici Italiani. Milano. n.d.  
---- Raccolta di Novellieri Italiani. Firenze. 1833-4. (Containing the novels of Bandello, Giovanni Fiorentino, De' Mori, Sacchetti, Giraldi.)
- Amadis de Gaula. Bibl. de Aut. Espanoles, Rivadeneyra. Vol. xl. Madrid. 1857.  
---- Palmerin of England. Trans. Munday.  
---- La Celestina. Garnier. Paris. n.d.
- San Pedro Carcel de Amor. Origines de la Novela. Vol. II.
- Flores (J. de) Aurelio y Isabelle. Anuers. 1560.  
---- La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes. ed. Cejador y Frauca. Clasicos Castellanos. Madrid. 1914.
- Montemayor. La Diana. Origines de la Novela. Vol. II.  
Nuñez (A.) Los Amores de Clitophon y Leucippe. Rivadeneyra. Vol. III. Madrid. 1849.  
---- El Abencerraje. Rivadeneyra. Vol. III. Madrid. 1849.
- Cervantes. La Galatea. ed. Schevill. Madrid. 1914.  
" Novelas Ejemplares ) Rivadeneyra.  
" Persiles y Sigismunda) Vol. I. Madrid. 1849.  
" Don Quijote. Henrich y Ce. Barcelona. 1915.
- Yver (J.) Le Printemps. Paris. 1572.  
Marguerite de Navarre. L'Heptameron. Garnier. Paris. n.d.  
Des Perriers. Contes et Nouvelles. Cologne. 1711.



- Eustathius. Gli amori d'Ismenio. Fiorenza. 1550.  
 Heliodorus. Theagenes and Chariclea. Tr. Underdowne.  
 ed. Whibley. Tudor Translations. 1895.  
 Longus. Daphnis and Chloe. ed. Jacobs. Tudor  
 Library. 1890.

### 3. NON-NARRATIVE AND MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

- Dekker. Non Dramatic Works. ed. Grosart. Huth  
 Library. 1884-3.  
 Nash. Works. ed. McKerrow. London. 1904-10.  
 Rowlands (S.) Complete Works. Hunterian Club. Glasgow.  
 1872-8.  
 Passano (G.) I Novellieri Italiani in Prosa. Torino.  
 1878.  
 Thomas. Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed  
 in Spain and of Spanish Books Printed  
 elsewhere in Europe before 1601 now in  
 the British Museum. London. 1921.  
 " Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed  
 in France, etc. London. 1924.  
 Soldan (W.) Geschichte der Hexenprocesse. Stuttgart.  
 1843.
- Albertus Magnus. The Secrets. London. 1617.  
 Almain (J.) Moralia. Barisiis. 1526.  
 Andreas (R.) Sententiae et Exempla. Lugduni. 1557.  
 Aretine. Regionamenti. Roma. 1911.  
 Bartholomeus. Batman vppon Bartholome. His Booke.  
 London. 1582.  
 Bebelius. Facetiae. Bernae. 1565.  
 Belando. Facetie. Parigi. 1588.  
 Bodin. De Magorum, Daemonomania. Basileae. 1586.  
 Borbonius (N.) Mugarum Libri Octo. Lugduni. 1538.  
 Bouaystuaau. Theatre of the World. London. 1574.  
 Breslay (P.) L'Anthologie ---- de discours notables.  
 Paris. 1574.  
 Bromyard (J. de) Summa Predicantium. Venetiis. 1585, 6.  
 Brusonius (D.) Facetiatur Exemplorumque Libri vii.  
 Rome. 1518.  
 Cardano (G.) De Rerum Varietate. Basileae. 1581.  
 " De Consolatione. Venetiis. 1542.  
 Cato. Disticha. Strasburg. 1515.  
 Cigogna (S.) Palaggio de Gl'Incanti. Vicenza. 1605.  
 Contarino. Vago et Dilletevole Giardino. Vicenza.  
 1569.  
 Corrozet (G.) Divers Propos Memorables. Paris. 1557.  
 D'Auvergne (M.) Arresta Amorum. Lugduni. 1538.  
 Domenichi. Historia Varia. Vinegia. 1560.  
 Egnatius (L.B.) Exempla. Parisiis. 1554.  
 Erasmus. Colloquia. Antwerpiae. 1564.  
 " Apothegmata. Parisiis. 1533.  
 " De Ratio Colligendi Exempla. Coloniae.  
 1532.  
 " Parabola. Lugduni. 1528.  
 Espence (C. de) Apothegmes ecclesiastiques. Paris. 1586.

- Fontaine (J.) Discours de la Puissance du Ciel. Paris. 1681.
- Fregoso, (B.) De Dictis et Factis. Basileae. 1555.
- Fumee (A.) Les Histoires. Paris. 1574.
- Garcaeus (J.) Meteorologia. Witebergae. 1568.
- Garimberto (G.) De la Fortuna sei libri. Venetia. 1547.
- Gesta Romanorum. ed. Oesterley. Berlin. 1872.
- Harsnet. Declaration of Popish Impostures. 1603.
- Hazlitt. Old English Jest Books. 1864.
- Ioannes (Gallensis). Margarita Doctorum. Lugduni. 1511.
- Luis De Granada. Collectanea Moralis Philosophiae. Olisippone. 1571.
- " " " Flores. Coloniae. 1598.
- " " " Obras. Madrid. 1788.
- Lycosthenes (C.) Apopthegmata. Lugduni. 1574.
- " Prodigiorum Chronicon. Basileae. 1557.
- Macault (B.) Apopthegmes. Paris. 1539.
- Magistri (P.I.) Theatre des Exemples. Lyons. 1585.
- Malleus Maleficarum. Francofurti. 1582.
- Marulo (M.) Exempla. Basileae. 1555.
- Mazzolini. (=Prieras) De Strigimagerum. Romae. 1575.
- Meurier (G.) Tresor de Sentences Dorees. Lyons. 1571.
- Nachtigal (O.) Sera Iocique. Strasburg. 1529.
- Nizolius. Thesaurum Ciceronis. Basileae. 1568.
- Peraldus (G.) Exempla. Lugduni. 1567.
- Poggio. Facetiae. Antwerpiae. 1541.
- Poncino della Torre. Facetie. Cremona. 1585.
- Pontanus. (R.) Rerum Memorabilium. Coloniae. 1559.
- Remy (N.) Daemonolatreiae Libri Tres. Lugduni. 1596.
- Saint-Fleur (P.) Historiarum Libellus. Lugduni. 1564.
- Sect (R.) Discovery of Witchcraft. 1654.
- Speculum Laicorum. ed. Welter. Paris. 1914.
- Thyraeus (P.) De Daemoniacus. Coloniae. 1594.
- Toscanella (O.) Gioie Historiche. Vinegia. 1567.
- Valerius Maximus. Dicta et Facta. Basileae. 1555.
- Vermigli (P.L.) Loci Communes. Londini. 1583.
- Wier (J.) Histoires, disputes et Discours. Geneva. 1579.
- " De Praestigiis Demonum. Basileae. 1566.
- Zabata. Facetie. Trivigi. 1599.

4. VERSE.

- Gasparry. Storia della Letteratura Italiana. Torino. 1900-14.
- Flamini. Il Cinquecento. Milano. n.d.
- Quadrio (F.S.) Della Storia e Della Ragione d'ogni Poesia. Milano. 1741.
- Rossi. Storia della Letteratura Italiano. Milano. 1911.
- Atanagi (D.) Rime di div.---- Toscani. Venetia. 1565.
- Domenichi. Rime di diversi. Vinegia. 1544.
- " Rime Diverse di molti eccellentiss. auttori. 9 vols. Venetia, Bologna, Cremona. 1546-60.

- Dolce. Rime di div. Vinegia. 1556.  
 Giolito de' Rime Scelte. 2 vols. Vinegia. 1565, 87.  
 Ferrari.  
 Ruscelli (G.) Rime di Div. Eccellenti Autori Bresciano  
Venetia. 1553.  
 Zabata (C.) Scelta di Rime. Genova. 1532, 79.  
 " Nuova Scelta. 1573.  
 ----- Fioretto de Cose Nove --- di div.  
auctori. Venice. 1516.
- Amomo (pseud.) Rime Toscane. 1538.  
 Beatino. Rime Volgari et Latine. Vinetia. 1551.  
 Bembo. Rime. Vinetia. 1557.  
 Cappello (B.) " Bergamo. 1553.  
 Cei (F.) Opera --- in laude de Ulitia. Venetia.  
1514.  
 Costanzo (A.) ) Rime. Padova. 1538.  
 Galeazzo di Tarsia.) " " "  
 Guarini. Rime. Venetia. 1601.  
 Molino (G.) Rime. " 1551.  
 Petrarch. Rime. Firenze. 1922.  
 Rota (B.) Rime. Napoli. 1572.  
 Sannazzaro. Rime. Venetia. 1588.  
 Tasso. Rime. ed. Solerti. Bologna. 1898-1902.  
 Veniero (D.) Rime. Bergamo. 1553.
- Belleau (R.) Les Odes d'Anacreon (traduits).  
 Du Bellay. Oeuvres Complets. II ed. Marty-Laveaux.  
1903-7.  
 Desportes. Oeuvres. ed. Michiel. 1858.  
 Iamyn (A.) Oeuvres Poétiques. Paris. 1575.  
 Ronsard. Oeuvres. ed. Blanchemain. 1857-77.

##### 5. GENERAL HISTORIES OF THE PERIOD

- De Sanctis. Storia della Letteratura Italiana.  
Milano. 1919.  
 Fitz-Maurice Kelly. Historia de la Literatura Española.  
tr. Bonilla y San Martín. Madrid.  
[1901]  
 Flamini. Il Cinquecento. (Storia Letteraria  
d'Italia Scritta da una Società di  
Professori). Milano. n.d.  
 Gaspary. Storia della Letteratura Italiana.  
~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ Torino. 1900-14.  
 Hume (M.) Spanish Influence on English Literature.  
1905.  
 Lee (Sir S.) Shakespeare and the Italian Renaissance.  
British Academy Annual Shakespeare  
Lecture. New York. 1915.  
 Rossi (V.) Storia della Letteratura Italiana,  
Vols. I & II. Milano. 1911.  
 " Il Quattrocento. Milano [1898.]
- { Lee (Sir S.) The French Renaissance in England. 1910.}

- Symonds (J.A.) Shakespeare's England. 1916. Oxford.  
The Renaissance in Italy. Italian  
Literature. 1898.  
Tilley (A.) The Literature of the French Renaissance.  
Cambridge. 1904.  
Underhill (J.G.) Spanish Literature in the England of the  
Tudors. New York. 1899.
-