

A STUDY OF THE THREE PROSE STYLES
IN THE WORKS OF JOHN LYLY

515

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To my loving husband,

Lynn

And our precious daughter,

Shana

PREFACE

This thesis is a study and examination of the styles in the works of John Lyly and of the devices and elements with which he decorated his writings. Several illustrations of rhetorical devices and elements are cited and illustrated with examples from Lyly's prose writings. Each chapter is a study of a different style of Lyly's writing, beginning with his romances, Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit and Euphues and His England. This investigation further includes a background study of the Mar-Marprelate controversy and Lyly's association with it. The author also examines Lyly's six court comedies and cites the diminishing elements of euphuism in the succession of these plays, along with noting Lyly's contributions to Elizabethan drama. Finally, the present author points out the evolution of Lyly's style. This thesis is not intended to cover completely the life of John Lyly and all of his writings, but it does attempt to examine Lyly's most important works. The author has used as her principle source for Lyly, R. Warwick Bond's edition of The Complete Works of John Lyly.

With deep sincerity, the author wishes to express her gratefulness to Dr. Charles E. Walton and Dr. June Morgan for their assistance and suggestions given her during the composition of this work.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROSE ROMANCES:

EUPHUES, THE ANATOMY OF WIT AND EUPHUES AND HIS ENGLAND

Medieval fiction had been mostly in the form of verse until the national awakening that eventually overthrew Latin, the language of the learned. This overthrow had come about through many avenues of seemingly natural development: through the use of the vernacular in the Wyclif Bible (1395-7), various liturgical uses, the beginning of a new literary influence in the revival of the Greek, and the establishment of the movable type (1438-50) which suddenly increased the availability of books.¹ It was in Sir Thomas More's History of Richard III (1557) that English historical prose reasserted its full power for the first time.² However, long before More's time, English prose had been established as the proper medium in such things as London documents, Henry V's letters to the City Fathers, and affairs concerning the Brewers of London.³ Perhaps the greatest achievement in the development of English prose literature at the close of the fourteenth

¹Charles S. Baldwin, Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice, p. 5.

²R. A. Chambers, On the Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and His School, p. lxxxii.

³Ibid., p. cxli.

century was the publication in the vernacular of the works of Chaucer.⁴

Prose in the fifteenth century sought to give expression to more than just the religious and homiletic ideas. It intended to convey the philosophical, historical, and informational thought which became a part of that century.⁵ One finds such religious prose as Love's Mirror, Gesta Romanorum and the Legenda Aurea, along with vernacular histories such as Capgave's Chronicle or the Brut, and scientific treatises translated from Lanfrank's Science of Circurgie. Informational treatises included such topics as hawking, hunting, and pilgrimage.⁶ Not only did prose serve the purpose for the writers with the more rhetorical cadences, but it also allowed the common sort of man to speak plainly.⁷

Sir Thomas More followed both the rhetorical and the common with the use of sentences of periodic length, though not highly elaborated, and the order of clauses that was not set to a particular pattern, yet not always natural either.⁸

⁴Baldwin, op. cit., p. 5.

⁵H. S. Bennett, "15th Century Secular Prose," RES, XXI (1945), 261.

⁶Loc. cit.

⁷Bennett, op. cit., p. 263.

⁸George Philip Krapp, The Rise of English Literary Prose, p. 100.

His use of balanced sentences with alliteration, sometimes even cross-alliteration, leads one to anticipate a formal pattern.⁹

. . . rather by pleasaunt advyse too wynn themselfe favour, then by profitable advertisements to do the children good . . . lest those that have not letted to put them in duresse without color, wil let as lytle to procure their distinction without cause.¹⁰

Thus, one sees some prose control in More which is to be developed even further in the Elizabethan era of English fiction.¹¹

As English stylists continued to cultivate prose writing during the first three decades of the sixteenth century, very few of the books printed were of much literary value, for the scholars of England were busily studying the ancient tongues and seeking knowledge that was available in the classics.¹² They were interested primarily in matters of medieval interest and the value of rhetoric style as taught by the classical writers, Aristotle, Quintilian, and Cicero.¹³

⁹Chambers, op. cit., p. clvi.

¹⁰Quoted in loc. cit.

¹¹Baldwin, op. cit., p. 37.

¹²William G. Crane, Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance, pp. 26-27.

¹³Madeleine Doran, Endeavors of Art: A Study of Form in Elizabethan Drama, p. 13.

From Aristotle's Rhetoric, the young university scholars learned the value of the means of persuasion through argument and through an appeal to the emotions. In Cicero's De Oratore (1422), the wits realized the power of the spoken word in dealing with the refinements, or culture, of men, and a knowledge of the philosophy of rhetoric. Quintilian's contribution in his Institutio Oratoria (95) was the wise outlook in the teaching of rhetoric.¹⁴ Doran goes on to say that she doubts if many of the schoolmasters heeded Quintilian's reasoning when he warned against formalism.¹⁵ With so much emphasis placed on the study and rediscovery of the classics, the Elizabethan university scholars developed a style all their own, a style, though often marred by unreal attempts of elegance, which contributed greatly to the progress of English literature.¹⁶

Gathering an idea from the medieval Latin style, from other nations on the Continent, from their own English verse, and from the ancients of Greek and Latin, this generation of prose writers became the ingenious masters of a style that was to be compounded and systematically worked out.¹⁷ They

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 30-31.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 39.

¹⁶Charlton M. Lewis, The Beginnings of English Literature, p. 187.

¹⁷Krapp, op. cit., p. 310.

were interested in developing something more than the ordinary religious literature. They desired something that would give them an outlet for their fancies and imaginations, as well as a means of livelihood. As a result there arose a sudden parade of fine writing for fine gentlemen.¹⁸ Of all the writers of this period, John Lyly produced the most satisfactory standard of literary expression in his Euphues (1578-80), which is an apogee of all the literary forces that had been at work during the early part of the sixteenth century.¹⁹

In Lyly's Euphues, The Anatomy of Wit and Euphues and His England, one finds, in the formal features of Elizabethan literature, some of the qualities of Elizabethan thought. With the use of the figures of metaphor, simile, and allegoria, Lyly illustrates by comparison the Elizabethan habit of reasoning:²⁰

For as the Bee that gathereth Honny out of the weede,
 when she espyeth the faire flower flyeth to the sweetest:
 or as the kynde spanyell though he hunt after Byrdes,
 yet forsakes them to retryue the Partridge: or as we
 commonly feede on beefe hungerly at the first, yet seing
 the Quayle more dayntie, chaunge our dyet:
 (I.206.10)

¹⁸Ibid., p. 312.

¹⁹Crane, op. cit., p. 194.

²⁰Doran, op. cit., p. 29. (Volume, page number, and number of line, consecutively, are indicated in parentheses in examples.)

. . . the Diuell himselfe must beare the crosse
(I.201.16)

. . . fryed my selfe most in myne affections
(I.205.4)

Euen so he that seeketh by counsayle to moderate his
ouerlashinge affections, encreaseth his owne misfourtnone.
(I.209.5)

. . . before the ouerlashinge desires of the flesh.
(I.309.20)

. . . cast me off for a Wlredrawer. (I.246.33)

Another feature of Elizabethan literature, according to Doran, is the fondness for debate in which Lyly incorporates the frequent use of antithesis in both his Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit and Euphues and His England.²¹

Though thou have eaten the seedes of Rockatte which breede incontinencie, yet haue I chewed the leafe Cresse which mainteineth modestie. Though thou beare in thy bosome the hearbe Araza most noisome to virginittie, yet haue I y^e stone y^t groweth in the mounthe Tmolus, the vpholder of Chastitie. (I.222.25)

To loue and to lyue well is wished of many, but incident to fewe. To liue and to loue well is incident to fewe, but indifferent to all. To loue without reason is an argument of lust, to lyue without loue, a token of folly. The measure of loue is to haue no meane, the end to be euerlasting. (II.52.20)

It is this rigorous employment of antithesis that Feuillerat cites as the greatest fault of euphuism, for, like a pendulum swinging from side to side, it becomes monotonous and

²¹Loc. cit.

wearisome.²²

The hortatory quality of contemporary literature illustrates well the seriousness and sobriety of sixteenth century life.²³ Some passages abound in shrewd good sense from both the Anatomy and His England especially when Euphues tells Eubulus that the standard of conduct for youth and old age can never be the same.

Eyther you would haue all men olde as you are, or els you haue quite forgotten y^e you your selfe were younge, or euer knew young dayes: eyther in your youth you were a vicious and ungoldly man, or now being aged very superstitious & aeuoute aboue measure . . . Doe you measure the hotte assaultes of youth by the colde skirmished of age? (I.192.28)

Lyly offers another piece of wisdom in His England when Callimachus says to Cassander that the latter's mishaps as a traveller are no argument that all men should stay home.

You haue bene a Trauailer and tasted nothing but sowre, therefore who-soeuer trauailleth, shall eate of the same sauce: an Argument it is, that your fortune was ill, not that others should be as bad, and a warning to make you wise, not a warning to proue others vnfortunate.
(II.27.24)

Not much information is available from reliable sources about the early years of John Lyly, so it is natural to turn

²²A. Feuillerat, "John Lyly," Spectator, CV (1910), 392.

²³Doran, op. cit., p. 29.

to Lyly's own works, even though one cannot draw positive facts from these, yet the possibility of a trace of the autobiographical is probable. Accepting the suggestions found in Euphues' account of his stay in England, one finds in the words of courtier, Fidus, details of Lyly's early childhood.

I was borne in the wylde of Kent of honest Parents, and worshipfull, whose tender cares, (if the fondnesse of parents may be so termed) provided all things euen from my very cradell, vntil their graues, that might either bring me vp in good letters, or make me heire to great lyuings. I (without arrogancie be it spoken) was not inferior in wit to manye, which finding in my selfe, I flattered my selfe, but in y^e ende, deceiued my selfe; For being of the age of .xx. yeares, there was no trade or kinde of lyfe that either fitted my humour or serued my tourne, but the Court: thinking that place the only meanes to Clymbe high, and sit sure: Wherein I followed the vaine of young Souldiours, who iudge nothing sweeter then warre til they feele the weight. (II.49.16)

Bond, in his extensive search for biographical facts, states Maidstone as the probable birthplace, for the Record Office had given him the date that a William Lyllye had rented some eighteen acres of land near Maidstone.²⁴ So, one surmises that John Lyly attended the grammar school granted by a Corporation charter after the Wyatt rebellion in 1554, of which Thomas Cole was the earliest schoolmaster. However, with Lyly's entrance into Magdalen College at Oxford at the age of fifteen, in the favor of Lord Burleigh, the facts become clearer

²⁴R. Warwick Bond (ed.), The Complete Works of John Lyly, I, 5.

and more definite. He graduated with a B. A. from Oxford on April 27, 1573, and with an M. A. on June 1, 1575. In 1579, he was incorporated as an M. A. at Cambridge.²⁵

Lyly was a typical university wit who had a retentive and receptive mind to the study of the classics, Cicero, Quintilian, and Aristotle; yet, he was saved from the idea that all knowledge lies in books, by his own common sense, or, perhaps, by the fact that his own grandfather was a humanist.²⁶ However, it was also during his time at Oxford that he was termed a madcap because of his unruly temper, his disregard for the authorities in the university, and his neglect of the prescribed studies.²⁷ The evidence of this attitude can be found in his own admission in Euphues where he writes, "I have euer thought so supersticiously of wit, that I feare I haue committed Idolatry against wisdom."²⁸

His diminutive, madcap, was also stated in the writing of his contemporary, Gabriel Harvey, who said:

They were much deceiued in him at Oxford and in the Savoy, when Master Absalom lived, that took him only for a

²⁵Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (eds.), Dictionary of National Biography, XII, 327.

²⁶A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller (eds.), The Cambridge History of English Literature, V, 137.

²⁷Bond, op. cit., I, 8.

²⁸Ibid., I, 196.

dapper and deft companion²⁹

And, again, Harvey refers to him as follows:

He hath not played the Vicemaster of Poules, and the Foolemaster of the Theater for naughtes: himselfe a mad lad as ever twang'd, never troubled with any substance of witt, or circumstance of honestie, sometime the fiddlesticke of Oxford, now the very bable of London.³⁰

Regardless of the fact that he was considered to be absurd and a little nonsensical, this worldly young man gave to the Elizabethan world a new kind of prose in his Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit (1578), and, later, in his Euphues and His England (1580), which two works became the talk of fashionable London, and the models for much imitation in the years to come.³¹

The elements found in Lyly's form of prose fiction were of various origin, having been borrowed in part, from the classics, from medieval England, and from abroad, while much was a contribution from the initiative of the present age.³² For the element of mythological figures Lyly is indebted to Ovid, Vergil, Hyginus, and even Pettie, which provided him

²⁹A. B. Grosart (ed.), The Complete Works of Gabriel Harvey, II, 128.

³⁰Ibid., p. 212.

³¹Ester C. Dunn, The Literature of Shakespeare's England, p. 183.

³²Ward, op. cit., VIII, 340.

with the ample authorities for his numerous similes of folklore; and it was from the Natural History of Pliny that he gathered much of knowledge for the many medicinal and magical qualities that his writings contained.³³ Furthermore, the content of the story of Lucilla's reply to Euphues' proposal for marriage is parallel to, and in the same order as, Helen's in Helen's Epistle to Paris.³⁴ Although it may be decorated with euphuistic devices and paraphrased somewhat, Lyly has maintained the principal features of Ovid. From Euphues one reads:

Gentleman as you may suspecte me of Idelnesse in giuing eare to your talke, so may you conuince me of lyghtenesse in answering such toyes, certes as you have made mine eares glowe at the rehearsall of your loue, so haue you galled my hart with the remembrance of your folly.³⁵

The passage similar in Ovid reads thus:

Now that your letter has profaned my eyes, the glory of writing no reply has seemed to me but slight. You have dared, stranger, to violate the sacred pledge of hospitality, and to tamper with the faith of a lawful wife! Of course it was for this that the Taenarian shore received you into its Wave when tossed on the windy tides, and that, come though you were from another race, our royal home did not present closed doors to you--for this, that wrong should be the return for kindness so great!

³³Ibid., VIII, 347.

³⁴M. P. Tilley, "Euphues and Ovid's Heroical Epistles," MLN, XLV, (1930), 301.

³⁵Bond, op. cit., I, 220.

You who so entered in, were you guest, or were you enemy?³⁶

Again, from Euphues:

But why shouldest thou desist from the one, seeinge thou canst cunningly dissemble the other. My father is now gone to Venice, and as I am vncerteine of his retourne, so am I not priuie to the cause of his trauayle: But yet is he so from hence that he seeth me in his absence. Knowest thou not Euphues that kinges have long armes & rulers large reches? neither let this comfort thee, that at his departure he deputed thee in Philautus place.³⁷

The parallel in Ovid reads:

Yes, he has spread sail for Crete with favouring winds; but think not for this that everything may be as you choose! My lord is away, but in such wise that he guards me, even though away--or know you not that monarchs have far-reaching hands? My fame, too, is a burden to me; for, the more you men persist in your praise of me, the more justly does he fear.³⁸

Euphues:

I woulde not Euphues that thou shouldest condemne me of rigour, in that I seeke to asswage they follie by reason, but take this by the way that although as yet I am disposed to lyke of none, yet whensoever I shall loue any I will not forget thee, in the meane season accompt me thy friend, for thy foe I will neuer be.³⁹

³⁶Grant Showerman, Ovid; Heroides and Amores, p. 225.

³⁷Bond, op. cit., I, 221.

³⁸Showerman, op. cit., p. 237.

³⁹Bond, op. cit., I, 224.

Ovid:

You ask that we speak of these things in secret, face to face. I know what it is you court, and what you mean by speech with me; but you are over hasty, and your harvest is still in the green. This delay perhaps may be friendly to your wish.

Thus far now; let the writing that shares the secret of my heart now stay its furtive task, for my hand is wearied. The rest let us say through my companions Clymene and Aethra, the two who attend and counsel me.⁴⁰

It should be noted that Lyly's acquaintance with Pliny and Plutarch was probably not first hand, but was presumably obtained through the writings of Erasmus, which had become as textbooks to many of the scholars of the sixteenth century. Able to read Erasmus, Lyly saved much time in his quest for classical knowledge; yet, he was able to insert a few similes from Pliny, or a lay sermon from Plutarch whenever he desired a clearer illustration or a stronger emphasis in his works.⁴¹

Crane states that the characteristics of Lyly's style are derivatives of the rhetorical devices of ornamentation and amplification that could be found in the rhetorical manuals of the preceding eras of literature.⁴² Crane also points out that amplification was used by writers other than Lyly, for George Pettie in A Petite Pallace of Pettie His Pleasure

⁴⁰Showerman, op. cit., p. 243.

⁴¹Ward, op. cit., XVI, 347.

⁴²Crane, op. cit., p. 7.

(1576) was the first to compose such an artificial prose style. His carefully worked out devices of style are mainly those of formal parallelism and antithesis, rime, and alliteration; yet, they fail to allow one to adjust from form to thought.⁴³ By deliberately compounding the literary phrases, it was Lyly who perfected the characteristics on which the style was based, and proved that English prose could be written with beauty and ease. Crane cites Commedia de Calisto y Melibea (1498) as the source of Lyly's style, because it has an abundance of examples of rhetorical devices and figures of syntax such as antithesis, repetition, translacing, and chiasma, as well as being decorated with proverbs, causes, similes, and examples.⁴⁴ Borrowing, if it can be called that, was not uncommon in Lyly's time, for many of the contemporary writers relied on Ovid and other authors for the sources of their writings. Gabriel Harvey says that Lyly merely ". . . hatched the egges that his elder freendes laide."⁴⁵

By careful selection, since he was writing for a choice audience of the court, Lyly affected the society of his time and influenced the writers of his day and many of the authors and playwrights that were to follow. His work was a moral

⁴³Krapp, op. cit., p. 347.

⁴⁴Crane, op. cit., p. 164.

⁴⁵Grosart, op. cit., p. 124.

treatise, aimed at gentlemanly education rather than at the workaday world of Gammer Gurton's Needle.⁴⁶ In his preface to Euphues he illustrated his own purpose in writing:

It is a world to see how English men desire to heare finer speach than the language will allow, to eate finer bread than is made of Wheat, and to weave finer cloth than is wrought of Well.⁴⁷

From his own purpose, one can readily recognize the most noticeable feature of Euphues was its ability to be free from the coarseness and obscenity common to John Lyly's time.⁴⁸

Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1587, and described as a compilation.⁴⁹ In his use of anatomy in the first part, Lyly seemingly implied that he had attempted to divide and analyze a gentleman's intellectual capacity or a talent for studies; yet anatomy more nearly comes to mean a worldly curiosity, an unrighteous lust for knowledge.⁵⁰ Wit, more specifically explicated in his second installment, Euphues and His England (1580), connoted a resource of ideas and words ready for the development of

⁴⁶David E. Crawford, John Lyly, p. 16.

⁴⁷Bond, op. cit., I, 181.

⁴⁸M. W. Smith, Studies in English Literature, p. 188.

⁴⁹Edward Arber (ed.), A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, V, 122.

⁵⁰Morris W. Croll, "The Cadence of English Oratorical Prose," SP, XVI (1919), 2.

any theme, along with a quick understanding of thought and a promptness in answering.⁵¹ "I neuer heard but three things which argued a fine wit, invention, conceiuing, and answering."⁵² This compilation was to be the forerunner of the novel of manners and of the form involving a detailed analysis of love. With its correct proportioning of narrative and development, and through its unusual extrasensory approach, the romance became a developed picture of the Elizabethan mind, thus establishing it as the first English novel.⁵³ Its plot situations are parallel to those of the novelle; however, the organization is different. Wolff lists four qualities similar to the novel: (1) scenes of contemporary life; (2) the use of letters, as Richardson did; (3) psychological analyses of the feelings by way of soliloquies; and (4) long plot as differentiated from the short story.⁵⁴ On the other hand, Hunter declares that the structure is similar to that of drama because it is divided into scenes made up of soliloquies, opposed orations, and rare conversations.⁵⁵ He continues to

⁵¹Crane, op. cit., p. 9.

⁵²Bond, op. cit., II, 61.

⁵³Crawford, op. cit., p. 11.

⁵⁴S. L. Wolff, "Humanist as Man of Letters," Sewanee Review, XXXI, (1923), 22.

⁵⁵G. K. Hunter, John Lyly, the Humanist as Courtier, p. 57.

name the five divisions of the Anatomy that are comparable to the Elizabethan drama: argument, action, epitasis, desperate state, and, finally, the catastrophe.⁵⁶ In the first scene Euphues, a young man of Athens, arrives at Naples where he begins a friendship with the young Philautus. Next, the two young friends visit Lucilla, the betrothed of Philautus, and Euphues falls in love with her. The main action of the story occurs when Euphues deceives his friend and wins the love of the betrothed which brings about the apparent quarrel between the two young friends. Lastly, according to Hunter, comes the occasion for the calamity, when Lucilla deceives both young men and, as a result, Euphues and Philautus are reconciled.⁵⁷

The action continues in Euphues and His England where the two, now reconciled, advance to Canterbury. Having been entertained by Fidus, Philautus finds one to love while Euphues woos another, already promised. Finally, after some amount of success in his quest for love, Euphues departs from England, praising both the country and the women it contains, and returns to Silixedra. The deception, reconciliation, and trip to England are all the actions of Euphues and His England, which Tilley thinks illustrates the weakness of euphuistic writers, who thought ornamentation of a sentence more important

⁵⁶Loc. cit.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 57.

than thought; however, the importance of Lyly's prose romance lies not in the plot, but in the style.⁵⁸

Even though the three figures of rhetoric may have originated in liturgical or legal customs of the early Greek community, style, in which prose first came to be the proper channel for aesthetic cultivations, had its beginning in the Gorgian type of oratory, for it was Gorgias, who composed and organized "the schemes" which adorn it.⁵⁹ These early rhetorical devices (isocolon, parison, and paromoion) were used, after some elaboration by Isocrates, in the unreasonable education which taught that man was a mirror reflecting the attitude and interests of the town or community in which he lived; thus, his whole literary education was fixed mainly by the public uses of rhetoric. As a result, rhetoric encompassed a broad and general field and became large and open in design.⁶⁰ It is also necessary to examine the elements that Cicero believed to be of literary importance: that is, genus humile, genus medium, and genus grande.⁶¹ He reasoned that good literature would teach or tell its readers something, and it should be

⁵⁸M. P. Tilley, "Further Borrowings from Poems in Philotimus," SP, XXVIII, (1930), 214.

⁵⁹Morris W. Croll, "Attic Prose in the Seventeenth Century," SP, XVIII (1921), 82-83.

⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 83; 88.

⁶¹Loc. cit.

delightful and give pleasure, as well as arouse and excite.⁶²

His style required an organized word order and a balancing of one clause against another.⁶³

Euphuism, as Lyly's style is known, is a prose style characterized by the use of rhetorical figures of sound or vocal ornament. Along with the three rhetorical elements of Gorgian style, Lyly employs the structural devices of antithesis, alliteration, and rhetorical questions.⁶⁴ The element of isocolon is the balance of clauses having the same length, while that of parison involves a similar structure in different clauses, and paromoion is the balance of clauses having the same sound pattern.⁶⁵ Lyly's uses of these elements may be well illustrated by examples taken from his own prose romance. First, there is the element of isocolon in his work, yet, it must be noted, not every sentence exhibits it, but the device is certainly present with some variety in many of the sentences:

. . . when they put gold into the hands of youth, where
they should put a rod vnder their gyrdle
(I.185.14)

I am not ignoraunt of thy present weaknesse, so I am not
priuie of the cause (I.211.28)

⁶²Ibid., p. 105.

⁶³Loc. cit.

⁶⁴Bond, op. cit., II, 120-137.

⁶⁵William Ringler, "Immediate Source of Euphuism: John Rainolds," PMLA, LIII, (1938), 683.

Though I be to weake to wrastle for a reuenge, . . .
 though Philautus haue no pollycie to vnder mine thee
 (I.233-234.35)

. . . if brute beastes giue vs ensamples that those are
 most to be lyked, . . . or if the Princesse of beautye
Venus, and hir heyres Helen, and Cornelia. (I.239.25)

If my lewde lyfe Gentlemen haue giuen you offence, . . .
 if by my folly any be allured to lust. (I.247.26)

. . . whose lyfe hath neuer bene stayned with dishonestie,
 . . . whose manners hath bene irreprehensible before the
 worlde. (I.268.9)

If my hope were not better to conuerte thee, then my
 happe was heere to conferre with thee, (I.292.17)

For not he y^t hath seene most countries is most to be
 esteemed, . . . for not so much are y^e situation of the
 places to be noted (II.30.21)

. . . which maye cast thee into a deep sleepe, . . .
 which may cause thee to mistake euery thing. (II.89.19)

The second rhetorical element, parison, is also evident in
 Lyly's work:

Eyther you would haue all men olde as you are, or els
 you haue quite forgotten y^e you your selfe were young, or
 euer knew young dayes: eyther in your youth you were a
 very vicious and ungodly man, or now being aged very
 supersticious & deuote aboue measure. (I.192.28)

. . . the one liueth by an other death, y^e other dyeth by
 his own life. (II.15.30)

It is not the colour that comēdeth a good painter, but
 the good cōutenance, nor the cutting that valueth the
 Diamond, but the vertue, nor the glose of the tongue
 that tryeth a friēd, but y^e faith. (II.95.19)

Corne is not to be gathered in the budde, but in the
 eare, nor fruite to be pulled from the tree when it is
 greene, but when it is mellow, nor Grapes to bee cut for
 the presse, when they first rise, but when they are full

ripe: nor young Ladies to be sued vnto that are fitter for a roddle then a husbände, and meeter to beare blowes then children. (II.128.18)

For if it be among such as are faithfull, there should be no cause of breach: if betweene dissemblers, no care of reconciliation. (II.145.7)

This is the blessing that Christ alwayes gaue to his people, peace: This is the curse that hee giueth to the wicked, there shall be no peace to the vnholdlye: This was the onelye saluation hee vsed to his Disciples, peace be vnto you: (II.210.25)

. . . for I was neyther angrie with your longe absence, neyther am I well pleased at your presence, the one gaue me rather a good hope heereafter neuer to see you, the other giueth me a greater occasion to abhorre you.
(I.237.22)

The Birde Taurus hath a great voyce, but a small body, the thunder a greate clappe, yet but a lyttle stone, the emptie vessell giueth a greater sound, then the full barrell. (I.194.26)

Paramoion, the third Gorgian device, is also prevalent in Lyly's style. As has been stated before, it is the balance of clauses that have the same sound pattern, as follows:

. . . not the carved visard of a lewd woman, but the incarnate visage of a lascivious wanton. (I.189.1)

. . . not the shadow of love but the substance of lust.
(I.189.2)

. . . thou hast long time lived a maiden, thou must live to be a mother. (I.189.34)

. . . so much the lesse I am to be condemned, by how much the more Euphues to be commended. (I.206.18)

Or seeing me to excell all other in beautie, deeme that I would exceed all other in beastlynesse. (I.220.18)

. . . keepe silence vntill I haue vttered my minde: and secrecie when I haue vnfolded my meaning. (I.225.7)

If euer you loued, you haue found the like, if euer you shall loue, you shall taste no lesse. (II.51.24)

. . . euery one following the newest waye, which is not euer the nearest way: (II.57.28)

. . . thou neuer foundst more plesure in reiecting my love, then thou shalt feele paine in remebing my losse, (II.140.34)

In structure, Lyly seeks an additional emphasis in his use of the device of antithesis, revealed in the opposition of words and ideas in sentences balanced one against the other, in rhetorical questions, and in alliteration, or the repetition of the same letter or sound in the initial syllable or, sometimes, in the middle syllable, of several words in succession. First, the illustrations of Lyly's use of antithesis are the following:

I mean to manifest the beginning of my Loue, by the ende of my lyfe (II.140.25)

. . . for it is not the place that maketh the person, but the person that maketh the place honorable. (II.39.10)

Though thou beare in thy bosome the hearbe Araza most noisome to virginitie, yet haue I y^e stone y^t groweth in the mounthe Tmolus, the vpholder of chastitie. (I.227.27)

The fine christall is sooner crazed then the harde marble, the greenest Beeche burneth faster then the dryest Oke, the fairest silke is soonest soyled, and the sweetest wine tourneth to the sharpest vineger, (I.189.21)

Sometimes in Lyly's use of antithesis, he fails to make much sense in the opposition of phrases. Note the two quotes:

. . . deeme him vnworthy to enioye that which earst you accompted no wight worthy to embrace. (I.239.18)

Thou hast caryed to they graue more graye haire then
yeares, and yet more yeares then vertues. (II.181.10)

Lyly's second structural device, rhetorical sentences, is
contained in the following examples:

Is it not common that the Holme tree springeth amidst
the Beach? That the Iuie spreadeth vppon the hard stones?
That the softe fetherbed bredeth the hard blade?
(I.193.25)

Couldst thou Euphues for the loue of a fruitelesse
pleasure, vyolate the league of faythfull friendshipp?
Diddest thou waye more the entising lookes of a lewd
wenche, then the entyre loue of a loyall friende? If
thou diddest determine with they selfe at the firste to
be false, both falselye and forgedly to deceiue mee, why
diddest thou flatter and dissemble with mee at the firste?
If to loue me, why doest thou flinche at the last? If
the sacred bands of amitie did delyght thee, why diddest
thou breake them? (I.234.3)

Doest thou not see euery minute the noble youth of
England frequent the Court, with no lesse courage then
thou cowardise? If Courtly brauery, may allure hir, who
more gallant, they they? if personage, who more val-
yant? If wit who more sharp, if byrth, who more noble,
if vertue, who more deuoute? When there are all hinges
in them that shoulde delyght a Ladye, and not on thing
in thee that is in them, with what face Philautus canst
thou desire that, which they can-not deserue, or with
what seruice deserue that, whiche so manye desyre be-
fore thee? (II.87.8)

Where is now Electra the chast Daughter of Agamemnon?
Where is Lala that renoumed Uirgin? Wher is Aemilia, that
through hir chastitie wrought wonders, in maintayning
continually fire at the Alter of Vesta? Where is Claudia,
that to manifest hir virginitie set the Shippe on float
with hir finger, that multitudes could not remoue by
force? Where is Tuccia one of the same order, that
brought to passe no lesse meruailles, by carrying water
in a siue, not shedding one drop from Tiber to the Temple
of Vesta? (II.209.15)

Lyly's use of alliteration is revealed in the following

passages: ⁶⁶

. . . it is to late to shutte the stable doore when the steede is stolen: (I.188.7)

Fayre Lady seing the shade doth often shilde your beautie from the parching Sunne, I hope you will the better esteeme of the shadowe, (I.200.33)

Women are to be wonne with every wynde
(I.203.33)

When they see the folly of men turne to fury, their delight to doting, . . . when they see them as it were pyne in pleasure, and to waxe pale through theyre owne peeuishnesse, their sutes, their lyues (I.204.21)

It is Euphues that lately arryued heere at Naples, that hath battered the bulwarke of my breste, and shall shortly enter as conquerour into my posome: (I.231.5)

Is not he that sitteth more subject to sleepe then he that walketh? (I.251.12)

For the mindes of Louers alter with the madde moodes of the Musitions: (II.57.14)

When we come into London, wee shall walke in the garden of the worlde, where amonge many flowers we shall see some weedes; (II.81.27)

Contrarie to the custome of many countries,
(II.291.33)

. . . that in paynet pottes is hidden the deadlyest poyson? that in the greenest grasse is the greatest Serpent? (I.202.9)

. . . to straight a dyet for thy straininge disease;
. . . . (I.252.11)

. . . thy sacred Senate of three hundred grave Counselors to a shameless Sinod of three thousand greedy caterpillars; (II.89.1)

⁶⁶Underscoring in the following examples is the present author's.

. . . a sseet panther with a deuouring paunch a sower
poyson in a siluer potte. (I.202.20)

Lyly's additional use of similes, proverbs, and exemplums provided him with a means of ornamentation and illustration for his already ornamented prose. As mentioned earlier, Lyly borrowed many of his similes and proverbs from earlier writers, and he also used a number that he had personally observed during his own age, and that he, himself, may have invented. Bond points out the following similes taken by Lyly from Pliny and others:⁶⁷

the stone Abeston (I.191.32)
Eagles wing wasting the fethers (I.205.31)
the hearb Nerius (I.203.30)
great things done by rabbits, moles, frogs, and flies
(I.249.25)
Hiena (I.250.8)
Panther (I.282.19)
Dragons feeding on elephant's blood (II.138.19)
Crocodile and Trochilus (II.177.11)

Those he observed during his own era are illustrated in the following:

the dog eating grass to make him vomit (I.208.24)
dog spoiling his scent by nosing carrion (II.157.24)
wine poured into fir vessels poisonous (II.147.19)

The following are examples of those he may have personally invented:

⁶⁷Bond, op. cit., II, 131-132.

stone of Sicilia (I.204.17)^t
 hearbe Araxa and Stone in M^t Tmolus, enemy and protector
 of chastity respectively (I.222.68)

riuer in Arabis which turneth golde to drosse & dust to
 siluer (II.85.16)

Though the Camomell, the more it is trodden and pressed
 down, the more it spreadeth, yet the violet the oftener
 it is handled and touched, the sooner it withereth and
 decayeth (I.196.3)

The large number and the strangeness of these similes
 attracted the attention of Lyly's contemporaries and conse-
 quently, brought forth much criticism. One of the severest of
 disapprovals came from Gabriel Harvey, who wrote:

I cannot stand nosing of candlesticks of Euphuing of
 similes alla Savoica: it might happily be done with a
 trice; but every man hath not the gift of Albertus Magnus:
 rare birds are dainty, and they are queint creatures that
 are privileged to creat new creatures. When I have a
 mint of precious stones, and strange fowls, beasts, and
 fishes, of mine own coining (I could name the party, that
 in comparison of his own natural inventions, termed Pliny
 a barren womb), I may, peradventure, bless you with your
 own crosses, and pay you the usury of y^r own coin.⁶⁸

In Sidney's Apologie for Poetrie (1581-1585), one finds
 the following, a reference to Lyly's use of similes:

So is that honny flowing Matron Eloquence, apparelled,
 or rather disguised, in a Curtizan-like painted affecta-
 tion. . . . I would this fault were only peculiar to
 Versefiers, and had not as large possession among Prose-
 printers For nowe they cast Sugar and Spice vpon
 euery dish that is serued to the table:⁶⁹

⁶⁸Grosart, op. cit., II, 125-126.

⁶⁹Evelyn S. Shuckburgh (ed.), An Apologie for Poetrie,
 p. 57.

A later reference occurs in Astrophel and Stella (1591):

Let dainty wits cry on the sisters nine,
That, bravely mask'd, their fancies may be told:
Or, Pindar's apes, flaunt they in phrases fine
Enam'ling, with py'd flowers, their thoughts of gold.
Or else, let them in statelier glory shine,
Ennobling new-found tropes, with problems old:
Or, with strange similies enrich each line,⁷⁰
Of herbs, or beasts, which Ind' or Afric hold.

Lyly's extensive use of similes is also pointed out in
Greene's Menaphon (1589):

Samela made this replie, because she heard him so super-
fine, as if Ephaebus had learned him to refine his
mother tongue, wherefore thought he had done it of an
inkhorn desire to be eloquent; and Melicertus thinking
that Samela had learnd with Lucilla in Athens to
anatomize wit, and speake none but Similies, imagined
she smoothed her talke to be thought like Sapho, Phaos
Paramour.⁷¹

Not only did Lyly's similes make an impression upon his
contemporaries, but they also affected some who came later.
For example, Michael Drayton in Of Poets and Poesis (1627)
shows an aversion to the style of euphuism:

The noble Sidney . . . did first reduce
Our tongue from Lillies writing then in vse;
Talking of Stones, Stars, Plants, of fishes, Flyes,

⁷⁰ Sir Philip Sidney, The Miscellaneous Works of Sir Sidney, I, 128.

⁷¹ Edward Arber (ed.), Menaphon, p. 51.

Playing with words, and idle Similies.⁷²

Because of the antithetic, alliterative style of euphuism, Lyly made a full use of proverbs and pithy sayings taken from current collections such as the Adagia of Erasmus, or the Proverbes and Epigrams of John Heywood, or from the accepted sayings of his day:⁷³

The shomaker must not go aboue his latchet (I.180.1)
 witte . . . better if . . . deerer bought (I.185.35)
 Wine is the glass of the mind (II.83.7)
 . . . fishe and gastes in three dayes are stale (II.81.13)
 . . . a prouerb in Italy, when one seeth a woman striken
 in age to looks amiable . . . she hath eaten a Snake,
 (II.134.36)
 . . . as Seneca reporteth . . . as to much bending break-
 eth the bowe, so to much remission spoileth the mind
 (I.251.1)
 . . . neither penny nor Pater noster (II.28.30)

After a careful study of Lyly's stylistic elements and ornamental devices, one finds it not difficult to agree with the Earl of Crawford, who referred to euphuism as a style that is so consistent and equable that one is apt to read the lengthy phrases and fail to reap any messages from them.⁷⁴ Yet, Lyly introduced a new prose style that has long since merited careful analyses by literary critics.

⁷²Michael Drayton, The Complete Works of Michael Drayton, III, 228.

⁷³Bond, op. cit., I, 134.

⁷⁴Crawford, op. cit., p. 17.

In view of what has been cited as the necessary genre for Ciceronianism, King states that Lyly makes use of all the Ciceronian topics suitable to Euphues' argument: genus and species, similarity, difference implying definition, cause and effect, contradiction, circumstance, contraries, and consequents.⁷⁵ For example, Lyly employs definition, a prime topic of the Ciceronian style, in the scene in which Francis gives the definition of love:

There is no man that runneth with one legge, no birde that flyeth with one winge, no love that lasteth with one lym. Love is likened to the Emerald which cracketh rather then consenteth to any disloyaltie and can there be any greater villany then being secreat,⁷⁶

Croll agrees that euphuism is directly related to Ciceronianism, arguing that Lyly's paramount concern was style and that he had made everything else serve it: that his antithesis is a structural figure of language, not a figure of thought or wit, yet Lyly's style is anti-Ciceronian in that it exhibits patterns set up for public annals of court, and addresses, items of ethics and devotion.⁷⁷ Williamson disagrees with Croll for he concludes that Lyly and Isocrates are different in style

⁷⁵W. N. King, "John Lyly and Elizabethan Rhetoric," SP, LIII (1955), 156.

⁷⁶Bond, op. cit., II, 177.

⁷⁷Morris Croll (ed.), Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit; Euphues & His England by John Lyly, p. xvii.

from Cicero's because of their use of precise balance which Cicero does not use; yet, Lyly and Isocrates are not entirely alike because both do not employ similarities of sound.⁷⁸

The Senecan style of writing is characterized by its brevity, abruptness, and point. It is concise and round, rather than wide and expanded like Ciceronianism.⁷⁹ Rather than having an overabundance of words, Senecanism promotes simplicity in which there are no words used unless there is a necessity for their presence. Francis Bacon points out that Senecanism usually expanded when men began to desire matter rather than words.⁸⁰

In studying the relationship of euphuism to Ciceronianism and Senecanism, one finds that Bond supports the idea that Lyly's first considerations were those of show and superficiality; that is, ". . . wit before learning, speech before thought, manner before matter and shadow before substance."⁸¹ However, Williamson describes Lyly as being Senecan rather than Gorgian because his style is more witty than poetic; and furthermore, he asks the question, "If Euphuism were to drop

⁷⁸George W. Williamson, The Senecan Amble, p. 30.

⁷⁹George W. Williamson, "Senecan Style in the Seventeenth Century," PQ, XV (1936), 324.

⁸⁰Loc. cit.

⁸¹Bond, op. cit., I, 77.

most of its euphonic devices, would we have anything like the curt Senecan style?"⁸² He explains that, from the structural point of view, writings of the Ciceronian style are wide, but strongly knit together with devices, while euphuism is antithetic in manner, and Senecanism is loose not being bound with either device or antithesis; and supports the idea that, if Macaulay represented the modern form of Senecanism, it was John Lyly who had begun to fashion it.⁸³

⁸²Williamson, op. cit., p. 35.

⁸³Ibid., pp. 52; 369.

CHAPTER II

THE MARPRELATE CONTROVERSY AND A QUEEN'S ENTERTAINMENT

Regardless of the fact that Lyly is almost solely associated with the literary euphuistic style and has made an important contribution to prose development, it is necessary to investigate another of his styles in which Lyly realized a measure of success. During the time of archbishop Grindal, the Puritan doctrine had been spreading widely throughout the Church of England largely as a result of a rising spirit of nationalism, the result of the English defeat of the Spanish Armada, which allowed for an expanding horizon of human intellect, thus permitting greater freedom in religious views and attitudes.⁸⁴ In order to suppress these doctrines, John Whitgift was named to the position as archbishop of Canterbury in 1583.⁸⁵ Known for his opposition to the Puritans, Whitgift took various means to prevent a reformation in England similar to the one that had already started in Scotland. The most severe measure which he undertook was the control of the printing presses throughout England, manifest in Star Chamber Decree:⁸⁶

⁸⁴ William Pierce, An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts, pp. 146-147.

⁸⁵ Ward and Waller, op. cit., III, 375.

⁸⁶ Edward Arber (ed.), An Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy, p. 50.

Item that no person or persons shall ymprint or cawse to be ymprinted or suffer by any meanes to his knowledge his presse, letters (type), or other Instrumentes to be occupied in whatsoever, Except the same book, woork, coppye, matter, or any other thinge, hath been heeretofore allowed, or hereafter shall be allowed before the ymprintinge thereof, according to the order appoynted by the Queenes maiesties Iniunctyons, And been first seen and perused by the Archbishop of any one of them (The Queenes maiesties Prynter for somme speciall service by her maiestie, or by somme of her highness pryvie Councill therevnto appoynted, Any vppon payne also that euery offendour and offendours contrarye to this present Artycle or ordynaunce shalbe disabled (after any such offence) to vse or exercise or take benefytt by vsinge or exercisinge of the art or feat of ymprintinge/And shall moreover sustayne ymprysonment Six moneths without Bayle or mayneyprise/⁸⁷

By taking control of the printing presses, Whitgift not only managed the Stationer's Register, but hoped, as well, to stem the rising stream of pamphlets that were being published by the Puritans.⁸⁸ Among the tracts in circulation before Whitgift's appointment were A Dialogue Concerning the Strife of our Church, almost certain to be John Udall's, and A Commission Sente to the Pope, Cardynales, Bishops, Friers, Monkes, with all the rable of that Viperous Generation by the high and mighty Prince, and King Sathanas, the Devill of Hell, the author of which may have been Martin himself, or his "spiritual" father, John Field.⁸⁹ Both tracts were satirical

⁸⁷ Loc. cit.

⁸⁸ Ward, op. cit., III, 374-375.

⁸⁹ Ibid., III, 376-377.

attacks upon the episcopacy and, in defense, Whitgift acquired the services of Dr. John Bridges to defend the cruel oppression of Whitgift and the episcopal cause in a fourteen-hundred page book, entitled A Defence of the Government established in the Church of England for Ecclesiastical Matters, hoping to place in the hands of the people a piece of literature that would distract them from reading the ever-rising flood of pamphlets.⁹⁰

As a result of this enforcement and defense by Whitgift, the Puritans rebelled, and, thus began a printed and pointed criticism in which Martin accused the archbishop of ecclesiastical pride and of regarding himself as next in importance to the Queen; Martin also attacked him for a harsh treatment of the Puritans.⁹¹ Once again, the old-standing quarrel between fixed ritual and authorative requirements on the one hand, and freedom, simplicity, and individual rights on the other, had been rekindled.⁹² Bridge's book, which was to have suppressed the reading of the pamphlets, did not fulfill its intended purpose, but only seemed to intensify the desire; consequently, Martin wrote and printed, with the services of the printer, Robert Waldegrave, the first of seven pamphlets

⁹⁰Ibid., III, 383.

⁹¹Victor J. K. Brook, Whitgift and the English Church, p. 121.

⁹²Bond, op. cit., I, 49.

that came to be known as the Mar-Marprelate Tracts.⁹³ In his Epistle (1588), Martin stated that he hoped to shock the bishops into a change by striking out against the alleged scandalous behavior of Whitgift and other bishops, among these Aylmer of London, who once had written against false pride and large incomes, only later to become tyrannical in his handling of ministers in his own diocese who would not conform.⁹⁴

Martin drew the attention of all men when he bombarded the bishops with notorious tales, names, warnings, and proddings; however, regardless of his satire, irony, and name calling, many saw in his works an advertisement to a purpose burning deep within him.⁹⁵ He also wrote of the many grievances of the Puritans, Waldegrave, Penry, and Udall in particular.⁹⁶ Later, in his tract, Martin promised to stop his slandering if Whitgift would discontinue his persecutions of the Presbyterians and obtain suitable men to continue preaching; however, he threatened violently if Whitgift did not agree.⁹⁷

After Martin's first tract, the bishops, again, hired

⁹³ Brook, op. cit., p. 122.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 121.

⁹⁵ Pierce, op. cit., p. 149.

⁹⁶ Ward, op. cit., III, 385.

⁹⁷ Brook, op. cit., p. 122.

a writer, this time, Thomas Cooper, to compile a work containing answers given by individual bishops to the charges made against them, entitled An Admonition to the People of England.⁹⁸ In it, Whitgift cleared himself, and Alymer argued that, what he had done, he had done lawfully and legally. Cooper's Admonition won Bacon's approval, because Cooper remembered ". . . that a fool was to be answered, but not by becoming like unto him; and considered the matter which he handled, and not the person with whom he dealt."⁹⁹ However, before the bishops could print a defense, Martin had illegally issued a second pamphlet entitled The Epitome (1588), in which he questioned the external government of the church in relation to the church as ordained by the New Testament.¹⁰⁰

The second action taken by the bishops against the Martins was a sermon preached by Dr. Richard Bancroft on February 9 at Paul's Cross, in which he asserted the divine right of episcopacy.¹⁰¹ In Bancroft's sermon, he accuses the Martinists as being in favor of establishing and maintaining a church without the sanction of the Queen, and in so doing,

⁹⁸Bond, op. cit., I, 50-51.

⁹⁹Basil Montagu (ed.), The Works of Francis Bacon, VII, 33.

¹⁰⁰Brook, op. cit., p. 123.

¹⁰¹Donald J. McGinn, John Penry and the Marprelate Controversy, p. 177.

showing disrespect for her.¹⁰²

In the meantime, Martin, not silent, wrote and published The Minerall Conclusions, which contained some thirty-seven school points quoted from Cooper's Admonition, to be supported and defended by the ecclesiastical dignitaries, and, consequently, it became the popular tract of its time.¹⁰³ The tone of Martin's pamphleteering changed somewhat in Hay any Worke for Cooper, a direct reply to Cooper's Admonition, for he, in a serious tone, disapproves for some fifty pages, of Cooper's defense of the political authority of the clergy and, then abruptly returns to his traditional ridiculous references to the bishops.¹⁰⁴ This writing gave the public something that seemed to affect its readers, for popular opinion in London and nearby English provinces seemed to favor the Martinists, and it appeared the bishops were losing the pamphlet war, when Dr. Bancroft, later bishop of London, suggested that they stop the Martinists by answering with the same types of devices which the Martinists had been using.¹⁰⁵

At Bancroft's suggestion, the bishops began a new campaign against the Martinists, first by attempting to satirize Martin on the stage, through lampoons in verse, and through

¹⁰² Brook, op. cit., p. 177.

¹⁰³ Bond, op. cit., I, 50.

¹⁰⁴ Ward, op. cit., III, 387.

¹⁰⁵ Bond, op. cit., I, 50.

prose pamphlets in which scurrility was to become more evident than in any other type of argument.¹⁰⁶ A few of these poems were printed, although their authorship is uncertain in many cases, but none of the plays found a way into print. One finds references to these plays, however, in the works of two authors, who themselves later become involved in the controversy. For example, Nashe speaks of these satirical plays as follows:

After that old Martin, hauing take most desperate cause in hand, as the troubling of the state, and ouerthrowe of the Church, . . . and being therefore (and well worthie) sundrie waies verie curstlie handled; as first drie beaten, . . . that he tooke verie grievouvslic, to be made a Maygame vpon the Stage, . . . and that euery stage Plaier made a iest of him,¹⁰⁷

Also one finds another reference to the plays from the pen of Gabriel Harvey:

A workeman is easely descried by his termes: euery man speaketh according to his Art: I am threatened with a Bable, and Martin menaced with a Comedie; a fit motion for a Iester, and a Player, to try what may be done by employemēt of his facultie: Bables & Comedies are parolous fellowes to decipher and discourage men, (that is the Point) with their wittie flowtes, and learned Ierkes; enough to lash any man out-of-countenance. No, if you shake the painted scabbard at me, I haue done: and all you, that tender the preseruacion of your good names, were left to please Pap-hatchet, and see Euphues betimes, for feare lesse he be mooved, or some One of his Apes

¹⁰⁶ McGinn, op. cit., p. 178.

¹⁰⁷ Bond, op. cit., II, 175-176.

hired to make a Playe of you; and then is your credit quite vndone for euer, and euer: Such is the Publique reputation of their Playes.¹⁰⁸

After the appearance of a few unsuccessful satirical verses and plays, the bishops turned to a third method for stopping Martin and his followers. Three tracts, The Countercuffe given to Martin Iunio, Return of the Renowned Caualiere Pasquill, and First parte of Pasquills Apologie, supposedly written by "Pasquill," appeared first, but had little effect in slowing the Martin crusade against the episcopals.¹⁰⁹ Realizing that they were not succeeding in their controversy against the Puritan leader, the bishops, then, employed secular writers, who were able to produce a style of literature that would compete with Martin. Chief among these were John Lyly and Thomas Nashe.¹¹⁰

While the bishops were busily seeking ways to defend themselves, Martin was also active. Because the printing of public pamphlets was forbidden, Martin smuggled his printing press from place to place, thus enabling him to continue his libels against the authorities in control.¹¹¹ The next two

¹⁰⁸Alexander B. Grosart (ed.), The Complete Works of Gabriel Harvey, II, 213.

¹⁰⁹McGinn, op. cit., p. 178.

¹¹⁰Bond, op. cit., I, 51.

¹¹¹Ward, op. cit., III, 378.

pamphlets, printed in Roman type, Theses Martinianae or Martin Junior and The Just Censure and Reproofe (whose short title was Martin Senior) appeared within a few days of each other, again satirizing the bishops and their roles in the Church.¹¹²

By this time, curiosity about these daring broadsides had arisen, and speculation was rampant as to their author or authors, including many from the distinguished writers of the church. Because of a severe censorship of these tracts, the extensive search for the secret printing press or presses, and the prohibition of the distribution of such printings, Martin's publications were read in most places, including the Court, the universities, and, naturally, the market places.¹¹³ With Martin's popularity at its peak, a printing press and the unfinished More Work for the Cooper were seized near Manchester and it seemed for a time that Martin was to be silenced at last; however, the taking of the press did not completely halt Martin's work, but a seventh Mar-Marprelate tract, The Protestation of Martin Marprelate, appeared again having been written in defiance of the persecutors.¹¹⁴ However, Wilson states that another tract, A Dialogue, later reprinted as The Character of a Puritan . . . by Martin Marprelate was

¹¹²Pierce, op. cit., pp. 149-150.

¹¹³Brook, op. cit., p. 124.

¹¹⁴Pierce, op. cit., p. 150.

published in the summer of 1589.¹¹⁵

Much of this literature in the Marprelate Tracts did not appeal to many Puritans, since they were shocked by it and objected to the violence and name-calling that Martin employed.¹¹⁶ To a modern reader this type of writing is also unappealing, yet there is a lively vigor, and energy, that makes them easier to read than some of the more scholarly Puritan writings, and one must give credit to that noble Englishman for creating the first great prose satire in English literature.¹¹⁷ Orwell does not agree with Pierce, for he labels the pamphlets, scurrilous and violent.¹¹⁸ McGinn also cites the material as scurrilous and disgraceful, used only to slander and ridicule the established church.¹¹⁹ On the other hand, Wilson states that Martin's work cannot be definitely established as scurrilous except in his treatment of Bishop Cooper, whose misfortunes are described as pernicious, pestilent, wainscotfaced, and tyrannical; and, occasionally, when Martin

¹¹⁵Ward, op. cit., III, 389.

¹¹⁶Brook, op. cit., p. 124.

¹¹⁷Pierce, op. cit., p. 273.

¹¹⁸George Orwell and Reginald Reynolds (eds.), British Pamphleteers, I, 8.

¹¹⁹Donald J. McGinn, "The Real Martin Marprelate," PMLA, LVIII (1943), 86.

speaks of the bishops as bishops of the devil.¹²⁰ Pierce argues, however, that these tracts cannot be termed such only on the basis of two or three extracts, but must be studied in relation to the situation and circumstances which can best determine their interpretations.¹²¹ Wilson explains the terms as the usual "polemical" vocabulary of the day, and states, further, that Martin's wit was coarse and homely, but never indecent.¹²² The following passage from Hay Any Worke illustrates the deep-burning passion and justification with which Martin worked in his cause:

I am not disposed to jest in this serious matter. I am called Martin Marprelate. There may be many that greatly dislike my doings. I may have my wants (deficiencies); for I am a man. But my course I know to be ordinary (according to rule or order), and lawful. I saw the cause of Christ's government, and of the Bishop's antichristian dealing, to be hidden. The most part of men could not be gotten to read anything written in the defence of the one and against the other. I bethought me, therefore, of a way, whereby men might be drawn to[o] both; perceiving the humours of men in these times (especially of those that are in any place (of authority) to be given to mirth. I took that course. I might lawfully do it. Aye, for jesting is lawful by circumstances, even in the greatest matters. The circumstances of time, place, and persons urged me thereunto. I never profane the Word (of God) in any jest. Other mirth I used as a covert (a ruse), wherein I would bring the truth into light. The Lord being the author both of mirth and gravity, is not lawful in

¹²⁰Ward, op. cit., III, 384.

¹²¹Pierce, op. cit., p. 258.

¹²²Ward, op. cit., III, 384.

itself, for the truth to use either of these ways, when the circumstances make it lawful.¹²³

Though Martin became somewhat bitterly personal and impertinent, he did not descend to indecencies, but created the beginning of an effective satire that was to grow in later works. His ability to invent an element so effective and so consistent as Martin Marprelate under such circumstances and restrictions was no small accomplishment.¹²⁴

As the tracts marked the earliest great prose satire, one finds it necessary to investigate the authorship of these writings. Arber cites an argument that has attempted to credit them to Henry Barrow, the Separatist, and has listed five reasons for his assumption.¹²⁵ First, that Martin desired public disputation with the bishop, just as Barrow had in his earlier writings; second, Martin cited the principal Puritans, especially Cartwright, just as Barrow had done; third, Barrow refers to Martin in his Brief Discovery, but with never any hostility or dislike; fourth, Barrow's dying words were almost the same as Martin used in the Protestation:

As for myself, my life, and whatever else I possesse, I

¹²³Quoted in Pierce, op. cit., p. 264.

¹²⁴Krapp, op. cit., p. 130.

¹²⁵Dr. H. M. Dexter supplied Arber with the statement of the grounds on which he based his assumption.

have long ago set vp my rest, making that account of it, as in standing against the enemies of God, and for the libertie of his church is of no value in my sight. My life in this cause shalbe a gayne to the church, and no loose to my selfe, I know right wel,¹²⁶

And fifth, because of Barrow's imprisonment in the Fleet, due to his being a Separatist, he was in the most likely place to write tracts and not even be suspected. Both Barrow and Penry, who is stated in this argument to be an accessor of Barrow, died within sixty days of each other, thereby destroying the necessary evidence to prove Barrow as the author.¹²⁷ Wilson disagrees with this argument and states that the tracts came from someone within the church, someone connected directly to it, not from any one of the Separatists or anyone else outside the church.¹²⁸ Pierce also disagrees with Dexter as it appears that Dexter was unaware of Throckmorton's connection with the movement, which is revealed in a petition to Burleigh in which Throckmorton laments his scurrilous writings against the church.¹²⁹

In McGinn's opinion, John Penry was the Puritan pamphleteer for earlier he had cried out against the Wales church,

¹²⁶Quoted in Arber, op. cit., p. 192.

¹²⁷Loc. cit.

¹²⁸Ward, op. cit., III, 389-390.

¹²⁹Pierce, op. cit., pp. 284-285.

and it is possible that he wrote against the Church of England in favor of the Presbyterian Church, although there is no definite proof of his involvement.¹³⁰ According to Arber, the real Martin was not a single person, but two individuals who worked side by side, Rev. John Penry and Job Throckmorton Esq.¹³¹ Arguments proving the authorship of The Tracts are still unsettled and the identity of Martin remains unknown, but Pierce cites the author as someone who passed his work on to Throckmorton and Penry who, in turn, saw to it that the tracts were published, never revealing the real author. Pierce identifies Martin Junior as Penry and Martin Senior as Throckmorton.¹³²

In view of the fact that the definite authorship of the tracts has never been established, one turns back to the tracts themselves and the situations and persons they involve. In rebuttal offered to what Martin and his followers were doing, the bishops realized that the writings of Bridges, Sarum, and Cooper were no match for the daring and witty Martin, and, thus with the aid, primarily of John Lyly and Thomas Nashe, the Church began its attack upon Martin.¹³³ It was fortunate for

¹³⁰ McGinn, op. cit., pp. v-vii.

¹³¹ Arber, op. cit., p. 196.

¹³² Pierce, op. cit., p. 208.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 220.

the literary world that the bishops contested, for if they had not, such works as the Shakespearean quartos, the poetical miscellanies, The Arcadia, and the madrigals would have been banned and destroyed by the Puritans.¹³⁴ Bancroft, who was to succeed Whitgift, saw the controversy as an excellent opportunity to better himself and thus became the prime source in the new phase of the disagreement.¹³⁵

Sometime in the latter half of 1589, the literary men ejected pamphlet after pamphlet somewhat similar in style to Martin's, but shallow in interest to the religious cause and shy in spirit to the issue at hand. The first tract, A Countercuffe given to Martin Junior by the venturous, hardie, and renowned Pasquill of England, Caualliero, which critics believe belongs to Nashe, appeared under the pseudonym, "Pasquill" or "Panguine."¹³⁶ Later, a second, A Whip for an Ape or Martin Displased, a political satire against mob-government and the best of the Anti-Martinist rhymes, appeared and has been accredited to both Lyly and Nashe.¹³⁷ Nashe followed with a third, The Returne of The Renowned Caualliers

¹³⁴Arber, op. cit., p. 27.

¹³⁵Brook, op. cit., pp. 126-130.

¹³⁶Pierce, op. cit., p. 226.

¹³⁷Bond, op. cit., III, 415-416.

Pasquill of England from the Other side of the Seas and his Meeting with Marforius at London vpon the Royall Exchange, earning for himself the pseudonym Pasquill, a feeble Anglican counterpart of Martin.¹³⁸

Lyly plunged headlong into the controversy in an obvious effort to out-do Martin by copying Martin's manner and his style. However, his only certain creation, Pappe With a Hatchett Alias A figge for my God sonne. Or Cracke me this nut, Or a Countrie cusse, that is, a sound boxe of the eare, for the idiot, Martin to hold his peace, seeing the patch will take no warning, is much more noisy and scurrilous than Martin's, because it lacks the underlying purpose with which Martin wrote.¹³⁹ Lyly's style and matter were based entirely upon his literary skill rather than upon a burning conviction that the Puritan writer experiences; the following passage illustrates his reason for putting aside his wit and wisdom to take up the Marprelatian style and manner:¹⁴⁰

If they be answered by the grauitie of learned Prelates, they presentlie reply with railings Seeing then either no graue replie, or that they settled with railing to replie; I thought it more conuenient, to giue them a whisk with their own wande If here I haue vsed bad tearmes, it is because they are not to be answered

¹³⁸T. L. Summersgill, "Influence of the Marprelate Controversy Upon the Style of Thomas Nashe," SP, XLVIII (1951), 153.

¹³⁹Krapp, op. cit., p. 126.

¹⁴⁰Summersgill, op. cit., pp. 152-153.

with good tearmes: for whatsoever shall seeme lauish in this Pamphlet, let it be though borrowed of Martin's language.¹⁴¹

Perhaps, a most outstanding characteristic of the Marprelatian style is the imaginary dialogue which incorporates such features as humorous dialect, coined epithets, and ironical terms of affection.¹⁴² Lyly patterns this style in the following passage from Pappe with a Hatchet:

Good morrow, Goodman Martin, good morrow: will ye anie musique this morning? What fast a sleepe? Nay faith Ile cramp thee till I wake thee. O whose tat? Nay gesse old knaue and odd knaue; for Ile neuer leaue pulling till I haue thee out of thy bed into the streets; and then all shall see who thou art, and thou know what I am.¹⁴³

Pappe is interesting and worth one's consideration, not because of its literary merit, but because it was written by Lyly. There is little doubt concerning its authorship for one finds reference in it calling to Harvey, the partner of a quarrel that had been kept alive over a period of a decade, to enter into the controversy that was very much alive at this time:

If he ioyne with vs, periisti Martin, thy wit will be massacred: if the toy take him to close with thee, then

¹⁴¹Bond, op. cit., III, 396.

¹⁴²Summersgill, op. cit., pp. 152-153.

¹⁴³Bond, op. cit., III, 398.

haue I loockt to lambacke him. Nay he is a mad lad, and such a one as cares as little for writing without wit, as Martin doth for writing without honestie: a notable coach companion for Martin, to Diuinitie from the Colledges of Oxford and Cambridge, to Shoemakers hall in Sainct Martins.¹⁴⁴

In turn, Harvey definitely identifies Lyly as the author:

Pap-hatchet (for the name of thy good nature is pitifully grown out of request) thy old acquaintance in the Savoy, when young Euphues hatcht the egges that his elder friendes laide, (surely Euphues was someway a pretty fellow: Would God Lilly had alwaies bene Euphues, and neuer Pap-hatchet;)

Euphues, it is good to be merry: and Lilly, it is good to bee wise; and Papp-hatchet, it is better to loose a new iest, than an old friend; that can cramme the capon with his owne Pappe, and hew-down the woodcocke with his own hatchet.¹⁴⁵

With his Pappe, Lyly's decline in both vitality and vogue began, for it is evident that his tract was not created in the same high style as his Euphues.¹⁴⁶ However, Staton says that Lyly wrote in the low style of necessity, not choice, and in his apologetic epistle one finds an apparent excuse for his pamphlet.¹⁴⁷

To the Indifferent Reader: It is high time to search in

¹⁴⁴Ibid., III, 400.

¹⁴⁵Grosart, op. cit., II, 125.

¹⁴⁶Wolff, op. cit., p. 30.

¹⁴⁷Walter F. Staton, Jr., "The Characters of Style in Elizabethan Prose," JEGP, LVII (1958), 302.

what corner of the Church the fire is kindled, being crept so far, as that with the verie smoke the consciences of diuers are smothered I seldome vse to write, and yet neuer writ anie thing, that in speech might seeme vndecent, or in a sense vn honest:¹⁴⁸

Through the use of slang, insinuations, and nonsense phrases, Lyly created for the purpose of stopping, or at least slowing, the Martins and their criticisms against the bishops; and his low style is more than mere carelessness; it is a careful choosing of words with realistic implications.¹⁴⁹

Faith, thou wilt bee caught by the stile. What care I to be found by a stile, when so many Martins haue been taken vnder an hedge? If they cannot leuell, they will roue at thee, and anatomize thy life from the cradle to the graue, and thy bodie from the corne on thy toe, to the crochet on thy head Tush, (what care I) is my posie; if hee meddle with mee, Ile make his braines so hot, that they shall crumble and rattle in his warpt scull, like pepper in a dride bladder.¹⁵⁰

One can note a definite evolution of Lyly's style from his earliest creation Euphues (1578), to his Pappe with an Hatchet (1590); having first attained a most remarkable, elegant style, he moved to a lower, or perhaps, the lowest style of prose writing.¹⁵¹ An example of his elegant euphuistic

¹⁴⁸ Bond, op. cit., III, 396.

¹⁴⁹ Staton, op. cit., p. 203.

¹⁵⁰ Bond, op. cit., III, 401.

¹⁵¹ Staton, op. cit., p. 203.

style is found in the following passage, where Euphues is praising women in his conversation with Lucilla:

Artificers are wont in their last workes to excell themselves, yea, God when he had made all thinges, at the last, made man as most perfect, thinking nothing could be framed more excellent, yet after him hee created a woman, the expresse Image of Eternitie, the lyuely picture of Nature, the onely steele glasse for man to beholde hys infirmities, by comparinge them wyth woemens perfections

I am entred into so large a fielde, that I shall sooner wont time then prooffe, and so claye you wyth varietie of prayses that I feare mee I am lyke to infect women with pride, whiche yet they haue not, and men with spyte whyche yet I woulde not. For as the horse if he knew his owne strength were no wayes to be bridled, or the Unicorne his owne virtue, were neuer to bee caught, so women if they knewe what excellency were in them, I feare mee men should neuer winne them to their wills, or weane them from their minds.¹⁵²

The evidence that Lyly's earliest change of style in his dramatic work occurred in his play, Midas, will be discussed in the following chapter, and a quote from the play will serve to illustrate the change from the style cited above:

There dwelt sometimes in Phrygia, a Lady very faire, but passing froward, as much maruelled at for beutie, as for peeuishnes mislike. Hie she was in the instep, but short in the heele; strait laced, but loosed bodied. It came to passe, that a gentleman, as yong in wit as yeres, and in yeres a very boy, chanced to glaunce his eyes on her, & there were they dazeled on her beautie, as larkes that are caught in the Sunne with the glittering of a glasse. In her faire lookes were his thoughts intangled, like the birdes of Canarie, that fal into a silken net. Dote

¹⁵²Bond, op. cit., I, 216-217.

he did without measure, and die he must without her loue. She on the other side, as one that knew her good, began to looke askaunce, yet felt the passions of loue eating into her heart, though shee dissembled them with her eyes. (Midas, III. iii.31)

Then, from Pappe, one finds again his lowest style, the type that Gabriel Harvey was referring to when he wrote, "What sscholler, or gentleman, can reade such alehouse and tinkerly stuffe without blushing?"¹⁵³

Yet find fault with no broad termes, for I haue mesured yours with mine, & I find yours broader iust by the list

Who would currie an Asse with an Iuorie combe? give the beast thistles for prouender. I doo but yet angle with a silken flye, to see whether Martins will nubble;¹⁵⁴

Because of the age in which Lyly lived, Williamson concludes that he mimicked the general reaction to his own euphuism, and leaned towards the direction of different styles of writing just as his contemporary writers were doing.¹⁵⁵

Another tract that is sometimes assigned to Lyly, as well as Nashe, is An Almond for a Parrot, which is important because it was the first pamphlet to trace an accurate historical account of the Martinists, and the first to imitate Martin's

¹⁵³Grosart, op. cit., II, 128.

¹⁵⁴Bond, op. cit., III, 394.

¹⁵⁵George W. Williamson, The Senecan Amble, pp. 102-

in particular, and the suppression of Paul's Boys, Lyly contributed practically no new work between 1595 and 1606; however the discovery of the royal Entertainment, The Poet, Painter, and Musician would indicate that even though he was not one of the favorite playwrights, he was still the choice to create and produce entertainments for the Queen and her court.¹⁶² Bond has cited several speeches and entertainments that belong to Lyly, but it wasn't until recently that The Poet, Painter, and Musician has been attributed to him. Hotson, the discoverer of the Entertainment, has taken care to identify Lyly's authorship, and states that there are numerous characteristics of Euphues, as well as references to the Court plays, in the work, in addition to a peculiar wit in almost every sentence and turn of phrase.¹⁶³ In this Entertainment, Lyly criticizes literature, art, ignorant abuses of society, and women's vanity.¹⁶⁴ Of literature, he says:

. . . what vnchristened wordes haue of late crept into credit with nerue coyned Poetrye? Such canvassing the heauens in paper blankettes, words of pistoll proof, and so far-fetcht circumlocutions, that it is high noone before one conceives the other meant to bidd him good marrowe. All the pearle take vp for weomens teeth, the Starrs for their eyes, the currall for their lipps, the

¹⁶² Ibid., I, 59.

¹⁶³ Leslie Hotson (ed.), Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Mitcham: Poet, Painter, and Musician, pp. 3-10.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 4.

style successfully.¹⁵⁶ Grosart observes that the Almond is nothing like Nashe's other works, but is of a higher strain, and, thus, probably belongs to Lyly.¹⁵⁷ Maskell also credits it to Lyly, because the style of the tract more nearly resembles Lyly's style than Nashe's.¹⁵⁸ However, McGinn argues that the Almond won for Nashe the name of the young "Iuvenall" of the University Wits, and that in it, Nashe actually outwits Martin.¹⁵⁹ Although there are definite marks of euphuism in it, Bond also credits it to Nashe, for it is full of long and ill-regulated sentences and crowded characters that are similar to those of Nashe's earlier works.¹⁶⁰

Nashe continued to write pamphlets and eventually became involved in a personal pamphlet war known as the Greene-Harvey-Nashe War that was to continue for some time; however, Lyly did not become entangled directly with the conflict even though his name and works were often mentioned in the pamphlets.¹⁶¹

Because of the rise of greater dramatists, Shakespeare

¹⁵⁶ McGinn, op. cit., p. 179.

¹⁵⁷ Alexander B. Grosart (ed.), The Complete Works of Thomas Nashe, I, xlix.

¹⁵⁸ William Maskell, A History of the Martin Marprelate Controversy in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 274.

¹⁵⁹ McGinn, op. cit., pp. 179-180.

¹⁶⁰ Bond, op. cit., I, 56.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., I, 59.

Ivorye for their neckes; which is nothing els then to patch vp that with wordes which is most amyable by nature . . . English words larded with Latyn, Spanish with French:¹⁶⁵

The Entertainment was written for the Queen and her company during their visit to the estate of Dr. Julius Caesar, on September 12-13, 1598; while the members of the royal Court were on their annual summer tour from Greenwich Palace to Nonesuch.¹⁶⁶ Lyly made use of the favorite form of dispute, or debate, between two or more speakers, just as he had used the device in many of his Court comedies. In the following passage from the Entertainment, one finds the poet, painter, and musician striving for supremacy in honoring the Queen:

Musitian: A Poet, and a Paynter, idoll makers for Idlenes: the one casting fancyes in a mould, the other faces. What doe you heree, you are excluded from the number of Artes. I am one of the seven liberall sciences.

Poet: Yea; and the liberalst of them all seven; for thow playest much, and gettest little.

Musitian: I should; for what is more tickling in the eare then musique?

Paynter: A flea.

Musitian: What for melancholie more soueraigne?

Poet: A soueraigne.

Musitian: Who breedeth more pleasure then a good musician?

¹⁶⁵Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., p. 6.

Paynter: A goode cooke.

Musitian: Angells frequent musitians.

Poet: Looke in thy purse, and thow wilt proue thyself a lyer.

.

Poet: No more wordes. We humbly present to your most excellent Maiestie this (kneeling and offering the gown to the Queen), as a fitter object for our artes: for so shallow are wee both, that the paynter must spend his colors in lymming attyres, the Poet in commending the fashions,¹⁶⁷

Regardless of the fact that Lyly did not receive the coveted appointment of the Mastership, his disappointment was not so great that he could not continue to praise the Queen. Obviously, because of his financial circumstances, he allowed himself to be drawn into the Marprelate controversy, which no doubt, gained him very little prestige as a writer; yet, one finds that, some few years later, he is not writing in the style of Pappe, probably because he was too fastidious and refined and could not allow himself to write in the low style, but rather, saw fit to lift himself to a level or style befitting the Queen.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁶⁸Ibid., p. 6.

CHAPTER III

THE SIX COURT COMEDIES

Although Lyly's dramatic work received some approval on the basis of its literary merit, its greatest importance was recognized in its historical contribution to the development of Elizabethan drama. If the popular drama in Lyly's time were to survive, it had to rise, or be elevated, to the level of English national culture.¹⁶⁹ Lyly's eight plays appeared at a crucial time, therefore, since they came at the very beginnings of an emerging self-conscious dramatic art. During the previous two centuries, English drama had been concerned only with religious and moral education in the form of moralities, miracle-plays, interludes, allusion, and sometimes, tragedies.¹⁷⁰ The earliest dramatists attempted, and succeeded to some extent, in presenting the abstract in a concrete individual form through allegorical personification, or representation, of virtues, vices, feelings and states of mind, trades, and occupations.¹⁷¹ Gradually, however, a more true representation of life took precedence over a depiction of

¹⁶⁹Dr. Hermann Ulrici, Shakespeare's Dramatic Art, I, 84.

¹⁷⁰Bond, op. cit., II, 232-234.

¹⁷¹Ibid., p. 234.

religious ideas, and drama began to change its religious implications to secular ones in both subject and purpose.¹⁷² Lyly was among those who believed that only the university-trained would possess the necessary skill and information to be able to write, or even translate, any literary ideas.¹⁷³ He followed the trend of his day and relied almost entirely upon the classics for the sources of at least seven of his eight comedies.¹⁷⁴ Blount, in his first collected edition of the plays, credits him for his ability to produce a new type of English:

Our nation are in his debt, for a new English which hee taught them. Euphues and His England began first that language: All our Ladies were then his Schollers; And that Beautie in Court which could not Parley Euphueisme, was a little regarded as shee which now there speakes French. These his playes Crown'd him with applause, and the Spectators with pleasure. Thou canst not repent the Reading of them over; when Old John Lilly is merry in thy Chamber, Thou shalt say, Few (or None) of our Poets, now are such witty companions.¹⁷⁵

It so happened that Lyly's practice coincided with his own personal theory that it is wit that entices, that every word

¹⁷²Loc. cit.

¹⁷³Ward and Waller, op. cit., V, 137.

¹⁷⁴Dunn, op. cit., p. 232.

¹⁷⁵Quoted in Ward, op. cit., p. 137.

must be used carefully in building the language of a university scholar.¹⁷⁶

Having been a successful novelist, a member of Parliament, secretary to the Earl of Oxford, and now manager of the company of boy actors at the Blackfriars, Lyly becomes involved in a task which meant the fitting of a particular kind of drama to the talents of boy actors, the company's resource of various costumes, and the financial aid that would be available.¹⁷⁷ Along with these requirements, rival producers from other companies and the matter of working against the time element posed further competition and concern for an Elizabethan playwright.¹⁷⁸

Because of its movement from the religious aspect to a more secular one, drama had become a means of entertainment in the court, to be performed primarily by the boy actors who, for the most part, had been choir boys in the Cathedrals.¹⁷⁹ Following the death of Sebastian Wescott, the famed songmaster of the St. Paul's school, boy actors took a step toward professionalism when the three groups, the Children of Paul's,

¹⁷⁶David K. Klein, The Elizabethan Dramatists as Critics, p. 153.

¹⁷⁷Dunn, op. cit., p. 234.

¹⁷⁸Loc. cit.

¹⁷⁹Sir E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, II, 11.

the Children of the Chapel, and Lord Oxford's boys, united in 1583 and 1584, to perform in the theatre of the Blackfriars, to be known from then on as Paul's Children, or the Children of Paul's.¹⁸⁰ At Blackfriars, the Children of Paul's produced two of Lyly's plays, Campaspe and Sapho and Phao, that were also presented before the court on January 1 and March 3, 1584.¹⁸¹ The theatre did not remain available much longer than the spring of 1584, yet the closing of the theatre did not discontinue Lyly's connection with either of the boy companies or the court.¹⁸² As Lyly indicated on the title-page of each of his works, he created for the purpose of performance before the Court of Elizabeth, and his eight plays became so popular and well-known that they held the stage in the middle eighties so as to mark the beginnings of Elizabethan drama.¹⁸³

The proof that Lyly was aware of English dramatic development is especially significant, for in his prologue to Midas (?1589-90), he clearly illustrates the status of drama and the speed with which play fashions were changing:¹⁸⁴

Gentlemen, so nice is the world, that for apparel there

¹⁸⁰Harold N. Hillebrand, The Child Actors, p. 142.

¹⁸¹Chambers, op. cit., II, 17.

¹⁸²Loc. cit.

¹⁸³Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 142.

¹⁸⁴Klein, op. cit., p. 125.

is no fashion, for Musick no instrument, for diet no delicate, for plays no invention, but breedeth societie before noone, and contempt before night.¹⁸⁵

Continuing, he comments on the variety of things that were the fashion of his day, of which drama was no exception, showing the unusual amount of freedom of the stage at the time through the mingling of the elements of contemporary drama: history, myth, farce, comedy, pastoral, and tragedy:¹⁸⁶

At our exercises, Souldiers call for Tragedies--their object is bloud; Courtiers for Commedies, their subiect is loue; Countriemen for Pastoralles, Shepherds are their Saintes. Trafficke and trauell hath wouen the nature of all Nations into ours, and made this land like Arras, full of deuise, which was Broade-cloth, full of workemanshippe.

Time hath confounded our mindes, our mindes the matter; but all cometh to this passe, that what heretofore hath been serued in seuerall dishes for a feaste, is now minced in a charger for a Gallimaufrey. If wee present a mingle-mangle, our fault is to excused, because the whole worlde is become an Hodge-podge.¹⁸⁷

Lyly knew the inheritance which medieval drama had given to English drama and realized how the idea that life was governed by standards and formulas had remained as a part of sixteenth-century thought.¹⁸⁸ In the Elizabethan's double way of thinking,

¹⁸⁵Bond, op. cit., III, 12.

¹⁸⁶Frank H. Ristine, English Tragicomedy: Its History and Origin, p. 77.

¹⁸⁷Bond, op. cit., III, 12.

¹⁸⁸Dunn, op. cit., p. 232.

of which Lyly was a part, there were two levels of thought, the literal and the allegorical; what was actually there and an inference of what was potentially there.¹⁸⁹ Lyly took advantage of this Elizabethan tradition and hinted at allegorical implications in his plays; yet, he stated in his prologue to Endimion (1585) that he had no such intention, and further implies that allegory had no proper place upon the stage:

It was forbidden in olde time to dispute of Chymera, because it was a fiction: we hope in our times none will apply pastimes, because they are fancies; for there liueth none vnder the Sunne, that knowes what to make of the Man in the Moone. Wee present neither Comedie, nor Tragedie, nor storie, nor anie thing, but that whosoever heareth may say this, Why heere is a tale of the Man in the Moone.¹⁹⁰

Bond, in some detail, has noted the personal and political allegory in Lyly's plays, especially in Endimion, and how Lyly refused to use pure allegorical abstractions, but, rather, substituted mythological or classical names to represent the qualities he desired.¹⁹¹ Dunn also states that Lyly intended for the court group to look beneath the plot of the story to find the prominent figures of the day who were in, or striving for, prestige and power.¹⁹² For example, Cynthia could

¹⁸⁹Loc. cit.

¹⁹⁰Bond, op. cit., III, 20.

¹⁹¹Ibid., II, 255-256.

¹⁹²Dunn, op. cit., p. 238.

mean Queen Elizabeth; Tellus, Mary, Queen of Scots; and Endimion, the future James I.¹⁹³ In addition, Long identifies Tellus as a fair, young virgin in Queen Elizabeth's Court who, being in love with an admirer of the Queen, slanders him, thereby hoping successfully to sever the relationship between the Queen and him, but Tellus is imprisoned for her misdeed; however, after her confession, she is pardoned and, later, given in marriage to another.¹⁹⁴ Bennett points out three ways in which Endimion is merely an apology for Lord Oxford's behavior: first, the play is appropriate and timely for showing a recent favor bestowed by the Queen upon the Earl of Oxford; second, Lyly's purpose in writing the play was to reinstate the Earl of Oxford; and third, the data of the play correspond to the data of English history.¹⁹⁵

Lyly's importance to the development of English drama was not that his works had his allegorical implications, however, but that his prose established the vehicle for comedy.¹⁹⁶ Until his time, verse had been able to represent only the more poetical, the ideal side of living; so, that it was with

¹⁹³Loc. cit.

¹⁹⁴Percy W. Long, "Lyly's 'Endymion,'" MP, VIII (1911), 602-603.

¹⁹⁵J. W. Bennett, "Oxford and 'Endimion,'" PMLA, LVII (1942), 362; 369.

¹⁹⁶Benjamin Brawley, A Short History of English Drama, p. 45.

him that prose became the means of representing actual reality, capable of re-echoing all tones of life.¹⁹⁷ Lyly devised a prose, though it was decorated with ornateness at his choosing, that could also be a means of gracefulness endowed with a rhythm belonging only to him. His style was but a reflection of the change taking place not only in England, but in Spain, Italy, and France as well, all having been influenced by the rediscovery of the ancients through various translations.¹⁹⁸

Not only was he the first successfully to establish prose as the means of comedy, but he was also first to bring together the elements of high comedy, thereby preparing the way for later playwrights.¹⁹⁹ He declined to heed the tradition that was being followed at the university, and he, also, refused to lean towards the vulgarity of his age, but with skill and carefulness, he attained success in his works.²⁰⁰ His careful phrasing was not simply a compounding of words, but an exhibition of the matter of style and content in regards to pleasure, achieving, thereby, the third element of perfect play.²⁰¹ Lyly's interpretation of love was not similar

¹⁹⁷Ulrici, op. cit., I, 88.

¹⁹⁸Ward, op. cit., V, 138.

¹⁹⁹Ibid., p. 142.

²⁰⁰Felix E. Schelling, Elizabethan Playwrights, p. 55.

²⁰¹Ward, op. cit., p. 143.

to that of his contemporaries, Kyd and Greene, for whom love was the burning passion that destroys itself in torture and slaughter; nor was it like the lesser Elizabethans who thought of love as mere admiration on a physical plane; rather, he believed love to be a refined, glorified, and almost Platonic emotion.²⁰²

His eight comedies, like Euphues, were based on careful thought; that is, they were carefully constructed and even modeled so that they would be satisfactory not only to Lyly himself, but also to the group of critics with whom he worked. His first, Campaspe (1579-80), was probably intended for the popular theatre, since it contains the double prologue and epilogue but more importantly, because it is nearly free of any allusions and flattery of the court.²⁰³ It was printed first as a "Comedie" in Blount's 1632 edition of the Six Court Comedies; however, in the 1591 edition, it was given the title, a "tragicall Comedie."²⁰⁴ The tragedy of the piece lies in the outcome of the lovers, Appeles and Campaspe, and the comedy occurs when Alexander suddenly renounces his love for Appeles in favor of his rival.²⁰⁵ Bond contends that

²⁰²Brawley, op. cit., p. 44.

²⁰³Ulrici, op. cit., I, 93.

²⁰⁴Ristine, op. cit., p. 78.

²⁰⁵Loc. cit.

if one were to classify Campaspe, it would be a pure history, a recalling of the past, not to be marked with classical elements of myth or personification.²⁰⁶ On the other hand, his later plays, Sapho and Phao (1581), Endimion (1585), and Midas (1589), are marked throughout with allegorical representations, while Gallathea (?1584), Loves Metamorphosis (?1584), and The Woman in the Moon (1591-1593), through his use of mythological machinery, pay tribute to the Queen.²⁰⁷ Only Mother Bombie (1590) remains apart, as Lyly, deviating from his usual procedure, constructed here, a comedy of contemporary life, giving realistic or satiric pictures of life somewhat similar to those of Greene and, later Shakespeare.²⁰⁸

In each of his plays, particularly in his earlier ones, Lyly reflected about and commented upon the courtly world of Elizabeth through his ideas of wit, honour, love, and royalty, even though his characters possess few individual traits and represent certain common types of humanity.²⁰⁹ Because he had received an appointment in connection with the Revels Office (1585), he not only wrote, now, for the purpose of entertaining

²⁰⁶Bond, op. cit., II, 249.

²⁰⁷Loc. cit.

²⁰⁸Doran, op. cit., p. 177.

²⁰⁹W. N. King, "John Lyly and Elizabethan Rhetoric," SP, LIII (1955), 153.

the court, but in the hope of receiving a further appointment to the office of Mastership.²¹⁰ One finds evidence of the first appointment in one of his petitions to the Queen:

I was entertayned, yo^r: Maties: seruant; by yo^r: owne gracious ffavo^r: strangthened wth Condicons, that, I should syne all my Courses, att the Revells; (I dare not saye, wth a promise, butt a hopeffull Item of the Reversion) ffor the w^{ch}; theis Tenn yeares, I haue Attended, wth and vnwearyed patience, and, I know not:211

He, next, adds a request for a higher appointment:

. . . whatt Crabb; tooke mee ffor an Oyster, that, in the Middest of the Svnshine of yo^r: gracious aspect; hath thrust a stone: . . . yf yo^r: sacred Ma^{tie}: thinke mee vnsorthie, and that after Tenn yeares tempest, must att the Co^rte: suffer shippwracke of my tymes, my hopes, and my Witts, . . . I maye: in every Corner; of a Tha'tch't Cottage: wryte Prayers; instead of Playes; Prayers; ffor yo^r: longe, and prosperous lyfe212

Lyly's first two comedies are full of euphuistic characteristics and, as Oliphant points out, if one considers a reference to Appelles in Euphues and His England, one may conclude that Campaspe may have been written at the same time, or even before, the publication of Euphues:²¹³

²¹⁰Bond, op. cit., I, 44; 46.

²¹¹Ibid., I, 65.

²¹²Loc. cit.

²¹³Oliphant, op. cit., p. 20.

. . . which is said to bewitch the wise, and enchaunt them that made it. Pigmalion for beauty, loved an Image of Ivory, Appeals the counterfeit of Campaspe, and none we haue heard off so senceless²¹⁴

As Lyly continued to write plays, the evidences of his euphuism became less and less apparent. Child carefully investigated the amount of euphuistic style to be found in each play and prepared the following table.²¹⁵

	Number of Pages	Alliteration				Annomination	Consonance	Repetition	Rime	Classical Allusion	Fabulous Natural History	Latin Quotations
		Single	Balanced	Balanced Sequence	Transverse							
<u>Campaspe</u>	46	70	3	26	4	6	6	2	22	5	11 (all in first half)	
<u>Sapho and Phao</u>	46	65	4	15	4	8	5	6	10	22	3 (all in comic scene, III.2)	
<u>Gallathea</u>	50	42	2	11	2	15	6	1	10	8	2 (in V.i, from Lat. Gr.)	
<u>Endimion</u>	61	70	6	12	3	16	5	1	1	6	14 (confined to farcial scenes)	
<u>Midas</u>	46	21	0	3	2	1	1	1	6	2	23	
<u>Mother Bombie</u>	59	19	1	1	1	3	1	1	0	0	18	
<u>Loves Metamorphosis</u>	32	28	1	2	2	9	0	0	0	2	14 (no farcial scenes)	

Lyly's interest in euphuism, though somewhat moderated

²¹⁴Bond, op. cit., II, 59.

²¹⁵Ibid., II, 50.

in his drama, did suggest the dramatic dialogue; that is, its witty conversations, its question-and-answer method, and its long speeches which he employed in his eight comedies.²¹⁶

No doubt, he had been familiar with this witty type of conversation and had learned debate during his university training and was skilled in argument, thus making it first-hand knowledge that he explicated in his works.²¹⁷

In a day of rapid extension such as those of the Renaissance were experiencing, verse was bound to be changed, and, if any person were able to change it, Lyly was, for in his antithetic habit and his plays on words, he was the first to produce successfully a natural, yet intense dramatic conversation, which drama had not before contained.²¹⁸ The qualities of euphuism, such as rhythm and rhetoric, were to replace the rhyme and meter of verse, even though they were decorated with similes, allusions, parallel clauses, and other ornamentations.²¹⁹ Most of the prose dialogues usually occur in scenes in which commoners appear, or in the strictly comic scenes. Excellent examples of the dialogue occur in Lyly,

²¹⁶Oliphant, op. cit., p. 23.

²¹⁷Doran, op. cit., p. 301.

²¹⁸Hardin Craig, The Complete Works of Shakespeare, p. 21.

²¹⁹Baldwin, op. cit., p. 42.

whether in debate or discussion about questions of love and friendship or about love and war. For example, in the scene in which Alexander and Hephaestion discuss Campaspe, Alexander's beloved, whom he finally resigned to Apelles, one finds the rather long, witty speech of Alexander in which he asks a question and, then, quickly answers it himself:

I, but she is bewtiful; yea, but not therefore chast, I, but she is comly in al parts of the body; yea but she may be crooked in some part of the mind. I, but she is wise; yea but she is a woman! . . . It is thought wonderful among the seamen, that Mugil, of al fishes the swiftest, is found in the belly of the Bret, of al the slowest: And shall it seeme monstrous to wisemen, that the hearte of the greatest conqueror of the worlde, should be found in the handes of the weakest creature of nature? of a woman? of a captive? Hermyns haue faire skinnes, but fowle livers; Sepulchres fresh colours, but rotte bones; women faire faces, but false heartes. Remember Alexander thou has campe to govern, not a chamber
(Campaspe, II.ii.46)

Either you thinke there are no Gods, or I must think ye are no men. You build as though you should liue for euer, and surfet as though you should die to morow.
(Campaspe, II.i.43)

Later in Apelles' studio, where the lovers are meeting, there occurs the following clever and animated dialogue, thus showing Lyly's aim at brevity, a primary requisite of his dramatic prose:²²⁰

Apelles: I haue now, Campaspe, almost made an ende.

Campaspe: You told me, Apelles, you would neuer ende.

²²⁰Ulrici, op. cit., I, 89.

- Isme: I haue hearde of an herrbe called Lunary, that being bound to the pulses of the sick causeth nothings but dreames of weddings and daunces.
- Favilla: I think Ismena, that hearbe be at thy pulses now; for thou art euer talking of matches and merymentes.
- Canope: It is an vnlucky signe in the chamber of the sick to talke of mariages: for my mother saide, it foresheweth death.
- Mileta: It is very euill to [o] Canope to sitte at the beddes feete, and foretelleth daunger: therefore remoue your stoole, and sitte by me.
- Lamia: Sure it is some cold she hath taken.
- Isme: If one were burnt, I thinke wee women woulde say, he died of a cold.
- Favilla: It may be some conceite.
- Mileta: Then is there no feare: for yet did I neuer heare of a woman that died of a conceite.
- Euge: I mistruste her not: for that the owle hath not shrikte at the window, or the night Rauen croken, both being fatall.
- Favilla: You are all superstitious: for these bee but fancies of doting age: who by chance obseruing it in some, haue set it downe as a religion for all.
- Mileta: Fauilla, thou art but a Girle: I would not haue a Weesel crye, nor desire to see a Glasse, nor an old wife come into my chamber; for then though I lyngred in my disease, I should neuer escape it. (Sapho and Phao, III.iii.37)

Lyly again often balances one speech against the other, as in the scene in which Phillida and Gallathea are disguised as boys by their fathers in order to evade the appeasement offering to the sea-monster, Agar:

- Phil: What toy is it to tell mee of that tree, beeing nothing to the purpose: I say it is pittie you are not a woman.
- Galla: I would not wish to be a woman, vnlesse it were because thou art a man.
- Phil: Nay, I doe not wish (thee) to be a woman, for then I should not loue thee, for I haue sworne neuer to loue a woman.
- Galla: A strange humor is so prettie a youth, and according to myne, for my selfe will neuer loue a woman.
- Phil: It were a shame if a mayden should be a suter, (a thing hated in that sexe) that thou shouldest denie to be her seruant.
- Galla: If it be a shame in me, it can be no commendation in you, for your selfe is of that minde.
- Phil: Suppose I were a virgine (I blush in supposing my selfe one) and that vnder the habite of a boy were the person of a mayde, if I should vtter my affection with sighes, manifest my sweet loue by my griefes intollerable, would not then that fair face pittie thy true hart?
- Galla: Admit that I were as you woulde haue mee suppose that you are, and that I should with intreaties, prayers, othes, bribes, and what euer can be inuented in loue, desire you fauour, would you not yield?
- Phil: Tush, you come in with 'admit'.
- Galla: And you with 'suppose'. (Gallathea, III.ii.5)

Again, in Midas, one notes Lyly'a swift-moving dialogue between Licio, Petulus, and Pipenetta, as they discuss together the world and its origin:

- Licio: Ah my girle, is not this a golden world?
- Pip: It is all one as if it were lead with mee, and yet as golden with mee as with the king, for I see it, and feele it not, hee feeles it & enioyes it not.

- Licio: Gold is but the earths garbadge, a weed bred by the sunne, the very rubbish of barren ground.
- Pet: Tush Licio thou art vnlettered! al the earth is an egge: the white, siluer; the yolk, gold.
- Licio: Why thou foole, what hen should lay that egge?
- Pip: I warrant a Goose.
- Licio: Nay I beleeeue a Bull.
- Pet: Blirt to you both! it was layd by the Sunne.
- Pip: The Sun is rather a cock than a hen.
- Licio: Tis true girls, els how could Titan haue troaden Daphne? (Midas, II.ii.1)

In Endimion, one, again, observes Lyly's witty conversation technique between Sir Tophas and Epiton as they converse about the usual topic, love:

- Top: Epi, loue hath iustled my libertie from the wall, and taken the vupper hand of my reason.
- Epi: Let mee then trippe vp the heeles of your affection, and thrust your goodwill into the butter.
- Top: No Epi, Loue is a Lorde of misrule, and keepeth Christmas in my corps.
- Epi: No doubt there is good cheere: what dished of delight doth his Lordshippe feast you withal:
- Top: First, with a great platter of plum-porridge of pleasure, wherein is stued the motton of mistrust.
- Epi: Excellent loue lappe.
- Top: Then commeth a Pye of patience, a Henne of honnie, a Goose of gall, a Capon of care, and many other Viandes, some sweete and some sowre; which proueth loue to bee, as it was saide of in olde yeeres, Dulce venenum.

Epi: A Braue banquet. (Endimion, V.ii.1)

Once more, Lyly similarly builds his dialogue in the following conversation between Canius and Silena in Mother Bombie:

Sil: I thanke you that you would call.

Can: I will alwaies call on such a saint that hath power to release my sorrowes; yeeld, fayre creature, to loue.

Sil: I am none of that sect.

Can: The louing sect is an auncient sect, and an honorable, and therefore loue should bee in a person so perfect.

Sil: Much!

Can: I loue thee much, giue mee one worde of comfort.

Sil: I faith, sir, no! and so tell your master.

Can: I haue no master, but come to make choise of a mistress.

Sil: A ha, are you there with your beares?

Can: [aside]. Doubtless she is an idiot of the newest cut! Ile once more tyre hir. --I have loued thee long, Silena.

Sil: In your tother hose.

Can: [aside]. Too simple to naturall: to senslesse to bee arteficiall. --You sayd you want to know your fortune: I am a scholler, and am cunning in psalmistry.

Sil: The better for you sir; here my hand, whats a clocke? (Mother Bombie, II.iii.36)

In the Woman in the Moone, Lyly reveals even further

the nature and feelings of his characters through his use of witty conversation in the following dialogue between Gunophilus, Pandora, and Stesias:

Ste: I see Pandora and Gunophilus.

Pan: And I see Stesias; welcome Stesias!

Ste: Gunophilus, thou has inveigled her,
And robd me of my treasure and my wife.
Ile strippe thee to the skinne for this offence,
And put thee in a wood to be deuourd
Of emptie Tygres, and of hungry Wolues,
Nor shall thy sad lookes moue me vnto rueth.

Gun: Pardon me, mayster; she is Lunaticke,
Foolish and franticke, and I followed her,
Onely to saue the goods and bring her backe:
Why thinke you I would runne away with her?

Pan: He neede not, for Ile runne away with him;
And yet I will go home with Stesias:
So I shall haue a white lambe coloured blacke,
Two little sparrowes, and a spotted fawne.

Ste: I feare it is too true that he reportes.

Gun: Nay, stay a while, and you shall see her daunce.

Pan: No, no I will not daunce, but I will sing:

Ste: Pandora speake; louest thou Gunophilus?

Pan: I, if he be a fish, for fish is fine;
Sweete Stesias helpe me to a whiting moppe.

Ste: Now I perceiue that she is lunaticke:
What may I do to bring her to her wits?
(Woman in the Moon, V.i.58)

It would be impossible to prove a step-by-step lessening of the application of euphuistic elements in these successive plays, but as Williamson points out, it is at least clear that

Lyly's use of balance becomes shorter and his structural devices appear less frequently and are less apparent.²²² It is also worth considering to note the matter of flow and freedom of some of the longer speeches in these plays and his simplification of euphuism as Lyly moves from one play to another, beginning with the following speeches of Hephaestion, then Venus and Phao, and further, the dialogue of the shepherds and Augur, and of Endimion, Fidelia, Midas, and, finally, Prisius and Sperantus:²²³

Hephestion: Could I aswell subdue kingdomes, as I can my thoughts; or were I as farre from ambition, as I am fro loue; al the world wold account mee as valiant in armes, as I know my self moderate in affection.

Alexander: Is loue a vice?

Hephestion: It is no vertue.

Alexander: Well, now shalt thou see what small difference I make between Alexander and Hephestion

Hephestion: Might my wordes caue pardon, any my counsel credite, I would both discharge the duetie of a subiect, for so I am, & the office of a friend, for so I will.

Alexander: Speake Hephestion:

Hephestion: I can not tel, Alexander, whether the reporte be more shameful to be heard, or the cause sorrowfull to be beleued! What! is the sonne

²²²Williamson, op. cit., p. 102.

²²³Bond, op. cit., II, 290.

of Phillip, king of Macedon, become the subject of Campaspe, the captiue of Thebes? Is that mind, whose greatnes the world could not containe, drawn within the compasse of an idle alluring eie? Will you handle the spindle with Hercules, when you should shake the speare with Achilles? Is the warlike sould of drumme and trumpe turned to the soft noyse of lire and lute? . . . But behold al the perfection that may be in Campaspe; a hayre curling by nature, not arte, sweete alluring eies; a faire face made in despite of Venus, and a stately porte in disdaine of Iuno; a witte apt to conceiue, and quick to answeere; a skin as soft as silk, and as smooth as iet; (Campaspe, II.ii.11)

In Campaspe, having been composed around the time, or even before, Euphues, His England, euphuism is most evident, and Sapho and Phao, created only a short time later, is also composed in the euphuistic fashion.²²⁴ One finds many of these elements in the following passage:

Phao: Thou art a Ferriman, Phao, yet a free man, possessing for riches content, and for honors quiet. Thy thoughts are no higher thē thy fortunes, nor thy desires greater then thy calling Thou farest dilicately, if thou haue a fare to buy any thing. Thine angle is ready, when thine oar is idle, and as sweet is the fish which thou gettest in the ryuer, as the fowle which other buye in the market. Thou needst not feare poyson in thy glasse, nor treason in thy garde. The winde is thy greatest enemy, whose might is withstoode with pollicy. O sweete life, seldom found vnder a gold couert, ofte vnder a thached cotage

Venus: It is no lesse vnseemely then vnwholsom for Venus, who is most honoured in Princes courtes, to siourne

²²⁴ Oliphant, op. cit., p. 22.

with Vulcan in a smithes forge, where bellowes
blow in steede of sighes, dark smokes rise for
sweet perfumes, & for the panting of louing
hearts, is only heard the beating of steeled
hamers. . . . What doth Vulcan all day but
endeuour to be as crabbed in manners, as he is
crooked in body? driuing nailes, when he should
giue kisses, and hammering hard armours, when he
should sing sweete Amors

(Sapho and Phao, I.i.1)

Appearing three or four years after the composition of
Sapho and Phao, Gallathea still demonstrates the rise of such
devices as alliteration, isocolon, and parison, yet Lyly allows,
here, more freedom and ease in the conversation among Augur
and the shepherds:²²⁵

Augur: This the day wherein you must satis-fie
Neptune and saue your selues; call together
your fayre Daughters, and for a Sacrifice
take the fayrest; for better it is to offer a
Virgine then suffer ruine. If you think it
against nature to sacrifice your children,
thinke it also against sence to destroy your
Country. If you imagine Neptune pittillesse
to desire such a pray, confesse your selues
peruerse to deserue such a punishment. You
see this tree, this fatall Tree, whose leaues
though they glister like golde, yet it threat-
neth to fayre virgins grieffe. To this Tree
must the beautifullest be bounde

Mellebeus: They say Tyterus that you haue a faire daugh-
ter: if it be so, dissemble not, for you shall
be a fortunate father. It is a thing holy to
preserue ones Country, and honorable to be the
cause.

Tyterus: In deede Melebeus I haue heard you boast that

²²⁵Bond, op. cit., II, 290.

you had a faire daughter, then the which none was more beautiful. I hope you are not so careful of a child, that you will be carelesse of your Country, or adde so much to nature, that you will detract from wisdome.

Mellebeus: I must confesse that I had a daughter, and I knowe you haue; but alas! my Childes cradle was her graue, and her swathclowte her winding sheete. I would she had liued til now, she should willingly haue died now; for what could haue happened to pore Melebeus more comfortable, then to bee the father of a fayre child, and sweet Countrey.

Tyterus: O Mellebeus, dissemble you may with me, deceiue the Gods you cannot: dyd not I see, (and very lately see) your daughter in your armes, when as you gaue her infinite kisses, with affection I feare mee more then fatherly? You haue conueyed her away, that you might cast vs all away; bereauing her the honour of her beauty, and vs the benefite, preferring a common inconuenience, before a priuate mischief. (Gallathea, IV.i.1)

Furthermore, he still utilizes such devices as rhetorical questions and balance of clauses, especially in the speeches of Endimion; however, one notes that Lyly is becoming more concerned, now, with what he has to say rather than with the manner of the style in which he says it:²²⁶

Endimion: Sweet Cynthia, how wouldst thou be pleased, how possessed? wil labours (patient of all extremities) obtaine thy loue? There is no Mountain so steepe that I will not tame, no action so desperate that I will not attempt. Desirest thou the passions of loue, the sad and melancholie moodes of perplexed mindes,

²²⁶Oliphant, op. cit., p. 22.

the not to be expressed torments of racked thoughts? Beholde my sad teares, my deepe sighes, my hollowe eyes, my broken sleepes, my heauie countenaunce. Wouldst thou haue mee vowde onelie to thy beautie? and consume euerie minute of time in thy seruice? . . . Yea, that Endimion, who diuorsing himselfe from the amiablenes of all Ladies, the brauerie of all Courts, the companie of al men, hath chosen in a solitarie Cell to liue, only by feeding on thy favour, accounting in the worlde (byt thy selfe) nothing excellent, nothing immortall; thus maist thou see euerie vaine, sinew, muscle, and artery of my loue, in which there is no flatterie, nor decepte, error, nor arte . . . (Endimion, II.i.4)

Lyly's use of structural devices becomes less apparent throughout Loves Metamorphosis, especially his application of the devices of alliteration, isocolon, and parison, thus making the longer speeches move quite rapidly and read more easily, as follows:²²⁷

Fidelia: Monster of men, hate of the heauens, and to the earth a burthen, what hath chast Fidelia committed? It is thy spite, Cupid, that hauing no power to wound my vnspotted mind, procurest meanes to mangle my tneder body, and by violēce to gash those sides that enclose a heart dedicate to vertue: or is it that sauage Satire, that feeding his sensuall appetite vpon lust, seeketh now to quench it with bloud, that being without hope to attaine my loue, hee may with cruelty end my life? . . . If Ceres seeke no reuenge, then let virginittie be not only the scorne of Sauage people, but the spoyle. But alas, I feele my last bloud t come, & therefore must end my last breath. Farewel Ladies, whose liues are subiect to many mischieues: for if you

²²⁷Crane, op. cit., p. 202.

be faire, it is hard to chast; if chast, impossible to be safe; if you be young, you will quickly bend; if bend, you are suddenly broken. If you be foule, you shall seldome be flattered; if you be flattered, you will euer bee sorrowfull. Beautie is a firme ficklenes, youth a feeble staidness, deformitie a continual siadness.
(Loves Metamorphosis, I.ii.90)

The first really apparent evidence of Lyly's change in style occurs in his comedy, Midas, for one notes the lessening, and even absence of such devices and elements as antithesis, alliteration, and balance:²²⁸

Midas: Ah Mydas, why was not thy whole bodie metamorphosed, that there might haue been no parte left of Mydas? Where shall I shrowd this shame? or how may I bee restored to mine olde shape? Apollo is angrie: blame not Apollo, whom being God of musick thou didst both dislike and dishonour; preferring the barbarous noyse of Pans pipe, before the sweet melodie of Apolloes lute. If I returne to Phrygia, I shall bee pointed at; if liue in these woods, sauage beasts myst be my copanions: & what other companions should Mydas hope for than beasts, being of all beasts himselfe the dullest? Had it not bin better for thee to haue perished by a golden death, than now to lead a beastly life? . . . But I must seeke to couer my shame by arte, least beeing once discovered to these pettie Kings of Mysia, Pisidia and Galatia, they all ioyne to adde to mine Asses eares, of all the beasts the dullest, a sheepes heart, of all the beasts the fearfullest: and so cast lots for those Kingdomes, that I haue won with so manie liues, & kept with so manie enuies. (Midas, IV.ii.159)

Having become bolder in Midas, Lyly becomes even more

²²⁸Klein, op. cit., p. 125.

bold and relies not so heavily upon ornamental style, but shows a more modern form in the amount of freedom and flow of words in his Mother Bombie, as illustrated in the following:²²⁹

Prisus: And my minion hath wrought well, where euery stitch in her sampler is a pricking stitch at my heart: you take your pleasure on parents, they are peeuish, fooles, churles, ouergrownen with ignorance, because ouerworne with age: litle shalt thou know the case of a father, before thy selfe be a mother, when thou shalt breed thy childe with continuall paines, . . . and then finde them to curse thee with their heartes, when they shoulde aske blessing on their knees, . . . with teares trickling downe thy cheeks, and drops of blood falling from thy heart, thou wilt in vttering of thy minde wish them rather vnborne then vnnatural, & dispute what thou shouldst haue done, but correct what thou hast done: I perceiue sowing is an idle exercise, and that euerie daie there come more thoughtes into thine head, than stitches into thy worke; Ile see whether you can spin a better mind than you haue stitched, and if I coope you not vp, then let me be the capon.

Sperantus: As for you, sir boy, in stead of poaring on a brooke, you shall holde the plough; Ile make repentace reape what wantonnesse hath sowen. But we are both well serued: the sonnes must bee masters, the fathers' gaffers; what wee get together with a rake, they cast abroad with a forke; and wee must wearie our legges to purchase our children armes. Well, seeing that booking is but idleness, Ile see whether thresting be anie occupation: thy minde shall stoope to my fortune, or mine shall break the lawes of nature. How like a micher he standes, as though he had trewanted from honestie! Get thee in, and for the rest let me alone. In villaine! (Mother Bombie, I.iii.164)

²²⁹Bond, op. cit., II, 291.

Therefore, one agrees with Williamson, who stated that Lyly himself outlived his earlier style and managed over a period of years to break from it.²³⁰ The fact that his plays were written for boy actors to be presented at court also enabled him to mingle both serious and comical elements because of the age of the boys who performed in them. He was able, also, to identify emotions and experiences common to the different classes of people.²³¹ His greatness lay not so much in his euphuistic style as in his energetic way of expressing his parallels and maxims.²³² In his dramas, Lyly introduced prose into comedy and developed witty dialogue, and because of his conscious mastery of his art of comedy, he was able to transmit its qualities and form to his successors.

²³⁰Williamson, op. cit., p. 102.

²³¹Bond, op. cit., I, 36.

²³²Williamson, op. cit., p. 103.

CHAPTER IV

LYLY'S CHANGE OF STYLE

In a formative time when prose fiction was groping wildly in the dark, when verse seemed to be the only correct means of scholarly communication, Lyly created by compounding and deliberately sifting and sorting a style that was to trigger off an explosion in a number of writers of his time. His style, although having faintly been given an inception in More, Pettie, and others, marked a new level of prose fiction in the Elizabethan era. Euphuism, as it became known, was modeled from the classics, such as Cicero, Quintilian, and Aristotle, from medieval England, from the nations abroad, and from its own age as well.

Having been a scholar, a University Wit, Lyly was looked upon by his instructors and classmates as a young wit with an unruly temper which later caused him much unhappiness in his dealings at court for financial promotion. He was also regarded as one who had little respect for authorities, and he, himself, placed little value on fulfilling the prescribed studies at the universities. It was his neglect in the Revels Office that caused him to miss the opportunity of obtaining Mastership of the Revels.²³³

²³³Bond, op. cit., I, 44.

Perhaps, his attitude towards rigid rules and definite behavior enabled him to create a new type of literature, for one never creates anything new or out of the ordinary if he is not allowed to deviate from the established formal patterns. In view of the fact that Lyly dared to break away from tradition, one must exercise care in criticizing Lyly's unusual behavior during his stay at the universities.

Since he was a scholar, Lyly was acquainted with the early rhetorical manuals and made use of their prescriptions in his new style of writing. He knew that his writing must be able to tell with delight or pleasure in order to excite, or arouse, its reader, and certainly, his Euphues aroused the interest of his contemporaries, such as Harvey, Greene, Sidney, and in a different sense, Shakespeare. Having created with desire to introduce Englishmen to finer levels of speech, Lyly employed rhetorical devices, thus setting up clauses of the same length, establishing similar structure in different clauses, and using balance of the same sound patterns in opposing phrases. Along with these devices, he decorated his prose with antithesis, rhetorical questions, and alliteration, and even then was not satisfied, but heaped upon this highly ornamental writing the multiplied use of similes, proverbs, and the exemplum. This ornamentation brought forth criticism from many, especially from Harvey, who implied that he could

not stand the "euphuing of similes."²³⁴ However, Euphues became the talk of fashionable London as well as a pattern for imitation for many years to follow, and in it Lyly proved that English prose could be written with ease and beauty.

Lyly's title, Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit, was well-chosen, for it reflected the prevalent feelings and unrest in this period of the Renaissance. Even though one thinks of anatomy as a division, or as an analysis, Lyly used the term almost in the sense of unrighteous lust for wit, for more learning, for quicker understanding in thought, and for rapid reply in responding. Because of his connotation, his two works were to become the forerunners of the novel, dealing primarily with an accurate picture of the mind and manners. If Lyly had concentrated more upon the content of his romance, perhaps he might not have faded from the literary scene as quickly as he did, only to be revived artificially in later extensive studies of Shakespeare. However, he became so involved in his elaboration of style that he failed to develop interesting plots in his prose.

Nevertheless, it is because of his style that he has importance to literary study today, and, as his works are considered, one discovers the wit and intellectual ability of this man involved in euphuistic writing. It is conclusive

²³⁴Grosart, op. cit., II, 125.

that Lyly's prose romances inaugurated an era that opened the literary field to a genre and a level of expression never before realized.

Because of his relationship with the Earl of Oxford, Lyly was given the management of the Blackfriars, where plays were produced by Paul's Boys.²³⁵ Here, with the talents of the boy actors in mind, Lyly wrote plays suitable for the Queen and her court. Most of these, if not all, have predominant allegorical implications, both personal and political, in which Lyly sought recognition from the Queen and, in turn, hoped for an appointment in her court. It was during his time at Blackfriars that Lyly was employed by the Bishops in the church to write in opposition to the Puritan movement that was gaining a foothold throughout England. It is possible that, in working for the church, Lyly saw an opportunity to seek Queen Elizabeth's high opinion, always with the hope of preferment. Again, he threw himself industriously into his work, and adopting the infamous Martin's style and manner, produced a type of scurrilous prose in a pamphlet that was eventually to contribute to the end of his fame as a great writer. One immediately notes the lack of purpose in this scurrilous prose in which he unscrupulously slandered Martin and the Puritan cause.

²³⁵Hillebrand, op. cit., p. 179.

Both in his plays and tracts, Lyly made use of dialogue in the form of witty conversation or debate. In his tract, he used an imaginary dialogic form, which he may have imitated from the Martin pamphlets. However, it was through his use of dramatic dialogue that Lyly was able to establish prose as the means of comedy and, also, to bring together the elements of high comedy, paving the way for greater efforts to follow.

Realizing that he was likely not to receive his desired advancement, Lyly continued his allegorical writings, now changed from a tone of praise to one of satire, as that expressed in his later plays. Now that he was becoming more concerned with what he had to say rather than with the style in which he expressed his thought, his use of balance became shorter and his structural devices became less apparent. It is definitely evident that his practice of euphuism diminished from his earliest to his last play. Inevitably, he created one play after another, for the theatre robbed him of ample time to adorn his later writings in the same manner in which he had decorated his earlier works. One must agree with Staton, who thinks that a definite evolution took place from the time of Lyly's elegant euphuism to his base pamphleteering. Lyly, however, must not be allowed to remain there, for the discovery of a later entertainment proved that he did not wish to continue writing in such a style, but desired and succeeded in elevating himself to a literary level worthy of the Queen and

her court.²³⁶

Contemporary writers were ridiculing and objecting to Lyly's euphuism and, in turn, were breaking away from strong reliance upon the classics and lending themselves to a more brief style of literature. This renaissance seems definite evidence to show that Lyly saw the faults and weaknesses of his own earliest style, and in his literary lifetime outlived his euphuism and managed to break from it without losing the characteristics that make his writings important to a present-day study of Elizabethan literature. Regardless of whether his writings are often difficult and time-consuming, or that one often loses himself in the ornamental devices which Lyly so widely used, the literary world would be less complete, less wealthy, without the contributions of the scholarly "madcap," John Lyly.

²³⁶Hotson, op. cit., p. 6.

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