

THE ANATOMIES OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES:  
AN ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH A GENRE

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## PREFACE

The possible emergence of a new literary genre from the works of previous centuries is always a challenging topic. The characters and the essay are examples of genres that have come to the foreground. An investigation of the writings of certain authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who include the word, anatomy, in their titles and who present similar literary characteristics reveals evidence of another literary genre, the "anatomies."

Chapter I is devoted to "anatomies" in general--those available, as well as those about which only a limited amount of information is available. Chapter II is a presentation of the major anatomies and the characteristics of each which lend support to the probability of the anatomy literary genre. Such anatomies as John Lyly's Anatomy of Wit, Robert Greene's Anatomy of Fortune, Robert Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, Thomas Nashe's Anatomie of Absurdity, and Philip Stubbes' Anatomy of Abuses are used for examples and comparative study. Chapter III is a study of works from authors who do not include the word, anatomy, within their titles to suggest the possibility that these works, nevertheless, might also belong to the anatomy genre. Thomas Fuller's book, The Holy State and The Profane State definitely portrays many of the characteristics of the previously discussed anatomies.

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Dr. Charles E. Walton for his helpful encouragement and hours of guidance during my preparation of this study. I also wish to thank Dr. June Morgan for her criticism and helpful suggestions. Finally, I wish to thank my family--my husband, Richard, my daughter, Cindy, and my son, Glen--for their patient sacrifices and thoughtful encouragement through this challenging experience.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

| CHAPTER  | PAGE |
|--|------|
| PREFACE . . . . .  | ii   |
| I. AN INVESTIGATION OF THE "ANATOMIES" OF<br>THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY . . . . .                           | 1    |
| II. THE MAJOR ANATOMIES . . . . .  | 21   |
| III. THE RELATIONSHIP OF THOMAS FULLER'S WORK<br>AND THE CHARACTER TO THE ANATOMY <u>GENRE</u> . . . . . | 79   |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .   | 105  |

## CHAPTER I

### AN INVESTIGATION OF THE "ANATOMIES"

#### OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

During the seventeenth century, many new prose genres were initiated or advanced, some of which have since become familiar to scholars of English literature. One such innovation is the character, probably introduced by Thomas Overbury. Others, established at an earlier time but actually given a new life during the late sixteenth century, were the essay and the written sermon. Still other genres, which may have been popular, receded eventually into the background and are, therefore, little known, today. Perhaps, one such genre, deserving of investigation, is the "anatomy" of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Obviously, the word, anatomy, to represent a type of literature, was more commonly used in a vernacular and professional sense to suggest an anatomical dissection by means of a variety of methods. From the Oxford English Dictionary, one learns that the term is of French origin, although the French had adopted it from the Latin, Anatomia. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, anathomia was a current form of the word, and during the sixteenth century, anothomy, anathomie, and anathomy, became prominent. Other spellings were nathomy, anatomie (the

latter being very popular during the seventeenth century), and even atomy which is thought to have emerged during the fourteenth century when the word was erroneously divided as an atomy. In addition to these variant spellings and pronunciations, it also has a variety of other meanings as shown in the OED:

The process, subjects, and products of dissection of the body. Artificial separation of the different parts of the human body or animal (or more generally of any organized body) in order to discover their position, structure, and economy; dissection.

During the seventeenth century, this meaning, as applied to human bodies, was quite popularly used in plays and other literature of the period. For example, Shakespeare in The Life and Death of King John (1595), III.iv.40, used the word in this context in a passage which Constance speaks:

No, No, I will not, having breath to cry:  
O, that my tongue were in thunder's mouth!  
Then with a passion would I shake the world!  
And rouse from sleep that fell Anatomy  
Which cannot hear a lady's feeble voice,  
Which scorns a modern invocation.<sup>1</sup>

Here, the meaning may also be explicated as follows: "The science of bodily structure: structure as discovered by dissection; the doctrine or science of the structure of organized bodies," or very close to the first meaning cited. Ben

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<sup>1</sup>Hardin Craig (ed.), The Complete Works of Shakespeare, p. 355.

Johnson uses the word in Everyman in His Humour (1598), IV.vi, in a scene in which Brayneworme speaks, as follows:

. . . I no sooner come, but they had cal'd me within a house where I no sooner came, but they seemed men, out flue al their rapiers at my bosome with some three or four score oathes to accompanie them, and all to tel me, I was but a dead man if I did not confesse where you were, and how I was employed and about what; which when they could not get out of me (as I protest, they must ha' dissected, and made an anatomie o' me, first, and so I told him.)

In this same connotation, Sir Thomas Overbury also used the word in his character, "A Roaring Boy":

He commonly dies like Anacreon, with a grape in's throat; or Hercules, with fire in's marrow. And I heard of some (that have scap't hanging) that begg'd for Anatomies; only to deterre men from taking tobacco.<sup>2</sup>

This concept of anatomy was undoubtedly the prominent one until, gradually, connotations other than of a physical reference were derived. The meaning which applies more aptly to the use of the word in reference to a literary genre is the following: "Topical--the dissection or dividing of anything material or immaterial, for the purpose of examining its parts; detailed analysis." In 1621, Robert Burton used this connotation in the title of his famous book, The Anatomy of Melancholy--What it is, with all the kinds, causes, symptoms, prognostics, and severall cures of it. Milton, also, later used it in this

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<sup>2</sup>Edward F. Rimbault (ed.), The Miscellaneous Works in Prose and Verse of Sir Thomas Overbury, Knt., p. 122.

same manner in his Animadversions (1641):

. . . Whereas now this permission of free writing, were there no good eke in it, yet at some times thus licenc't, in such an unripping, such an Anatomie of the Shiest, and tenderest particular truths, as makes not only the whole nation in many points the wiser, but also presents, and carries home to Princes and men most remote from vulgar concourse, such a full insight of every lurking evil . . . .<sup>3</sup>

The anatomy of a poem or the anatomy of a subject, such as wit or melancholy, further illustrates this use of the term and will be the meaning implied throughout this present investigation. Hence, most extant anatomies or those cited in bibliographies seem, by title, to be analyses of specific subjects, which, in themselves are quite broad. For example, many literary anatomies deal with moral or social topics of the period. Customarily, an author took his topic and divided it, often subjecting each section to a closer analysis. However, if a subject were not so divided into parts, the topic was, nevertheless, usually well covered and, thus, dissected during the process of "anatomizing." For example, in Euphuus, The Anatomy of Wit (1578), Lyly analyzes the overworked quality of wit, although he does not divide his supplementary narrative into sections.

Before comparing certain available anatomies, one

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<sup>3</sup>John Milton, The Works of John Milton, p. 113. .

should review some of the lesser known works in this category in an attempt to suggest a concept of the variety of topics which were "anatomized" in the relatively short period of time during which the genre flourished. Most of these anatomies were produced during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

One of the first such works is The Anatomy of an Hande in the Manner of a Dyall, published in 1544 by Wylliam Follingham. Accompanying the anatomy was a statement declaring that it was a necessary book for all readers.<sup>4</sup>

From the title at least, one judges that A Profitable Treatise of the Anatomie of Mans Body (1577) was probably one of the best known works on anatomy to appear in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, during a period in which a knowledge of anatomy was very limited, and when there were few physicians well versed in the subject. For that matter, the little that was known was later discovered to be incorrect and often exaggerated.<sup>5</sup> The 1577 edition of Thomas Vicary's work is the earliest extant copy of this particular anatomy.<sup>6</sup> At this time, its new title was The Englishman's

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<sup>4</sup>Charles Dudley Warner, A Library of the World's Best Literature, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup>Louis B. Wright, Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England, p. 581.

<sup>6</sup>Loc. cit.

Treasure or Treasure for Englishmen: With the True Anatomie of Man's Body.<sup>7</sup>

An Anatomie of the Metamorphosed Ajax was written in 1596 and published for the "common benefite" of builders, housekeepers, and houseowners.<sup>8</sup> The editor of the Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature attributes to the author the following talents: Apprentice in Poetrie, Practiser in Musicke, and Professor Painting.<sup>9</sup> This anatomy consisted of three parts and encompassed three beneficial topics: "How unsaverie places may be made sweet, noysome places made wholesome, and filthy places made cleanly."<sup>10</sup> Its author was Sir John Harington.

Very little is known about The Anatomies of the True Physition and Counterfeit Mountebanke (1602). One learns, however, that it was written in two parts, "graphically described"; that John Oberndoff published it in Latin; and that F. H. (F. Herring), translated it into English. A small booklet of forty-three pages, it is to be found in the British Museum.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>9</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>11</sup>Loc. cit.

The Anatomie of Sinne (1603) is an anonymous work consisting of two long passages, one explaining "The Duties of a Husband," citing nine such duties; the other, "The Duties of a Wife," citing fourteen duties.<sup>12</sup> Advice concerning domestic relations appears to have been a favorite topic of many ministers, and many moral and devotional books were concerned with this type of advice. Pamphlets and shorter papers, similar in theme to the anatomies, were concerned also with these subjects.<sup>13</sup>

The Anatomy of Baseness or The Foure Quarters of a Knave (1615) is divided into four sections: "Flatterie, Ingratitude, Enuie, Detraction." Furthermore, its title adds, "He that hath these four parts need no more have."<sup>14</sup> This anatomy was written in verse.

Halkett notes that The Anatomy of the Roman Clergie was composed by several anonymous clergymen intent upon exposing some of the abuses within their own profession.<sup>15</sup> It was written in Latin but translated into English verse by Geroge Lauder in 1623.<sup>16</sup> This pamphlet, containing thirty-two pages,

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<sup>12</sup>Wright, op. cit., p. 215.

<sup>13</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>14</sup>Carew W. Hazlitt, Handbook to the Popular, Poetical, and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain, p. 8.

<sup>15</sup>Halkett, op. cit., p. 74.

<sup>16</sup>Loc. cit.

is in the British Museum.<sup>17</sup>

A description of The Anatomie of Pope Joan, readily indicates why the word, anatomie, is included in the title:<sup>18</sup>

"Wherein her life, manners, and death is lively layed abroad and opened, and the forged cavils and allegations that our adversaries use for her thoroughly unripped and confuted."<sup>19</sup>

This anatomy seems to have accomplished the purpose of the genre, since the topic was "layed open." J. M. Mayo published it in London in 1625.<sup>20</sup>

The anonymous Anatomy of a Woman's Tongue was first printed in 1638.<sup>21</sup> Although it is concerned with the subject of marital bliss, it gives advice only on the management of a wife. Apparently, some may have felt that the advice was worthwhile, inasmuch as the book was reprinted as late as 1808.<sup>22</sup>

In the Anatomie of the Service Book (1641), the Reverend John Bernard, writing under the pseudonym, Dwalphintramis, objected to the unlawfulness of the Anglican

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<sup>17</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>19</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>20</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>21</sup>Wright, op. cit., p. 221.

<sup>22</sup>Loc. cit.

Service Book and discussed, in five arguments, the evils which he found in the book: "The name of it, the rise, the matter, the manner, and the evil effects of it." This anatomy may have been prompted by the fact that Bernard was a Presbyterian minister.<sup>23</sup>

Thomas Bray, an Oxford gentleman, wrote the Anatomy of the Et Caetera in 1641, in the form of a passionate conference between two brothers, Roger and Ralph.<sup>24</sup> He disclosed the dangerous oath in the Sixth Canon which he explained "Was contrived by the bishops and clergy in their late Ex officio."<sup>25</sup> According to Bray, these officials were forcing the people to ". . . observe and obey whatever errors they would impose."<sup>26</sup>

The Anatomy of the Separatists, alias Brownists (1642) supposedly was written by John Taylor, the water poet.<sup>27</sup> The dissenters against the church were "dissected" and "perspicuously discovered to the view of the world."<sup>28</sup>

An Anatomy of Lieutenant-Colonel John Libburns's Spirit and Pamphlets or A Vindication of the Two Honorable Patriots,

<sup>23</sup>Halkett, op. cit., p. 74.

<sup>24</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>25</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>26</sup>Quoted in Halkett, Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature, p. 71.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>28</sup>Loc. cit.

Oliver Cromwell . . . and Sir Arthur Haslerig was written by Reverend Cuthbert Sidenham or Sydenham, M. A.<sup>29</sup> Sydenham, who lived from 1615 to 1661, was a Cromwellian soldier who took up arms for Parliament during the Civil War.<sup>30</sup> He was considered to be one of the founders of the Protectorate and was a commissioner of the Treasury during Cromwell's term; later, he became a member of Richard Cromwell's Council.<sup>31</sup>

In 1682, The Anatomy of Humane Bodies Epitomized was published by Thomas Gibson.<sup>32</sup> In this work, Gibson appears to have returned to a concept of the original connotation of the word. A Fellow of the College of Physicians in London, he describes the many parts of a man's body and, in addition, notes their actions and uses.<sup>33</sup>

Thomas Lewis (1680-1749) wrote many periodicals and pamphlets against all types of churchmen (dissenters, broad churchmen, and papists).<sup>34</sup> His The Anatomy of the Heretical Synod of Dissenters at Saltershall is an attack upon the dissenters, concerned with the harm they were supposedly inflicting

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<sup>29</sup>Dictionary of National Biography, XIX, 245.

<sup>30</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>31</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>32</sup>Halkett, op. cit., p. 74.

<sup>33</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>34</sup>Dictionary of National Biography, XI, 1075.

upon the Anglican Church.<sup>35</sup> He also wrote The Scourge in Defense of the Church of England and made an attack upon the Scottish Presbyterians.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, he is reported to have insulted the "party in power" in publishing these works and was, therefore, called to trial; however, he went into hiding and continued to write against the dissenters.<sup>37</sup> His anatomy, which was his answer to a letter from an opponent, pointed out the following:

- I. The moderation and Christian temper of an assembly of divines.
- II. The gravity and candor of their debates.
- III. The language and civility they use in religious controversy.
- IV. The reverence they profess for the divinity of Christ, for creeds, canons, and etc.<sup>38</sup>

Lewis states that this information was ". . . collected from their late blasphemous writings of the information of posterity, with short remarks."<sup>39</sup>

Halkett also cites, with limited annotations, the following anatomies:

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<sup>35</sup>Halkett, op. cit., p. 75.

<sup>36</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>37</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>38</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>39</sup>Loc. cit.

An Anatomy of Independency: or a brief commentary upon the apologetical narration of Mr. Thomas Goodwin and Mr. Philip Nye etc. (By Alexander Forbes) f. to pp. 52.

The Anatomy of Orthography: or a practical introduction to the art of spelling and reading English. By T. C. (Thomas Crumpe) London, 1712.

The Anatomy of Play, written by a worthy and lerned gent: dedicated to his father to show his detestation of it. (By Sir John Denham) London, 1645.

The Anatomy of the Kebla or A Dissection of the Defense of Eastward Adoration--lately published in the name of John Andrews, Vicar of Southnewington in Oxfordshire, in a letter to the author of Alkibla. By (William Asplin, M. A.) a true son of the Church of England (as now by law established in a letter to a friend) London, 1729.<sup>40</sup>

Since all of these anatomies were written during the same period and, in some way, follow the pattern of dissecting a vice or moral to which the particular author is opposed, the case for the establishment of at least a trend toward the "anatomy" genre seems clearly apparent. Judging from the topics manifest in the major subjects of anatomies, one notes that sin, unsavory places, abuses against and within the church, marital problems, and misuse of the body are but a few that indicate the range of the exploitation involved in these works. Furthermore, these anatomies appear to have much in common with the sermons and the characters produced within the same period, since they are moralistic in nature, and, also, for the most part, critical of vices. The anatomy writers,

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., pp. 74-75.

however, also take these vice types apart by "dissection" in an attempt to discover the problems related to each subject and, in many cases, to present cures.

Although anatomy may be established by this means as a genre, the word itself as a literary term, remains strange until one considers the period in which this genre emerged from its scientific use into an application of practical literary significance. It is true that the study of anatomy had been a part of medical science for centuries; indeed, the dissection of human and animal bodies was a current practice in medical science from the time of the ancient Greek and Egyptian civilizations, the Greeks having given to modern science many present-day terms of anatomy, physiology, and pathology.<sup>41</sup> Hippocrates (460-359 B. C.), Aristotle (384-322 B. C.), and Galen (129-199) are representatives of the wide and long lasting system of the Greeks.<sup>42</sup> However, a period of darkness involving medical science, as well as of all other learning, followed Galen's death, resulting in very little or no inquiry into the fields of anatomy and physiology. Galen's influence was dominant for fifteen hundred years. All through the Middle Ages, his method was taught and seldom questioned, Hippocrates' methods and teachings being too free for that

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<sup>41</sup>Charles Joseph Singer, A Short History of Medicine, p. 16.

<sup>42</sup>Loc. cit.

age of superstitious, opinionated people.<sup>43</sup> However, the writings of the English medievalists show, along with Galen's, the influence of Hippocrates. For example, as late as Chaucer (1340-1400), the prevalent Greek ideas and influences are evident. In Chaucer's The Canterbury Tales, the Host speaks the following passage after hearing the depressing tale told by the Physicians--the sad story of Virginia and Virginius:

I prey to God, so save thy gentil cors,  
 And eek thyne urinals and thy Iurdones,  
 Thyn Ypocras, and eek thy galiones,  
 And every boysteful of thy letuarie  
 God blesse hem, and our lady Seinte Marie!  
 So mot I theen, thou art a propre man,  
 And lyk a prelat, by Seint Ronyan!  
 Seyde I nat well? I kan nat speke in terme;  
 But wel I woot, thou doost my herte to erme,  
 That I almost have caught a cardynaele.  
 By corpus bones!<sup>44</sup>

Superstition and astrology were also influential in medical practices during the Middle Ages. The patient's horoscope was often interpreted by the medievalist practitioner, with such major problems as the plague in 1365 attributed to some incident among the planets. The meeting of Saturn and Jupiter was one explanation accepted by many during the age.<sup>45</sup> Many causes have been assigned to this serious breaking down of intellectual

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<sup>43</sup> Logan Clendenning, The Romance of Medicine, p. 58.

<sup>44</sup> Thomas R. Lounsbury, (ed.), The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, p. 609.

<sup>45</sup> Bernard F. Stern, Society and Medical Progress, p. 46.

curiosity, but the fact remains that man must have lived without a motive for learning, and his view of the world must have been rather hopeless. As Sir William Osler so aptly writes:

While William of Wyckham was building Winchester Cathedral and Chaucer was writing the Canterbury Tales, John of Gaddesden in practice was blindly following blind leaders whose authority no one questioned.<sup>46</sup>

Nevertheless, the medical thoughts and the ancient records of classical physicians were preserved in monasteries by monks who learned, translated, and copied, but who added nothing to the accepted teachings.<sup>47</sup> Actually, under the barbarian rulers, these traditional practices and writings prospered.<sup>48</sup>

Before the so-called dark period, Galen, believing that God had made all His creatures after a very similar pattern, used pigs, oxen, and monkeys for his dissections and did not inform his reader that he had used the animal body as being representative of the human body.<sup>49</sup> However, during the thirteenth century, Henri Mondino de Luzzi (1275-1326) worked systematically at anatomy and publicly dissected the human

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<sup>46</sup> Sir William Osler, The Evolution of Modern Medicine, p. 85.

<sup>47</sup> Joseph Garland, M. D., The Story of Medicine, p. 57.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>49</sup> Howard W. Haggard, The Doctor in History, p. 211.

body. His subsequent explanation of the subject of anatomy, written in 1316, is recognized as the first notable work on the subject.<sup>50</sup> He performed the dissections himself and did not, as did most of his successors, lecture from high platforms, while lay demonstrators, usually barber surgeons, carried out the actual task of dissection.<sup>51</sup> During one year, he actually dissected three bodies, causing a scandal that almost resulted in his excommunication by Pope Boniface VIII.<sup>52</sup>

The actual "anatomical awakening" began about 1500, since early in the century human dissections became actual practice; however, the bodies were usually those of condemned criminals, often obtained through grave robbing.<sup>53</sup> For example, a medical school was considered fortunate to possess merely one or two cadavers a year. Because of an enthusiasm for classical learning during the fifteenth century, Greek anatomical works gradually became available, thus enabling scholars to study these documents more accurately.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, some of the greatest artists of the Renaissance--Michelangelo, Raphael, and Dürer--began carefully to study the

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<sup>50</sup>Singer, op. cit., p. 80.

<sup>51</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>52</sup>Clendenning, op. cit., p. 58.

<sup>53</sup>Haggard, op. cit., p. 211.

<sup>54</sup>Singer, op. cit., p. 88.

human form, and, as a result, the artist himself began to dissect. Hence, Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), a man possessed of an extremely inquiring mind, made contributions to science that were as remarkable and ahead of his time, as were his works of art.<sup>55</sup> Perhaps, no one person could be given more credit for initiating this new "era of anatomical and physiological study" than da Vinci.<sup>56</sup> It is possible to argue that he made a greater effort to explore further this awakening anatomical world than did any of his great artist contemporaries, not especially concerning himself with any of the accepted traditions of Mondino or Galen.<sup>57</sup> After personally and carefully removing the skin from cadavers, he made painstaking sketches which included all of the nerves and muscular coverings, beginning his study of what underlies the skin so that he could be more accurate in painting human subjects.<sup>58</sup> In addition, he was known for his particularly careful dissections, probably thirty males and females in all, some for the sole purpose of studying veins.<sup>59</sup> Da Vinci made seven hundred and fifty drawings of the body which were never discovered

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<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 89.

<sup>56</sup>Arturo Castiglioni, A History of Medicine, p. 410.

<sup>57</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>58</sup>Garland, op. cit., p. 69.

<sup>59</sup>Castiglioni, op. cit., p. 410.

during his own lifetime.<sup>60</sup> Although his research is not widely known, because it was not published, surely his views were a great influence on others in his age.<sup>61</sup> However, another great scientific scholar, Vesalius of Brussels (1514-1564), did write an anatomical textbook, De Humani Corporis Fabrica, of which the title-page alone reveals important information about the anatomical methods of the age.<sup>62</sup> In an excellent woodprint, he is pictured as dissecting a female body with all of the instruments to be employed in the dissection near at hand.<sup>63</sup> Vesalius smuggled his own bodies, probably going into the grounds surrounding the gallows or other death-dealing devices.<sup>64</sup> Because so many people were afraid of death and dark, his task was not so risky as it might sound.<sup>65</sup> In the woodprint, a great attentive crowd is pressing around to observe the dissection, and two attendants are sharpening instruments, while two others are attending an ape and a dog, suggesting possibly that when human bodies were not available, Vesalius did not hesitate to dissect animals.<sup>66</sup> Because of

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<sup>60</sup> Clendenning, op. cit., p. 64.

<sup>61</sup> Singer, op. cit., p. 90.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 91.

<sup>63</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>64</sup> Clendenning, op. cit., p. 60.

<sup>65</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>66</sup> Singer, op. cit., p. 92.

the shortage of cadavers, perhaps both Vesalius and da Vinci were forced to steal bodies and skeletons in order to pursue their dissections, contributing much new information to anatomical studies.<sup>67</sup> Within the same woodprint, two groups of people constitute the crowd. Those visible beyond the bar are probably lay members, while those depicted as being near to Vesalius are obviously students and professional men.<sup>68</sup> By 1610, another important contributor, Galileo (1564-1642), had invented the telescope for the examination of extremely small and distant objects and had constructed a microscope for the examination of the organs of extremely small animals.<sup>69</sup> These vastly important instruments enabled scientists to dissect not only visible human bodies, but also bodies invisible to the naked eye, as were small blood vessels.<sup>70</sup> Curiosity was naturally aroused, the people wanting to know more about the subject. Exciting inventions and discoveries were being made every day.

Consequently, people became more and more inquisitive, not only about their physical and scientific world, but also about the actions of human beings in society. Thus, wit,

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<sup>67</sup>Haggard, op. cit., p. 214.

<sup>68</sup>Singer, op. cit., p. 92.

<sup>69</sup>Castiglioni, op. cit., p. 511.

<sup>70</sup>Singer, op. cit., p. 113.

melancholy, and abuses with the range of human endeavor became the topics of three of the major anatomies to be investigated in this study. Not only did readers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries want to know the reasons for peoples' strange actions and emotions, but also the cures for mental as well as physical problems; consequently, their curiosity led the literary man to attempt to dissect or "lay open" many subjects in the interest of human knowledge.

## CHAPTER II

### THE MAJOR ANATOMIES

To comprehend the scope of the anatomy as a literary genre, one may "anatomize" some of the well-known anatomies such as The Anatomy of Wit by John Lyly, The Anatomy of Abuses by Phillip Stubbes, The Anatomie of Absurdity by Thomas Nashe, The Anatomie of Flatterie and The Anatomie of Fortune by Robert Greene, An Anatomy of the World by John Donne, and The Anatomy of Melancholy by Robert Burton. The actual method each writer pursued while dissecting his subject can then be observed.

In Euphues, The Anatomy of Wit (1578), one of Lyly's major concerns is that of style. Indeed, one notes that this anatomy is often included in the discussions of Elizabethan prose fiction described as an early form of the novel.<sup>71</sup> At first, the novel itself may seem to be alien to the anatomy genre; however, it is clear that Lyly's purpose in writing Euphues, The Anatomy of Wit was not only that of telling a story, but also of actually "laying open" an elaborate, ornate style, and thereby exhibiting wit. Through his "novel," he also dissects, as do the other anatomy writers, important topics of the day. According to Jusserand, he ". . . addresses moral

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<sup>71</sup>James Winny, The Descent of Euphues, p. ix.

epistles to his fellow men to guide them through life."<sup>72</sup> Among other topics, he instructs his readers as to the proper behavior in marriage, travel, religion, love, and the rearing of children.<sup>73</sup> Therefore, although Lyly stresses style, and although his plot is rather weak, his anatomy is more than style. Perhaps, one should first, however, understand how, through his style, Lyly does dissect wit. Winny, for example, agrees that to reach an appreciative understanding of Lyly's work, one must regard the purpose that Lyly implies in his title. According to Winny, the word Anatomy must be utilized as a way of illustrating through "laying open" by examination.<sup>74</sup> He also feels that for Lyly, the term, wit, may have had a rather different connotation than that which is applicable to it today, the word having suffered from an "impoverishment" through the four centuries which have lapsed.<sup>75</sup> For example, Lyly is obviously applying wit to his own craftsmanship and revealing his capacity to establish a new style, or at least, to combine several already established styles to produce one "witty" technique. Although Lyly's style in the Anatomy was often ridiculed and later parodied on the stage, the book was,

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<sup>72</sup>J. J. Jusserand, The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare, p. 127.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 217.

<sup>74</sup>Winny, op. cit., p. x.

<sup>75</sup>Loc. cit.

nevertheless, very popular and went through ten editions before the close of the sixteenth century.<sup>76</sup> It is possible to find many passages in the Anatomy with which to illustrate the techniques which Lyly was intent upon dissecting. For example, antithesis or parallelism, the rhetorical question, alliteration, and repetition are four of the devices frequently employed to enhance his "witty" style. Bond describes Lyly's use of antithesis as a technique that ". . . might usually be called parallelism and which is shown in the opposition of words and of ideas in sentences balanced against each other."<sup>77</sup> Since Lyly's style is entirely predicated upon antithesis, the following passages are a mere selection of typical examples of Lyly's repeated use of this device. For instance, when Philautus learns that Lucilla has renounced his love for that of Euphues, he writes to Euphues, expressing disappointment and grief:

But thou has not much to boaste of, for as thou hast wonne a fickle Lady, so hast thou lost a faythfull friende. How canst thou be sucure of hir constancie when thou hast had such tryall of hir lyghtnesse?<sup>78</sup>

A second example of Lyly's use of antithesis is embodied in

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<sup>76</sup>Wright, op. cit., p. 383.

<sup>77</sup>R. Warwick Bond (ed.), The Complete Works of John Lyly, I, 189.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., p. 233.

his description of the companions of Euphues and the temptations surrounding him. Here, one may readily discern Lyly's opposition of ideas. In this passage, the old gentleman, Eubulus, is not certain how Euphues would be likely to fare:

There frequented to his lodging and mancion house as well the Spider to sucke poyson, of his fine wyt, and the Bee to gather hunny, as well the Drone, as the Dove, the Foxe as the Lambe, as well Damocles to betraye him, as Damon to bee true to him: Yet hee behaved hymselfe so warilye, that hee coulde single out hys game wiselye, insomuche that an olde Gentleman in Naples seeinge hys pregraunt witte, his Eloquent tongue somewhat tauntinge, yet not without wytte, his synges vaine glorious, yet pythie, beganne to be wayle hys nurture: and to muse at his Nature, beeinge incensed wyth the other as moste precious: for hee well knewe that so rare a wytte woulde in tyme eyther breede an intollerable trouble, or bringe an incomperable Treasure to the common weale: at the one hee greatly pittied, at the other he rejoyced.<sup>79</sup>

Using the rhetorical device of antithesis throughout his Anatomy of Wit, Lyly is evidently "laying open" or anatomizing his style. Through this device, he not only "lays open" this particular technique which he employs to reveal his wit, but he also seems to anatomize the virtue or trait or fault which he presents within his tale. For example, in the following passage, Lyly is stressing the small value Euphues places on friendship. Lyly relates this friendship not only to that of a "trothless foe" but also to a "muske" and to the "leafe of a cedar tree." Through his use of antithesis, Lyly stresses

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid., p. 186.

his point and thoroughly dissects, for the mind of his reader, a picture of false friendship. According to Jusserand, Lyly manages this constant use of antithesis in every sentence through "an immoderate prodigious monstrous use of similes . . . ." <sup>80</sup> Although he does use the simile to an immoderate extent, his readers of the sixteenth century evidently delighted in his use of the device. Through this technique, he not only "lays open" his wit but also dissects false friendship:

Althoughe hetherto Euphues I have shrined thee in my heart for a trustie friende, I will shunne thee heer after as a trothles foe, and although I cannot see in thee lesse witte than I was wont, Yet doe I finde less honestie, I perceive at the last (although beeing deceived it be to late) that Muske although it be sweet in the smell, is sower in the smacke, that the leafe of the Cedar tree though it be faire to be seene, yet the siroppe depriveth sight, that friendshippe though it be plighted by the shaking of the hande, yet it is shaken off by fraude of the hearte. <sup>81</sup>

A second device which Lyly frequently employs further to develop his wit is that of the rhetorical question. Not only does he use it to give body to a lengthy passage, but he also incorporates within the series of questions the emotional impact of the point he is attempting to impress upon his reader. The following passage in which Philautus is writing a letter to Euphues after learning of Euphues' betrayal

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<sup>80</sup> Jusserand, op. cit., p. 107.

<sup>81</sup> Bond, op. cit., p. 233.

of their friendship illustrates this technique:

Couldst thou Euphues for the love of a fruitless pleasure, vvyolate the leage of faythfull friendshippe? Diddest thou waye more the entising lookes of a lewd wenche, then the entyre love of a loyall friende? If thou didest determine with thy selfe at the first to be false, why didst thou sweare to bee true? If to bee true, why arte thou false? If thou wast mynded both falselye and forgedlye to deceive mee, why didest thou flatter and dissemble with mee at the firste? If to love men, why doest thou flinche at the last? If the sacred bands of amitie did delygth thee, why diddest thou breake them? If dislyke thee, why diddest thou prayse them?<sup>82</sup>

In this passage, Lyly does not curtail the use of the rhetorical question until he has completely exhausted his supply of related ideas which complement the main trait or point he is stressing at the time. Although as in the case of his use of the device of antithesis, his technique, here, also tends to weaken the movement of the plot. Nevertheless, it permits Lyly to further "lay open" or "dissect" not only his style but also his topic by his establishment of every possible contribution to any point in question--i.e., friendship, in this example. Here, he attempts to rationalize the violation of a once faithful friendship, and through his use of the rhetorical question, anatomized the actions of Euphues. In addition to "laying open" these ideas and opinions, he also enhances his wit through style.

In his role as a dissector of wit and prevalent ideas

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 234.

of his time, Lyly also employs the device of alliteration. If one observes how complicated Lyly's alliteration becomes in certain sections of Euphues, he may discover that Lyly performs an anatomy within an anatomy--that is, an anatomy of alliteration. This example of Lyly's ingenuity and the numerous examples of alliteration within his Anatomy are remarkable, although, at times, his meaning may become somewhat distorted because of his preoccupation with the device. An illustration of his use of this rhetorical device occurs when Ferardo is reprimanding his daughter, Lucilla, for her treatment of Philautus and Euphues:

Would I had never lyved to bee so olde or thou to bee so obstinate, eyther woulde I had dyed in my youthe in the courte, or thou in thy cradel, I would to God that eyther I had never bene borne, or thou never bredde.<sup>83</sup>

In this example, bene, borne, and bredde and some phrases alliterate. Lyly also uses the more complicated alliterative pattern of two or more letters used as word beginnings, alliterating within "corresponding clauses."<sup>84</sup> The following sentence is an example of this more complicated use of alliteration, which the device of antithesis often gives him occasion to use: "Although hetherto, Euphues, I have shrined thee in my heart for a trustie friende, I will shunne thee heerafter

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<sup>83</sup>Ibid., p. 243.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., p. 120.

as a trothles foe."<sup>85</sup> Alliteration, combined with antithesis and the rhetorical question, gives Lyly a chance to dissect and dwell upon one topic of special concern to the people of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as the disobedience to parents and the theme of disloyal friendship.

Another device, which Lyly frequently employs is that of repetition, which has already been shown to some extent through the previous techniques. However, Bond, in his introduction to The Anatomy of Wit, affirms that Lyly repeats continually, both in sense and in form.<sup>86</sup> This device of repetition is probably one of the most prominent in the prose works of such anatomy writers as Stubbes, Burton, Nashe, and Greene. Whatever the topic at hand, Lyly feels that the point can not be too much impressed upon the mind of his reader. In the following passage, he is displaying his wit through that of Lucilla, in both idea and form: "Canst thou then be so unwise to swallow the bayte which will breede thy bane? To swill the drinke that will expire thy date? To desire the wight that will worke thy death?"<sup>87</sup> Throughout the Anatomy, he employs the previously discussed devices of alliteration, antithesis, the rhetorical question, and repetition to dissect

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p. 233.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p. 120.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., p. 222.

for the young people of his courtly society the evils evident in a quickly gained, ill-bought type of love. According to Croll, Lyly thoroughly explains the science of love, because he considers himself an authority. Croll, however, thinks Lyly has a feeling for grace and elegance but believes that his learning is "not too deep."<sup>88</sup>

Another device through which Lyly further reveals his wit and portrays a scholarly background is his frequent use of classic examples. He also tries to improve them and embellish them through the use of the previously discussed techniques--thereby arriving at a new style of writing called Euphuism.<sup>89</sup> The revival of classics was just beginning in England, and English Literature had not yet been enriched with the wealth of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Plutarch, and Seneca, nor with mythological examples.<sup>90</sup> This device is definitely used, although not as extensively by the major anatomy writers who follow Lyly, allowing them further to dissect, through illustration, a certain topic. Lyly, for example, in the following passage, shows Euphues defending himself in his reply to Philautus, the rejected lover. Attempting to display the trickery involved in the quickly-gained love which Euphues

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<sup>88</sup> Morris William Croll and Harry Clemons (eds.), Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, Euphues and His England, p. xvii.

<sup>89</sup> Jusserand, op. cit., p. 105.

<sup>90</sup> Bond, op. cit., p. 164.

is seeking, Lyly further anatomizes his ideas on the art of romantic love:

Love knoweth no lawes: Did not Jupiter transforme himselfe into the shape of Amphitrio to imbrace Alcmaena? Into the forme of a Swan to enjoye Laeda? Into a Bull to beguyle Io? Into a showre of golde to winne Danae? Did not Neptune chaunge himselfe into a Heyfer, a Ramme, a Floude, A Dolphin, onelye for the love of those he lusted after? Did not Apollo converte himselfe into a Shepheard, into a Birde, into a Lyon, for the desire he had to heale hys disease? If the Gods thoughte no scorne to become beasts, to obtayne their best beloved, shall Euphues be so nyce in chaunging his coppie to gayne his Lady.<sup>91</sup>

Although Lyly portrays a scholarly background through his use of classic examples, he also reveals his familiarity with everyday life and every class in his use of proverbial expression or platitudes.<sup>92</sup> Jusserand feels that Lyly could not write of the most common occurrence without comparing the feelings of his characters with the characteristics of ". . . toads, serpents, unicorns, scorpions, and all the fantastical animals mentioned in Pliny or described in the bestiaries of the Middle Ages."<sup>93</sup> For example, in reply to Euphues' declaration of love, Lucilla answers:

When the Fox preacheth the Geese perishe. The Crocidile shrowdeth greatest treason under most pitifull teares:

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<sup>91</sup>Ibid., p. 236.

<sup>92</sup>Winny, op. cit., p. xiv.

<sup>93</sup>Jusserand, op. cit., p. 107.

in a kissing mouth there lyeth a gallying minde. You have made so large proffer of your service, and so fayre promises of fidelytie, that were I not over charie of mine honestie, you would inveigle me to shake handes with chastitie.<sup>94</sup>

Jusserand also points out that Lyly's work is among the easiest to reduce to its "component parts."<sup>95</sup> Perhaps, the previous passage proves this point, because it further dissects Lyly's work, since his nature similes clearly show his use of still another type and another source--the Bestiary.<sup>96</sup> This device, another form of repeating an idea, is also used by the later anatomy writers, although, as with most of the other techniques, not as obviously.

Lyly's Anatomy of Wit, the forerunner of the major anatomies of the seventeenth century, definitely foreshadows the characteristics of the other anatomies of the age, although in form it differs greatly. The form, however, was apparently insignificant to the anatomy as each writer, although using many of the same techniques and accomplishing many of the same purposes, differed in his choice of form from his associates. Lyly's special contributions to the anatomy genre are those involving style: antithesis, alliteration, repetition, rhetorical questions, and allusions to classical and bestiary sources.

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<sup>94</sup>Bond, op. cit., p. 220.

<sup>95</sup>Jusserand, op. cit., p. 107.

<sup>96</sup>Croll, op. cit., p. xvii.

Although exaggerated, these methods are also frequently employed by Greene, Stubbes, Burton, and the other anatomy writers of the age. Style, however, is only one characteristic of the anatomy. Lyly's Anatomy did also "lay open" some manners and ideas for the young people of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Lyly dissects wit as it should be displayed in such topics of the day as friendship, love, loyalties, and manners, subjects that were very important to a courtly society. For example, the old gentleman, Eubulus, gives Euphues advice which might have had significance for young people of Lyly's time:

Alas Euphues by how much the more I love the highe climbinge of thy capacitie, by so muche the more I feare thy fall. The fine Christall is sooner crazed than the harde marble, the greenest Beech burneth faster than the dryest Oke, the fairest silke is soonest soyled, and the sweetest wine tourneth to the sharpest vinegar, the pestilence doth most ryfest infext the cleerest complection, and the carerpillar cleaveth unto navitie, if therefore, thou doe but harken to the Syrens, thou wylte bee enamoured, if thou haunte their houses and places, thou shall be enchanted.<sup>97</sup>

Lyly also warns young people, especially women, of the snares and corruption apparent in many of the accepted practices of the day. In the following passage, Euphues is replying to Lucilla, after she has explained her sudden change of heart in rejecting his love for Curio:

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<sup>97</sup>Bond, op. cit., p. 189.

I for my part thincke him worthy of thee, and thou unworthy of him, for although hee bee in bodye deformed, in minde foolishe, an innocent borne, a beggar by misfortune, yet doth hee deserve a better than thyselve, whose corrupt manners have stayde thy heavenly hewe, whose light behaviour hath dimmed the lightes of thy beautie, whose unconstant mynde hath betrayed the innocencie of so many a Gentleman. And in that you bringe in the example of a beast to confirme your folly, you shewe therein your beastly disposition, which is readie to follow suche beastliness.<sup>98</sup>

The previous two passages, as well as the others from Lyly's Anatomy of Wit, illustrate the outstanding purpose of the anatomy literary genre--the attempt to dissect proper actions and manners of the day--the attempt to divulge the false or wrong (in the eyes of the anatomy writer) ideas prevalent during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries--the attempt to "lay open" the faults of society and, in instances, to "anatomize" the possible cures. These purposes seem to be the prominent ones carried through the anatomies of the later writers in the genre, the form of the anatomy making little difference in the purpose set forth.

Another famous writer of the seventeenth century, Robert Greene, although close in style to Lyly, is the author of two anatomies which contribute to this genre. The writings of Greene contain numerous examples "of . . . language in relation to Euphuism" and also portray fully a ". . . manners-painting

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<sup>98</sup>Loc. cit.

of contemporary, i.e., Elizabethan life."<sup>99</sup> However, Jusserand feels that, although Greene undoubtedly is one of Lyly's "legalees," he shows "a much greater fertility of invention than Lyly."<sup>100</sup> Within the writings of both Lyly and Greene, one sees the novel of manners beginning to evolve. At long last, writers succeed in abandoning the romantic sources of such idealistic characters as Arthur and his brave knights. They are more concerned with characters who display, through their actions, some relationship to reality.<sup>101</sup> Neither Lyly nor Greene laughed at vices. Even if their styles were bombastic, they were earnest in the themes of morality which they presented for consideration.<sup>102</sup> Perhaps, the language of the characters is euphuistic and unrealistic, a display of knowledge being the author's purpose; however, their ideas and themes portray everyday life--anatomizing contemporary problems. Greene's first anatomy, The Anatomy of Flattery, follows his novel, Mamilla: A Mirror or Looking-Glass for the Ladies of England (1583). Greene dissects two opposing characteristics within the novel--the frivolity and disloyalty of the young men as portrayed by Pharicles, and the loyalty of

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<sup>99</sup>Alexander B. Grosart (ed.), The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene, II, xiv.

<sup>100</sup>Jusserand, op. cit., p. 168.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid., p. 134.

<sup>102</sup>Loc. cit.

the young women, as portrayed by Mamilla who continues to be true to Pharicles, even successfully defending him in his trial.<sup>103</sup> However, in his Anatomy of Flattery, Mamilla, having grown wiser after her experiences with Pharicles' inconstancy, warns the Ladie Modesta of the flattery used by young romantic men. Mamilla displays the art of flattery thoroughly in the characters in the narrative she delivers to Ladie Modesta. In the following passage, Greene, through Mamilla, warns the young ladies to beware of men who appear to be saintly in their actions. Mamilla's speech not only "lays open" the deceitful flattery of a fickle lover but also displays Greene's use of alliteration, antithesis and repetition, the devices which Lyly employed. Mamilla warns Modesta to be wary of those who seek to spoil her chastity:

. . . yet that poor Gentlewoman shal have cause to curse her peniworth which tries them in the wearing: shee shall finde them whom she thought to be Saints to be Serpents, that those who in wooing are Doves, in wedding to be divels, that in the fairest grasse lies hid the foulest Snake, in the bravest tombe the most rotten bones, & in the fairest countenance the fowlest conditions: those whom I terme to be hypocrites, are they who pricked forward with lust to fixe their fleeting fancie uppon some sillie dame, whom nature hath beautified both with the shape of 'beautie and substance of vertue . . . .<sup>104</sup>

Although Greene displays the tendency of many young men to

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<sup>103</sup>Grosart, op. cit., I, 67.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid., II, 257.

indulge in the art of flattery, he also depicts the weakness of women in succumbing to this flattery. The following passage warns against both weaknesses that are evidently apparent in Greene's society. Mamilla is warning the Lady Modesta of the different ways in which a "poore blinde maide's" affections can be swayed with flattery:

. . . comparing her for her beautie to Venus, for her wit to Minerva, for her chastitie to Diana, and yet this virtue, the cheefest thing, they seeke to spoile her of: her eyes are twinkling starres, her teeth pearles, her lips corall, her throat ivorie, her voice most musicall harmonie; yet she is so perfect in all pointes, as they marvell how so heavenly a creature is shrowded under the shape of mortalitie: these I say who have honie in their mouth and gall in their hearts, are such hypocriticall flatterers as they seeke with sugred words and filed speed to inveigle the sillie eyes of well meaning Gentlewomen, when as inwardly they scoffe at the poore maids which are so blinde as not to see their extreme follie and grosse flatterie.<sup>105</sup>

In The Anatomie of Flatterie, Greene displays various methods used by men to tempt young and innocent ladies. Signor Valasco and his daughter Sylvia are in the process of choosing a suitable husband for Sylvia. One suitor, Gradasso, an Italian, is old and wealthy, and through wealth, he flatters her. Monsieur deVasta, a handsome and rather foolish Frenchman, wants a wife whose beauty complements him. Sylvia chooses Petronius, an honest Englishman, not wealthy, but possessing

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<sup>105</sup>Ibid., p. 258.

wit enough to make up for all of his deficiencies. Although Greene displays the undesirable characteristics through the other male characters, through the character of Petronius, he dissects virtues which he considers necessary in a worthy young gentleman of the times. As does Lyly, Greene also uses classical examples and portrays his knowledge of ancients while "laying open" the necessary abuses and virtues of society, such as the methods of those who flatter:

. . . who more faire than Paris, yet a trothlesse traitor to his love Olnone. Ulisses was wise, yet wavering, Enear a pleasant tongue, yet proved a parasiticall flatterer, Demphoon demure and yet a dissembler, Jason promiseth much yet performed little, and Theseus added a thousand oathes to Ariadne, yet never a one proved true.<sup>106</sup>

Greene also defends his choice suitor for Sylvia's hand in numerous examples supporting Petronius's virtues, revealing that wit and learning are more important than wealth and beauty. Petronius uses classical examples to defend his wisdom and to strengthen his arguments for Sylvia's hand:

Nestor was more honoured and esteemed for his learning and wisdom at the siege of Troye, than either Achilles for his strength, Ajax for his valour, or Agamemnon for his stout courage . . . . Cyrce was not enamoured with the beautie of Ulisses but entangled with his wisdom . . . . Socrates thanked the Gods onely for three things, first, that they made him a man and not a woman, that he was borne a Grecian and not a Barbarian, thirdly, that he was

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<sup>106</sup>Ibid., p. 264.

a philosopher and not unlearned, esteeming the gifts of nature and fortune of no value unlesse they/be beautified with the gifts of the mind.<sup>107</sup>

Another of Greene's anatomies, Arbasto, The Anatomie of Fortune, belongs to a series of writings called the "love Pamphlets," which are dedicated solely to the topic of love. In each, Greene dissects some phase of love. In The Anatomie of Fortune, he attempts to dissect the "mishaps" that may occur when one feels too secure in love in "the highest state of prosperitie." On his title-page he also describes his work as "perfect counsell to prevent misfortune." To dissect fortune and thereby display its effect upon love is his aim. Again, he presents the young man, Arbasto, as somewhat disloyal in his affection, thus causing the death of Myrania. Arbasto be-moans his fortune and his own foolish actions that determined his fate:

O unfortunate Arbasto (quoth I) and therefore the more  
 unfortunate because Arbasto, art thou not worthye of  
 thys mishap, which wilfully sought thy owne misery?  
 Canst thou accuse the Gods, which didst strive against  
 the Gods? Canst thou condemne Fortune which hast warred  
 against nature and Fortune: No, no, in sufferying reason  
 to yielde unto appetite, wisdome unto wyll, and wyt unto  
 affection, thou haste procured thine owne death and thy  
 soldiers destruction. Love, yea love it is that hath  
 procured thy losse, beautie that hath bred thy bale:  
 fancye that hath given thee the foile, and thyne owne  
 witless wyll that hath wrought thy woe: the more is thy  
 paine, and the less thou art to be pittied: Was there

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<sup>107</sup>Ibid., p. 286.

none to like but Doralicia? none to choose but thy foe?  
 none to love but thy enemy? O vile wretch fraught and  
 carelesse folly.<sup>108</sup>

Actually, the theme, here, is closely related to that of The Anatomy of Flatterie. The inconstant lover and the weak, honorable and loyal lady (Myrania) are both present. Greene anatomizes fortune by showing how young men often bring about their own misery and destinies, as well as those of some young ladies, through foolish actions. Myrania displays the folly of her weakness in the following speech which also shows her dilemma and "lays open" the confusion that can be a part of love unwisely sought. In the same passage, one also detects the influence of Lyly as Greene uses examples from bestiaries as illustrations of this type of love and as a display of his own knowledge:

Trueth Myrania, but what then, to love is easy, & perhaps good, but to like wel is hard & a doubtfull chance: fancy thy fill (fond fool) so thou bend not thy affection to thy fathers fo: for to love him who seekes his life, is to war against nature & fortune. Is there none worthy to be thy fere but Arbasto, the cursed enemy to thy country? Can none win thy good will but the bloody wretch, who seeketh to breed thy fathers bane? Can the eagle & the bird Osiphage build in one tree? Will the faulcon & the dove covet to fit on one perch? Will the Ape & the Beare be tied in one tedder? Will the Foxe and the Lambe lye in one den? no they/want reason, & yet nature suffers them not to live against nature: Wilt thou then be so wilful or witles/as having reason to guide nature: yet to be more unnatural than unreasonable creatures? be sure

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid., p. 219.

if thou fal in this thou strivest against the gods, & in striving with them looke for a most sharp revenge.<sup>109</sup>

The most dishonorable character of this Anatomy is Doralicia, who falls in love with Arbasto after she has already destroyed his love for her. Doralicia is a character seldom seen in Greene's narratives--a heartless, cruel young lady. Through her, he reveals many of the undesirable acts which are sometimes performed by those in his own society, but he also demonstrates that her death and tragic fortune are greatly influenced by her own actions in life. Arbasto also is caused to suffer, having been driven from his throne by those who were enraged by his disloyalty. As the narrative ends, Arbasto resigns himself to his fate, which he has, in many ways, brought upon himself:

But I alas leading still a loathsome life, was more cruelly crossed by Fortune, for Egerio conspiring with the peeres of my realme, in short time by civill warres dispossessed me of my crowne and/kingdome: forced then to flee by mine owne subjects, after some travell I arrived at this place, where considering with my selfe the fickle inconstancie of unjust fortune, I have ever since lived content in this cell to despite fortune: one while sorrowing for the mishap of Myrania, and another while joying at the miserie of Doralicia, but alwayes smiling, that by contemning fortune, I learne to leade hir in triumph. Thus thou hast heard why in meane estate I passe my daies content; rest therefore satisfied, that thus I have lived, and thus I meane to die.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>109</sup>Ibid., p. 198.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid., p. 252.

As one studies Robert Greene's Anatomies, he realizes that one of the main purposes of the genre is to reveal the author's opinions and feelings toward the moral standards of his society. The "moral propensities" of Greene's writing are stated on the first page of each of his published works, intentionally combined with his titles. Perhaps, Greene, because of his life and his own inconstancy and inability to live up to his own expectations and ideals, is an expert in the art of anatomizing the frivolities and weaknesses of the young people of his day. Truly, he saw all sides of life and he was unquestionably familiar with the abuses affecting his own actions and those surrounding him. Perhaps, sincerity, therefore, is one of his major contributions to the anatomy in its development as a literary genre.

Another of the most popular anatomies written during the last half of the sixteenth century was Phillip Stubbes's The Anatomy of Abuses (1583), an ". . . exposure of the abuses and corruptions that were to have existed in all classes of the Elizabethan Society."<sup>111</sup> Stubbes' work was published in two parts, both of which are in dialogic form--the first part, a dialogue between Spudens and Philopnaus (Stubbes); the second, between Theodorus and Amphilogys. In both sections Stubbes dwells on the wickedness of the English people

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<sup>111</sup>Warner, op. cit., p. 358.

represented by Aligna in the first part and by Dnalgne in the second. Very little is known about Stubbes, except for Thomas Nashe's bitter attack upon him, concerning this work, in 1589.<sup>112</sup> If one accepts Nashe's opinion of Stubbes, he would, indeed, see the man as a ". . . mere bitter narrow-sould Puritan, who saw only the dark side of everything--evil in innocence, sin in mirth, the devil in dancing, and hell in Shakspeare's art."<sup>113</sup> Perhaps, this concept was the opinion of many of Stubbes' contemporaries; however, as one reads The Anatomy of Abuses, observing the manner of "dissection" of each vice and abuse, he becomes readily acquainted with many of the problems and questions of morality confronting the people of the sixteenth century. Stubbes not only dissected abuses, but was concerned, as well, with the subtle differences existing within each abuse; he, as Lyly, gave many examples for each abuse, later discussing the punishments for each and offering reasons for amending them.

In his preface, Stubbes explains to the reader that he does not desire to abolish all amusements, but rather the follies that lie within them.<sup>114</sup> For example, he suggests

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<sup>112</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>113</sup> Phillip Stubbes, The Anatomy of Abuses in England, quoted in Shakespeare's England, p. x.

<sup>114</sup> Loc. cit.

that some plays are good teaching devices:

. . . for such is our grosse and dull nature, that what we see opposite before our eyes, do pearce further and printe deeper in our harts and minds, than that thing which is hard only with the eares . . . .<sup>115</sup>

He explains further that, when tragedies and plays are used to teach that which is good, they are "very tolerable exercises."<sup>116</sup> Throughout the preface, he tries to convince his reader that he is usually not against the action--even dancing and games--but against the abuses committed within each, thus, stressing that his presentation of these abuses is his purpose in the Anatomy. For example, he states that he is against such exercises as "dancing on the Sabbath, dancing from morning until night, and dancing of men and women together."<sup>117</sup>

One can determine, to some extent at least, Stubbes' reason for his choice of the Anatomy genre by an investigation of the scope of the first abuse contained in the beginning section. It is pride which Stubbes considers to be "The principall abuse."<sup>118</sup> Here, he proceeds to dissect pride, laying it open into three parts: ". . . the pryde of the hart, the pride

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<sup>115</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid., p. xi.

<sup>117</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>118</sup>Ibid., p. 28.

of the mouth, and the pride of apparell, which offendeth God more than the other two."<sup>119</sup> Next, he anatomizes thoroughly each of these, allotting a greater discussion to his treatment of the "pride of apparell." Through Philopnaus, the character representing the author, himself, he illustrates the pride of apparell in the following manner:

By wearing of apparell more gorgeous, sumptuous, and precious than our state, calling, or condition of lyfe requireth; whereby we are puffed up into Pride, and enforced to thinke of ourselves more than we ought, being but vile earth, and miserable sinners.<sup>120</sup>

Not only does Philopnaus dissect or "lay open" England's wickedness in dress, he also compares England with other countries, although England, in Stubbes' eyes, is the worst offender:

For it is manifest that all other nations under the sun, how strange, how new, how fine, or how comely forever they think their fashions to be, when they be compared with Ailgna, are most unhandsome, brutish, and monstrouse. And hereby it appeareth that no people in the world is so curiouse in new fangles as they of Ailgna be.<sup>121</sup>

Later, he anatomizes the purpose of apparel, contending that it was first given by God to Adam and Eve in Paradise so that they might cover themselves with "garments of fig leaves."<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>119</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>121</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>122</sup>Ibid., p. 36.

On this point, Spudens replies to Philopnaus with the following words:

I gather by your words three special points. First, that sin was the course why our apparell was given us; secondly that God is the author and giver thereof; thirdly, that it was given us to cover our shame withall, and not to feed the insatiable desires of mens wanton and luxurious lies.<sup>123</sup>

Following this dialogue, Stubbes becomes involved in one of his many digressions, an evident characteristic of the works of most later writers of Anatomies. Herein, he explains that, as people sin more frequently, they often try to make their actions appear to be the result of God's will.<sup>124</sup> After exhasuting this subject, Stubbes returns to his initial topic concerning apparell, e.g., men say they wear splendid clothes to please God or for the glory of God. Thus, he equates this concept with a contemporary point of view: ". . . the more we syn, the more we increase His prayse and glorye."<sup>125</sup> In support of his contentions concerning apparel, he devotes much space to a catalogue of illustrations of the abuses of clothing and to examples of good people who refrain from indulging in the abuse. As does Lyly, Stubbes also invokes a scholarly sense

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<sup>123</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>124</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid., p. 39.

in his use of classical examples. The following passage is an example of the type of "little lesson" or moral which Stubbes often presents through illustrations:

The wife of Philo, the philosopher, being upon a tyme demanded why she ware not gold, silver and preciouſe garments, ſaid, ſhe thought the virtues of her husbande ſufficiente ornaments for her.<sup>126</sup>

He also frequently uses the Bible as a source for his examples, as in the apparel section, he uses the story of John the Baptist and his wearing of camel hair to illustrate a conservative attitude toward attire.<sup>127</sup>

To comprehend the thoroughness of Stubbes' anatomizing of a single topic, one must observe him in his use of other techniques. For example, he dissects the subject of apparel even more completely than before, by introducing the fashions of hat styles,<sup>128</sup> types of hose,<sup>129</sup> and by describing the misery that one feels in observing these styles. He, then, shifts into a completely new discussion of "women's Apparell in Ailgna." For example, he has a particular concern for the practice of women's coloring their faces:

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<sup>126</sup>Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>127</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>129</sup>Ibid., p. 56.

The women of Ailgna use to colour their faces with certain oyles, liguors, unguents and waters made to that end, whereby they think their beauty is greatly decored: but who sethe not that their soules are thereby deformed, and they brought deeper into the displeasure and indignation of the Almightye, at whose presence the heavens shall liquifie and melt away. Doo they think thus to adulterate the Lord his workmanship, and to be withoute offence? Doo they not know that he is Zelotipus, a jelous God, and can not abide any alteration of his workes, otherwise than he hath commaunded?<sup>130</sup>

The problems of "trimming and curling and frilled and crippled hair," along with that of "Gengawes and trinkets" worn in the hair are next anatomized. The dyeing of hair and the wearing of wigs are also "laid open" in Stubbes' discussion.<sup>131</sup> Among an impressive list of related abuses that women commit are those of desiring holes in their eares, the setting of precious stones into cuts which they make in their skins, and the wearing of great uncomfortable ruffes and neckerchiefs and other interesting feminine fads and styles of the day. One encounters a complete dissection of women's apparel in Stubbes' descriptions.

Another point arousing Stubbes' objections is the "self-satisfaction" and "self-esteem" that he saw developing in the middle class.<sup>132</sup> Throughout his Anatomy, he emphasizes this

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<sup>130</sup> Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., p. 68.

<sup>132</sup> Wright, op. cit., p. 20.

abuse--the idea of people's trying to live beyond their rightful station in society. Again, in his discussion of apparel, he sees that parents are to blame, because, as Stubbes explains, poor men's daughters ". . . flaunt it out in such gownes, petticoats, and kirtles as these."<sup>133</sup> In his preface, he makes it clear that people should dress according to their calling or birth; and, in his apparel section, he speaks of "excess of Apparell,"--an abuse of those of a lower station who far outdo the noble and honorable. He asserts that "lower folk" should not go about in "Gilt daggers" and velvets.<sup>134</sup> Again, he considers the practices of other countries in a comparison with English customs. For example, he points out that Brazilian women "wear so little and would rather go without than be so proud as the English women are."<sup>135</sup> From Stubbes' careful description of the abuse of pride in wearing apparel, it is possible for one to construct an entire wardrobe of sixteenth-century fashions. This point alone illustrates how closely Stubbes anatomizes or dissects each of his topics. The following list of many of the other abuses (each thoroughly "laid open") which Stubbes included in his work gives one a concept of the broad range of this Anatomy: The horryble Vice

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<sup>133</sup>Stubbes, op. cit., p. 75.

<sup>134</sup>Ibid., p. xii.

<sup>135</sup>Ibid., p. 84.

of Whoredome in Ailgna; Gluttonie and Drunkenness in Ailgna; Great Swearing in Ailgna; Loathsome Qualities of Those That Drink; Great Usurie in Ailgna; The Manner of Sanctifying the Sabbath in Ailgna; Of Stage-plays, and Enterludes with their Wickedness; Lords of Mis-rule in Ailgna; The Horryble Vice of Pestiferous Dauncing, used in Ailgna; Cards, Dice, Table Tennisse, Bowles, and other exercyses used Unlawfully in Ailgna. In his conclusion, he disucsses the Day of Judgment, anatomizing, again, to some extent, in that he presents some of the warnings that show the Day might be near, and, later, in his discussion of repentance (the cure), he dissects the subject under the categories true and false repentance.<sup>136</sup>

In the second part of The Anatomy of Abuses in England (1582), Stubbes furthers his discussion of corruptions in his description of

. . . such imperfections, blemishes, and abuses, as now reighning in every degree, require reformation for feare of God's vengeance to be poured upon the people and countrie without speedie repentance and conversion unto God.<sup>137</sup>

Herein, however, he investigates every "degree," or each group, such as lawmakers and educators. First, he dissects the world into three ages: the first age is the golden age--

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<sup>136</sup>Ibid., p. 187.

<sup>137</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

the almost perfect period when man lived godlike and "in fear of God";<sup>138</sup> the second age is the silver age--the age when man began to decline, "fall from his former holiness and integritie of life, to sinne and wickedness";<sup>139</sup> the third age is the leaden age--the age of Stubbes' England wherein the people ". . . are now committing sinne without any remorse."<sup>140</sup> Through his dissection of the world, he warns his readers that they have very little time left in which to correct these many abuses, unless they repent immediately, because the destruction of England is at hand. Also, in his second part, Stubbes presents an analysis of the Pope's "evil ways" and of the ways of the Catholic Church. According to Stubbes' point of view, the Pope sends his ". . . bloudthirstie Papists and others to stir up rebellion under the name of religion."<sup>141</sup> Stubbes' attitude toward other countries has changed, as he now believes they are not too secure and would bring destruction upon England if they thought they could achieve it.<sup>142</sup> The only optimistic and complimentary section, including both the first and second parts, is his description of the ". . . noble Queene, a chaste maide, and pure Virgin, who for all

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<sup>138</sup>Ibid., Part II, 2.

<sup>139</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>140</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>141</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>142</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

respects may compare with any under the sunne."<sup>143</sup> Perhaps, Stubbes was being only wise in so speaking of Queen Elizabeth.

As Stubbes anatomized the direct abuses of the people in the first part, he, in the same manner, "cuts apart" government institutions, describing such topics as bribes and "topsie turvie" legal procedures, the abuses of court, and the frightful conditions of the prisons of Stubbes' age:

For if a felonie, homicide, a murder, or else what grievous offender so ever that hath deserved a thousand deaths, if it were possible happen to be taken or apprehended, he is straightway committed to prison, and clapt up in as many cold irons as he can beare, yea, throwne into dungeons and dark places under ground, without either bed, clothes, or anything else to helpe himselfe withall, save a little straw or litter bad inough for a dog to lie in and in this miserie shall he lie, amongst frogs, toades, and other filthie vermine, till lice eate the flesh of his bones.<sup>144</sup>

Stubbes' section on bribes, again, illustrates to one that the second part of the Anatomy is as thoroughly anatomized as is the first part. The abuse of schools is only one form of bribery according to Stubbes. He feels that money and friendship buy places in schools and universities that are supposed to be given to those that are in need.<sup>145</sup> In addition to the abuse of bribes, he points out the abuse of the poor salaries,

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<sup>143</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>144</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>145</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

a practice which results in poor schoolmasters.<sup>146</sup> Along with these groups, he includes equally poor business practices, bribery actually being only one, of various groups, such as merchant men, clothmakers, goldsmiths, vintners, landlords, and almost any degree of tradesmen in England during the Elizabethan Age. He treats each group individually and dissects each one thoroughly.

Stubbes' chief contribution to the anatomy as a literary genre may well be his thoroughness in dissecting every possible part of any topic he chooses, and he seems to have missed none. His complete "laying open" of the subject of apparel makes this thoroughness apparent. Stubbes, like Lyly, uses numerous illustrations and examples, leaving no question in the reader's mind as to the exact abuse he feels has been committed, bringing in, also, any related lesser abuses which may have contributed to the main abuse. Also, as does Burton and most of the anatomy writers of his age, Stubbes digresses frequently, often reminding one of a minister in presenting a sermon, using Biblical illustrations to contribute to his digressions; however, he always returns to his major subject of abuse without difficulty. Although he may have been criticized, one learns much about England during the last half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries

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<sup>146</sup>Loc. cit.

by reading The Anatomy of Abuses within which he dissects every topic so accurately.

Thomas Nashe's Anatomie of Absurdity (1587) apparently aroused little attention as compared with Stubbes' work.<sup>147</sup> This discovery is rather ironical, since Nashe obviously devoted the second section of his work to an assault upon Stubbes, as in the following comment, clearly a criticism of Stubbes:

I leave these in their follie, and hasten to other mens furie, who make the Presse the dunghill whether they carry all the muck of their mellancholicke imaginations, pretending forsooth to anatomize abuses and stubbe up sin by the rootes, when as there waste-paper beeing well viewed, seemes fraught with nought else save dogge daies effects, who wresting places of Scripture against pride, whoredome, covetousness, gluttonie, drunkennesse, extend their invectives so farre against the abuse, that almost the things remaine not whereof they admitte onie lawfull use.<sup>148</sup>

Nashe's exact status in the social realm is not known; however, he is very critical of the middle class in much of his writing. He loved poetry and hated the Puritans (Stubbes) for their lack of wit, not for their choice of a religion.<sup>149</sup> As it has been shown, the genre of the Anatomy or "laying open" seems to have given writers an opportunity to express both loves and hates:

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<sup>147</sup>George Richard Hibbard, Thomas Nashe, A Critical Introduction, p. 11.

<sup>148</sup>Alexander B. Grosart (ed.), The Complete Works of Thomas Nashe, p. 28.

<sup>149</sup>Wright, op. cit., p. 93.

It were to be wished, that the act is of the ventrous and praise of the vertuous were, by publique Edict, prohibited by such men's merry mouthes to be so odiously extolde, as rather breedes detestations than admiration, lothing than lyking. What Politique Counsailour or valiant souldier will joy or glorie or fidler, hath shuffled or slubberd up a few ragged rimes, in the memoriall or ones prudence, or the others prowesse? It makes the learned sort to be silent, when as they see unlearned sots so insolent.<sup>150</sup>

Nashe early had decided that ". . . prose was to be his medium, pamphlet his form, and satire his vein."<sup>151</sup> Since the Anatomies that preceded his appear to have been successful ventures, the reasoning that he used in choosing his style is clear. One problem with which Nashe had to cope was that of adhering to his subject; however, a frequent digression seems to be a characteristic of all the anatomy writers. An example of Nashe's digressing occurs in the section in which he admonishes writers for the misues of poetic standards, thus ruining a form which he admires when it conforms to traditional standards:<sup>152</sup>

It is not of my yeeres nor studie to censure these mens foolerie more theologicallie, but to shew how they to no Commonwealth commoditie, tosse over their troubled imaginations to have the praise of the learning which they lack. Many of them to be more amiable with their friends of the Feminine sexe, blot many sheetes of paper in the blazing of women slender praises, as though in that

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<sup>150</sup>Grosart, The Complete Works of Thomas Nashe, p. 11.

<sup>151</sup>Hibbard, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>152</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

generation their raigned and alwaies remained singular simplicitie, that all posterities should be enjoyned by duetie, to fill their Temples, nay Townes and streetes, with the shrines of the Saints.<sup>153</sup>

Since this passage brings up the subject of women, Nashe leaves, for a time, his criticism of poetry and devotes many pages to anatomizing women. He seems to have very little faith in the actions and manners of the women of his own age, criticizing them in every possible way, as the following section suggests. Furthermore, within this section, one also observes Nashe's display of a knowledge of classical literature, one which he frequently reveals within the anatomy, a practice reminiscent of the methods of Lyly, Greene, and Stubbes:

. . . but then let us hear what was the opinion of ancient Philosophers, as touching the Femall sexe. One of them beeing asked what estate that was which made wise men fooles, and fooles wisemen, answered marriage. Aristotle doth counsell us, rather to gette a little wife than a great, because alwaies a little evill is better then a great, so that hee counted all women without exception, evill and ungratious. Another of them being asked what was the greatest miracle in the world, saide, a chaste woman. One requiring Diogenes judgment when it was the best time to take a wife, answered for the young man not yet, and the olde man never.<sup>154</sup>

Nashe continues in this manner, covering a rather lengthy passage, citing the opinions of different philosophers toward

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<sup>153</sup>Grosart, The Complete Works of Thomas Nashe, I, 15.

<sup>154</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

women--none complimentary. This passage also suggests another characteristic similar to those found in the previously discussed anatomy writers--that of illustrating by using many successive examples.

Although Nashe's feeling toward the Puritans and the middle class may seem to imply that he was prejudiced, he is genuine in his concern for the abuse of the press by the narrow-minded and the ignorant, making his purpose clear at the beginning of his Anatomy of Absurditie:

. . . to take a view of sundry mens vanitie, a survey of their follie, a briefe of their barbarisme, to runne through authors of the absurder sort, assembled in the Stacioners Shop, sucking and selecting out of the upstart antiquaries, some somewhat of their unsavory duncerie, meaning to note with Nigrum theta, that each one at the first signe may eschew it as infectious, to shewe it to the world that all men may shunne it.<sup>155</sup>

Although Nashe is determined to anatomize the abuse of the press by all who are narrow-minded and the ignorant, he often returns to a criticism of the Puritans, accusing them of hypocrisy in everything they do.<sup>156</sup> In his eyes, the popular ballads, the money makers, and the Puritans are great enemies of poetry and learning.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>155</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>156</sup>Hibbard, op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>157</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

He that wil seeke for a Pearle, must first learn to know it when he sees it, least he neglect it when hee findes it, or make a nought worth pebble his Jewell: and they that covet to picke more precious knowledge out of Poets amorous Elegies, must have a discerning knowledge, before they can aspire to the perfection of their desired knowledge, least the obtaining of trifles be the repentant end of their travell.<sup>158</sup>

Nashe is wise and sees the problem, but he goes about solving it in much the same manner that he condemned Stubbes for using.<sup>159</sup> He feels that the shortcomings of the satirists are the result of their writing ". . . complaints, general attacks on general vices, couched in traditional terms and untouched by humor or wit."<sup>160</sup> This characteristic is also apparent in several of the anatomies. Partly because of his immaturity as an author, he sees the weakness in others, but cannot see it in his own works. For example, he criticizes Stubbes and others for their borrowings:

That never tasted of any thing save the excrements of artes, whose thredde-bare knowledge beeing bought at the second hand, is spotted, blemished, and defaced through translators rigourous rude dealing, shoulde preferre their fluttered sutes before other mens glittering gorgeous array, should offer them water out of a muddie pit, who have continually recourse to the Fountaine, or dregs to drink who have wine to sell.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>158</sup>Grosart, The Complete Works of Thomas Nashe, I, 44.

<sup>159</sup>Hibbard, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>160</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>161</sup>Grosart, The Complete Works of Thomas Nashe, I, 29.

Actually, Nashe himself probably did as much or more "second handed" work than many writers of the period. However, he denies that he had ever used Lyly's Euphues as a pattern for his own style; however, Hibbard feels that there is evidence from the beginning to the end of the Anatomy of Absurditie that Nashe has imitated Lyly.<sup>162</sup> In support of his theory, he points out ". . . the use of antithesis, the piling-up of instances, the elaborate alliteration, the use of rhyme, the references to mythology and to the Elizabethan zoo all point to the same mode."<sup>163</sup> As one reads Nashe's works, he comes to agree with Hibbard, to a certain extent, especially when he considers passages like the following:

Never remembring, that as there was a loyall Lucretia, so there was a light a love Lais, that as there was a modest Medullina, so there was a mischivous Medea, that as there was a stedfast Timoclea, so there was a trayterous Tarpeya, that as there was a sober Sulpitia, so there was a deceitful Scylla, that as there was a chaste Claudia, so there was a wanton Clodia.<sup>164</sup>

This passage clearly points out the alliteration, the antithesis, the mythology, and the "piling-up of instances." Although these characteristics lend support to Hibbard's theory, they also reflect the popular styles and techniques of Nashe's day, and in his works he dwells on the very same topics

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<sup>162</sup>Hibbard, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>163</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>164</sup>Grosart, The Complete Works of Thomas Nashe, I, 15.

(manners, writing, women, and other familiar subjects) popular with many writers of his day, especially those affiliated with the anatomy genre. His moralizing, illustrated in his passage criticizing women, and his criticizing of the Puritans and the absurd applications of printing and poetry make apparent his consistent use of the genre to point out and dissect certain weaknesses plaguing the people of his period. Also, each Anatomy writer must be given credit for having included numerous illustrations supporting his own particular opinions. Nashe's following of these conventions within his Anatomy of Absurditie and his "so-called borrowing" go far in establishing the anatomy as a literary genre.

Although John Donne's An Anatomy of the World (1611) is a work of poetry and while the prose genre is the subject under present consideration, here, perhaps it should be noted briefly, since Donne includes the word, anatomy, within his title. This work in verse was presumably written on the occasion of the death of Mistress Elizabeth Drury, who died early in December, 1610, leaving her parents childless.<sup>165</sup> Some authorities believe that Donne took advantage of this occasion to secure a patron, since he had never seen the girl.<sup>166</sup> Not long after her death, he produced a verse entitled "Funeral

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<sup>165</sup>R. C. Bald, Donne and the Drurys, p. 68.

<sup>166</sup>Ibid., p. 80.

Elegie," which later became a part of his much longer An Anatomy of the World.<sup>167</sup> Although this poem probably did not lessen the parents' grief, they learned from it of Donne's sympathy, and a friendship was formed.<sup>168</sup>

Donne expresses in the poem the idea of the decay of the world. Through Elizabeth's death, in the following lines, he attempts to show the decay of man. Perhaps, he is performing as a dissectionist in attempting a spiritual autopsy upon mankind--showing man's decay or lack of supernatural food (religion) which Donne thinks is essential, else man withers or dies. Perhaps, also he is showing that man is losing touch with the spiritual world. Without an important part of the anatomy (the heart) man would resemble an ant or, in other words, a creature of the insect world. The death of Elizabeth Drury has brought about the loss. She was a symbol of all that was pure--of supernatural food, of religion:

This man, so great, that all that is is his,  
 Oh what a trifle, and poor thing he is.  
 If man were anything, he's nothing now  
 Help, or at least some time to waste, allow  
 To his other wants; yet when he did depart  
 With her whom we lament, he lost his heart.  
 She of whom the ancients seemed to prophesy,  
 When they called virtue was so much refined  
 That for allay unto so pure a mind  
 She took the weaker sex; she that could drive  
 The poisonous tincture and the stain of Eve

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<sup>167</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>168</sup>Loc. cit.

Out of her thoughts and deeds, and purify  
 All by a true religious alchemy;  
 She, she is dead; she's dead; when thou knowest this  
 Thou knowest how poor a trifling thing man is,  
 And learn's thus much by our anatomy,  
 The heart being perished, no part can be free,  
 And that except thou feed (no banquet) on  
 The supernatural food, religion,  
 Thy better growth grows withered and scant;  
 Be more than man, or thou'rt less than an ant. <sup>169</sup>

Donne stresses that feeling (man's heart) and love are the vital parts of man. Without a spiritual life, a life that, in the poem, was destroyed by the loss of love, the other parts of man's body are useless. Without religion, the heart, love, the rest of man's body decays. Donne's Anatomy follows, on the surface, the original meaning of the word--i.e., an anatomizing of the body; while his underlying meaning belongs to the literary meaning which had evolved from the original--the dissection of man's weaknesses, showing man's uselessness, man's fate without the necessary virtue, here the supernatural food. Poetry which anatomizes love is not uncommon. For example, Shakespeare anatomizes love in his sonnets, as number CXXX illustrates:

My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun;  
 Coral is far more red than her lips' red;  
 If snow be white, why then her breasts are dun;  
 If hairs be wires, black wires grow on her head.

In the fourteen lines of his sonnet, he presents a graphic

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<sup>169</sup> Frank Manley (ed.), John Donne: The Anniversaries, p. 67.

image of his mysterious dark lady. Perhaps, observing the relationship between some poetic and prose anatomies enables one better to comprehend the reason for some of the similar techniques used.

Perhaps, the longest and most popular anatomy in this period was Robert Burton's The Anatomy of Melancholy (1621). While others are, for the most part, shorter booklets or pamphlets, Burton's work is the labor of many years, actually an encyclopedia of the learning of the Elizabethan age.<sup>170</sup> In an introduction to an edition of Burton's work, Dell and Smith suggest that, in modern terminology, the title would be An Analysis of Morbid Psychology.<sup>171</sup> They compare him to a "great modern analyst of the psyche."<sup>172</sup> Many readers have concluded that Burton has no central theme; however, Evans feels that, for the purpose for which it was written (a study of abnormal psychology), it was well accepted, a point which many seem to forget.<sup>173</sup>

In the work, each part is headed by a synoptical and analytical table. There are divisions and subdivisions, and each of these is further divided into subsections. For

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<sup>170</sup>F. P. Wilson, Seventeenth Century Prose, Five Lectures, p. 11.

<sup>171</sup>Ibid., p. xii.

<sup>172</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>173</sup>Bergen Evans, The Psychiatry of Robert Burton, p. 44.

example, the following is Burton's division of the first Partition:

Section I, Member I, Subsection I. Man's Excellency, Fall, Miseries, Infirmities; the causes of them. 2. The Definition, Number, Division of Diseases. 3. Division of the Diseases of the Head. 4. Dotage, Phrenzy, Madness, Hydrophobia, Lycanthropia, Chorus Sancti Viti, Extasis. 5. Melancholy in Disposition, improperly so called. Equivocations . . . . . 123

Memb. 2., Subs. 1. Digression of Anatomy. 2. Division of the Body, Humours, Spirits. 3. Similar Parts. 4. Dissimilar Parts. 5. Of the Soul and her Faculties. 6. Of the Sensible Soul. 7. Of the Inward Senses. 8. Of the Moving Faculty. 9. Of the Rational Soul. 10. Of the Understanding. 11. Of the Will . . . . . 127

This table is only a sample of the complexity of Burton's work. He planned his dissection of melancholy to the last detail, originally concerned within a scientific framework, but his digressions and details fill in with a variety of subjects.<sup>174</sup> His book is divided into three major sections:

- I. Kinds, causes, symptoms, and prognostics.<sup>175</sup>
- II. Cure of Melancholy.<sup>176</sup>
- III. Detailed examination of two especially important types of melancholy--love and religious melancholy.<sup>177</sup>

Lievsay feels that the work is a "Many-Chambered treasure

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<sup>174</sup>Warner, op. cit., p. 359.

<sup>175</sup>Robert Burton, The Anatomy of Melancholy, p. xv.

<sup>176</sup>Ibid., p. xvi.

<sup>177</sup>Ibid., p. xvii.

house" with "bewildering plenty," but "orderly plenty."<sup>178</sup> He feels that there are no "empty chambers," stating that all are a necessary part of Burton's house, or that all contribute to his final purpose.<sup>179</sup> Perhaps, Burton, in dissecting a topic as complicated as the subject of melancholy felt that a look at every aspect of life was necessary for a true comprehension of melancholy. Even in digressions wherein Burton often decides to investigate a different subject, the reader is never far from the subject of melancholy or some closely related topic--"a calculated resting point."<sup>180</sup> Perhaps, Burton, although he allows himself a maximum of digression, still follows his general outline with more care than some have realized.<sup>181</sup> One of Burton's longest digressions is "A Consolatory Digression Containing the Remedies of All Manner of Discontents."<sup>182</sup> This digression, Lievsay believes, is closely related to or actually a continuation of Burton's theme.<sup>183</sup> It follows Burton's discussion of "Rectifications

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<sup>178</sup> John L. Lievsay, "Robert Burton's De Consolatione," South Atlantic Quarterly, LV (1956), 329.

<sup>179</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>180</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>181</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>182</sup> Burton, op. cit., p. 491.

<sup>183</sup> Lievsay, op. cit., p. 329.

of Passions and Perturbations of the Mind" in Section Two. His first statement in the Digressions supports Lievsay's opinion:

Because, in the precedent Section, I have made mention of good counsel, comfortable speeches, persuasion, how necessarily they are required to the cure of a discontented or troubled mind, how present a remedy they yield, and many times a sole sufficient cure of themselves; I have thought fit, in this following section, a little to digress, (if at least it be to digress in this subject), to collect and glean a few remedies, and comfortable speeches out of our best Orators, philosophers, divines and Fathers of the Church, tending to this purpose.<sup>184</sup>

In this section, Burton gives advice of a "consolatory" nature, showing a close relationship to his theme because it would have helped solve the problems of the "Perturbations of the Mind" of Section Two:

. . . 'tis the nature of all men still to reflect upon themselves, their own misfortunes, not to examine or consider other men's, not to confer themselves with others: to recount their miseries, but not their good gifts, fortunes, benefits, which they have, to ruminate on their adversity, but not once to think on their prosperity, not what they have, but what they want: to look still on them that go before, but not on those infinite numbers that come after.<sup>185</sup>

The fact is that Burton uses every available topic in illustrating his main subject of melancholy. His editors explain that the Anatomy of Melancholy with its "formidable synopsis

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<sup>184</sup>Burton, op. cit., p. 491.

<sup>185</sup>Ibid., p. 495.

of mental pathology" almost frightens the reader; however, the text is "enlivened" with the many digressions on any topic that the writer feels would be of interest. Within his anatomizing of melancholy, Burton manages to catch a part of all the exciting feature belonging to his idea of the earth and attempts to explain all of the strange moods of man.<sup>186</sup>

Using numerous quotations from many different authors and gathering stories and odd bits of information from many obscure sources, Burton makes his book the result of his having read almost every book in the libraries of Oxford.<sup>187</sup> He read constantly and collected a large library of different types of literature, including many pamphlets dealing with monsters, murders, crime, and almost any conceivable topic.<sup>188</sup> Each chapter or member group of his book presents examples of "poor mortality."<sup>189</sup> Burton prescribes, usually, several actions or occupations for the mind that will overcome or rise above each affliction, and, then, he "heaps up mountains of examples."<sup>190</sup> He offers an impressive array of sources--i.e., the Bible, Plato, Seneca, Plutarch, Boethius, Xenophon,

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<sup>186</sup>Ibid., p. x.

<sup>187</sup>M. A. Shaaber, Seventeenth Century English Prose, p. 99.

<sup>188</sup>Warner, op. cit., p. 359.

<sup>189</sup>Lievsay, op. cit., p. 334.

<sup>190</sup>Loc. cit.

Theophrastus, Xenocrates, Lucian, Erasmus, Augustine, and others. However, considering his academic life, one is somewhat less awed by the remarkable knowledge which Burton displays, because it is true that his life was his book, and his only other literary work was an academic play written in Latin.<sup>191</sup> Receiving several clerical appointments, he remained in Oxford as a scholar and presumably spent most of his days in writing his book until he was forty-four; thereafter, he spent the rest of his days in revising it.<sup>192</sup> Unlike Nashe, he never denies that he has borrowed some of his material:

Yea, but you will infer that this is doing what is already done, an unnecessary work, serving a warmed over dish; the same again and again, in other words. To what purpose? Nothing is omitted that may well be said, so thought Lucian in the like theme. How many excellent Physicians have written just volumes and elaborate tracts of this subject! No news here, that which I have is stolen from others. And my page says to me, thou'rt a thief! If that doom of Synesius be true, it is a greater offense to steal dead men's labours than their clothes, what shall become of most writers? I hold up my hand at the bar amongst others, and am guilty of felony in this kind. I confess, I am content to be pressed with the rest.<sup>193</sup>

Perhaps, Burton's topicality can be best comprehended in a few of his illustrations from the Anatomy. For example,

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<sup>191</sup>Shaaber, op. cit., p. 98.

<sup>192</sup>Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>193</sup>Burton, op. cit., p. 17 ("Democritus to the Reader").

he covers every subject from marriage to death and from death to apparel, as Stubbes had done. However, one suggests that, if possible, Burton's Anatomy is even more inclusive, since he does not merely adhere to a discussion of the abuses alone, but usually dissects his topics from more than one point of view, thus revealing both their strong and weak points. Like Nashe, in one section he dwells upon the miseries of marriage, therein warning men not to be deceived by first appearances:

But put case she be equal in years, birth, fortune, and other qualities correspondent, he doth desire to be coupled in marriage, which is an honourable estate, but for what respects: her beauty belike, and comeliness or person, that is commonly the main object, she is a most absolute form in his eye at least she hath the Phaphian's beauty, the elegancies of the Graces, but do other men affirm as much; or is it an error in his judgement? Our eyes and other sense will commonly deceive us; it may be to thee thyself upon a more serious examination, or after a little absense, she is not so fair as she seems. Some things seem and are not so; compare her to another standing by, 'tis a touchstone to try, confer hand to hand, body to body, face to face, eye to eye, nose to nose, neck to neck, &c., . . . or suppose thou saw her sick, pale, in a consumption, on her death-bed, skin and bones, or the embrace of whom was most pleasant, as Bernard saith, will be horrible to see . . . As a posy, she smells sweet, is most fresh and fair one day, but dried up withered, and stinks another.<sup>194</sup>

In this passage Burton anatomizes his subject in more than one way. Attempting to portray a weakness of man, he explains man's tendency to see beauty only as it appears at the moment and his fault in failing to look ahead, especially when women

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<sup>194</sup> Ibid., p. 780.

are concerned. This characteristic of many men is a facet of the entire anatomy of man which Burton is determined to reveal in his book. However, within this one section, another anatomy is evident--an anatomy of a woman's beauty. Beginning with a beautiful woman, he shows how she can change--especially when compared to other beautiful women. He also portrays her when she is ill and old--thus, anatomizing the cycle of most women's lives. However, in his section entitled "For and against Marriage," he presents conflicting ideas about marriage because he gives freely of information in support of both sides, at the same time creating the impression that he is often amused with his topic. Perhaps, therefore, he gives an even more complete dissection of his subject than did Stubbes, Nashe, or Lyly, because he fully treats both sides. For example, in this following section, he quotes Horace: "Forbear to blame on woman kind / The guilt that in one girl you find." (Horace) He then proceeds with ideas supported by this quotation, explaining that, although some may be unworthy to be wives, others may be good wives:

They must not condemn all for some. As there be many bad, there be some good wives; as some be vicious, some be virtuous: read what Solomon hath said in their praises, and Siracides. "Blessed is the man that hath a virtuous wife, for the number of his days shall be double. A virtuous woman rejoiceth her husband, and she shall fulfil the years of his life in peace. A good wife is a good portion, an help, a pillar of Rest.<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>195</sup>Ibid., p. 815.

Another of his topics has a familiar sound when one recalls Stubbes' admonitions concerning the styles of dress and cosmetics of the day. Burton, however, feels that these accessories enhance a beauty, one that encourages lust or attracts the "adulterous eye."<sup>196</sup> He differs from Stubbes, here, in that he feels that artificial beauty, although not always used for virtuous purposes, adds to the natural beauty of a woman:

Natural Beauty is a strong loadstone of itself, as you have heard, a great temptation, and pierceth to the very heart; a girl's modest beauty wounds my sight; but much more when those artificial enticements and provocations of Gestures, Clothes, Jewels, Pigments, Exornations, shall be annexed unto it; . . . .<sup>197</sup>

The many different topics that Burton works into his theme of melancholy are remarkable. His great knowledge astounds the reader, especially when one realizes that it encompasses the following subjects: divinity, medicine, psychology, ecology, law, history, geography, astronomy, astrology, folklore, sports, agriculture, horticulture, and logic.<sup>198</sup> Each topic is a part of his anatomy of melancholy, and each is only one part of man in general--of the whole man. Burton

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<sup>196</sup>Ibid., p. 684.

<sup>197</sup>Ibid., p. 683.

<sup>198</sup>A. Brownlee, William Shakespeare and Robert Burton, p. 108.

succeeds in anatomizing man by including almost every conceivable topic that can be a section of man's character.

Perhaps, one reason for Burton's interest in this type of work--one that dissects melancholy as both a psychological disease and a physical disease--was the result of his mother's influence, for she seemed to have had a practical knowledge of medicine, and, since there were, at that time, very few doctors, she possessed what was considered to be a fair knowledge of medical skill in such subject as chirurgery, sore eyes, and what is termed as experimental medicines. Burton's mother prescribed the following as a remedy for the ague: "a spider in a nutshell lapped in silk."<sup>199</sup> Thinking the cure ridiculous, Burton later discovered it in one of his books:

. . . I first observed this Amulet of a Spider in a nutshell lapped silk, &c., so applied for an Ague by my Mother; whom, although I knew to have excellent Skill in Chirurgery, sore eyes, aches &c., and such experimental medicines, as all the country where she dwelt can witness, to have done many famous and good cures upon divers poor folks, that were other wise destitute of help. Yet, among all other experiments, this methought was most absurd and ridiculous, I could see no warrant for it. Why a spider for a fever? For what Antipathy? till at length, rambling amongst authors (as often I do) I found this very medicine in Dioscorides, approved by Matthiolus, repeated by Aldrovandus, in his chapter on Spiders, in his book on Insects, I began to have a better opinion of it, and to give more credit to Amulets, when I saw it in some parties answer to experience.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>199</sup>Burton, op. cit., p. 596.

<sup>200</sup>Ibid., p. 597.

reminiscent of those methods used by the previously discussed anatomy authors. In his preface, "Democritus to the Reader," he attacks himself on matters of style, and perhaps this section better explains his skill than does secondary critical observation:

One or two things yet I was desirous to have amended if I could, concerning the manner of handling this my subject, for which I must apologize, deprecate and upon better advice give the friendly reader notice; it was not mine intent to prostitute my muse in English or to divulge the secrets of Minerva, but to have exposed this more contract in Latin, if I could have got it printed. Any scurrile pamphlet is welcome to our mercenary Stationers in English, they print all, and pound out pamphlets on the leaves of which even a poverty-stricken monkey would not wipe; but in Latin they will not deall which is one of the reasons Nicholas Car, in his oration of the paucity of English writers, gives, that so many flourishing wits are smothered in oblivion, lie dead and buried in this our nation. Another main fault is, that I have not revised the copy, and amended the style, which now flows remissly, as it was first conceived, but my leisure would not permit. I confess it is neither as I would, nor as it should be.

When I peruse this tract which I have writ,<sup>203</sup>  
I am abashed, and much I hold unfit. (Ovid)

At the same time, Burton possesses a unique method of mixing the serious and humorous, and the "dignity of classical restraint" with the "earthiness of colloquial phraseology."<sup>204</sup> Burton himself says as much in his "Democritus to the Reader":

So that as a River runs, sometimes precipitate and swift,

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<sup>203</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>204</sup>Lievsay, op. cit., p. 334.

then dull and slow; now direct, then winding; now deep, then shallow; now muddy, then clear; now broad, then narrow; doth my style flow; now serious, then light; now comical, then satirical; now more elaborate, then remiss, as the present subject required, or as at that time I was affected.<sup>205</sup>

Although his style is definitely not one of moderation, he is himself very moderate in his thinking, especially when compared to an author like Stubbes. Burton was an Anglican Divine, who, although he attacked the Papists and Jesuits, believed in free will and, thus, was not as strict as the Puritanical Stubbes.<sup>206</sup> Burton approved of the King James Book of Sports, of dancing, and even of stage plays.<sup>207</sup> Because of his opinions, he was considered a "middle-of-the-road" man.<sup>208</sup> His moderation is displayed in his previous example on drinking in which he states that one should govern drinking habits, conforming to the customs of the country, according to the offense it might bring to the one who is drinking.<sup>209</sup> Although, in another passage, he recommends study for a troubled mind or for anyone in need of diversion, he advises moderation even in this important pursuit, one which

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<sup>205</sup>Burton, op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>206</sup>Wilson, op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>207</sup>Burton, op. cit., p. 451.

<sup>208</sup>Wilson, op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>209</sup>Burton, op. cit., p. 200.

he seemed to live for:

But amongst those exercises, or recreations of the mind within doors, there is none so general, so aptly to be applied to all sorts of men, so fit and proper to expell Idleness and Melancholy, as that of Study.<sup>210</sup>

Another topic important as a part of melancholy--one which also shows the author's dissection of melancholy--receives much consideration, in which, as usual, Burton advises moderation:

'Tis unbecoming idly to mourn the dead; 'twas Germanicus's advice of old, that we should not dwell too long upon our passions, to be desperately sad, immoderate grievers, to let them tyrannize, there's an art of not being too unhappy, a medium to be kept; we do not (saith Austin) forbid men to grieve, but to grieve overmuch: I forbid not a man to be angry, but I ask for what cause he is so? not to be sad, but why is he sad? not to fear, but wherefore is he afraid?-----I require a moderation as well as a just reason.<sup>211</sup>

Although he does dissect the subject of Catholic religion and points out the weaknesses within the actions of the church leaders who he feels are wicked, he is moderate in his attitude toward other religions.<sup>212</sup> In his section, "Hate of All Other Religions" (Part 3, Sect. 4), he advises against having an "accepted opinion as to salvation," stating that people

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<sup>210</sup> Ibid., p. 433.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid., p. 535.

<sup>212</sup> Brownlee, op. cit., p. 102.

" . . . are all brethren in Christ, servants of one Lord, members of one body . . . ." <sup>213</sup>

As one reviews Burton's stylistic characteristics, such as digression, moderation, illustration, and thoroughness, he cannot point to any one section or any one technique as being the reason for Burton's popularity. Because he wrote about numerous topics which he dissected thoroughly, usually presenting all sides of opinion, almost anyone of his society, as well as those of the following ages, could surely have enjoyed particular sections of the work, especially when one recalls the reawakened curiosity of the peoples of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Since the Renaissance was a reawakening, and since the Anatomy of Melancholy was an encyclopedia, of the learning of the Elizabethan age, it was an extremely popular book, enjoyed by later writers like Coleridge and Lamb, as well. Burton's particular contributions to the genre might be considered, in many ways, as similar to those already examined. Definitely, he uses vivid illustrations, as did Stubbes and Lyly, revealing his scholarly mind through the use of many classical illustrations. Furthermore, he dwells upon all phases of life, as did Stubbes, to interpret and dissect the reasons for the manners and actions of the people of his country. However, his moderation and his ability to look at

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<sup>213</sup>Burton, op. cit., p. 898.

both sides of an issue, probably stand out as his particular contributions, rather unusual in comparison to those made by many writers of the seventeenth century, especially by the previously discussed anatomy writers. Although the major anatomy writers differ in some respects, each contributing his own particular characteristics, such as Lyly's pattern of style, Stubbes' completeness, and Burton's moderation, each of these works contains similar characteristics contributing to the developing genre. Each writer dissects specific problems present within his society in the morals and manners of the English people--such problems as dress, marriage, riches, religion, and writers' ambitions. Each uses numerous illustrations, including everyday platitudes and classical illustrations. Each digresses from his main subject for the purpose of exploring a related idea, often straying completely from the topic at hand, but definitely attacking some other matter of importance to the people and, at the same time, expressing his own opinions about the subject. To a lesser degree, most writers of anatomies frequently used the techniques first developed by Lyly, such as antithesis and the rhetorical question. As the genre became more stable in form, the writers tended to become more moderate, showing, perhaps, a certain tendency toward free will, as well as a tendency toward a freer style. Although Burton does not in practice extend the rigidity of the Euphuistic style, he does use the genre for the major

purpose of all anatomy writers--that of dissecting the actions and morals of the seventeenth century. The reason for the popularity of the anatomy genre is not extremely difficult to determine. One has already been suggested--the curiosity of a reawakened people, previously stirred by such men as da Vinci, to know and to make evident the actions and manners within their own country, the desire to know the reasons for the actions of individuals and the desire to revolutionize many of the ingrained ideas. Although each anatomy writer had his own opinions and ideas, each--Lyly, Greene, Nashe, Stubbes, Burton--also partook of this new freedom of expression and attempted to reveal to the people answers to their desires.

The works of writers who include the word anatomy within their titles have been investigated; however, perhaps other literary works in which the author did not include the word within the title also dissect or anatomize prevalent ideas of the seventeenth century and, therefore, could be included, or at least closely related, to the anatomy genre. For the purpose of gaining further insight into the genre and for the purpose of adding to the popularity of the genre during the century, one should look closely at these other works in the period containing many of these same characteristics.

## CHAPTER III

### THE RELATIONSHIP OF THOMAS FULLER'S WORK AND

#### THE CHARACTER TO THE ANATOMY GENRE

After studying several anatomies, one concludes that certain traits of the genre are obvious. The major objective of an author of an anatomy seems to be to release his feelings about topics of concern to his countrymen, particularly topics consisting of traditions, actions or manners, and moral questions. The people of the century were beginning to be curious, and, as did the writers of anatomies, felt that such topics needed to be dissected--to be taken apart section by section so that society could examine each one and thus observe the weaknesses and the virtues. Attempting to dissect the subject, the writer, at times, also suggested cures for the weaknesses or precautions for the prevention of them. For example, Lyly portrayed true friendship and the value of it, as well as false friendship and the causes of it. Greene displayed topics concerned with the art of love like flattery and fortune; Stubbes "laid open" all of the abuses that he could observe within his country; and Burton dissected melancholy and all topics associated with melancholy, showing both sides and suggesting proper actions concerning them. Although each author used his own form, every man used some of the same techniques, such as examples from the classics, illustrations

from everyday life, antithesis, and digression.

Until now, only works with the word anatomy included within the title have been considered; however, one suggests that other literature written during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries might also be included with these anatomies, although titles of these specific works do not always contain the word, anatomy. For example Thomas Fuller, who produced most of his greatest works after the death of Burton in 1640, reveals, through his writings purposes and thoughts which are similar to those of many of the anatomy writers. Fuller's first work, Dauids Heinous Sin (1631), was published ten years after the first edition of The Anatomy of Melancholy.

Fuller's The Holy State and The Profane State (1642) appeared in the same year in which he was made curate of the Savoy Chapel in London. Often called a book of characters, similar to those of Earle or Overbury, and modeled after Theophrastus (370 B. C.), it was, however, ". . . fundamentally alien to the conceptions behind the character books."<sup>214</sup> It is obvious that The Holy State and The Profane State has been "tightly pigeon holed," along with the rest of the books of characters that were considered fashionable during the seventeenth century.<sup>215</sup> Some more recent critics have decided that

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<sup>214</sup>Walter E. Houghton, Jr., The Formation of Thomas Fuller's Holy and Profane States, p. 17.

<sup>215</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

Fuller's work is not completely of the character genre, but they account for the difference by concluding that all are essays.<sup>216</sup> In the early seventeenth century, two of

. . . the strongest preoccupations of the age, religious fervor and the "anatomy of man," found in this dual nature of the Theophrastian character a ready form for their respective purpose.<sup>217</sup>

Hall and Breton used the character form for ethical teaching, and Earle and Overbury used character style for a "portrayal of contemporary society." All four are writers whose styles follow rather closely the standard classical model of Theophrastus.<sup>218</sup> Both purposes, "ethical teaching" and "a portrayal of contemporary society," have been determined as vital characteristics of the anatomy as a literary genre. Perhaps, the following passage in which Theophrastus explains the purpose of his works best illustrates the close relationship of the "character" to the "anatomy," since each concerns a portrayal of man--the writers of the character, through each separate essay, emphasizing an important part of man:

I have often marvelled, when I have given the matter my attention, and it may be shall never cease to marvel, why it has come about that, albeit the whole of Greece

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<sup>216</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>217</sup>Houghton, op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>218</sup>Loc. cit.

lies in the same clime and all Greeks have a like upbringing, we have not the same constitution of character. I, therefore, Polycles, having observed human nature a long time (for I have lived ninety years and nine and moreover had converse with all sorts of dispositions and compared them with great diligence), have thought it incumbent upon me to write in a book the manners of each several kind of men both good and bad. And you shall have set down sort by sort the behaviour proper to them and the fashion of their life; for I am persuaded, Polycles, that our sons will prove the better men if there be left them such memorials as will if they imitate them, make them choose the friendship and converse of the better sort, in the hope they may be as good as they. But now to my tale; and be it yours to follow with understanding and see if I speak true.<sup>219</sup>

Theophrastus makes clear, here, that he is giving examples of manners, "both good and bad" that the young people following him can see clearly and, thus, choose more wisely after which example to pattern their lives. Perhaps, here, one observes a close relationship with anatomy writers such as Lyly who, through his short "novels of manners," supplies young people of society with examples of both good and bad manners and actions, in characters like Euphues and the wise old Eubulus. Furthermore, Burton points out ". . . the manners of each several kind of men both good and bad." One can, indeed, see why character writing, which, like the interest in science and in physical anatomy, disappeared during the Classical Age and was, again, revived in the Renaissance. A revival of interest in man's actions and, as Theophrastus says, ". . . in

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<sup>219</sup>J. M. Edmonds (ed.), The Character of Theophrastus, p. 37.

each several kind of men both good and bad" would naturally have taken place; the psychological aspect runs parallel to the scientific. This dissection of character does indeed seem closely related to, if not a part of, the anatomy literary genre. Whether or not one believes that Fuller's work is modeled exactly after the Theophrastian character, evidence of the anatomy genre would be present, because of the anatomizing of the goodness and evil within the whole man.

To show Fuller's writing as a member of the anatomy genre, one should perhaps compare his works, or at least those called "characters," with that of another popular character writer of the day, since a section from Earle's "A Child" and one from Fuller's "The Good Child" will illustrate the similarities as well as the differences. Earle writes as follows:

#### A Child

Is a man in a small letter yet the best copy of Adam before he tasted of Eve or the apple; and he is happy whose small practice in the world can only write this character. He is nature's fresh picture newly drawn in oil, which time and much handling, dims and defaces. His soul is yet a white paper unscrawled with observations of the world, wherewith, at length, it becomes a blurred notebook. He is purely happy, because he knows no evil, nor hath made means by sin to be acquainted with misery. He arrives not at the mischief of being wise, nor endures evils to come by foreseeing them. He kisses and loves all, and when the smart of the rod is past, smiles on his beater. Nature and his parents alike dandle him and tice him on with a bait of sugar to a draught of wormwood.<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> Roberta Florence Brinkley (ed.), English Prose of the Seventeenth Century, p. 357.

Earle displays the innocence of a child--the freshness and purity. He seems to look longingly upon childhood and paints a portrait of how a man begins and of how a man leads this innocent happy child and turns him into an adult patterned after himself--"a draught of wormwood." Earle gives the reader a picture of a small child and of childhood--not dwelling on how a child should act, but on the virtues of a child. Fuller, on the other hand, presents a sermon. His character is didactic:

1. He reverenceth the person of his parent, though old, poor, and froward. As his parent bare with him when a child, he bears with his parent if twice a child; nor doth his dignity above him cancel his duty unto him. When Sir Thomas More was Lord Chancellor of England, and Sir John his father one of the judges of the King's Bench, he would in Westminster Hall beg his blessing of him on his knees.
2. He observes his lawful commands, and practiseth his precepts with all obedience. I cannot therefore excuse St. Barabara from undutifulness, and occasioning her own death. The matter this. Her father being a pagan, commanded his workmen building his house to make two windows in a room: Barbara, knowing her father's pleasure, in his absence enjoined them to make three, that seeing them she might the better contemplate the mystery of the Holy Trinity.<sup>221</sup>

Since he is teaching people, Fuller displays how children of all ages should treat their parents; he emphasizes the respect and honor which they should show their parents. Both writers

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<sup>221</sup>Thomas Fuller, The Holy State and The Profane State, p. 167.

seem to "anatomize"--Earle dissects a child, while Fuller explains or "lays open" proper conduct; however, Fuller also gives a picture of the good child in his example of Sir Thomas More. One sees Fuller's use of illustration and his joy in revealing to his reader small incidents which actually affected the person's life. He presents six additional rules of action for a good child and, as above, elaborates upon each with directions and illustrations.<sup>222</sup>

One discovers that Fuller follows Theophrastus in his method of presenting two groups--the good and the bad. Also, one sees other similarities between Theophrastus' "pretentiousness" and Fuller's "Of Self-Praying." Both writers give rules for actions. One, indeed, may be able to see a greater relationship between these two than between Fuller and Earle. The following is a selection from Theophrastus:

Pretentiousness, of course, will seem to be a laying claim to advantages a man does not possess; and the Pretentious or Snobbish man will stand at the Mole and tell strangers of the great sums he has ventured at sea, and descant upon the greatness of the usury-trade and his own profits and losses in it; and while he thus outruns the truth, will send off his page to the bank, though he have there but a shilling to his name. He loves to make sport of a fellow-traveller by the way of telling him that he served under Evander, and how he stood with him, and how many jewelled cups he brought home; and will have it that the artificers of Asia are better craftsmen than these of Europe;--all this talk though he have never been out of the country.<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>222</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>223</sup>Edmonds, op. cit., p. 99.

Herein, Theophrastus points out the bad conduct of boastful men--men who pretend to have wealth and actually have nothing--men who pretend to be great travellers, but who have never been out of the country. He is pointing out a fault of some men--dissecting a weakness. To Theophrastus, it is important to show man's character in its entirety, although the fault which he points out is only one section for examination.

Fuller seems to follow the same method in his parallel account:

1. He whose own worth doth speak, need not speak his own worth. Such boasting sounds proceed from emptiness of desert: whereas the conquerors in the Olympian games did not put on the laurels on their own heads, but waited till some other did it. Only anchorets that want company may crown themselves with their own commendations.
2. It sheweth more wit but no less vanity to commend one's self, not in a strait line, but by reflection. Some sail to the port of their own praise by a side wind; as when they dispraise themselves, stripping themselves naked of what is their due, that the modesty of the beholders may clothe them with it again, or when they flatter another to his face, tossing the ball to him that he may throw it back again to them;  
 . . . .<sup>224</sup>

Fuller, also, notes the practice of boasting of one's own worth. He emphasizes that a true man waits for someone else to crown him, while others crown themselves through self-praise. Cleverly, he points out another individual who boasts--one who belittles himself so that others will praise him, or one who

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<sup>224</sup> Thomas Fuller, The Holy State and The Profane State, p. 126.

flatters a person in return for flattery. Treating many topics in a similar manner, both Fuller and Theophrastus examine this one topic thoroughly, since they believe that it should be "laid open" as a single section of the "anatomy" of man's character.

Although the technique of "character" writing may comprise an important part of Fuller's Holy State, his book also contains other types of writing, a variety giving substance to the argument that his work is related to the anatomy genre. Actually The Holy State and The Profane State is composed of five sections, each with a purpose. Fuller used three literary forms: the "character" or brief sketch of a type of person; the short biography; and the essay. In addition, he frequently uses short biographies as illustrations of his "characters." For example, his "The Life of Lady Paula" follows "The Good Widow," portraying the faults and the strong points in Lady Paula's character after she becomes a widow. Later, following "The Court Lady," he inserts short biographies of both Lady Jane Grey and Queen Elizabeth, in which he praises them and points out their virtues. The interesting method which he uses to insert his biographies as illustrations substantiates one's argument for the presence of the anatomy genre. His numerous examples, indeed, display his remarkable knowledge, here, as did the many similar illustrations of the authors of the previously discussed anatomies. Fuller, however, usually dwells

for a longer time on one life, thus necessitating fewer examples. As one reads biographies like Fuller's "Lady Paula," he becomes clearly aware of Fuller's sympathies and common sense. Although Fuller recognizes their faults, he realizes that his characters, like all human beings, make mistakes, and he sympathizes with them, even when he points out their weaknesses. This tendency could be Fuller's contribution to the genre--one of, as Addison explains, "seeing everything in personal terms"--as Fuller seems to be more understanding of human motives than other writers.<sup>225</sup> The Holy State and The Profane State has actually two main divisions--The Holy State dissecting the desirable characteristics; The Profane State displaying undesirable traits. Fuller seems to anatomize his materials further, however, and if one reads through the table of contents of The Holy State, he detects this further range of dissection. Attempting to present the whole man, Fuller divides The Holy State into four parts: family life and domestic virtues, professional virtues, social graces or manners, and social virtues of public life; while his The Profane State consists of a discussion of only undesirable weaknesses.<sup>226</sup> These sections seem mostly to be directed to the upper class; however, this class consisted of the people

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<sup>225</sup>Addison, op. cit., p. 87.

<sup>226</sup>Ibid., p. 90.

who could read, and to the other, Fuller could preach. The arrangement of Fuller's book gives one additional argument for the anatomy genre, because his purpose for each section seems to have a familiar ring, especially if one remembers previous anatomy writers, such as Lyly or Nashe, and their establishment of rules of conduct for the upper- or upper-middle class. Fuller's first, second, fourth, and fifth books are usually called characters; however, they are written in the same style in which his third book is written, composed of essay subjects, such as "Of Jesting," "Of Hospitality," "Of Self-Praying," and other similar titles.<sup>227</sup> Each piece is actually a series of maxims, each serving as a topic sentence of a paragraph.<sup>228</sup> The entire book is a work of advice, and, after some of the characters or essays, he supports this advice with model characters through the introduction of a brief biography, such as his "The Life of Monica" after the essay, "The Good Wife."<sup>229</sup>

Perhaps, a consideration of the similarities and differences in Burton's Anatomy and Fuller's The Holy and Profane States will also aid one in clarifying the anatomy

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<sup>227</sup>Shaaber, op. cit., p. 204.

<sup>228</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>229</sup>Thomas Fuller, The Holy State and The Profane State, p. 259.

genre. Although Burton and Fuller covered many of the same topics within their writings, certain differences in their personal lives influenced the thinking of each. Their childhoods differ greatly. Burton's intensity of feeling for indifferent parents and his attitude toward his early school years have often led scholars to think that his childhood was not a very happy one.<sup>230</sup> In fact, he gives the impression that he loathed school and that all of his teachers cared little for him.<sup>231</sup> Apparently, Fuller's childhood was a happy one.<sup>232</sup> On the other hand, as Addison explains, Fuller not only spent a great deal of his time among adults, but also spent hours ". . . poring over that museum of horrors, Foxe's Book of Martyrs."<sup>233</sup> Fortunately, most of Fuller's adults were probably very learned and influential people such as his two uncles, Drs. Townson and Davenant.<sup>234</sup> In his writings, Fuller later displays a faith in life--one that helps him to accept, more cheerfully, his later life even during difficult times like the Civil War Period, this attitude being, perhaps, a result of his childhood. Furthermore, his father was a very

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<sup>230</sup> Evans, op. cit., p. 6.

<sup>231</sup> Burton, op. cit., p. 285.

<sup>232</sup> Addison, op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>233</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

tolerant scholastic person who encouraged him to express his wit, seeing to it that the young Fuller had access to many books during his youth.<sup>235</sup> Both writers, Burton and Fuller, spent most of their lives in "academic pursuit." Both trained as divines; however, only Fuller actively preached a great deal, Burton remaining at Oxford during his entire life. Although he received several clerical appointments, Burton served out these duties while at Oxford and spent almost his entire life searching for material, writing his book, and revising it.<sup>236</sup> Fuller, on the other hand, was an extremely popular ecclesiast, and, although he spent his first few years as minister of St. Benet's Parish in Cambridge, he was then presented with the parish at Broadwindsor and happily spent several years there.<sup>237</sup> This stay at Broadwindsor also took him to many parts of Southern England, where, as always, he gathered material for his books.<sup>238</sup> Much later, as a chaplain in the King's army, he spent many hours in talking to people and peering into corners for strange tales and new wonders within his own land.<sup>239</sup> The success of his books, The Worthies

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<sup>235</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>236</sup> M. A. Shaaber, Seventeenth Century English Prose, p. 204.

<sup>237</sup> Thomas Fuller, The Holy and Profane States, With Some Account of the Author and His Writings, p. 7.

<sup>238</sup> Shaaber, op. cit., p. 203.

<sup>239</sup> L. C. Wroth, "Thomas Fuller and His Worthies," South Atlantic Quarterly, XI (1912), 217.

of England and The Holy State and The Profane State, was due partly to his army life. Covering ground thoroughly within a rather small area, the busy chaplain, with his notebook near, continually listened and looked for any new fact, curious incident, or interesting name that might be an asset to his book.<sup>240</sup> He interviewed parish clerks, grave diggers, sextons, or anyone along the way who might have information about people or places.<sup>241</sup> Both writers, Burton and Fuller, were antiquarians, although Burton gained most of his knowledge from books, while Fuller learned now only from books, but also from the country as he traveled through it, and from the people he met, using all three areas as his sources.<sup>242</sup> Like Burton, Fuller was also a man of great knowledge, possessed with an unusual memory. For example, he is said to have been able to repeat ". . . five hundred strange and unconnected works, after twice hearing them," and, after hearing a story or sermon only once, he could repeat it, verbatim.<sup>243</sup> Both Burton and Fuller also seemed intrigued by old wives' tales and by other unusual tales about people--tales which may have seemed rather trivial, but which later added much interest to a biography or an

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<sup>240</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>241</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>242</sup> Thomas Fuller, The Holy and Profane States, With Some Account of the Author and His Writings, p. 11.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

illustration. Wroth feels that nothing was too small for Fuller to remember, even suggesting that Fuller was a gossip; however, he adds that this characteristic, apparent within his writings, is the very reason that Fuller's books are remembered.<sup>244</sup> In his short biography, "The Life of Joan Queen of Naples," which follows his essay, "The Harlot," this trait of remembering small incidents is obvious:

. . . and she caused her husband, in the city of Aversa, to be hung upon a beam and strangled in the night time, and then threw out his corpse into a garden, where it lay some days unburied.

There goes a story that this Andrew, on a day coming into the Queen's chamber, and finding her twisting a thick string of silk and silver, demanded of her for what purpose she made it: She answered, "To hang you in it"; which he then little believed, this rather because those who intend such mischief never speak of it before. But such blows in jest-earnest are most dangerous, which one can neither receive in love, nor refuse in anger.<sup>245</sup>

A trivial incident, like the example of a husband's question and the results, can add interest to a biography and also help to illustrate Fuller's love for people and his curiosity for seemingly unimportant incidents which enhanced the popularity and appeal of his books. Such events also aid a writer in anatomizing a topic such as "the Harlot" with illustrations that help clarify ideas. Similar uses of illustrations were

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<sup>244</sup>Wroth, op. cit., p. 215.

<sup>245</sup>Thomas Fuller, The Holy State and The Profane State, p. 291.

apparent and important characteristics of the previously discussed anatomy writers.

Probably, the greatest similarity between the works of Burton and Fuller is the great moderation shown by each man in comparison with the other great thinkers of the century. This trait is obvious in the works of each. Burton's moderate beliefs, as compared to those of other writers of his age, have been previously discussed; however, Fuller, if possible, is even more tolerant than Burton. Of course, Fuller's age was somewhat more troubled than Burton's, as it was faced with great issues, the results of the three periods through which Fuller lived: the Civil War, The Commonwealth and Protectorate, and the Restoration. Because he was a Royalist, but in sympathy with moderate Puritans in his concern about the moral conditions of the country, Fuller's moderation actually put him in a strange situation.<sup>246</sup> As a historian and as a divine, he kept to the middle way and was accused sometimes of always trying to be on the right side; however, he was sorrowful because moderation was so nearly lost during his lifetime.<sup>247</sup> During this period, it was safer for one to be either an avid Royalist or a staunch supporter of Cromwell and the Parliament. "Fuller was incomparably the most sensible, the least prejudiced

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<sup>246</sup>Addison, op. cit., p. 82.

<sup>247</sup>Ibid., p. 230.

great man of an age that boasted a galaxy of great men."<sup>248</sup>

In his essay, he distinguishes his moderation from "lukewarmness," but still one can usually find some weakness in a moderate man, and there are certainly drawbacks in being one.<sup>249</sup> Fuller had friends on both sides of the controversies. For example, Sir John Danvers, a regicide, was one of his friends, a fact which must have caused some gossip among his royalist friends.<sup>250</sup> In his Holy State, Fuller gives the following rules for moderation; this section also illustrates how Fuller dissects topics into major points, as each of these numbered points is actually a topic sentence to a paragraph which illustrates or explains the sentence:

1. Moderation is not a halting betwixt two opinions, when the thorough believing of one of them is necessary to salvation.
2. Nor is it a lukewarmness in those things wherein God's glory is concerned.
3. But it is a mixture of discretion and charity in one's judgment.
4. Yet such moderate men are commonly crushed betwixt the extreme parties on both sides. But what said Ignatius? I am Christ's wheat, and must be ground with teeth of beasts, that I may be made God's pure manchet.
  1. A well informed judgement in itself is a preferment.

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<sup>248</sup> Thomas Fuller, The Holy State and The Profane State, p. 167.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid., p. 201.

<sup>250</sup> Thomas Fuller, The Worthies of England, p. xiv.

2. As the moderate man's temporary hopes are not great, so his fears are the less.
3. His conscience is clear from raising schisms in the church.
4. His religion is more constant and durable; . . . .
5. Violent men reel from one extremity to another.
6. Pride is the greatest enemy to moderation.<sup>251</sup>

At times in Fuller's life, his belief in moderation caused him some problems. In 1642, he became minister of the King's Chapel of the Savoy in London, where he was an extremely popular man.<sup>252</sup> He enjoyed his new parish and discovered that some of his new parishioners could supply him with information; however, some writers suggest that Fuller was overly eager to cultivate the acquaintance of these well-known people.<sup>253</sup> Some of his best sermons were preached at Savoy, and, although he was often thought of as favor-seeking, he preached against the "ungodly division" of his country.<sup>254</sup> Because of an oath which he was to sign, Fuller, being almost the only Royalist left in London, preached his sermon of Reformation, a stern protest against the kind of reformation that was instituted at the time.<sup>255</sup> After he had delivered his message, he realized

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<sup>251</sup>Thomas Fuller, The Holy State and The Profane State, p. 167.

<sup>252</sup>Addison, op. cit., p. 99.

<sup>253</sup>Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>254</sup>Ibid., p. 105.

<sup>255</sup>Thomas Fuller, The Holy and Profane State, With Some Account of the Author and His Writings, p. 29.

that London was no longer a safe place for him, and he joined the King's people at Oxford, where his sense of moderation again caused him some discomfort.<sup>256</sup> Because the popular Fuller's arrival at Oxford was immediately noticed, he was asked to speak or preach before the King and his Court. Again, rather than place himself in great favor, he preached against the causes of the trouble, endeavoring to show how each side was at fault, and pleading with the court to attempt a peaceful settlement.<sup>257</sup> At this point, one comprehends what Fuller meant in his essay when he wrote that a moderate man sometimes ". . . feels crushed betwixt the extreme parties on both sides."<sup>258</sup> Because the King and his men had hoped to be cheered by Fuller's sermon, they did not receive the tolerant attitude well and appeared to be offended.<sup>259</sup> To feel shunned by many of both sides was probably difficult for Fuller, usually well-liked and popular with all people. Because this tolerant attitude is always apparent in his writing, it is necessary for one to understand the reason for Fuller's moderation.

In observing the structure of Fuller's book, one notices another comparison with that of the anatomy genre and, especially,

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<sup>256</sup>Addison, op. cit., p. 112.

<sup>257</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>258</sup>Thomas Fuller, The Holy State and The Profane State, p. 167.

<sup>259</sup>Addison, op. cit., p. 112.

with Burton's Anatomy. There may be little that is original in Fuller's advice, but it is good advice, and it is excellently suited to his subjects and to the people whom he hoped to interest.<sup>260</sup> Most of the subjects of the other anatomy authors, i.e., Nashe, Lyly, Stubbes, and Burton, were not original to them, having been cited time and again, but the method and the style of each, as well as the effectiveness and timeliness of the advice were the important points. Perhaps, one of the best essays expressing Fuller's purpose is his one on apparel, because the same topic has been used already as an example of Burton and Stubbes, since some of the same ideas are again established by Fuller for a slightly later period. Even the practice of each man's remaining within his own calling is touched upon, expressing the idea of being content with one's station in life, a concept which was still prevalent during the early seventeenth century. First, Fuller offers a short introductory paragraph:

Clothes are for necessity; warm clothes for health; cleanly for decency; lasting for thrift; and rich for magnificence. Now there may be a fault in their number, if too various; making it too vain; matter, if too costly; and mind of the wearer, if he takes pride therein. We come therefore to some general directions.<sup>261</sup>

At this point, he incorporates his maxims--one at the beginning

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<sup>260</sup> Shaaber, op. cit., p. 204.

<sup>261</sup> Thomas Fuller, The Holy State and The Profane State, p. 133.

of each paragraph; the entire paragraph is not stated, hereafter, but the maxims will be listed as they contain the main idea to be conveyed to the reader:

1. It is a chargeable vanity to be constantly clothed above one's purse, or place.
2. It is beneath a wise man always to wear clothes beneath men of his rank.
3. He shews a light gravity who loves to be an exception from a general fashion.
4. It is a follow for one, Proteus-like, never to appear twice in one shape. Here he uses the same illustration from a general fashion.
5. He that is proud of the rustling of silks, like a madman laughs at the rattling of his fetters.<sup>262</sup>

Fuller, then, concludes with a paragraph, perhaps showing his moderate thinking, pointing out an idea which not one of the other previous writers seems to have considered:

. . . to conclude, sumptuary laws in this land to reduce apparel to a set standard of price and fashion, according to the several states of men, have long been wished, but are little to be hoped for. Some think private men's superfluity is a necessary evil in a state, the floating of fashions affording a standing maintenance to many thousands, who otherwise would be at a loss for a livelihood, men maintaining more by their pride than by their charity.<sup>263</sup>

Fuller's use of maxims, illustrated above, certainly reminds

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<sup>262</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>263</sup>Loc. cit.

one of Burton's use of proverbs and quotations. Other similarities to Burton might be Fuller's use of asides and concrete illustrations. One good example of a concrete illustration is the one which he uses to illustrate item four in his essay "On Apparel."

It is a follow for one, Proteus-like, never to appear twice in one shape. Had some of our gallants been with the Israelites in the wilderness, when for forty years their clothes waxed not old, they would have been vexed, though their clothes were whole, to have been so long in one fashion. Yet here I must confess, I understand not what is reported of Fulgentius, that he used the same garment winter and summer, and never altered his clothes  
 . . . .<sup>264</sup>

An interesting point to note is that earlier, Stubbes used this same Biblical illustration in his Anatomy of Abuses in the apparel section.

Both Burton and Fuller also seemed concerned about the same important topics of the age; i.e., theology, morals, medicine, psychology, philosophy, old wives' tales, food, travel, love, hate, marriage, apparel, ambition, pride, and others can be found in both works. A few passages on similar topics from each writer enables one better to observe the relationship of subject matter. On the subject of theology, Fuller, in his The Holy State and The Profane State, relates the following rules of conduct for "The Faithful Minister."

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<sup>264</sup>Loc. cit.

1. He endeavours to get the general love and good will of his parish.
2. He is strict in ordering his conversation.
3. His behaviour towards his people is grave and courteous.
4. He doth not clash God's ordinances together about precedency.
5. He carefully catechiseth his people in the elements of religion.
6. He will not offer to God of that which costs him nothing; but takes pains aforehand for his sermons.
7. Having brought his sermon into his head, he labours to bring it into his heart, before he preaches it to his people.
8. He chiefly reproves the reigning sins of the time and place he lives in.
9. He doth not only move the bread of life, and toss it up and down in generalities, but also breaks it into particular directions.
10. The places of Scripture he quotes are pregnant and pertinent.
11. His similes and illustrations are always familiar, never contemptible.
12. He provideth not only wholesome but plentiful food for his people.
13. He makes not that wearisome, which should ever be welcome.<sup>265</sup>

He points out twenty such rules in his opinion on the ideal minister, and, then, gives a short biography of Mr. Perkins as an example of such a minister. Burton does not devote as long

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<sup>265</sup>Ibid., p. 62.

a section to the minister as he usually does to his topics; his discussion, in comparison to Fuller's deals more with the psychological dissection of the minister, while Fuller is again more didactic, teaching ministers, in general, how they should act. Burton writes the following:

A good Divine either is or ought to be a good physician; and who knows now what an agreement there is betwixt these two professions? A good Divine either is or ought to be a good physician, a spiritual physician at least, as our Saviour calls himself, and was indeed. They differ but in object, the one of the body, the other of the soul, and use divers medicine to cure; one amends the soul through the body, the other the body through the soul, as . . . .<sup>266</sup>

Then, in the last section of his Anatomy, he writes about the rigid minister and the harm that he can do:

But the greatest harm of all proceeds from those thundering ministers, a most frequent cause they are of this malady: and do more harm in the Church (saith Erasmus) than they that flatter; great danger on both sides, the one lulls them asleep in carnal security, the other drives them to despair. Whereas S. Bernard well adviseth, we should not meddle with one without the other, nor speak of judgment without mercy; the one alone brings Desperation, the other Security . . . .<sup>267</sup>

Another topic about which both Burton and Fuller write is that of anger. Fuller introduces his topic with the following paragraph:

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<sup>266</sup>Burton, op. cit., p. 29.

<sup>267</sup>Ibid., p. 941.

Anger is one of the sinews of the soul; he that wants it hath a maimed mind, and with Jacob, sinew shrunk in the hollow of his thigh, must needs halt. Nor is it good to converse with such as cannot be angry, and with the Caspian Sea never ebb nor flow. This anger is either heavenly, when one is offended for God; or hellish, when offended with God and goodness; or earthly, in temporal matters. Which earth anger, whereof we treat, may also be hellish, if for no cause, no great cause, too hot, or too long.<sup>268</sup>

Here, again, one sees Fuller as the moderate thinker, as one who even makes concessions for anger. He feels that there is a time for anger, and he proceeds to give six rules concerning the time when one should and should not be angry. Burton introduces his essay in the following manner:

Anger, a perturbation, which carries the spirits outwards, preparing the body to melancholy, and madness itself: anger is temporary madness; and, as Piccolomineus himself: accounts it, one of the three most violent passions. Aretaeus sets it down for an especial cause (so doth Seneca) of this malady. Magninus gives the reason; it overheats their bodies, and, if it be too frequent, it breaks out into manifest madness, saith S. Ambrose. 'Tis a known saying, the most patient spirit that is, if he be often provoked, will be incensed to madness, it will make a Devil of a Saint. And therefore Basil (belike) in his Homily on Anger, calls it the darkening of our understanding, and a bad Angel. Lucian, in Renunciation, will have this passion to work this effect, especially in old men and women.<sup>269</sup>

Throughout the essay, Burton makes no concessions for anger; however, he dwells on the madness to be found there, and Fuller

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<sup>268</sup> Thomas Fuller, The Holy State and The Profane State, p. 136.

<sup>269</sup> Burton, op. cit., p. 235.

also mentions that one who has anger possesses a maimed mind. One could point out many more similarities in topics within both books, The Anatomy of Melancholy and The Holy State and The Profane State. Both authors are concerned with the characteristics of man, Burton trying to decide the cause and the cure for them, and Fuller attempting to present the proper rules for carrying them out. Each man relates illustrations, and each man gives numerous effects. Both authors seem determined to look at the "whole man" and to include every characteristic of man of which he is aware.

As one observes closely Fuller's book, noticing especially his dissection of character, his style, his similarities to the other anatomy writers, and his variety of subject matter, he can detect the close relationship between Fuller's The Holy State and The Profane State and the anatomy literary genre. Perhaps, this same comparison could be made with many other writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and could broaden the support that the anatomy genre is indeed in evidence.

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