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The amorous old man and the disguised servant confront each other in the next scene but Lucentio's dark purpose in having Tranio present himself as a suitor for Bianca's hand does not become clear until he has to outbid the Pantaloon in Baptista's desperate mart. With equal justification Tranio taunts Gremio with his age, and Gremio Tranio with his youth. Baptista pays no attention to the substance of this debate, revealing enough in itself, and there is great irony in his non sequitur,

'Tis deeds must win the prize; and he, of both,
That can assure my daughter greatest dower
Shall have my Bianca's love.

What Baptista takes for deeds is merely the assurance of a larger dowry. Gremio describes his house in fantastic terms, until it seems the tent of the Grand Chan, but the closing lines of his vaunt are weighty in implication.

If whilst I live she will be only mine.

Gremio must have stood before his audience already horned, for the marriage of May and December leads to whoredom and misery. Tranio's coarser humour underlines the suggestion.

That "only" came well in.

Tranio triples all Gremio's offers, especially by the mention of a jointure, usually one-third of the husband's whole estate, which exceeds Gremio's whole land revenue. Likewise he triples the argosy, and throws in assorted smaller craft. The contest being conducted in purely mercenary terms he wins hands down, except that Baptista is too shrewd a tradesman to forgo an assurance from the real holder of this wealth, Lucentio's father. Until this point Shakespeare has been inventing upon the scheme
of I Suppositi: it is at this point in the intrigue that Ariosto's play actually begins. As we know, Baptista has made a mistake, abandoning the man whose honour and condition he knows for a stranger whose claims are in fact preposterous, as Gremio points out (II.i. 394-6). In fact Baptista commits the paradigm mistake outlined by Barclay in The Ship of Fools:

If that a man of hye or love degree,  
Would spoue his daughter vnto a straunge man,  
He nought enquireth of his honestie,  
Of his behauour, nor if he nurtour can;  
But if he be riche in landes and good, then  
He shall be prayed his daughter for to haue,  
Though he be but a bonde man or a knave.  

Tranio is both a bond man and a knave. It is he who decides the next development in the intrigue,

I see no reason but supposed Lucentio  
Must get a father, call'd — supposed Vincentio.  
(II.i. 401-2)

and off he goes, congratulating himself upon a witty reversal of the natural order.

The first lines of Act III bring us once more into the atmosphere of Lucentio's first entrance, as the feigned tutors wrangle about the merits of their respective disciplines. The serious points of the function of music as a mirror of celestial harmony, and the priority of actual instruction and mental discipline to such delight, ironically recall the aesthetic problems nobly gestured to by heart-whole

1. Stultifera Nauis, qua omnium mortalium narratur stultitia, admodum utiles & necessaria ab omnibus ad suam saltem perlegenda, & Latino sermone in nostrum vulgarem versa, & iam diligenter impressa. An. Do.1570. The Ship of Fools, wherein is shewed the folly of all States, with divers other workes adjoynd vnto the same, very profitable and fruitfull for all men. Translated out of Latin into English by Alexander Barclay Priest. (Col.:London, John Cawood), fol.97.
Lucentio. The two threads of renaissance didacticism are here summarised. On the one hand it was claimed that the mere contemplation of harmonious structures ennobled the soul. The principle of the construction of the Hypnerotomachia, and on the other hand, the more rigorous didacticists would have had all literature instructive and exemplary, as a primary consideration. Lucentio's reference to intellectual discipline chimes from him mechanically, and cannot be brought to bear upon Bianca's unregenerate spirit, for she acts upon Tranio's principle, learning her lessons as she pleases herself. Hortensio's fury at her encouragement of the Pedant's advances doubtless distorts the view that he takes of her, but her pertness in disposing of him (III.i.80-1) provides some justification for his ascription to her of the attributes hitherto applied to Kate.

Yet if thy thoughts, Bianca, be so bumble, To cast thy wandering eyes on every state, Seize thee that list: if once I find thee ranging, Hortensio will be quit with thee by changing. (III.i.89;92)

Lucentio is the lure, disguised, claiming wealth and gentility (for his disguise is not adopted like Aurelius's in A Shrew to test his beloved's disinterestedness) and Bianca is stooping to it, exactly as her father greedily favours the disguised serving-man, placing him beside Bianca, in the place of the bride and groom, at Kate's wedding feast. Hortensio's reaction to his disappointment is to make another mistake, which may have grave consequences,

I will be married to a wealthy widow, Ere three days pass, which hath as long loved me As I have loved this proud disdainful haggard... (III.i.37-9)

The rich wife is more likely to bully her husband than any other, especially if she is advanced in years. The unfortunate lady who was lapped in a morell's skin
used to taunt her husband—

A rag on thine (arse) thou shouldest not have,
Excepte my friends had geuen it thee;
Therefore I tell thee well, thou drunken knaue,
That arte not he that shall rule me. 1

and Basille warned those who sought wealthy wives that they are likely to be "ladylyke and hygh in the ynestep". 2 Tranio takes it for granted that Hortensio will have a shrew on his hands. 3

The Supposes material develops further with the representation on the stage of the reported encounter with the man who is to play Lucentio's father, not a Sienese this time, but a Mantuan, and a Pedant. He plays his part with quiet dignity, so that the uneasiness of the situation is heightened. Baptista is blundering in the dark, revealing how little he understands and how much he is deceived by all about him,

Right true it is, your son Lucentio here
Both love my daughter, and she loveth him,
Or both dissemble deeply their affections. (IV.iv.39-41)

Tranio and Bianca are both dissemblers: they may even mock Baptista by exchanging mock glances and feigned caresses of love. Now that the prize is within his grasp, Baptista will make all sure, so the clandestine marriage is planned, without announcing the banns, so that Gremio cannot object. Only that fact that there has been an even greater deception, so that Bianca will not in fact marry the disguised servant, saves Baptista from disgrace. Tranio's comment has a strange irony.

The worst is this, that at so slender warning,
You are like to have a thin and slender pittance. (IV.iv.59-60)


2. Theodore Basille, the golden boke of christen matrimonye, op.cit., Sig.Biii verso.
Biondello's extraordinary insolence with his disguised master crystallises the criticism implicit in the scene. He forces Lucentio to contemplate the matter of his degradation.

Baptista is safe, talking with the deceitful father of a deceiving son ... (IV.iv.81-2)

...they are busied about a counterfeit assurance: take you assurance of her, cum privilegio ad impremedum solen: to the church! take the priest, clerk and some sufficient honest witnesses. (IV.iv.90-4).

His vulgar pun probably has the opposite effect of that indicated by its words, in view of the extent to which printing monopolies were respected, and Lucentio, left interrogating Biondello monosyllabically is made to look pretty foolish. Biondello's contemptuous parallel with the girl who went into the garden for parsley "to stuff a rabbit" and returned married does not draw a response, and he goes off, referring to Bianca as Lucentio's appendix, a discourtesy which he does not even think to reprehend. His last couplet hardly alters the impression he has created, of bewilderment and malleability.

When the real Vincentio is the subject of Kate's mad mistaking on the public road, following immediately upon the scene in which his son cuts such a sorry figure, one feels an immediate anxiety for him. In case we have forgotten what his real social significance is, Kate has been forced to define it; he is a "reverend father", and she and Petruchio respectfully acknowledge their relationship to him. To the irony which deepens in the following scenes, they comment happily upon the joy of seeing his honest son, whom they believe of course, to be the false Lucentio played by Tranio. The next act places us once more on the scene of the clapped-up wedding, with
the insolent Biondello, who is defying his master's instructions, shepherding the spouses to the church, into which Petruchio and Katharine bring the bewildered old man. In the Supposes Philogano builds up the picture of a father's love by the long description of the long and difficult voyage he has made from Sicily, and the letters from Errostrato refusing to come home because he has been too engrossed in his studies: Vincentio's joy and promises of a merry-making have the same effect. The difference is that when Philogano insults the Sienese, and upbraids Dulipo, the culprits simply return insults, and run away from him, so that he resorts to the doctor to gain his rights. Shakespeare exploits the situation much more disturbingly, for Petruchio turns upon Vincentio with

> Why, how now, gentleman! why, this is flat knavery to take upon you another man's name. (V.i.55-6)

and the fact that he is saying it to the wrong man shows just how knavish an act it is. Biondello's cool denial of ever having seen his master puts Vincentio in the position of Jenkyn Carewaie. Kate and Petruchio withdraw from him to observe the way that matters fall out, as he beats Biondello. Surrounded by Tranio, Baptista, the Pedant and the servants, the stranger is really threatened. When he rages at Tranio's finery, Tranio takes advantage of the incomprehensibility of his outcries to call him mad. The forces of this feigning society close menacingly around him, as we learn to our horror, that this is Tranio's gratitude to the man who brought him up. This is the climax of the action engineered by Tranio; he is a specifically and deliberately Italian type, the conspiring, servile, dishonest servant out of whom the Zanne developed, represented perhaps in English by Jack Juggler. He contrasts
neatly with the native English fool, Grumio, who is the common man, for he has a fertile imagination and no sense of responsibility or scruple: he must be able to bear the weight of blame that Vincentio will put upon him which no Grumio or Dromio or Launce could possibly do. The disruptive potential of such a character is summed up in Vincentio's agonised cry that his son has been murdered. With appalling audacity Tranio, secure in his adopted character, calls the officers to take the old man to prison. Not even Gremio can summon up the courage to deny the false Lucentio, and nothing remains to forestall disaster except the shamefaced entrance of Lucentio. Fatherly feeling causes the deflection of Vincentio's wrath to Tranio, but the audience feels that Lucentio is lucky to be let off so lightly, for the element of blame persists, as the fathers withdraw, the servants having fled, to "sound the depth of this knavery" (V.ii.135). In the violence and confusion of a powerful scene, Lucentio's explanation,

Love wrought these miracles. (V.ii.121)

must sound particularly feeble. All these mixed feelings are suddenly rushed off the stage and out of sight, so that Petruchio and Kate can exchange their first kiss, so that both plots are brought to their merry end, and we are prepared for the dramatic epilogue in which they will be specifically evaluated. We have seen enough of Lucentio to identify him with Ingelend's Disobedient Child, the anglicised version of Textor's Juvenis. Like Lucentio he travelled to a strange town to study, but was distracted by the charms of a lady whom he married "incontinent"; his servants discuss the matter hardheadedly:

As for this matter, what shall we say?
Here's the thing we shall not say.
I thinke she be a shrew, I tell the playnely, And full of debate, malyce and stryfe...
What, though she be now so neate and so nyce, And speakest as gentle as euer I hearde: Yet yong men, whiche be both wyttie and wyse, Such lookes, and such wordes, shulde not regarde. 1

Their fears are justified, and the rash young man lives to regret his precipitate match, like the "new maried studient that plaied fast or lose" in Tottel's Miscellany:

A Studient at his boke so plast:
That welth he might haue wonne,
From boke to wife did flete in hast,
From welth to wo to runne.
Now, who hath plaied a feater cast, Since juggling first begunne?
In knitting of him self so fast, Him selfe he hath vndone. 2

Gascoigne's Glass of Government makes much the same point at much greater length: Shakespeare's moralism is probably as strenuous, but his artistry is greater: we come to appreciate Lucentio's mistake in a fashion as subtle in its own way as the plight of Lydgate in Middlemarch.

Shakespeare's use of the Supposes material is far from extensive and not at all parasitic. The character of Bianca cannot be explained by reference to Gascoigne or even to Ariosto: the young man is not represented in a wooing situation, nor is he married before the arrival of his father. His dilemma is simply that he has pretended to be a servant in order to seduce Polinesta, and now, with her projected marriage to the doctor, the matter is sure to come out. To reveal the situation is to risk death and disgrace and to stay silent to lose Polinesta forever.


... Songs and sonettes, &c. in the next fol. 64.
I thinke she be a shrew, I tell thee playnely, And full of debate, malyce and stryfe...

What, though she be now so neate and so nyce, And speaketh as gentle as ever I hearde: Yet yong men, whuch be both wyttie and wyse, Such lookes, and such wordes, shulde not regarde. 1

Their fears are justified, and the rash young man lives to regret his precipitate match, like the "new maried student that plaied fast or lose" in Tottel's Miscellany:

A Student at his boke so plast:
That welth he might haue wonne,
From boke to wife did flete in hast,
From welth to wo to runne.
Now, who hath plaied a feater cast,
Since iugling first begonne?
In knitting of him self so fast,
Him selfe he hath vndonne. 2

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2. Sonnes and sonettes, op. cit., fol. 64.
Ariosto's is a beautifully classical treatment of the young man's efforts to extricate himself from this scrape, when Polinesta's condition is revealed, he is put in prison and his father is denied by his servants, until Cleandro acts for him, and all ends well. Ariosto does criticise his hero's imprudence, and allows considerable anxiety to creep in, but he is not interested in the relationship of the two lovers as any more than a fait accompli, given at the beginning of the play. If, as C.C. Seronsky maintains, "supposes" are to be seen as the unifying theme in Shakespeare's play, it is well to distinguish that they be Ariosto's suppositi rather than Gascoigne's pedestrian understanding of the term, for he obligingly marks out all the places in the play where a mistake occurs in a character's knowledge of the facts. Ariosto is concerned with something much more profound, for self-deception and mistaking one's role in society play the principal roles. Castelvetro's definition of inganni as the second manner of writing comedies, is itself derived from Ariosto, and includes the situations described by him as suppositi. Castelvetro is speaking of the principles of composing comedies however, and not the theme or subject matter: to make of supposings a theme for a comedy would seem to be a fairly navel-regarding activity unless they were collocated to some wider theme; much Italian comedy is of course navel-regarding in just this way, doing nothing but working a symmetrical series of mistakings into a pleasing and harmonious whole; but Shakespeare's genius

2. Vide the Prologues to both prose and verse versions of the play.
3. Castelvetro op.cit., p. 93.
is too genuinely committed to permit such aestheticism. Certainly Mr. Seronsky is right in considering that the Ariostan Suppositi had deepened Shakespeare's treatment of the shrew theme, but that is tantamount to saying that the comedy is more competent and more conscious of its literary context. Cinzio was aware of the reactionary nature of his claim when in 1553 he wrote that

hoggidi le lodeuoli (comedies) sono di una sola maniera, & sono quelle, che imitano quelle dell'Ariosto. 1

As influences on structure Ariosto's comedies are still alive, but the intelligence that marks his treatment of the issues raised by his play is not so easily inherited. Castelvetro and Varchi would both have agreed that the Lucentio plot was like the decadent literary comedy of which Varchi complained:

...la Commedia venne tanto a mutarsi da se stessa a poco a poco, e diventare ogni altra cosa, che Commedia, che le più disoneste, e le più inutili, andai dannose composizioni, che siano oggi nella lingua nostra sono le Commedie: 2

In adapting the Supposes material, Shakespeare reveals that he understands the issues involved in the original, and how the tradition has declined, and what attitude, as a writer of comedies, he takes to the fashionable form as it exists in his time, all at once. It is not surprising then that certain critics have felt the writing of this section to be inferior, because Lucentio speaks the language of artifice, an artifice of which Shakespeare disapproves, and therefore the verse does not operate to involve us in the action, but permits detachment and criticism, without being patronising or wearisome. 3 From the

2. Varchi, La Suocera op. cit., Sig. Aii verso.
injurious masquerade directed by Lucentio and Tranio, we must now turn to the manipulation of illusion for nobler ends by Petruchio.

PETRUCHIO.

Lucentio's grandiose reference to the rigorous aesthetic developed by the Studio di Padova is ironically denied by the action in which he chooses to take part, but Petruchio's comedy satisfies their sternest wish.

Even if De Nores had not specifically included the governing of wives among the special topics of comedy, the most cursory study of Aristotle's Politics makes it clear that the nucleus of society is the husband and wife relationship which precedes all others, and upon which all others depend. Torquato Tasso referred specifically to marriage as the first society in his panegyric to marriage, in answer to his brother's diatribe against it,

Thou first didst bring mankind to dwell in a house, enclosing him within a wall, causing him to build Citties and Townes to inhabit in, where before men liued like saudage beasts in the woods and desarts, it constitutes the first society in another sense as well, for all other social duties have this as their headspring. The relationship of man and wife is paralleled with that of the soul and the body, of the head and the members, of reason and the passions, and of Christ and his church. Petrarch uses the

1. Tasso, Of Marriage and Wiving, op. cit. Sig. K3 recto.

Man and wife are primum par, fundamentum parium, the first original match of all others. All other couples and paires, as father and sonne, maister and servaunt, king and subject come out of this paire.
parallel between the soul and the body and marriage when he calls the soul "l'errante mia consorte" as Tasso points out; he continues

It is then a vertue in a woman to know how to honor and obey her Husband, not as a Servant doth his Maister, or the bodye the mind, but ciuilly and in such sort, as we see the Citizens in well governed Citties obey the Lawes, and reuerence their Magistrates, or so as in our soules, wherein as well the well disposed powers as the orders of the Cittizens within their Citties, compell affections to be subject vnto reason:...¹

Smith in his Commonwealth sees marriage as a microcosm of the state.² Knox refers repeatedly to the parallel of the soul and body in the First Blast of the Trumpet,³ and Hermann of Cologne exhorts the husband to be "an heade, and sauiour to the wyfe, as Christe is the heade, and the sauioure of the congregacion",⁴ while the wife must be subject to the husband "as the flesh is vnto the spirite". The comparison with the relation of the head and members naturally involves the analogy of the relationship of Christ with his church, and the interpretation can be traced widely, for example, in Godly Form of Household Government.⁵ It is this fundamental relationship which will be clarified by the action of

1. The householders Philosophie...First written in Italian by that excellent Orator and Poet Signior Torquato Tasso, and now translated by T.K.... At London Printed by I.C. for Thomas Hacket,...MD.LXXXVIII. fol. 8 verso 10 verso.
3. Vide e.g. Fol.20 verso of the edition of 1558.
4. A simple and religious consultation of vs Herman...Archbishop of Cologne.... Imprinted in 1547. B. Sig. lv verso of Ii IV verso of A single and plain declaration... or hebrew into the english tongue by Thomas Deleyn (Col.: Imprinted at London by I.C. in H.S.), Sig. 4H. 4C. 4D.
Petruchio's comedy, which fulfils the most rigorous canons ever devised for creative writing, in a play so unassuming and lusty, that even the editors of the New Cambridge edition, who are intelligent and honorable men, could say, "it is of its nature rough, croid; part of the fun at those fairs at which honest rustics were prized by grinning through horse-collars." 1

In The Taming of a Shrew, the coming of Ferando is prepared for as Polidor and Aurelius decide that they need a decoy for the eldest to get at the younger. This device is not altogether satisfactory for it robs Ferando of the initiative, and when he states his intention of wooing Katherine because Alfonso has offered him 6,000 crowns, the effect is to diminish his stature and cloud his integrity. Petruchio bursts on the scene in a curiously tumultuous squabble with his man. The atmosphere created by the interchange is rather like that of the relationship between Gwendolyn and Sir Owen in Patient Grissil, who simply prefer rough-and-tumble to rational and dignified discourse. 2 Moreover, we see at once that Petruchio, who has expressed himself ambiguously will not explain what should by other criteria be obvious. It is a recognised comic technique, and it also revealing of his character as an educator. When Horatio appears


2. You tawg and you prabble about shidings in marriages, and you abuse young men and damsels, and fail them from good sports, and honourable states: but, hear you now all that be assembled here: know you that discord's mage good music, and when lovers fall out, is soon fall in, and 'tis good you know. Pray you, all be married, for wedlock increases peoples and cities: all you, then, that have husbands, that you would pridle, set your hand to Gwenthyan's pill, for 'tis not fit that poor women should be kept always under. (Patient Grissil, ed. J.P. Collier for Shakespeare Soc. London, 1847, 1,11,5.39.) Gwenthyan's statement bears the signs of the effect of Shakespeare's play.
Petruchio has no difficulty in changing his demeanour. Gremio's explanation of the situation if it can be called such reveals that Petruchio is no stripling, and that he is not to be trifled with. Moreover, a principle has been stated:

... I should knock you first,
And then I know after who comes by the worst.
(I.ii.13-4)

Would to God I had well-knocked at first,
Then had not Grumio come by the worst.
(I.ii.34-5)

As an old soldier, Petruchio knows very well that the attacker has a moral advantage over the defender. His next words reveal him as a man arrived at the normal age and condition to take a wife. He is in full possession of his legal powers, regulates his own income and expenditure, and his house stands in need of a mistress. Thirty-two years of age will place him squarely on the norm discerned by Mr. Laslett from parish register statistics, and, more relevantly perhaps, since the statistics for the Tudor period are by and large lacking, identify him as the mature man, fit to marry, of the domestic theorists of the sixteenth century. Aristotle had defined the ideal age of the husband as thirty-five, and of his wife, eighteen, so that they would coincide in the greatest period of their adult vigour for childbearing. Piccolomini, while acknowledging thirty-five to forty-nine as the age of maturity, which neither is callow and hasty like youth, or rigid and declining in vigour like age, accepts thirty as the proper age for his young friend to marry, so that he shall have the vigour and sagacity to educate his growing sons. 1 Primauade is of the

1. Dela institutione di tutta la vita dell'omo nato
nobile e in citta libera. Libri X. in lingua toscana,
Composti da S. Alessandro Piccolomini... Venetiis
same opinion, on the ground of "the shortnes of mans daies", 1 and Becon expresses the principle more simply, when he claims that the husband must be able to support his wife independently of his family and friends. 2

Hortensio's offer of a rich, ill-favoured wife is tempered by the fact that we have already seen her, and know she is not ugly, so the rallying tone of the next interchange is set. Hortensio is trying Petruchio to see how serious his intention of wiving is, and Petruchio in turn is making it very clear that he does not want to make love, but to find a wife. He overstates his case deliberately, so that the irrelevancies that audiences expect on the stage if not in real life are eliminated. He expects, not to fall in love, but to find a woman whom he can love. His wife is to be his equal in wealth and social status, in obedience to the universal counsel,

3. The cimile Conversation of M. Stephen Guazzo, written first in Italian divided into foure booke, the first three translated out of French by G. Pettic... the fourth... now translated out of Italian into English by Barth. Young... Imprinted at London by Thomas East. 1586, Sig.Tll verso.

But especially let him beware that intendeth to marrie, that these things concurre and meete together, namely, that in their states there be an equallitie, for where there is no equalitie of condition, there can be no quietnesse of life,..." 3

A man should take a wife neither richer nor poorer then himselfe" said Guazzo, and Petruchio, despite his own mock-cynical insistence upon Kate's money, is doing just that. He does not expect blissful transports, but the solid advantages that marriage will confer upon a man of his age and social standing. He will be one of the "best binders in the hedge of the Commonwealth" for he has understood Fuller's
To see the household picture's spell, fill room.
Oxen, a Dyall for days, Darlings, op. ed., fig. F111 verso.
terse warning,

Deceive not thyself by overexpecting happiness in the married state. 1

Grumio, in taking Petruchio's position literally as is his wont, brings in the vulgar but universal parallel of the wife and the horse, which may be found in Aristotle, Socrates, Xenophon, Plutarch and Cato. In the older play, Kate is specifically compared to the Thracian horse; Shakespeare now keeps the image clear of any direct application to Kate except in the use of verbs like "curbed" and "bridled", but it is strongly present in the imaginative background, especially in the great iron of Petruchio on his diseased horse, which this speech of Grumio's prepares for. The image is used in many ways in Renaissance iconography, but perhaps the applicable one for Petruchio's case is that of the unbridled horse of love, which is illustrated in the Hypnerotomachia, and is probably derived from that of Barberini's Documenti d'Amore. 2 The image is explained and justified at length in Caracciole's La Gloria del Cavallo. 3 In the Induction, the lord unthinkingly placed horse and hounds before wife; Grumio puts Kate on a level with a horse, and Petruchio significantly advances her. As Lodovico Dolce sharply remarked, men understand their horses better than their women summarising Sir Thomas More's argument in the


2. Documenti d'amore di M. Francesco Barberino. In Roma Nella Stamperia di Vitale Mascardi. MDXXXI, Fig. facing page 356.

3. La gloria del cavallo opera dell'illustre S. Pasquale Caracciolo.... In Vinegia appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari MDLXVI, pp.50ff.

4. De gli ammaestramenti pregiatissimi, Che appartengono alla educazione, & honrauole, e virtuose vita virginale, maritale e vedovile Libri Tre... di Lodovico Dolce Vinifiano...In Vinegia appresso Barezzo Barezzi. MDXXII, p.2.
Grumio's description of Petruchio's intention in terms of taking an "old trot, a puppet or an aglet baby" makes it clear that he would no more take such a wife than buy fifty-two diseased horses, and finally eliminated the sordid suggestions of greed that is attributed to Petruchio. Kate has wealth enough, is young and beauteous, and her breeding known to Petruchio as equal to his own. When Hortensio who would not wed Katharine for a mine of gold, flings himself into the arms of a wealthy widow, we have the clearest example of one who misunderstood Petruchio's mode of proceeding. Once he has established her suitability, Petruchio is as importunate as any lover in his desire to confront the maid, not only as future husband, but also as wife-tamer, as Grumio gives us to understand, with peculiar notions of education by rope-tricks, or rhetoric. Grumio, anticipating Petruchio's action with glee, pauses for an acid comment on the action of the sub-plot.

Here's no knavery! See, to beguile the old folks
How the young folks lay their heads together.
(I.ii.139-40)

From the first Petruchio refuses to take Kate's brawling seriously. When other men pale before her ineffectual rages, Petruchio confidently expects to be able to ignore them: in describing them in terms of all the furies of nature, he suggests by contrast the real frailty of the single woman, and makes it clear that the battleground is his element. He speaks of her as of a worthy opponent whom he wishes to grapple with himself.

Sir, sir, the first's for me; let her go by.
(I.ii.256)

Our first glimpse of Petruchio's methods is given us when he meets Baptista: by specifically
describing Kate as fair and virtuous, he pretends that what should be the case is the case, preserving Baptista's and Kate's honour and not demeaning himself. It is mean of Baptista to deny what he says, but Baptista thinks he is being mocked; instead Petruchio is obeying the rule of the psalmist quoted by Cleaver:

They that seeke after my life lay snares, and they that go about to do me euill, talle wicked thinges, and imagir deceit continually; But I as a deafe man, heard not, and am a dumbe man, which openeth not his mouth. Thus I am as a man that heareth not, and in whose mouth are no reproothes.

This is how Cleaver thought that the husband should maintain his wife's honour, which is, as De la Primaudaye argues, a part of his own honour. The contrast with Baptista's indignity in this exchange does Petruchio's work for him. As well, the attribution to Kate of characteristics which the world is convinced that she does not have, may give her new heart to claim them, to strive for them, to escape from the expectations and interpretations of others to play a freer and juster role. Already Petruchio presents himself to Kate's father as jolly, while he does not scruple to make it clear that he has washed his hands of her. The odd thing about Petruchio's asking about Kate's dowry, which is a necessary formality, is not that he should ask it, but that Baptista, who is later so greedy in arranging Bianca's match, does not think to ask what surety Petruchio is offering on his part. Kate's fractiousness has succeeded in rendering her unsaleable. What Petruchio offers is extraordinarily generous, for it was normal to give the wodow the ise of one-third of her husband's lands, for use until her death or remarriage. Other arrangements, such as leaving the whole estate in the

OP cit., p. 186.
hands of the widow could be made in the church-porch by special covenant. 1 Petruchio makes it clear by this that he is prepared to repose the greatest trust in his wife. Although Kate has not been auctioned off like Bianca, her jointure is actually greater than her sisters.

The formalities dealt with Petruchio explains his attraction to such a match, in terms of the similarity of their natures; another necessary ground for marriage.

Moreover, let there be a lykenesse in their manners, and a unijie in theyr mindes, least if their affections be variable, they become seperable: for where there is no likenesse in manners, there can be no soundnesse in freundshippe:...2

In Petruchio's words, there is also suggested a wonderful kind of sexual compatibility:

I am as prreemptory as she proud-minded;
And where two raging fires meet together
They do consume the thing that feeds their fury.

(II.i.132-4)

On the one hand he stresses the basic similarty between them, and on the other the naturalness of their commerce, however turbulent. In the paean to the marriage of James I's daughter and the Palatine, the Bishop of London explained every marital failure as failure to observe the principle of similitudo mater amoris:

And the whole infelicity of marriage for the most part, that Iliade of evils which accompanieth some matches, is when this sicut is wanting, when men choose not similes their likes, when matches are made of such as match not...3

1. Vide the section on tenant in dower in Lytelton's Tenures and the chapter in Smith's Commonwealth (op.cit., pp.130 ff. "Of wves and marigages".


This similarity does not merely consist in that of estate and age, but approaches a notion of psychological compatibility. Petruchio, in distinguishing himself from the babes that woo, implies that he knows his own needs, and that only a Kate will satisfy them. The clash between them will be as natural as the visitation of the winds among the mountains. When he remarks that Kate will make a better soldier than a musician, Hortensio unwittingly underlines the similarity of temperament between them, and we are not surprised when Petruchio carols with anticipatory glee at this manifestation of his adversary's mettle. Alone, he explains his policy to the audience: he will act towards Kate as if she were as he would have her be, so that she cannot recognise her role and accept it, while baffling her and forcing her to new shifts. He will treat her well when she patently does not deserve it, so that the violent resentment that poisons her relationships may dissipate in wonderment and, eventually, trust.

When they meet in hand to hand combat, Kate is instantly at a loss, baffled by the use of the affectionate and domestic diminutive of her name, and the curious mixture of flattering and unflattering epithets he chooses to apply, so that her resentment must be as incoherent as his offence. She persists in trying to reverse the natural order, so that Petruchio becomes her horse, and she may saddle and bridle him, but Petruchio insists upon reversing the imagery, and so Kate finds herself cornered in embarrassing equivocations, which underline her sexual role. She reacts with childish violence, with blows and insults, but bit by bit, Petruchio gains the upperhand. She tries to sneer, implying that he has cut a sorry figure in what she recognises is a hand-to-hand encounter of a deeply personal and sexual kind.

No cock of mine; you crow too like a craven. (II.i.226)
When she attempts to withdraw he detains her with the speech that we have been waiting for, in which he denies that she has comported herself in this offensive way, and describes her as if she had acted in a seemly fashion. In his little song of praise, rejecting all the things that report actually did say of her, he includes one that it never said, so that Kate must pause to look at herself with new eyes.

Why does the world report that Kate doth limp? O slanderous world! Kate like the hazel-twig Is straight and slender, and as brown in hue As hazel-nuts and sweeter than the kernels. (II.i.247-50)

Kate may not take kindly to being given the attributes of a heroine so vulgar as the nut-brown maid, but the Renaissance physionomists could have added at once, that a brown complexion showed the humours held in the healthiest balance.

The thriftles thred which pampered beauty spinnes, In thraldom binds the foolish gazing eyes:...

But lo, when eld in toothlesse mouth appears, And whoary heares in stead of beauties blaze: The Had I wist, doth teach repenting yeares, The tickle tracke of crafte Cupides maze.

Twixt faire and foule tore, twist great and small, A lovely nuthbrowe face is best of all. 2

Like a high-mettled colt, Kate is persuaded to walk for Petruchio, for despite her verbal refusal, it is clear from Petruchio's words that she accedes to his request. He compliments her fierce virginity by ascribing it to Diana, the wild and unkempt, fleeing the society of men but seeking to emulate them by becoming a huntress, and suggests that it is a matter of her choice. She is disarmed, and Petruchio seizes

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1. Vide Phisionomia lacual compilo Maestro Michael Scotto.... (Colophon: stampata in Vinegta per Francesco Bindoni & Matteo Pasini Compagni....1553) fol.31 verso. Actually Kate has the characteristics of the woman che sta voluntiera con l'huomo (ibid., fol.10verso) Cf. The X Properties of a woman" described in Fitzherbert's Boke of Husbandry.

his advantage to explain to Kate what he wants of her. It is not surprising that she listens without protest. From the beginning her attitude has been comprehensible as a rebellion, against being sold, being taught to simper and wheedle, and against being offered as a consolation prize to one of Bianca’s suitors. Her antagonism towards Bianca is also easily understandable, if not forgivable. It is clear that Gremio is rather overstating the case to call her a fiend of hell, but he shows more discrimination when he hints that it is a matter of finding "a fit man to teach her that wherein she delights", which is not only a sniggering reference, but an indication that Kate's curstness is a result of some confusion and unhappiness, and does as much harm to her as to others. Hortensio is less pessimistic, and guarantees that there be men in the world who can cope with the alarums of which Kate's extraordinary violence consists. Indeed, she seems very like the definition of the foolish woman given in Proverbs, and not the hell-fiend old Gremio keeps trying to make her.

A foolish woman is clamourous: she is simple and knoweth nothing ...

Every wise woman buildeth her house, but the foolish plucketh it down with her hands. (Proverbs, IX,13; XIV,1)

What we are to see demonstrated in dealing with this foolish virgin, is the fourth natural mystery which revelation does not presume to utter.

There be three things which are too wonderful for me, yea, four which I know not, The way of an eagle in the air, the way of a serpent upon a rock, the way of a ship in the midst of the sea; and the way of a man with a maid. (XXX.19)

Poor Kate’s recalcitrant maidhood is repeatedly related to the other mysteries; she is a storm, a hawk, and Petruchio recognises this realm as his natural
element. In the scene with Bianca, it is not always noted that Kate is being taunted with her greater age and with Bianca's spurious submission. She in turn is attempting to throttle a confidence from Bianca, a proceeding which is not likely to have much result. Bianca sweetly maddens Kate by affecting to offer her one of her spare suitors.

If you affect him, sister, here I swear
I'll plead for you myself, but you shall have him.

(II.i.14-15)

Biance appears to be unable to conceive of any other motive for Kate's questioning than jealousy or deprivation, and decides that she was jesting when she asks bitterly whether she wants to sell herself to Gremio. Kate in her turn cannot, rightly, believe that her sister's innocent reticence, in refraining even from forming a preference, is genuine. Even Portia can make an interesting discourse out of the men she refuses: only Bianca pretends to have no thoughts at all. Exasperated, Kate boxes her ears, and when Baptista rushes in to protect his favourite, with the wounding words worthy of old Capulet she explains that Bianca's silence has flouted her. The petulance of her reproaches to Baptista speaks for itself. She sees herself as a victim of her society, precisely because she is incapable of the instinctive duplicity of the conventional female character, like Bianca's, or Rosamund's in Middlemarch. There is no reason in her outburst, for she is really revolting against the traditional humiliations for the spinster, dancing barefoot at a younger sister's wedding, and being popularly supposed to be destined to lead apes in hell.

This then is the unregenerate female whom Petruchio must civilise. In this play Kate's
character is built up carefully, especially by the Bianca scene, which is not in *A Shrew*, so that we can understand the nature of the problem. Petruchio's laughter at the ill outcome of Hortensio's masquerade can help us to sympathise with Kate, who doubtless observed that her music master had no eyes but for Bianca. Marriage offered by Petruchio is a challenge, and an emancipation from an intolerable situation. Kate may take it without losing face. Petruchio brings her like a nervous colt to his side with caresses and cherishings, and then calms her girlish panic with a clear and uncompromising statement of his intentions, to which his wild-cat can find no smart rejoinder.

For I am he am born to tame you Kate. (II.i.270)

rings like the greatest compliment he could pay her, and shows her a way to end her fruitless revolt; Petruchio vaunts like some hero who must ride a horse never before mastered, or draw an enchanted sword out of a rock. He is quite right: it is impossible that he should speed amiss, for Kate has no opportunity to use her discretion, not that she tries very hard. In her agitation she must turn upon her father, for Petruchio has already made an ally of her, at least to the point that they will connive like two swordsmen to deceive the authorities so that they may have an opportunity to slaughter each other. He reapplies the trick of stating that which is not so that it might be, but with the added dimension that we are now aware that real truth of Kate's character is basically more like Petruchio's fiction than her own mask.

When next we see her, she is scolding Petruchio still, but this time for his absence (III.i.8420): her description of what she thinks has happened points to her own
insecurity, as if she said that she knew that it could never be true that anyone could really want to marry her. The immense image of Petruchio on his moribund steed dressed in tattered and ill-agreeing clothes is central to the motif of wife-taming. The indication is given in the interchange before Petruchio's entry, which Biondello closes with:

O horse and a man
Is more than one;
And yet not many. (III.ii.85-8)

Just as a horse and a man makes a horseman, man and wife is one flesh, and one unit in the social system. As Petruchio's dignity suffers by the extraordinary mount, so he can be damaged and degraded by a sordid relationship with his wife. As Primauday puts it more clearly:

euerie one ought to maintaine the dignitie of his wife as he would do the just height of a horse and be skilfull both in the one and the other to use the bridle well as it becommeth him. 1

As a horseman Petruchio provides an emblem of the inchoate marriage being offered him. His insane behaviour at the wedding is another externalisation of the travesty that that marriage must be if Kate is bringing to it all the perversity of her old attitude. Moreover, it indicates to Kate that there is no predicting what Petruchio is capable of, and no way of classifying him with other men of her acquaintance, so that she is forced to contemplate him as a being at least as complicated as she. Now the really difficult part must begin. Petruchio has roped his colt, and taken his hawk; now the training must begin. First of all, neither must be approached by anyone other than his eventual handler, so Petruchio must get Kate away immediately from her family and friends. He indicates contemptuously that there may be yet another

justification for removing Kate, when he tells them to

Go to the feast, revel and domineer,
Carouse full measure to her maidenhead.
Be mad and merry, or go hang yourselves.
(III.i.226-8)

We are reminded of the frequent denunciations by scrupulous clergy of the profane celebrations of marriage, in which the dignity and sacredness of the couple's first congress was sacrificed to bawdry and practical jokery. He may also be acknowledging that Kate owes very little to friends who served her in such bad stead. At all events marriage has now made him the only friend she may have. His tough speech, which has filled less toughminded critics with misgivings about the nobility of his sentiments, apart from delineating the firmness of his determination not to be interfered with by frivolous objectors, also indicates that Kate is his everything, and in all senses his. He justifies his offensive upon her person as a defence of her before the world, confusing her and forestalling opposition, but stating a truth at the same time. The next stage in their battle occurs on the wintry road from Padua to Petruchio's house, so different from the blandness of Lucentio's courtship, in an imaginative landscape where they might expect to pass greasy Joan's cottage, and to hear the owl chanting his note of comfort to husbands. Winter is

the season of endurance, of hunger, when the earth sleeps in a death-like trance and the bastards conceived in summer dalliance are born. Grumio describes the building of a fire as the only way of defeating the coldness without, and we are reminded of the two fires of Petruchio and Kate. The scene he describes of Kate thrown by her horse is a reversal of the reappearing image of the horseman, the realisation of the confusion which Kate had made in it in her first conversation with Petruchio. Grumio says specifically that her horse was on top of her, and that he, Grumio, was beaten for it, as Kate would have Petruchio suffer for the distortion of her life by pressures quite unconnected with him. Grumio reinforces his own imagery by telling the servant not to touch a hair of his master's horsetail, as if the horse were an extension of his person, and he were to ride like a Centaur into the tense. When Petruchio arrives railing, he calls Grumio a "whoreson malthorse drudge", and so the image continues to revolve about Kate without actually touching her; the ill-bred work-horse implies his opposite, the fiery noble steed which is a gentleman's greatest asset. Like the newly-wed husband in Count Lucanor's story, who hacks a spaniel and a cat to pieces and chops up a horse, to frighten his wife into submission, Petruchio cuffs his servants for nothing and orders his spaniel to fetch his cousin. Like Tobit, he declares that they must fast on their wedding night, for like Tobit, he is in danger of destruction, if he display eagerness to possess his bride. The servants' comments help us to understand Petruchio's game in case it is going.

1. The story of Tobit is an apocryphal biblical version of the fatal lady story. It was universally known, being recounted at length in the Golden Legend as in any another popular repository of superstitious lore.
...
too fast for us.

He kills her in her own humour. (IV.i.180)

A faint echo of the story of Admetus and Alcest in Pettie's Pallace chimes through this line. This will be the peripeteia of Kate's comedy.

This seemeth strange unto you (Gentlewoman) that a woman should die and then live again, but the meaning of it is this, that you should die to your selves and live to your husbands...

Petruchio plays Tobit in grim earnest, for he preaches continency to poor Kate, who has fallen into a trance, her version of Sly's sleep resembling death.

The speech of Petruchio's which follows establishes the image of Kate as a falcon, the noblest of the preying birds, Elizabeth I's own impress, and the dearest companion of a gentleman in his chiefest amusement, whose death has been known to be revenged by kings with terrible massacres. For all its nobility however, the falcon is of significance only in terms of its relationship with its owner; it must be brought to obedience without damaging its spirit, or its body. No such gentlemanly art is needed by the heroes of old domestic farces, who are not ashamed to beat their recalcitrant spouses until they lose consciousness and lie on the floor in their own blood, and then to wrap them in the hide of an old mare.

The treatment that a falcon may expect is much different.

The soaring hawk from fist that flies, her Falconer doth constrain;
Sometime to range the ground unknown, to find her out again;
And if by sight or sound of bell, his falcon he may see:
Woe ho he cries, with cheerful voice, the gladdest man is he.

1. Pettie's Palace, cit., p.117.

2. (Footnote to be inserted - leave space)
By Lure then in Finest sort,
he seekes to bring her in.
But if that she, ful gorged be,
he can not so her win:
Although her becks and bending eies
she manie proffers makes:
Who ho ho he cries, awaie she flies,
and so her leave she takes,
This wofull man with wearie limmes
runnes wandring round about:
At length by noise of chattering Pies,
his hawke againe found out
His heart was glad his eie had seen,
his falcon swift of flight:
Wo ho ho he cries, she emptie gorgde,
on his Lure doth light.

How glad was then the Falconer there,
no pen nor tongue can tel:
He swimmin blisse that lateliefelt
like paines of oupl hol.
His hand som/tine vpon her train,
somtime vpon her brest:
Wo ho ho he cries, with chearfull voice,
his heart was now at mst.

My dear likewise beholde thy love,
what paines he doth indure:
And now at length let pitie moue,
to stoup vnto his Lure.
A hood of silk, and siluer belles,
new gifts I promise thee:
Wo ho ho I crie, I come then saie,
made me as glad as hee. 1

Petruchio has chosen the most difficult of
birds, the haggard, the wild female hawk who has
prayed for herself before being taken. First of
all he must take secure hold of her:
The first true Tearme and Title a Falconer
ought to learne, is to holde fast at all times,
and especially when she batteth, or striueth to
flie away. 't is called batting, in that she
batteth herself without cause: 2

Just so Petruchio must calm Kate's struggling, do

1. A Handefull of pleasant delites Containing sundrie new Sonets and delectable Histories..... by Clement Robinson, and divers others. At London Printed by Richard Thones...1584, Sig.Eiv recto.
2. The Gentlemans Academie, or, The Booke of S.Albans:... Now reduced into a better method, by G(ervase) M(arkham).
London. Printed for Humfrey Lownes...1595, Vol.3 recto.
that she may learn "that wherein she delights". Petruchio takes the Tobit parallel to its ultimate when he declared his intention of keeping Kate awake during the night, which is also the way in which the hawk is trained to perch upon her master's wrist at will. No man who recognised all these terms of hawking could be unaware that the hawk is to be rewarded every time that she attempts to cooperate with rejoicing, when she is allowed to preen, or given some delicacy, for very little of her training is accomplished by starving, and mewing is only practised in Lent to prepare her for the summer season. (Indeed, the References in The Taming of a Shrew to hawking are rather less informed than those of The Taming of The Shrew). Every single part of training involves the manipulation of her blindness, however, for as soon as she is taken her eyelids are sewn up over her head, or, preferably, down under her beak, and for some days she is kept completely in the dark. While she still retains the strength and the resentment to beat Grumio when he offers her nothing but the names of the food she might eat, and remains silent when Petruchio brings her food to her, so that he is forced to teach her the rudiments of courtesy. She must remain blindfolded. All her repining at his tormenting her with withdrawing all the handsome clothes he has made for her, which is a figure of her behaviour in rejecting his proffered kindness as a husband, is attributed to the tailor, so that Kate can see what answer it merits without being led astray by her own resentment at correction. At the same time it is hilarious, its hilarity depending largely upon the

absolute good-nature with which Petruchio throws the tradesmen into the deepest confusion, and Grumio turns his unflagging propensity for dreary literal-mindedness to torment the tailor, as he torments his master elsewhere. Again the deliberateness of the masquerade is made clear by the instruction to Hortensio to settle the account. Kate falls silent.

Petruchio tests her silence, by proposing to set out for her father's house, but Kate, momentarily unhooded, flies off at a tangent, and corrects her husband in a mistake so palpable, that it is clear that she has not realised how astute he is, and so they return to the house like Nette and her husband in the Danish story. The deference he is exacting from her is the most extreme, but we remember the old man of Don Juan Manuel's story, and how such deference is rewarded. At last Kate seems to have understood, and makes her voluntary act of submission. The shout of joy from Petruchio is genuine.

Well, forward, forward, thus the bowl should run, And not unluckily against the bias. (IV.v.25-5)

The fact that Kate must submit on all questions of observation, even the most simple and the vastest, may seem exaggerated and unlikely, but when we remember Habington's description of the wife's attitude to her husband's intelligence, Shakespeare would seem to be demanding little enough.

Shee is inquisite onely of new wages to please him, and her witt sailes by no other compasse then that of his direction. Shee lookes upon him as Conjurers upon the Circle, beyond which there is nothing but Death and Hell; and in

him shee beleevs Paradice circumscrib'd.
His vertues are her wonder and imitation; and
his errors, her credulitie thinkes no more
frayltie, then makes him descend to the title
of Man. 1

The demands of this relationship may estrange the
wife from the outside world, and may offend and confuse
others with less valid claims upon her courtesy, as
Vincentio is startled by Kate's mad mistaking. She
demonstrates her ability to play Petruchio's game with
a kind of childlike pride, waxing eloquent in expressing
a view that she cannot really share. Hortensio's aside
reflects the dimension in which they have been playing,
and we are momentarily conscious of the danger of
Petruchio's undertaking.

A' will make the man mad, to make a woman of him.
(IV.v.35.

Kate must also have the strength to come through
her taming process unbroken, to wake up from her trance
and live again to her husband. But her words to the
old man indicate her readiness to accept the notion
that maids are for marrying, and indirectly her
acceptance of her own social role. The real end of
beauty and virtue is indicated by whom it makes most
happy.

Happier the man, whose favourable stars
Allot thee for his lovely bed-fellow. (IV.v.40-41).

Petruchio's fear of Kate's madness is voiced
when all fear is past. She prettily asks pardon for
her mistaking, and refers to the period of her blind-
ness. Like the hawk stooping to the lure indicated
by his master, too dazzled by the sudden light to be
sure of what it is, or to hunt it for herself, she

Corrected and Augmented. London. Printed by B.A. E
T.P. For Will: Cooke.....1635. The Second ‘art. A
embraces the old man and brings him to her lord. When they kiss in the street, Petruchio takes Katharine to wife like a non-conformist in facie ecclesiae, and their little ceremony constitutes that dulcet union of hearts which is real marriage at last.

EVALUATION

In the last scene we are invited to compare the two methods of marrying, in such a way that there can be no doubt at all as to the judgment that we must make. The first to reveal her colours is the widow, who begins by sneering at Petruchio, and Kate is struck by what she says, repeating it after Hortensio has extricated his new wife from the obscene muddle (V.ii.20-3) into which she has got herself, and asking the widow, gently enough, what she can have meant. The expression is a telling one, for it summarises all Kate's old rebelliousness. The widow continues to gibe, but Kate, despite the encouragements of the others hardly rises to the challenge. Suddenly, unsolicited, the mild but Minerva-like Bianca offers for the company's delectation an insult to Gremio, the old man who must wear a willow garland in penance for his ill-suited wooing. Curiously, the insult she chooses would be more befitting a cuckold. She would withdraw from the colloquy so unseemly begun, and speaks of herself as a bird refuses to rise to the fowler's cry. Petruchio comes strongly in at this point and proceeds to incite her to further demonstrations of her delicate wit in an unmistakeably aggressive way—

Nay, that you shall not: since you have begun, Have at you for a bitter jest or two! (V.ii.44-5)
These harsh words correspond very oddly with his usual manner of addressing Kate. Bianca responds by taking up the image of herself as the goal of his hunt, and withdraws, coquettishly inviting him to follow like the Fowler aiming at a moving target. Petruchio abandons the pursuit and turns to Tranio:

This bird you aim'd at, though you hit her not; Therefore a health to all that shot and missed. (V.ii.50-1)

If Kate is the falcon whom a man would tame and hunt with, Bianca is the bird he seeks to bring down, the white at which his arrows are aimed. Once brought down, by implication, it is difficult to know what to do with her, for she can only be consumed. Tranio takes up the idea of Bianca as the prey that all had run for, when he calls himself Lucentio's greyhound, which ran for itself and caught for its master. Petruchio gives the simile the praise he must, for it is exact, but includes a less pleasant observation—

A good swift simile, but something currish. (V.ii.54)

It is against this background of criticism of the hugger-mugger proceedings of Bianca's courtship, that Petruchio makes his wager. As his antagonism to Bianca might have indicated, he is sure that the others have matched with worse shrews than he. The archetypal shrew who reduces her husband to penury, misery and shame, begins as the gay, brave, modest bride of the XV Joies, and her shrewdom emerges as she exercises her will in the marital situation, even using the marriage bed as a pawn in her sordid bargaining with her husband. This shrewishness is a cool prosecution of the battle of the sexes with neither pity nor respect for the opponent. When she refuses her husband his conjugal rights he foolishly rejoices in her coldness and chastity:
These facts make us wonder whether it is possible to conclude that the number of accidents is inversely proportional to the number of workers. If this is so, the question arises as to why the number of accidents has increased in recent years. Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that the conditions under which the workers are employed have changed. It may be that with the increased use of machinery, there is a greater risk of accidents. The problem is further complicated by the fact that the workers themselves have become more careless. If this is true, then it is clear that something must be done to improve working conditions and to educate the workers in the importance of safety. It is hoped that the results of this research will be of some use in solving this problem.
Et qu'il ne lui enchante, et a l'adventure elle est femme blanche et de petite complexion. 1

The white woman, according to the physionomist, plump, fair-haired, phlegmatic and indolent, was unwilling to associate with the male, and of low fertility. 2 Certainly, Blanche lacks vitality, but not guile. Kate, like Deborah is a born shrew,

As true as any steel, no day but there is gold... Though it were a bushel, and not a penny tolde, As quicke about her worke, that must be quickly spedd, As any wanch in twenty mile about her head.

As fast a piece it is go! by now but a few, Yet perechance her husbandez of her may have a shrew. 3

As all that is diuine and subject of misogynist literature, for she is not guileful or lecherous. The white ladies however are deeply and irrevocably self-interested, and always get their own way, using charms, threats, peevishness and violence indiscriminately: against this type there is no defence, especially of the besotted suitor has already given her the mastery.

I wold not counsel ye to mary her, with whom thou hast bene in amors withal, whom thou flatteredst, whom thou didst serve, whom thou calledst thy hart, thy life, thy maistres, thy might, thy eyes, with other suche wordes as foolisher love doth persuade, voing impietie against god, which is ye ende of all desire & goodness. Thys submission is & should be the cause, ye she doth not regard ye, but disdaymeth to serve thee, whose ladye she was as she esteemed, & who she foude more obedient vnto her, even with ye peril & danger of life, the any other slaue

11 Les Quinze Joies de Mariage (n.t.p. Bibliotéque Nationale, Res. Yz.150.2) Sig. 5v, the fifth joy.
2. Scotto, op.cit. fol.11 recto, 31 verso.
3. The character in Esau and Jacob described as a little wench, garrulous, energetic, obsceneta and relaticia. Edelweiss Soc.Reprint (1956) Sig. F iii recto. in A newe mey and kittle Comedie or Entertinge

Imprinted at London by Henrie Byynneman...1568, Sig E 3 recto, IV iv. 43-8.
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As true as any stele: ye may trust her with gold...
As fine a piece it is, as I knowe but a few,...
Once our marke she hath, I maruell if she slippe,
For her nose is growing above her over lips.

energetic, full of fierce loyalties, and not at all dangerous to the man who knows how to profit by her extraordinary qualities. She is not the subject of misogynist literature, for she is not guileful or lecherous. The white ladies however are deeply and irrevocably self-interested, and always get their own way, using charms, threats, peevishness and violence indiscriminately; against this type there is no defence, especially of the besotted suitor has already given her the mastery.

I wold not counsel ye to marry her, wth whom thou hast bene in amors withal, whom thou flatterdest, whom thou didst serve, whom thou calist thy hart, thy life, thy maistres, thy light, thy eyes, wth other suche wordes as foolish he love doth perswade, vsing impietie agaynst god, which is ye ende of al desire & goodnes. Thys submission is & should be the cause, yt she doth not regard ye, but disdayneth to serue thee, whose ladye she was as she esteemeth, & whos she found more obedient vnto her, even with ye peril & daunger of life, the any other slave.

1. Les Quinze Joies de Mariage (n.t.p. Bibliotique Nationale, Res. Y2.150.2) Sig. 5v, the fifth joy.
2. Scotto, op.cit. fol. 11 recto, 31 verso.
3. The character in Esau and Jacob described as a little wench, garrulous, energetic, obdurate and unreliable. Malone Soc. Reprint (1956) Sig. E ii recto.

In A newe mery and vittie Comedy or Entertaine, newly imprinted, treating upon the Historie of Jacob and Esau... Imprinted at London by Henrie Bynneman... 1568, Sig E 3 recto, IV. iv. 43-8.
Montaigne sees the situation in greater depth, seeing the woman's demeanour as naturally entailed by the man's.

...there is not one of them, but upon the first oath one maketh to serve her, will very easily be persuaded to think well of her self. Now this common treason and ordinary protestations of men in these daies must needs produce the effects, experience already discereth: which is, that either they joine together, and cast away themselves on themselves, to avoyde vs, or on their side allow also the example wee give them; acting their part of the play, without passion; without love, lending themselves to this course: Neque affectui suo aut alieno obnoxia: Neither liable to their owne nor other folijes affection. 

The man who casts himself away for such an infatuation has no choice but to live out the consequences: in Averell's gloomy phrase:

So, who so attempteth marriage without advisement, running rashlie upon the rocks of their owne ruine, and entring the combersome conflict of cares, where the gun shotte of calamitie shall batter their minds...must patientlie beare the brunt of theyr owne breeding..... tyll death make a deuision of theyr fortunes.

By their deeds we are to know them, and so Petruchio enters on the wager, drawn from the same folk stock as the story of Karen, Hette and Mette, but with new currents animating it. Petruchio increases the stake, because twenty crowns the sire first proposed is what one might wager upon a hawk or hound (V.ii.70-2), explicitly placing Kate above them in the list of his assets, even to the extent of twenty times their value. It is the team that will be tried, the hawk and his handler, the dog and his master, the

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1. The office and dignity of an husband, made by the excelletPhilosopher Lodouicus Viues, and translated into Englyshe by Thomas Baynell. Imprinted at London... by Iohn Gawood....(1550). Sig. K 5 recto.
2. Florio's Montaigne,...
3. A Dyall for dainty Darlings rockt in the cradle of Securitie... compiled by W. Averell... Imprinted at London for Thomas Hackett... 1584.
The essays. Or Moral, Politike and Militarie Discourses of Lo. Michael de Montaigne... First. First written by him in French. And now done into English by... John Florio. Printed at London by Val. Sims for Edward Blount.... 1603, p. 463.
and his wife. Lucantio has not trained his wife at all: he has never even thought of the way in which they shall live and work and rejoice together. He wagers blindly on his wife's character, more rashly than he would ever have done for a hawk or a horse, and indeed she turns out to have more Minerva-like qualities than he expected when he rashly applied the epithet, and simply refuses to obey him. Petruchio laughs when Hortensio entreats his widow, for the husband who entreats of his wife is as absurd as the man who entreats his dog or his horse. Kate comes simply and respectfully. Petruchio asks of her another deed which will prove that her spirit is not broken, although she answers to her husband's demands without protest, namely, to bring the defiant wives by force before their husbands. The foolish husbands beg to know what the potent that they have just witnessed might signify, and Petruchio answers with the nearest thing to a didactic justification that Shakespeare could permit himself.

Marry, peace it bodes, and love, and quiet life, 
And awful rule and right supremacy;  
And to be short, what not, that's sweet and happy?  
(V.ii.106-8)

Petruchio is a figure of the just ruler, because he has the power and the discretion to maintain his rule, and the welfare of his subject at heart. The political significance of the play was not lost upon Shakespeare's contemporaries, for Fletcher, whose The Woman's Prize or the Tamer Tamed is much rather a frivolous parody than a serious counterproposition, seems to be aware of the subtlety of his greater source.

We do intreat that angry men should not  
Expect the mazes of a subtle plot,  
Set speeches, high Expressions, and what's worse,  
In a true Comedy, politique discourse. 1

The document contains a page with text, but the content is not legible due to the quality of the image. The text appears to be a page from a report or a letter, but the details are not discernible.
Baptista speaks of the change in Kate as a rebirth and Petruchio demonstrates the extreme of her compliance in the irrational demand to throw her cap underfoot, for her trust will always assume some purpose in his requests, as indeed there is. The widow's response to the situation is no surprise, but Bianca's retort to Lucentio,

The more fool you, for laying on my duty. (V.ii.127)

will not really permit those critics to go on believing that she is a sly but lovable little thing. Kate's speech makes it clear that the just relation between man and wife is a figure of the order in which all spheres of activity must hold. The rebellious woman becomes a figure of all revolt against just power and proportion. Her conclusions are moderate compared to those arrived at by the Queen, a lady of considerable sophistication and dignity, in the Decameron.

...Nature hath given us a sufficient demonstration, in creating our bodies more soft and delicate, yea, and our hearts timorous, fearsome, benign and compassionate, our strength feeble, our voices pleasing, and the motion of our members sweetly pliant; all which are apparent testimonies that we have need of others' government... And therefore it is my preeminent sentence, that all such women as will not be gracious, benign and pleasing: doe justly deserve... rude, rough and harsh handling, as both nature, custom and laws have commanded. 1

The husband is lord, king, governor, lifeguard, head, sovereign, prince, as well as lover, protector and friend. In opposing such rule, Kate sees herself as the foolish, clamorous woman of Proverbs.

I am ashamed that women are so simple, To offer war, where they should kneel for peace. (V.ii.159–60)

1. The Decameron, containing an hundred pleasant Novels... London, printed by Isaac Jaggard. 1620. The Ninth Day, the Ninth Nouell, fol.134 verso.
She accepts what appeared to be a self-evident doctrine, especially in the days of high mortality of infants and mothers, that women are the weaker sex, and need and want their husband's aid and protection. This they cannot get, unless they act in a manner calculated to encourage it. It is useless to resent dependence because women are incapable of attaining or enjoying independence: the extent to which they desire illusory freedom is the index of the extent to which they are incapable of achieving it.

My mind hath been as big as one of yours, My heart as great, my reason haply more, To bandy word for word, and frown for frown; But now I see our lances are but straws, Our strength as weak, our weakness past compare, That seeming to be most, which we indeed least are. (V.i.168-73)

She understands at last that her passionate pride was really an index of her fear and sense of inferiority, as we have already decided from an independent assessment of her behaviour.

There is hardly a woman alive who is not deeply attracted to the notion of a husband of the kind extolled by Kate: the difficulty is to find a man capable of assuming all this responsibility and exercising this kind of sexual and domestic dominion. Petruchio is capable of managing his high-mettled champion wife, of wielding this Excalibur of a woman: he is the ninth of the twelve wonders of the world, the man who can say,

_Yet court I not my wife, but yeeld observance due Being neither fond, nor crosse, nor jealous, nor vntrue._

The battle to subdue Kate is both a romp, with motifs drawn from some obscure folk source of which

other representatives have survived, and the eternal battle of the sexes, in which women must realise that they must suffer and accept. Whether the decision is made in terms of Freudian psychology or Hebrew theology, it is substantially the same. As well as cherishing all that is best in the folk tradition of wedding theory, the background of Sly's assumptions, Shakespeare is at least as perceptive as the best of the Renaissance critics of domestic life. The new secular ideal includes the notion that the complete man is able to create the household that mirrors his own culture and humanity.

...the very truth is, that there is no yuel houswife, but for her fautis ye good man is to be blamed. For I am utterly of this opinion, that the man may make, shape & forme ye woma as he wyl. 1

The young man's guides in educating his wife are Aristotle and Xenophon: they are no less present in Petruchio's assumptions about his relations with Kate. The Taming of the Shrew enacts the new principle that a man gets the wife he deserves:

...the husband must seeke diligently to remove the occasion and stone, whereat his wife stum-bleth and taketh occasion of grief, ...2

The producers of the play who make it a feast of slap and tickle, have misunderstood the whole principle of Petruchio's taming, for nowhere is he required to offer Kate the least violence, for with what hart can she loue that man that can finde in his heart to beate her? 3

The rebirth which forms the catastrophe of this

2. Thomas Lupsete, An exhortation to yonge men, persuading them to walke in the partie waye, 1534 (Col.: Londini in Libris Thome Bethelii. Bettehel. Anno M.D.XXV.) fol. 23 verso.

3. Petties Guazzo, op. cit., fol. 139 verso (fol. 139 verso).
...
comedy is that of Kate, to a tranquil and busy life at Petruchio's side: as she lays her hand under his foot, the ikon is that of an old marriage ceremony in which his shoe would have been laid upon her head; the difference is that she had been persuaded to want to place her hand below his foot. That Petruchio should do so plausibly and before the eyes of all beholders constitutes that great and fundamental lesson that lewd comedies of love and liking failed to teach, so that they became the most pernicious forms of writing in the commonwealth, and yet the play is so amusing that inept historians have called it an immature farce. Even if, in such a play, Shakespeare is only the best artist of his time, and not the best artist of all time, there is ample cause for praise and interest, rather than the assumption, like that of the Cambridge Editors, that Shakespeare is like the little girl who had a little curl right in the middle of her forehead. Surely, in the age that boasts Simone de Beauvoir, Mary McCarthy and Brigid Brophy, we cannot assume that the lesson of the play is so well-learned that there is no further need to teach it! In any case, The Taming of the Shrew has an unerring logic, thoroughly dramatic in conception, which makes use of every confrontation, every image, every juxtaposition. The basic structural principle is one of revealing contrast, out of which the ideological issues soon emerge. On the one hand we have a domestic comedy, the eternal battle between husband and wife, moving, intellectually and sexually exciting, simplicity itself in all but the postulated background, and the interplay of ideas. Much has been written about Kate's place in the shrew tradition, in which she has been compared to

any violent or depraved female character in existence, and too much has been assumed, but certainly this simple situation belongs to the rustic tradition of farce, and its accompanying tradition of morality. Rich in moralising and high jinks, this part of the play roves about, reckless of classical staging conventions, involving houses, horses and woods and the moon and sun, and the very change of seasons. The contrasted situation involves Bianca, Bianca's suitors and their train, and takes place in the classical Italian street scene with house-doors. The disguisings, wooings and clandestine marriage take place in a social and cosmic vacuum, which Vincentio breaks asunder. Here the characters do everything but confront each other in their true colours. The situations are not weighed, hearts are not seen. Shakespeare took a debased version of the most famous representative of Italian learned comedy in England, debased in a manner typical of its later development, and recast the folk-motif of the three sisters, which survives in *The Taming of a Shrew*, into a new form of two sisters contrasted, and through them two notions of drama and two contrasting notions of the dramatist's function. The judgment passed upon Bianca's world is unmistakeable. It is useless to repine at the ethics of Katharine's marriage; they are only too straightforward and clean. The unpretentious lusty comedy typified by Kate may justly hale the haggard falsity of its younger sister, so despised in England by the discerning, before its lord, the audience.
Whence comes it (as we dayly se by experience) that the rudest and grossest clownes, are more tough-strong, and more desired in amorous executions? And that the love of a Muletier is often more acceptable, then that of a perfumed-quaint courtier. But because in the latter, the agitation of his minde doth so distract, trouble and weary the force of his body; as it also troubleth and wearieth it selfe, who doeth belie, or more commonly cast the same down wven into madnesse, but her own promptitude, her point, her agilitie, and to conclude her proper force? When proceeds the subtilest follie, but from the subtilest wisdome.

(Montaigne, An Apologie of Raymond Sebond)
For fifty years now Love's Labour's Lost has been steadily gaining ground with the critics, for its vivacity, its fascinating blend of art and nature, for its dancing movement and for "landscapes" present in the verse. Harley Granville Barker implied that anything that could make it go on stage was permissible by the very nature of its confection.

1. C.L. Barber (Shakespeare's Festive Comedy, Princeton, 1959) speaks at length of the resemblance of the play's movement to a dance..."the four lords and the four ladies make up what amounts to a set in English country dancing", and compares the play to Sir John Davies Orchestra. A more informed and legitimate observation is probably that of John Long in Shakespeare's Use of Music (Gainsville, 1955), pp. 69-72, in which he compares the action of the ladies in feigning to begin to dance with the Muscovites to a galliard. Marco Minkoff ("Shakespeare and Lyly", Shakespeare Survey, No. 14, 1961, p. 22) speaks of the fugal method of the play's construction, and Robert Gittings, in Shakespeare's Rival (London, 1960) compares Love's Labour's Lost with Ariadne auf Naxos and Cosi fan tutte (p. 46). The comparison with the Mozart opera is also suggested by John Dover Wilson in Shakespeare's Happy Comedies (London, 1962) p. 55. On the other hand H.B. Charlton (Shakespearean Comedy, London, 1953, p. 45) thinks that it "is made of such stuff as a Tatler, a Bystander, or a revue maker would offer us."


3. In Vol. II of the Prefaces to Shakespeare (London, 1958) he wrote, "It is all very charming; the mere sound is charming; and a 'set of wit' describes it well. Get a knowledge of the game and it may be as attractive to watch as are a few sets of tennis" (p. 419) and again, "Our spontaneous enjoyment will hang upon pleasant sights and sounds alone, sense and purpose apart. Really it almost amounts to this! Better face the difficulty at its worst. Is there any surmounting it?" (p. 421).
uproarious witticisms may be allowed but it seems to be tacitly admitted that the play has not got much guts. C.L.Barber regards the flimsiness of its structure as a part of Shakespeare's intention to show us the triumph and then the inadequacy of festivity.

The story in Love's Labour's Lost is all too obviously designed to provide a resistance which can be triumphantly swept away by festivity. 1

He admits that the festivities never actually come off, nevertheless he denies that Shakespeare is guilty of sadism in his relations with the audience which knows "how the conflict will come out before it starts", because he demonstrates the true role of festivity in the affairs of men. It is clear that Barber has treated the play as evidence for a theory of festivity already formed in his own mind. Boas described the play as "asserting the vitality and transforming power of love", 2

In the mainplot Shakespeare covers with ridicule an attempt to defy the ordinary rules of life. 2

Probably no critic would allow himself such a complacent phrase as "the ordinary rules of life" in 1967, but the view has persisted. For Richard David, the play is the gentle ragging of youthful priggishness and affectation as measured against natural good sense and natural good feeling —- and it is a point that time has not dulled. Dons and donnishness are today more popular as butts than they were in the 1590's, and the vivacity controlled by a good heart that Shakespeare praises is a virtue that does not grow stale. 3

1. C.L.Barber, op.cit.,p.88.
David manages to avoid postulating a vacuum at the centre of the play because unlike Boas he does not find the young men's wooing wearisome; nevertheless it is not very clear just how he regards the abortive love-making which constitutes the major part of the play. Youthful priggishness and donnishness are mild enough faults and comedies of gentle ragging ought to end with talk of penance.

The hollowness of such descriptions of the play, which are rather less irritating than the sort which assume that it is a kind of verbal galliard, is usually filled out by the assumption that the play is more or less satirical, in the harsh, cryptic, personal and scurrilous way that the Elizabethans believed appropriate to satire. The target refuses to reveal itself clearly: it seems to be the school of night, if it ever existed, or the school of Ralegh, perhaps involving the Nashe-Harvey quarrel and centring round the figure of Moth. The difficulty about establishing such an occasion for the play is that the vague parallels proliferate, and recorded history does not reveal anything like a clear ranking of one side against another. Notwithstanding, even so recent and conscientious commentator as Richard David is led to say,

All the evidence then goes to show that Love's Labour's Lost was a battle in a private war between court factions. 1

If this were true, the case for the excellence of the play, which eventually depends upon its autonomy as a work of art, would seem to stagger, despite David's own poignant praise of its charm and brilliance. Of all socio-political phenomena, private wars between court factions would seem to be the most evanescent and intrinsically unworthy. At all events the traces of such a

combat are all but obliterated, while the play has survived, mutilated but full of life, independently of its originating occasion. The statement of the titlepage of the 1631 quarto, that it was still being acted, seems evidence that it made good sense to the Jacobean when the ephemeral circumstances of its composition were forgotten. We have inherited it as a play, and not just as a literary curiosity, so that it seems proper to undertake to establish its abiding value in some intrinsic significance. I shall virtually ignore the occasion of the criticism that we find within the play, and shall attempt instead to identify the essential truth and applicability of it, beyond any desire to oblige Southampton, or to annoy Ralegh, Northumberland, Eliot, Florio or Harvey. It seems proper to begin with the assumption that Shakespeare created the young dilettantes of Navarre for some purpose which arose out of the integrity of his own developing poetic vision. What ought to concern us is the essential dialectic of the play in terms of its inner coherence; it will have reference to contemporary social and intellectual phenomena, but not the irresponsible gesture of the lampoon. If we were to decide that Ralegh and Sidney and Harriot were recognisable to the Elizabethan audience, we would also have to conclude that the picture given of their activities was highly unjust and inaccurate. If we concentrate on identifying exactly what it is that is presented for our critical reaction, the question of injustice and inaccuracy will not arise, and we may be able to discern a universal truth of the kind which only a poet can teach us, beyond polemic and propaganda. If it is irrelevant to puzzle about the number of Lady Macbeth's children, it is much more irrelevant to try to understand Berowne by reference

to Giordano Bruno or the Duc de Biron. Whereas the literary detective is frustrated to find that Shakespeare's characters have traits in common with persons who have little in common with each other, for my purposes, arguing from intelligible argument within the play to a genuine social commitment, the more widely suggestive the dramatic situation the better.

THE LITTLE ACADEME.

We begin with the pastoral scene undividable. The imagery of the play is sober, little of the lush decay of the summer scene is invoked; we encounter no fairies, no wild beasts, not a flower except the single rose of the young men's imagery and the painted meads of the last song. Instead there is a strong evocation of the rural community, the constable, the schoolmaster, the curate, and the red-handed lass and her swain. The woodland setting is introduced in matter-of-fact details, with the names of trees, like Boyet's sycamore, and the Princess's tart reference to the wide fields, or Armado's to the curious knotted garden. The country-side is assumed as the context of the action, not a part of the fiction. The first words spoken in the play are of mortality, of brazen tombs, the disgrace of death, cormorant devouring time and his scythe's keen edge. Life is reduced to this present breath, spent hunting after fame and honour, sole means of cheating time and oblivion. The tone of the King's words is almost Marlovian lofty, and he enforces the effect by calling his followers brave conquerors -- he might indeed have been addressing a group of dying heroes, until he explains himself with more than a nuance of incongruity --

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{War} & \quad \text{-- for so you are,} \\
& \quad \text{That war against your own affections} \\
& \quad \text{And the huge army of the world's desires. --}
\end{align*}
\]
The passage includes several dated entries, suggesting a historical or archival context. The text's content is not clearly legible due to the quality of the image.
The desire for fame and honour is a worldly desire, superbia vitæ and therefore diabolica, reproved by Philosophie and Divinitie, which pronounceth it folly before God: Stultam fecit Deus sapientiam hujus mundi.

The fight against one's own affections and the demands of the world should be undertaken in humility, in hope to achieve virtue and win heaven; it is worse than useless to undertake such a discipline for an earthly motive.

`Who worship Fame, commit idolatry, Make men their god, Fortune and Time their worth; 'Forme but reforme not -- meer hypocrisy! -- By shadowes, onely shadowes bringing forth. Which must, as blossoms, fade ere true fruit springs; -- Like voice and echo' -- joyned yet divers things. 2

The description of the contemplative life in terms of the active life implies the perpetual debate between arms and letters which had become a set topic in the Academies. The conclusion was always the same, that the virtuous gentleman should be disciplined in both. 3 In practice however, the fusion of the active and the contemplative had decayed. Lord Burghley had replaced Sir Thomas More, the skilful diplomatist ousted the virtuous man in the field of politics, and the ideal of wisdom and virtue active in the community was no longer the centre of school studies, which had declined into grammar and flagellation. The monastic ideal of the contemplative life had been thoroughly discredited, but the Stoics and Platonists made the delineation of virtue

1. Of wisdome three booke written in French by Peter Charno... translated by Samson Leonard. At London Printed For Edward Blount & Will. Aspley, p.3.


3. E.g. The will of wit, Wits Will, or Wils Wit... Compiled by Nicholas Breton... London Printed by Thomas Creede, 1599, has a second part, with separate titlepage although paginated as part of the same volume, called"The Scholler and the Souldiour, a Disputation pithily passed between them, the one defending Learning, the other Martiall Discipline."
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3. E.g. The Scholler and the Souldiour. A Disputation pithily passed between them, the one defending Learning, the other Martiall Discipline. Written by N.B.Gentlemen. London Printed by Thomas Creede. 1599. Fol.32-32 verso.
their special province, and limited its exercise to the preservation of the noble spirit in a waste of shame by means of isolation for the Stoics, or amor razionale for the Platonists, a love which was not diffused in the community, but passionately dedicated to a friend, an unenjoyed lady, or best of all, donna Sapienza. ¹

Our court shall be a little academe, Still and contemplative in living art. (I.i.13-14)

Despite Dover Wilson's confidence that such little academies were common enough in the time of the Renaissance. Hundreds of them were set up in the petty Italian courts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. ²

not one of them was actually like this one. The devices of the hundreds of academies that have left records of their existence show emblems of arms and letters intertwined. Frequently, especially in the late sixteenth century, they assumed an active role in civic affairs. They were not at all monastic, but social and cultural centres, where plays and masques were held, dancing, fencing and music taught, and public works of charity undertaken. ³ In England the view of the fit pursuits of a gentleman was probably less intellectually oriented than in Italy or France.

For man being finite both in wit, time, might, His dayes in vanitie may be misspent; Vse therefore must stand higher than delight, The actiue hate a fruitlesse instrument: So must the World those busie idle fooles, That serve no other market than the Schooles. ⁴

¹. Giles Fletcher the elder counsell the reader to take Licia to be some Diana, or some Minerva, no Venus, fairer, fir, it may be she is Learnings image... perhaps... I have shadowed Discipline... It may be some Colledge; it may be my conceit... (Licia, or Poemes of Love, in honour of the admirable and singular vertues of his lady, — s.d., s.t., p. recto.)

². Videt Maylender, Storia delle Accademie d'Italia (5 vol., Bologna,1926-30) passim, and Capitoli et Ordini per l'accademia degli Erranti di Brescia (1635), passim.

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1. Cf. Giles Fletcher the elder describing Licia in the Introduction, "Take her for some Diana, at the least chaste; no Venus, fairer far...It may be said she is learnings Image...perhaps I have shadowed the (Holy) Discipline...It may be some college. It may be my conceit."

2. John Dover Wilson, op.cit., p.66.


Even for a Platonist the King's notion is a rare and wonderful one. Pierre de la PrimauMEMORY considered his Académie Française a platonical institution, but even so most of the discussion centres around the duties of the Academicians in the community, to marry and to rule. To the groundlings, the king's resolution must have seemed the ultimate in intellectual snobbery, and to the educated an absurdity. When the King speaks of the readiness of his spiritual warriors to strike down their own honour if they fail in any article of their oath, we realise that they are armed against themselves, and moral suicide may be the result. Longaville's triumphant assertion that "the mind shall banquet though the body pine" expresses the aspiration of the young men to purge the dross of their human nature and aspire to the condition of the angels.

...the cause why our God hath created vs of two substances, the one terrestrial, and the other celestial, is to this end, that if we begin to swell vp in pride, the vileness of the creation of our bodie, which is but earth and ashes doe retaine and keepe vs back. 1

Shakespeare's view has not the sourness of Boaistuaue's Manicheeism, but it is the pride of the young men in supposing that they can so easily escape the human condition which makes us suspect that the Academe is doomed to inglorious failure. A civil war has occurred in the little state of each man, dividing him against himself, so that the rule of right reason is impossible. Dumaine vaunts that he has forsworn the pleasures of love, wealth and pomp, and shall be dead to the world. These are vows taken

so that the alteration of their life is a refusall of the popular: and open lyfe, where men do live out of cloysters, in such states and degrees as be appointed by God for the liuing together of

1. Theatrum Mundii: The Theatre or rule of the world, written in the French & Latin tongues by Peter Boaistuaue, and translated into English by John Alday. Imprinted at London by H.D. for Thomas Hacket.... (1566?), Sig.Q5 verso.
Even for a Platonist the King's notion is a rare and wonderful one. Pierre de la Primaundaye considered his Academie Francaise a platomical institution, but even so most of the discussion centres around the duties of the Academicians in the community, to marry and to rule. To the groundlings, the king's resolution must have seemed the ultimate in intellectual snobbery, and to the educated an absurdity. When the King speaks of the readiness of his spiritual warriors to strike down their own honour if they fail in any article of their oath, we realise that they are armed against themselves, and moral suicide may be the result. Longaville's triumphant assertion that "the mind shall banquet though the body pine" expresses the aspiration of the young men to purge the dross of their human nature and aspire to the condition of the angels.

...the cause why our God hath created vs of two substaces, the one terrestrial, and the other celestil, is to this end, that if we begin to swell vp in pride, the vileness of the creation of our bodie, which is but earth and ashes doe retaine and keep vs back. 1

Shakespeare's view has not the sourness of Boaistuau's Manicheeism, but it is the pride of the young men in supposing that they can so easily escape the human condition which makes us suspect that the Academe is doomed to inglorious failure. A civil war has occurred in the little state of each man, dividing him against himself, so that the rule of right reason is impossible. Dumaine vaunts that he has forsworn the pleasures of love, wealth and pomp, and shall be dead to the world. These are vows taken so that the alteration of their life is a refusall of the popular and open lyfe, where men do liue out of cloysters, in such states and degrees as be appointed by God for the liuing together of

1. Pierre Boaistuau, Theatrum Mundi, the theatre or rule of the world. Tr. by J.Alday,...H.Denham)for T.Hacket. (1566?) Sig.Q5 verso.
me, as to be subject unto parentes et masters, to marry, to get children, to governe houses & families, to bear office &c. 1

The intention of a King to cloister himself in monkish fashion is clearly preposterous. Berowne is that giddiest of all men who promises what he knows he cannot perform. De la Primaudaye is very strict on this point.

Neither is there any thing whereby a foole is sooner discerned from a wise man, than by promises: forasmuch as an undiscreet man lightly promiseth whatsoever you will, & oftentimes more than is required of him: 2

From Berowne we learn that they have covenanted not to see a woman for three years, to fast for one day a week (an unsympathetically papist requirement), to eat only one meal a day, and to sleep only three hours. More than an academy, the king proposes to make of his court a secular monastery. Berowne complains that this rule of life is barren, and too hard to keep, a position with which no orthodox contemporary would have disagreed, for without grace we cannot fulfill the law, let alone overform works of supererogation. Now, too late, he asks the overwhelmingly un-Platonic question, "What is the use of all this?" The King's answer is not the right one.

The most inattentive schoolboy could have answered correctly,

A wise and courageous spirit outwresteth his wisdom, enjoyeth it, vseth it, and employeth it to his best advantage, conformeth his own judgment, rectifieth his will, helpeth and fortifieth his natural light, and maketh himselfe more quicke and active: 3


3. Charron, op. cit., Sig. A5 recto.
The invasion of a land by foreign powers becomes an act of aggression.

Once a country is invaded, the invasion continues until the

invasion is stopped by the

invading forces or by

the invaded country.

Invasion can be stopped by

negotiation or by

military action.

Negotiation may be successful in

stopping an invasion, but it is not

always the best solution.

Military action is often the only

way to stop an invasion.
All else is mere pedantry. The King's answer is lame, naive and dangerous. He assumes certainty in human knowledge, and reveals that apart from the desire for posthumous honour, his only motive is curiosity. De la Primaudaye distrusts the study of natural sciences precisely because such study

...serveth rather to content the curiositie of hawtie spirits, than to make them better, ... 1

Curiosity stirred by pride, the sin of Lucifer, caused our first Parents to inherit death, and dimmed the clear faculties of the human race. The King's vague and presumptuous answer,

Why, that to know which else we should not know. (i.i.56)

leads directly to Berowne's teasing question,

Things hid and barr'd you mean, from common sense. (i.i.57)

Common sense in Elizabethan psychology was the faculty which interpreted sense data to recognise the object characterised by these attributes, and is also called the imagination, that is, the faculty for taking and recording images, of which Lipsius speaks in his description of the mind.

In man, the highest and most soueraigne facultie of the Soule, is Understanding; being enthroned in the highest place, to guide and conduct all his limes Actions, hath appointed and ordained an vnderfacultie, that we call Imaginative, to dispose and judge by the representation of the Sences, the qualitie and condition of things offered, with authoritie to rouse and stirre our affections, for execution of its judgement. 2

Things hid and barred from such a sense must be the objects of contemplation, of speculative reason. Berowne believes that the King's contemplative inquiry will lead him into the realms of the occult and forbidden. Beyond the bounds of simple observation illuminated by the

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god-given light of understanding, which recognises the good and eternal, the natural light of human reason misinforms the will and leads to error and doubt's boundless sea. The King's answer however betrays no misgiving.

Ay, that is study's god-like recompense. (I.i.58)

Cornelius Agrippa undertook to write his famous work De vanitate et incertitudine artis et scientiarum to vanquish just that conviction. To believe that study suffices to perfect human knowledge even of this finite world is to trust oneself first to the evidence of the senses which we know perceive only the semblances of things, and then to speculate upon such seeming in order to postulate a whole system. Cōrnelius Agrippa was a learned man, but the advances in the human sciences that he saw in his lifetime served more to convince him of uncertainty than to fire him with enthusiasm for the empirical methods which produced such disquieting results. The humility which scientists show in the twentieth century when theories are conceived, accepted and destroyed within days, did not characterise the first rejectors of the old astronomy. He describes the error of intellectual pride in the beginning of the De vanitate thus—

It is an auncient, and almoste an agreeable and common opinion, of all the Philosophers, by the which they thinke, that euerie Science doth bringe vnto man some Diuinitie, accordinge to the capacitie and value of them both, so that oftentimes, beyonde the limites of Humanitie, they may be reckened amonge the felowship of the Godde.

In the discussion of the relative merits of soldiery and learning in the commonwealth in Romei's Discorsi, translated by John Keipers as the Courtiers Academye, the

soldiers charge the scholars with overweening ambition.

...Philosophers, and wise men, who not content with matters terreine, like the Giants, endeouer to ascende vppe vnto haauen, and make themselues equall with God, as also nourished in idlenesse, and knowing themselues vnapt to action: attaining to Magistracie, or honours, swelling themselues in pride, they retire from euil companie into a solitary life: and after hauing beene mewed vppe vppon their studies and Bookes, they become lean and macerate, and not able to determine in what manner the sunne heateth, wholly confounded, they waste themselues in melancholie humours. 1

This is the kind of sequence of events that Berowne sees awaiting the oath-takers, pointing out that the large number of prohibitions will ensure that much of their intellectual activity will be devoted to finding ways of circumventing them. Mistresses hidden from common sense are not only those enjoyed in secret, but also those female simulacra spun by the sublimating fantasies of Platonists, like Chapman's Mistress Philosophy. Human nature will always have the last word, bending the angelic intellect to serve its necessary desires.

If study's gain be this, and this be so
Study knows that which yet it doth not know. (I.i.67-8)

The king's objection that Berowne's argument makes learning the salve to useless pleasure gives Berowne the upper hand, for he had been unable to posit an end for learning beyond itself. Berowne hastens to point out that no ulterior end need be adduced for delight, but that the way of life proposed by the king is not only likely to bring none but a painful result, it is painful in its very exercisē.

1. The Courtiers Academy: Comprehending seven severall dayes discourses... 7 Of precedence of Letters or Armes...
Originally written in Italian by Count Haniball Romei... and translated into English by I(ohn) K(epers).... Printed by Valentine Sims. (1598), p. 248, recto.
Such force hath worldly glory (though but vaine) To make men, for her love, themselues to hate, Who for desire of her, their strength doe straine Farre, farre aboue the pitch of mortali state, And paine in sense, to sense doe captuate: Through pains wake sense, yet sense doth waking sleep, Dreaming on Glory in the lapp of Fate; So paine from sense, doth paine with pleasure keepe, While sense is mounting Honor's Mountaine steepe. 1

Berowne may mean the pain of confusion and the rebellion of the body chastised beyond its power to bear it, or he may mean the pain of damnation. The argument that follows is perfectly orthodox, not only in terms of the contemporary religious attitude to the new science, but also in terms of Aristotelian and Platonic theories of truth. The image of light is richly ambiguous. The light which seeks light is the soul which reflects the divine light of God-

...the soules of man, louing and fearing God, receive influence from that divine light it selfe, whereof the Sunnes claritie, and that of the Starres is by Plato called but a shadow. 2

The light that it seeks is the natural light of human reasoning, which to discern it must quench its own glow (the illumination of faith and revelation) or else it is as invisible as a glowworm by sunlight. So Light seeking light doth light of light beguile.(I.i.77) Wandering in our own deliberately created darkness, we may find that the soul is dead, and unable even to perceive the lesser light, like Dee who followed his blind faith in experimental science into charlatanry. Berowne suggests a more valid Platonic pastime, of discerning the beauty of the soul through the sovereign and universal action of love. He is not altogether frivolous, as his next point makes clear:

2. Raleigh, Historie of the World, op.cit.,p.17
Such force hath worldly glory (though but vain)
To make men, for her love, themselves to hate,
Who for desire of her, their strength doe straine
Farre, farre aboue the pitch of mortall state,
And paine in sense, to sense doe captivate:
Through pains wake sense, yet sense doth waking sleep,
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...the soules of man, loving and fearing God, receive influence from that divine light it selfe, whereof the Sunnes claritie, and that of the Starres is by Plato called but a shadow. 

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Study is like the Heaven's glorious Sun,
That will not be deep-search'd with saucy looks; (I.i.84-5)

Berowne's image, the lait-motif of almost all his utterances, may be often found in arguments to the same intent, for example—

The beames of Mars himselfe...are parched and combust vnder Sol, the sences are amated, as Philosophers defend, with a subject that excelleth in predominaunce, and hee that laboureth to ascend or mount above his ordinarie pitch by vncertayne stayes, seeketh not an eleuation, but an overthrowe...

I would therefore willingly take paines in perswading these menne to flie beneath the cloudes, for feare of wasting with the foolishe Eagle (which went about to builde her neste, within the cyrce of the Sunne) in a fruitlesse altitude.

For what can it availe a man to conquer all the world, with the peryll of his owne soule... 1

Fulke Greville's is probably the most powerful expression of the Christian sceptic's point of view, and Berowne's image appears here as well.

This Knowledge is the same forbidden Tree,
Which man lusts after to be made his Maker;
For Knowledge is of Power's eternity,
And perfect Glory, the true image-taker;
So as what doth the infinite containe,
Must be as infinite as it againe.

No maruell then, if proud desires' reflexion,
By gazing on this Sunne, doe make vs blinde,
Nor if our lust, our Centaure-like affection,
In stead of Nature, fadome clouds and winde:
So adding to originall defection,
As no man knowes his owne unkowning minde:
   And our AEgyptian darkenesse growes so grosse,
As we may easily in it, feele our losse. 2

The young men do not doubt the infinity of knowledge, but they do not doubt their capacity to absorb the infinite either: even when Cupid blindfolds them, dazzled by the after-images burnt on their brains, they still insist that...

1. Henry Howard, Ninth Earl of Northampton, A defensatiue against the poysen of supposed Prophecies... At London Printed by Iohn Charlewood...1583, Sig.**ili verso, &c. Certaine very proper and most profitable Similies...1595, Printed at London, by Iohn Jackson,for Isaac Bing, Simile 38, p.14.

they are eagles. Berowne's arguments are just and well-chosen, and would have found support among obscurantists and intellectuals alike. He chooses the most disreputable of the sciences to illustrate his argument, the involved and polemical astronomy of his time. This is the study which divorces the scholar most fully from mundane affairs and beguiles him with the illusion of conquering celestial empires. Berowne's view, and his governing image are explained by Nicholas of Cusa:

It so far surpasses human reason, however, to know the precision of the combinations in material things and how exactly the known has to be adapted to the unknown that Socrates thought he knew nothing save his own ignorance, whilst Solomon, the wise, affirmed that in all things there are difficulties which beggar explanation in words, and we have it from another who was divinely inspired, that wisdom and the locality of the understanding lie hidden from the eyes of all the living... in the presence

1. Thomas Williams in a congratulatory poem affixed to Ovid's Banquet of Sense, A Coronet for his Mistresse Philosophie, and his amorous Zodiacke (At London, printed by T.R. for Richard Smith, 1595, Sig. A3 recto) congratulates Chapman for being just such an eagle.
Your eyes can well the dazeling beames behold
This Hythian lightener freshly doth effuse..

2. The champions of all other learning not infrequently made an exception of astronomy, for example, Henry Crosse in Vertues Common-wealth: or the high-way to honor... London Printed for John Newbery... 1603, Sig. N2 verso - N3 recto:
But forasmuch as some are diversly affected, they observe not this decorum before noted, but fall into vaine iangling, and so conceited of their owne wits, and have so many crotchets in their heads, that they publish great volumes of nice and curious questions, ambiguities & doubts, as many of the Asser-tronomers, that are very inquisitive to knowe if the world were created in the Spring or the Autumnne, the night before the day,...
of such difficulty we may be compared to owls trying to look at the sun. 1

The King implies that there are good authorities for Berowne's views.

How well he's read to reason against reading! (I.i.94)

No specific source has ever been nominated. The argument may be justified by reference to a number of streams in European thought. The Neo-stoics, like Lipsius, would have supported such an argument on the grounds that the King's notion of the Academe is vainly optimistic, man's life being forever subject to the myriad accidents and perversions of the human condition. 2

The English humanists of the early sixteenth century would have agreed that the pursuit of scientia was

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1. Nicholas de Cusa, De Docta Ignorantia, trans. Germain Heron, O.F.M., with an introduction by Dr. D. J. B. Hawkins (London, 1954), p. 8. We may compare this with Raleigh's view:

   *Et humanum est errare.* And to the end that no man should be proud of himselfe, God hath distributed vnto men such a proportion of knowledge, as the wisest may behold in themselves their owne weaknesses. *Nullì unquam dedit omnì Deus,* God neuer gave the knowledge of all things to any one. (2. Cor. 12.2.)

   *Sapiencia vbi luenitur?* (saith Job) but where is wisdom found? And where is the place of understanding? man knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not found in the land of the living. And therefore seeing God found follie in his Angels, mens judgments (which inhabite in houses of clay) cannot be without their mistakings... (The Historie of the World, op. cit., p. 34)

2. There is a great volume of neo-stoic writing being published in England during Shakespeare's writing life. Evidence for the stoic attitude to the getting of wisdom can be found in Guevara's Dispraise of the life of a Courtier, and a commendacion of the life of the labour-ync man. MDXLVIII (Col: Excusum Londini, in aedibus Richardi Graftoni) passim; in the fifth book passim of Sir Richard Barckley's Discourse of the Felicite of Man: or his Sumnum bonum... London, Printed for William Ponsonby, 1598; and in Joseph Hall's Heaven upon Earth, Or Of true Peace and Tranquillitie of Mynde... London, Printed by John Windet for Samuel Macham and Matthew Cooke... 1606.
At each intersection, as we cross to 

the other side, we find the same 

expression on the people's faces. 

For the next few days, they have 

learned to express their feelings by 

screaming and shouting. This has 

led to a new awareness among the 

people regarding the importance 

of peace and harmony. The 

government has taken steps to 

address the root causes of the 

situation, and the people have 

responded positively. The 

country has shown resilience and 

determination in overcoming the 

difficulties.

To understand the factors that 

contributed to this situation, we 

must look into the history of our 

country. Over the years, there 

have been conflicts and 

tensions between different 

sectors of the population. The 

government has always 

strived to bring about peace 

and unity, but the challenges 

have been immense.

In the past, we have seen 

instances of violence and 

injustice. These events have 

led to a breakdown of trust 

among the people. However, 

there is a growing 

realization among the 

population that peace is 

essential for the 

well-being of the country.

In conclusion, the 

situation in our country is 

complex and multifaceted. 

Addressing the root causes 

of the conflict and 

establishing a 

framework for 

reconciliation and 

cooperation is 

the key to 

a sustainable peace. 

The government 

must continue to 

engage with all 

stakeholders and 

promote 

dialogue and 

understanding. 

Only then can we 

hope to 

achieve the 

peaceful future 

that our country 

deserves.
foolishness because the real wisdom, sapientia, was an active and ethical ideal. They in turn inherited the mediaeval concept of Christ, logos, the Word, as knowledge. Erasmus develops the idea of Thomas a'Kempis, of the fool in Christ, who realises that his intellectual pretensions are absurd before God, accomplishing his salvation with a light heart through humility and trust. The tradition

1. Many examples of this view can be cited; e.g. Baldwin's Treatise of Moral Philosophy (loc.cit.) Sig.N3 recto:
Science separate from justice and virtue is not wisdom but subtlety.
and Sir Thomas Elyot Of the Knowledeg (sic) whiche maketh a wise man, Londini in aedibus Thomas Bertheleti, MDXXIII, fol.91. One of the most winning and succinct formulations is that of Cornelius Agrippa (op.cit.Fol.3 recto)
For the true felicite, consisteth not in the knowledge of goodness, but in a good life: not in understandinge, but in liuinge, with understanding: For not the good understanding, but the good will, joygneth men vnto God.

2. Si Christum bene scis,
nihil est si cetera nescis:
Si Christum nescis, nihil est si cetera discis.

Know Christ aright, know all that can be worth the knowing:
But know not Christ, and know all knowledge overthrowing.


Study not Astronomy,
Least to darknesse turne thy light:
But that high Diuinitie,
Where the day hath neuer night...

of the *encomium morae* links with the Pyrrhonism of Montaigne, who finds tranquility and detachment in his view of the world's folly, which does not require such a drastic perversion of human nature as stoicism.

1. But now at laste I lepe backe againe to saident Paule, and Gladly (saith he) ye doe beare with vnwise men, (speaking it by him selfe) also in an other place, receive you me as vnwise that J am: and further, I speake not this precisely as vpon gods precept, but rather in mine owne vnwisedom. Than againes, we (saith he) are become fooleis for Christes sake: Doo ye here now how great praises of folly this so great an autour alleageth, yea and that more is, he plainly encomygheth Folie vnto vs, for a thyng most necessarie and right, importyng to sauluacion. For who so semeth (saith he) to be wise amongets you, let him become a foole, to the ende he be wise in deed.

The praise of Folie. Morae Encomium a booke made in latine by that great clere Erasmus Roterdame. Englished by Sir Thomas Chaunor knight. Anno M.D.XLIX, Sig. Riv recto.


2. Erasmus attacks the Stoics with vigour in the *Praise of Folly* (op.cit.) Sig. Eliv verso - F1 recto.

For whiche of you woulde not lothe, and blisse you from the company of suche maner a man, as were mortified, and benumbed in al those sensis and understandings, that naturally other men are ledde by? that had no affections reigning in him? nor woulde no more bee sterred with loute, or compassion than if he were a flint stone? that in nothing could overshoote him selFFE, but rather lyke Argus see, and cast all thynges to the uttermost? Forgeue no man? be onely pleased with him selFFE? esteeme him selFFE onely to be riche? onely to be a kyng? onely to be a freeman? briefly, onely all thynges, but in his owne conceit onely? that cared for no friendes? friend him selFFE to no man? Wolde not sticke to defie the Gods? and what so euer is doen of other men in this present life to laugh at it and dispise it, as a verie madenesse? Yet such a maner quaynt beaste is this complete wyseman of theirs.

Montaigne's *Apologie of Raymond Sebond* is largely concieved as an attack upon conventinal philosphers specially Stoics (Florio's *Montaigne*, p. 252 ff.)
Berowne argues in the fashion developed by the supporters of true wisdom and virtue in the combat with proud knowledge and incipient error, but his motives are libertine as Longaville is quick to point out.

He weeds the corn and still lets grow the weeding. (I.i.96)

When Berowne caps Longaville's line with a strange reference to spring as the season of wantonness (for green geese are not only the geese fattened at Whitsuntide) the young men are puzzled by the apparent non-sequitur, until the King's comment reminds us where we have heard his kind of argument before.

Berowne is like an envious sneaping frost
That bites the new-born infants of the spring. (I,i.100-1)

In Nashe's *Summer's Last Will and Testament* Winter attacks Spring because it is the season beloved of scholars. We have already had a chance to assess the demeanour of Ver for ourselves, and we know him for a giddy fop whose great delight is in "giving wenches greenegownes". Summer says of Winter, as the King remarks of Berowne,

Gainst her own bowels thou Arts weapons turnst. ¹

With the aid of the poor fellows who kept the house and tilled the land, Nashe taught the lesson of Winter, cheerful endurance and cooperation, to Whitgift and his little academy. Unlike the little household sheltering from the plague in the Archbishop's house at Croydon, Berowne is invulnerable; the attitude he takes is not a lesson he has learnt in innocence, but an attitude he adopts in self-indulgence. His rejoinder to the King shows arrogance as well as orthodoxy.

Well, say I am; why should proud summer boast
Before the birds have any cause to sing?

Why should I joy in any abortive birth?
At Christmas I no more desire a rose
Than wish a snow in May's new-fangled shows;
But like of each thing that in season grows.
So you, to study now it is too late,
Climb o'er the house to unlock the little gate. (I.i.102-9)

In his famous pioneering work of psychology, Huarte makes the same comparison of learning and agriculture:

After he (the good husbandman) hath manured the earth in due season, he lookes for convenient time to sow it, for it cannot be done at all times of the yeares, and after that the graine is sprung vp, he clenseth and weedeth it, that it may encrease and grow, giuing the fruit which of the seed is expected. After this sort, it is necessary that the science being knowne, which best fitteth with the person, he begin to studie from his first age, for this (sayth Aristotle) is the most pliant of all others to learning. Moreover, mans life is very short, and the arts long and toilsome, for which it behooues that there be time sufficient to know them, and space to exercise them, and therewith to profit the common wealth. 1

This fills out Berowne's argument: the fruit of learning is the benefit for which it is exercised in the commonwealth in mature age, which if spent in study is wasted in pointless labour. When Berowne speaks of abortive birth, he means the monster or the still-born child, carried in the womb for so long, and born to no effect but wonder or grief.

So there is nothing monstruous, and against nature, as the abandoning of this commonaltie, by neglecting the action. 2

Seneca and Cicero can provide authority for the view that effort made contrary to nature's bent is vain, but Shakespeare's view is probably closer to Montaigne's:

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2. Segremont Ratcliffe, Politique discoureses, op.cit., fol.52 verso.
3. E.g. ibid., fol.12, and Huarte, op.cit., p.12.
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2. Politique Discourses treating of the differences and inequalities of vocations, Tr. out of French by AE Ratcliffe, for E. Agges,1576, Fol.52 verso.

3. E.g. ibid. Fol.12 and Huarte op. cit. p.12.
Of Philosophies opinions, I more willingly embrace those, which are the most solide: and that is to say, such as are most humane and most ours: My discourses are suitable to my manners; love and humble... Wee must enter into the nature of things, and throughly see what she inwardly requires. I quest after her tracks, we have confounded her with artificiall traces. And that Academicall and Peripatetical summum bonum or soveraigne felicity, which is, to live according to her rules: by this reason becommeth difficult to be limited, and hard to be expounded. And that of the Stoickes, cousin-german to the other, which is, to yeeld vnto nature. Is it not an errour to esteeme some actions lesse woorthie, forasmuch as they are necessary? Yet shall they never remove out of my head, that it is not a most convenient marriage, to wedde Pleasure vnto Necessity... Who will not call it a property of folly to doe sloathfully and frowardly, what is to be done, and one way to drive the body and another way the minde, and himselfe to be distracted into most diverse motions?  

The King acknowledges the force of Berowne's argument and offers to release him from his promise, but perversely Berowne refuses to renegue; like the contemners of knowledge themselves, he cannot follow his own advice. (Nicholas of Cusa was an important contributor to the overthrow of Ptolemaic astronomy, and Cornelius Agrippa had all his works, including the De vanitate, on the Index because he was an occultist.) He speaks of his argument as of a mere verbal exercise, a challenge to which the King has failed to respond, a skirmish which he has won, and not a declaration of his real intentions. Ironically, the play will prove the truth of what he argued in sport. He cannot abandon his train of thought, and on the mention of the necessity of parley with the Princess, he reverts to it:

So study evermore is overshot:
While it doth study to have what it would,
It doth forget to do the thing it should;
And when it hath the thing it hunteth most,
'Tis won as towns with fire; so won, so lost. (I.i.141-5)
What the academicians would was fame in afterlife, for which they neglected virtue, which consists in fulfilling the duties of one's state in life, and as there is no other way into the temple of honour but through the temple of virtue, in their very striving for honour they have lost it. As Montaigne said, I find nothing so humble and mortal in Alexander's life, as his concepts about his immortalization.

The king, so rudely reminded of the duties of his state in life, contemplates the wiping out of his edict, which is only four days old, on the plea of necessity, and Berowne again punches on him, with the orthodox argument at his fingertips.

Necessity will make us all forsworn three thousand times within this three years' space. For every man with his affects is born, not by might mastered, but by special grace. (I.i.148-151)

According to Protestant doctrine, the law as revealed by the Bible is sufficient for salvation, and the nature of man after the Fall such that he cannot fulfill the law, let alone undertake anything not positively required by it, the so-called acts of supererogation. The taking of any vow, of poverty, celibacy or obedience, according to Osiander,

...is contrary to the article of sanctification, which doth not grant to any man in this life, a perfect & plenary fulfilling of the law; much lesse anie workes of supererogation.

"God must have ye whole honour of mans saluation" is the burden of Cavendish's The Image of Nature and Grace.

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1. Ibid, p. 664.
2. A Manvell Or briefe volume of Controversies of Religion betweene the Protestants and the Papists:... Written in Latine... by Lucas Osiander, and now Englished with some additions and corrections. At London Printed by Humfrey Lione. 1606, p.204.
3. The Image of Nature and Grace, conteyning the whole course, and condition of mans estate, written by Richard Cavendishe... At London Printed by John Daye. (1571), fol.122 recto.
The vow of continency was regarded as particularly foolhardy, because the sexual impulse was sent us by the will of God, who had provided his own chosen way, matrimony, of directing it to His ends, and avoiding the sin of fornication. By Calvin's definition, the young lords are rash and ungrateful.

For he that voweth that which either is not in his power, or disagreeeth with his vocation, is rash: and he that despiseth the bountifulnesse of God, whereby he is appointed Lorde of all thinges, is vnthankful. 1

The affects are the lower powers of the mind which move us to desire the good and flee the bad, but by our Fall which darkened our reason and limited our perception, they continually move towards the bad and away from God. The affections "servants of the Minde, ...too oft disloial procous by kinde, Who liers and sinne-soothing claw-backes are, Whereby our judgments eies they (Traitors) blinde,... 2

"Except preuenting Grace be mixt amonge" the powers of the soul drive us along a perverted path. It is Pride, the sin of the will, that leads the lords along the dizzy path of ambition, and, as Calvin says, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God". God will revenge Himself, and he will do so through his creation.

But as for man, al the fruietes of ye earth, those of the trees, the fishes of the sea, the Fowles of the aire, doe not suffice him, but in all points turning his nature, he doth disguise, puffe vp, & change the substance into excesse, and the nature into arte, to the ende that by such unsatiablenesse, nature be angered, and almost forced to take more than is needefull. 3

This is then the background to Berowhe's curtly expressed misgiving about the vow to have no commerce with women. Of all the lords he is the most presumptuous,

for he has sworn without deluding himself, and expects to keep the impossible rule of life longer than his fellows. The arrogance of his decision is only exceeded by its cynicism, for clearly he does not expect the others to be faithful to their oath for very long. After his vaunting speech he asks languidly if they will be allowed any means of recreation, and the answer is ready: Armado will be the lords' unwitting jester. Well might the laconic lords differentiate themselves from him in that he has a mint of phrases in his brain; events will prove that he will not be alone in allowing his own tongue to ravish him. His preposterous battles may be compared to the discipline which the lords have devised for their own torment, and his motive can hardly be more vain-glory than theirs, although it may be more crudely so. The other half of their entertainment will be Costard, the unlettered swain. The twon natures of man, the mass of fire and child of fancy, and the grosser corporeal nature will be the objects of their ridicule, Armado who aspires to the heroic status of the paladins, and Costard who dreams of a quiet life and one good meal a day.

At the entry of Dull and Costard the King is called upon to administer his own edict, which has turned what ought to be an innocent activity into a crime for which Costard must now suffer, Costard, whose name is only another word for poll, one of the multitude. The fact that Costard's lines are unbidden interjections and so must be delivered to the audience means that the audience builds up complicity with him. He knows, in his peculiar droll resignation spiced with the irrepressibility of his innocence, that the decision will go against him and he is so used to culpability that it never occurs to him to protest. He confesses his transgression freely, in a torrent of words which comes to a halt in the statement, "It
is the manner of a man to speak with a woman, which is oddly redolent of the Proverb of the four wonderful things. In his assumption that man is born to desire woman he is perfectly orthodox: he can no more expect to escape the general doom than he can to speak with the tongues of angels, for

\[ \text{...if every man may obtaine by prayer the gift of continencie, why not also the gift of tongues? or, why not the gift of healing also?} \]

When Berowne sneeringly offers to the hear the letter as he would an oracle, Costard replies with an oracular pronouncement of his own:

Such is the simplicity of man to hearken after the flesh. (I.i.215)

Meanwhile, after Longavilles rebuke to Berowne (I.i.195) the other lords have been curiously silent. During the reading of Armado's preposterous letter, Costard gives evidence that he has learned that hardest fundamental lesson, tirelessly cited by every moral philosopher, to know himself and his own imperfections. Aware of the factitiousness of the law that condemns him, he tries to find a way out by ringing the changes on the phrases of the edict, in a parody of a lawyer's manner, but in this court sophistry is the prerogative of the judges and he is condemned. The sense of his twisting the King's phrase is not so much a bawdiness as a flash of loyalty.

This maid will serve my turn, sir. (I.i,283)

Berowne continues to divert himself at this spectacle, as if it were a play. He watches Costard condemned to bread and water in the custody of Armado, like the baser nature of the young men mortified by their ambition. Costard's suggestion that he be allowed to eat and pray, instead of fasting, reflects the useless-

ness of the lords' self-imposed mortification, for, unlike them, he has had experience of hunger, and it can accomplish nothing in regenerating his character or benefiting the commonwealth. The real significance of his suffering lies in the statement he makes as Berowne takes him off the stage.

I suffer for the truth, sir; for true it is, I was taken with Jaquenetta and Jaquenetta is a true girl, and therefore welcome the sour cup of prosperity, affliction may one day smile again, and till then, sit thee down sorrow!

His muddling of the words for fortune and ill fortune reflects the mingled nature of man's lot upon earth, and his won resignation to it. He is as far from hope and ambition as he is from despair and self-loathing. He invites sorrow to take her place at his table for he has learned what Montaigne called the great lesson of philosophy, by dint of living with the wind and the rain.

Be it supposed that Learning and Knowledge should work those effects they speak of, that is, to blunt and abate the sharpness of those accidents or mischances, that follow and attend us; doth she any more than ignorance effecteth, much more evidently and simply? The notion of the value of affliction can be filled out by the most powerful part of Davies Nosce Teipsum.

If ought can teach us ought, Affliction's lookes,
(Making us looke vnsto ourselues so neere,)
Teach vs to know our selues beyond all bookes,
Or all the learned scooles that ever were. 2

Costard invites Affliction to share his board like a valued guest, for her value is not that she be borne with, but that she be received with good-humour. The Stoics learnt to bear the vicissitudes of fortune im-

1. Florio's Montaigne, op.cit.,p.283,"An Apologie of Raymond Sebond".
passively but the great achievement of the Christian
Pyrrhonist is to jest in the face of confusion and
uncertainty, and to use misfortune to cement relationships
with others.

Then though Affliction be no welcome Ghost
Vnto the world (that loues nought but her weale)
Of me, therefore she shall be loved best,
Because to me she doth the world reveale,
Which worldly welfare would from me conceale.  

Further light may be cast upon the associations
raised in the mind of an audience by the opening picture
of four young Frenchmen creating their idealist
academy in the King's park, by a plate in Civitas
Veri, an allegory of the city of truth presented to
Henry of Navarre by Bartolommeo Delbene. One of the
few pastoral scenes in the book is the Grove of Arrogance
and Falsehood, which is formed by a natural arena of trees
wreathed in mist and infected with bugs. Falsehood poses
in borrowed plumes in the centre, but in the foreground
Arrogance, strutting in cothurnoi approaches a group
of four young men crowned with laurel. Another bows
low before her, but the crown she holds aloft is turned
as if in act to crown herself. In the right foreground
are enacted the pursuits of "Chymistae, Spagiritae,
circulatores, divinaeauli, mathematici." 2 Clearly
the opening of Love's Labour's Lost cannot be interpreted
wholly in terms of this allegory, but it is not to be
automatically construed as festivity either. The audience
has seen a heavily criticised oath-taking and an unjust
trial: Berowne has said that Spring is near, but further
suggestions of a May-time frolic are still to come. The
longest speeches have been given to the cynic, while
the optimists have remained curiously silent, apart from
the King's speeches which are full of death, oblivion, and
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2. Civitas veri Sive morum Bartholomei Delbene..., Parisii Apud Ambrosium et Hieronymum Drouart..., M.DC.IX, p. 150, Appendix, fig. 1.
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2. Civitas Veri Sive morum Bartholomedi Delbene... pars illius Apud Ambrosium et Hieronymum Drouart... M. 3. IX. p. 756
In the nest scene we have the entrance of another critic of the play’s proceeding, the apt child, Moth, whom the historians labour to identify with Nashe. While not commenting upon the value of discovering an exact parallel, it might be as well to examine the tendencies of Nashe’s writing, which might justify Miss Yates’s highly suggestive attribution of the title "villainist" to both Nashe and Shakespeare. Like Berowne, Nashe was well-read to reason against reading, and his position is not simply one of bad-tempered obscurantism.

Young men are not so much delighted with solid substances, as with painted shadowes, following rather those things which are goodly to the viewe, then profitable to the use, neither do they love so much those things that are doing, as those things that are sounding; rejoycing more to be strowed with flowers then nourished with frute. How many be there that seek truth, not in truth, but in vanities; and find that they sought not according to truth, but according to vanities, and that which is most miserable, in the words of life, they toyle for the merchandise of death.

In the Anatomie of Absurditie, he mentions Mulcaster and Ascham, the humanists in whose tradition he considers himself to be writing. He condemns speculative studies for the very reason that they have no demonstrable relation to an active ethical ideal, to the "good Life" and "honest conversation". Winter’s attack on academicism in Summer’s Last Will and Testament might be specifically applied to the four young lords, "word-warriors, lazy star-gazers".

They thought how they might plant a heaué on earth, Whereof they would be principall love gods; That heauen they called a Contemplation, "As much to say as a most pleasant sloth;..."  

3. Ibid., pp. 47-8
The conclusion of Winter6s bitter diatribe is that they are "vain boasters, liers, makeshifts", and that the truth can only be expected from the lips of simple folk who perform more than they promise. Vox populi, vox dei. In Nashe's play vox populi is most clearly represented in the figure of Harvest, the farm hand stitched over with ears of wheat from Goodman Yoeman's unpaid wheatsheaf, whom despite the recentness of the harvest, is already in debt at the alehouse. The figure of the fool by choice, who never loses sight of his human frailty and the fragility of his fortunes is Will Summer, who remains, like all those who would be saved, as a little child. As he takes the tongue-tied imp upon his knee to provide the great closing image of Nashes pageant, he protests childishly --

As sure as this coat is too short for me, all the points of your house are for this condemned to my pocket if you and I are play at spaine counter more. 1

In the first scene Costard provided the counterpoise to the academicians: his role in the second is taken by the child who acts as father to the man Armado, and counters his extravagances with sharply expressed commonsense. As audience to Armado's posturing he is identified with the actual audience, who share his scorn for the Spanish popinjay. We discover that Armado has sworn to three years of fasting and study along with the toehr lords, so that he too is a member of the little academe. Moth presents to him in a cryptic form arguments like those that Berowne offered the covenanters: he understands the three years to be a word, a concept merely, which might be quite adequately studied by arithmetical computation alone. The Braggart is impressed by his reasoning, exclaiming wittily,

A most fine figure. (I.ii.52.)

1. Ibid., p. 294-5.

P. 294-5.
To which Moth replies in disgust,
To prove you a cipher. (I.ii.53)

Heedless of the criticism, Armado makes his confession of love. Like the other lords, he considers himself a soldier, and for all his massive vain-glory he is the first to fall from his self-ordained eminence. He admits himself incapable of warring against this affection of his own, providing a grotesque parallel of the lord's pretensions, and a hint of what is to come.

If drawing my sword against the humour of affection would deliver me from the reprobate thought of it, I would take desire prisoner, and ransom him to any French courtier for a new devis'd courtesy. (I.ii.56-60)

His useless sword is the fantastic parallel of the oath of the lords, and his power to wield it as much an illusion as their power to surmount their own nature by an oath. Moth offers him a precedent, Hercules, the first of the many appearances of the Titan in the play: Hercules was a figure beloved of Renaissance humanism, significant of the superhuman struggle of the triumphant intellect against doubt, confusion and obscurantism, even to the point of heresy and damnation; in the older mediaeval concept he was a simpler figure of the power of the human soul aided by grace to conquer the powers of darkness. 1

Shakespeare begins with Hercules the lover, but the concept evolves in the course of the play and it is Moth who takes the role of the Titan at the last. The audience's complicity with Moth builds as they consistently understand more of what he says than Armado does. Armado pretends to a Platonical passion for Jaquenetta, admiring her wit, but Moth interprets her greenness in quite another fashion. He reminds Armado that red and white cannot be immaculate for

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they are the colours of flesh and blood, of shame and fear. He knows that Jaquenetta is the object of this transmogrified lust, and he is sorry for her. As Aramdo says, "She deserves well", he replies,

To be whipp'd: and yet a better love than my master. (I.ii.114)

The rational hind and his wench break into Armado's lofty passioning at this point. Armado is Costard's gaoler, as well as Jaquenetta's suitor, so he may feast while Costard pines. The consequences constitute the only practical results of the legislation. Jaquenetta replies to Armado's advances without coquetry or simpering, finding nothing in his magnificence but oddity, and his protestations nothing but words. Costard prays that he will not be mewed up: "I will fast being loose" (I.ii.146) makes clear the supererogated nature of his punishment. If Armado can relax his meanness to feed him on the other four days of the week that will constitute the change in his fortunes, Moth is made his custodian for the nonce, but their relationship, despite the page's hauteur, seems to change before they leave the stage.

Costard: Well if ever I do see the merry days of desolation that I have seen, some shall see—

Moth: What shall some see?

Costard: Nothing master Moth, but what they look upon. It is not for prisoners to be too silent in their words, and therefore I will say nothing. I thank God I have as little patience as any man, therefore I can be quiet. (I.ii.149-156)

For the moment the clown is the teacher of the boy, whose quickness of wit does not prevent him from discerning a difference between the absurdity of his master and the muddle of this poor soul. Costard begins in a high fantastical vein of his own, attempting to compose a jeremiad in his biblical fashion, but the child's question restores him to self-possession, so that the contradictory elements in his vision of the world
partially resolve themselves into a statement of Costard's peculiar wisdom. Watching the childlike man and the witty child conversing gravely while Armado heaves his phony sighs, it is not hard to believe what Boaistuau says about the day of judgment:

Beholde these the whiche in times past we had in derision, in infamie and reproch, esteeming them as foolishe, and their life to be without honor, behold they are mounted among the children of God, and their portion is among the Sainctes. It is (sayth S. Jerome) the houre wherein many foolish and dumbe persons, shall be more happier than the wise and eloquent, manye Shepherdes and Carters shall be preferred before Philosophers, manye poore beggars before rych Princes and Monarches, many simple and ignorant, before the wittle and subtil, the which being deeply wayed and considered by Saint Augustine, saide that foole and simple witted men rauished the heauens, and the wise with their wisedome were sunke downe to Hell. 1

Armado's love ravings close the act. His attempts to justify himself are so perfunctory, so much an extension of his own vain-glory that we are in no danger of supposing that he is being rescued from a wrong way of life for the virtuous and fruitful path of love. The epitasis is in sight.

Assist me, some extemporal god of rhyme! for I am sure I shall turn sonnet. Devise wit; write, pen; for I am for whole volumes in folio. (I.ii.173-5)

The last word on Armado's character could well be Nashe's: in the definition of an Upstart, from Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Divell:

Hee will be humorous, forsoth, and haue a broode of fashions by himselfe. Sometimes (because Loue commonly weares the liuerey of Wit) hee will be an Inamorato Poeta, & sonnet a whole quire of paper in praise of Lady Swins-snout, his yeolow fac'd Mistress, & weare a feather of her rainbeaten fan for a fawor, like a forehorse. 2

1. Boaistuau, op.cit., Sig. Q2 recto-verso.