The Ethic of Love and Marriage in Shakespeare's Early Comedies: Part 3

Greer, Germaine (1939-)

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The whitely quality joins with a suggestion of disease to suggest wantonness, and Berowne specifically develops the suggestion in the parallel with Io. It is plain that Berowne regards his love in itself as an aberration, a pestilence, not principally because he is perjured, a fact which he acknowledges in one line. He may not be serious, because Berowne almost never is, but he is not laughing either. The fault is not in his love, which is natural and innocent enough, but in his own sophisticated and guilty attitude towards it. His oath, symbol of the great mistaking at the centre of the Ficinian system, distorts his love from the beginning, and the immediate expression of it is his pride smarting under the unlooked fall into humanity. The difference between "my lady" and "Joan" is the difference between Beatrice or Mistress Philosophy and a real unpredictable imperfect woman.

Well, I will love, write, pray and sue and groan:
Some men must love my lady and some Joan. (Ii. i. 201-2)

Berowne's ambiguous phrasing suggests that there may be more in common between Jaquenetta and the ladies than we might otherwise have suspected. The division in Berowne's attitudes as confessed in soliloquy and in his wooing poems might perhaps be more readily understandable if we remember the way in which Sidney struggles to reconcile his idealist conception of love and the precise nature of the passion that Astrophil feels for Stella.

Desire, though thou mine olde companion art,
And oft so clinges to my pure Loue, that I
One from the other scarcely can discry:
While each doth blowe the fler of my hart:
Now from thy fellowship I needs must part.
Venus is taught with Dianes wings to flye,
I must no more in thy sweete passions lie,
Vertues golde now, must head my Cupide dart,
Sereue and honour wonder with delight,
Feare to offend, well worthie to appeare:
Care shining in my eyes, faith in my spright,
These things are left me by my onely deare.
But thou Desire, because thou wouldst have all,
Now banish art, yet alas how shall? 1

The dual concept of love divine and love human is neatly described
by Bodenham in Politephuia:

Loue is the most excellent effect of the soule, whereby
mans hart hath no fancie to esteeme, value, or ponder
any thing in this world, but the care and study to know
GOD; neyther is it idle, but worketh to serue him whom
it loueth, and this loue is heauenlie. There is also a
loue natural, & that is a poison which spreadeth through
every vaine, it is a hearbe, that being sowne in the
intrailes, mortifieth all the mēbers, a pestilence that
through melancholy killeth the hart, and an end of all
vertues. 2

Sidney differs from Berowne in that he recognises the conflict, and
alternately exalts one side or the other, at times vaunting the virtuousness
and rationality of his love for Stella, and at other times expressing his
infatuation and physical dependence upon her. 3

Berowne Shakespeare exaggerates the division to show that it is

1. Sir P.S. his Astrophel and Stella. Wherein the excellence of sweete
Poesie is concluded. At London, Printed for Thomas Newman.
Amno Domini. 1591, p.30.

3. Compare for example Sonnets IX, XI, XLII, XLVIII with IV, V,
X, XVIII, XXI.

fundamentally wrong. The ladies are not paragons of virtue or beauty, but the objects of human love, amore vicendevole, which is both sexual and idealistic. The champions of wedded love naturally sought to integrate the sexual and the ideal: \(^1\) the Song of Solomon, with its great controlling images of fruitfulness and varied adumbrations of sexual intercourse, became a lovesong once more, and wives bore children and mirrored heavenly beauty at the same time.

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Her goodly eyes like Saphyres shining bright,
Her forehead iuory white,
Her cheekes lyk apples which the sun hath rudded,
Her lips like cherries charming men to byte,
Her brest like to a bowl of cream uncrudden,
Her paps like lylies budded,
Her snowy neck lyke to a marble tower,
And all her body like a pallace fayre,
Ascending vppe with many a stately stayre,
To Honors seat and chastities sweet bowre. \(^2\)
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1. The term, amore vicendevole, is coined by Tasso, who, influenced by Flaminio Nobili's Trattato dell'Amore Umano, wrote his own treatise of human love in Il Cavalier Amante. In England, the reformers were gradually recognising the sexual impulse as good and innocent:

```plaintext
... so sone as God had married and coupled man and woman together: man being enflamed with the loue of his wife and burning with a feruent, singular and moste harty good wyll toward her, brast out into these wordes ... So sone as hee behelde her, he was rauished streight wayes with the loue of her, delighted in her as in him selfe, called her his owne bone and hys owne fleshe, ...
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(Decon, Worckes, op. cit., fol. CCCCCLIX verso.)

Cf. The commendation of Matrimony, made by Cornelius Agrippa, & translated into englishe by Dauid Clapam, 1534. (Col.: Londini in aedibus Thomae Bertheleti ... Anno. M.D.XLV), Sig. B8 recto.

There is no mistaking the sexual quality of this imagery, with its emphasis on use and fruitfulness as well as beauty, but nevertheless Spenser uses it as a stairway to the statement of his love as the embodiment of chastity and Honour. For Shakespeare humanity is always enough, provided it be fully and generously realised. Romeo, the anguishing Petrarchan lover, leaves loitering in orchards at dawn, lamenting disdainful Rosaline, for Juliet's innocence and generosity which preclude the necessity for grovelling and weeping.

Why, is not this better than groaning for love?
now art thou sociable, now art thou Romeo; now are thou what thou art, by art as well as by nature; for this drivelling love is like a great natural, that runs lolling up and down to hide his bauble in hole.

(II.iv.95-100)

However, Berowne's pride does not entitle him to such an extraordinary grace from God. Following blindly his own unleashed affections, now the only counsellors of his will because reason has been usurped by pride of wit, Berowne is, like the lately distressed ladies of the entertainment included in The Phoenix Nest, punished with inconstancy of his wits. Be it love divine or natural, plague or blessing, and his mistress country wench or virtue incarnate, Berowne is determined that he, at least, will be a lover of the first water.

... some vse discourses of Loue, to kindle affection,
some ditties to allure the minde, some letters to stirre the appetite, diuers fighting to proue their manhoode, sundry sighing to shew their maladyes, many attempt with showes to please their Ladyes eyes, not few with

1. An excellent Dialogue between Constance and Inconstance, as it was by
speech, presented to her Maistre, in his last Progress at Sir Horace Leigh's house (The phoenix nest...set forth by R.S. of the Inner Temple. Imprinted at London by John Tasker. 1598. P. 16)
Musicke to entice the eare: insomuch that there is more strife now, who shall be the finest Louer, then who is the faithfullest. 1

All the labourers of love are fine, without regard to their ladies' wishes: Jaquenetta cannot even read her literary homage and does not realise when it is read that it is addressed to her.

Act IV begins with a very curious image, which has no apparent connection with the development of the intrigue of the play, that of the horseman spurring up the hill, which the Princess herself interprets as a figure of pride, "Who e'er a' was, a' show'd a mounting mind" (IV.1.4). The mood of the scene is light and easy, but the echoes of another reality are persistent. Apart from the unknown horseman, there is the Princess's curious attitude to the sport that she is to play.

... where is the bush
That we are to stand and play the murderer in? (IV.1.7-8)

The figure of the deer set upon by hounds and torn to pieces is frequently used for the man who has not managed to establish the sovereignty of reason among his affections and is ravaged by his own headstrong desires, the outcome of unruly will.

Whilst youth and error led my wandering minde,
And set my thoughts in heedlesse wayes to range:
All unawares a Goddessse chaste I finde,
(Dianna-like) to worke my sudden change.
For her no sooner had mine eyes bewraid,
But with disdain to see me in that place;
With fairest hand, the sweet vnkindest Maid,
Cast water-cold Disdaine vpon my face.

Which turn'd my sport into a Harts dispaire,  
Which still is cha'd, while I haue any breath,  
By mine owne thoughts, set on me by my Faire:  
My thoughts (like Houndes) pursue me to my death.  
Those that I fostred of mine owne accord,  
Are made by her to murther thus their lord.

The Princess shot at her pricket, but it was pulled down by the hounds. As for Delia, the arrow-glance of her eyes causes the King to fall in love with her against her will: the real reason for his love is as for Daniel's persona, his own wandering in youth and error. The Princess lets fly her arrows in obedience to the convention and in courtesy to him who has offered her this entertainment. In her teasing of the forester, unskilled in compliment, the Princess shows that her mind has been running on the sin of the young men.

See, see! my beauty will be saved by merit.  
O heresy in fair, fit for these days!  
A giving hand, though foul, shall have fair praise.

(IV.1.21-3)

The heresy that one may by good works merit heaven is a denial of the sovereign action of grace, the free gift of God. Her thoughtless compliance

with the convention she sees as part of the first human sin.  

And out of question so it is sometimes,  
Glory grows guilty of detested crimes,  
When for fame's sake, for praise, an outward part,  
We bend to that the working of the heart;  
As I for praise alone now seek to spill  
The poor deer's blood, that my heart means no ill.  

(IV. i. 30-35)

Her reference to the contemporaneity of such heterodoxy applies more directly to the King's presumptuous monasticism than to Henri of Navarré's "abominable act", and thence to the contrast between English Protestantism and Italian Platonism. Faith, the most potent engine of salvation in the Protestant doctrine, involves an act of intellectual

1. Anthonie Fletcher (Certaine very proper and most profitable Similies op. cit.) shows a figure of sin (woodcut, Sig. Aii verso, Appendix, fig. 2) as a tree, with the seven deadly sins as its trunk, rooted in Pride and culminating in Self-Love, who, like Pride in the Faerie Queene, is regarding her sun-like countenance in a mirror. On one side Justice strains to bring down the tree with a rope, and on the other Verity chops at the trunk. The branches are covered with catterpillers called Usury, Extortion, Blasphemy, Perjury, Ambition, Contempt, Disobedience, Infidelity, Simony, A false Prophet, Ignorance, Vainglory, Excess, Feigned Friendship, Curiosity, Idolatriy, Erroneous Doctrine, Hypocrisy and Dissimulation. All these arise from the master sin of Lucifer, who also tempted our first parents to the sin of pride which remains the first and deadliest of the seven. The most remarkable aspect about this concept of sin to a twentieth century intelligence, is that it is basically intellectual, acts of violence like robbery, rape and murder, which are about the only sins that we recognise today simply do not figure. To a society accustomed to think in this way of sin, as an affair of principle and scruple, even when it has almost no repercussion upon society, the young men's spiritual condition must have been quite unambiguous.
submission which the young men have clearly eschewed, seeking a more impressive scientia. In the name of honour and fame the King has taken the pernicious vow, and treated the Princess with shameful discourtesy. His rejection of real sovereignty as God's anointed, for illusory triumph over knowledge is as wrongheaded and ultimately hurtful as that described by Boyet as a complement to the Princess's line of thought.

Do not curst wives hold that self-sovereignty Only for praise sake when they strive to be Lords o'er their lords? (IV. i. 36-8)

In Love's Labour's Lost, the narrow context of one case of wilfulness as a disruptive factor in the commonwealth, explored in The Taming of the Shrew, is widened and deepened to examine the metaphysical heart of the question, the differing views of man's fitness for happiness here and hereafter which derive from different concepts of his nature and capability. Costard, "a member of the commonwealth", is the only character who ever manages to nonplus the Princess by revealing her own unconscious vanity (for her sin before was to assume that her magnanimity precluded such a feminine weakness). Armado's letter is the first of the love missives that we hear, keeping up the undermining effect of the burlesque action preceding the main action. He speaks of enjoying Jaquenetta's favour, as of something that he can command and enforce, but has the goodness to entreat. The intentions expressed by implication in the letter are insulting and frightening, but they do not emerge in full flower until the astonishing poem with which he concludes.
Thus dost thou hear the Nemean lion roar
'Gainst thee thou lamb, that standest as his prey:
Submissive fall his princely feet before,
And he from forage will incline to play.
But if thou strive, poor soul, what art thou then?
Food for his rage, repasture for his den.

The Princess comments on the writer's arrogance coupling it with infirmity of will suggested in the image of the weathercock. The Princess having gone to her stand the ladies play word games with Boyet on the theme of archery, in which they, Diana-like, take the role of Cupid for themselves, and keep resolute hold of the bow. The songs they sing are old as Arthurian legend and even Costard understands the gist of this game and manages to outmanoeuvre Boyet so that he and ladies carry the day. Boyet withdrawing from the game outfaced by Costard's cheerful and apt obscenity calls him his "good owl", the bird whose song ends the play. We learn that the Princess has carried out her venery from the arrival of two new characters, the curate and the schoolmaster. Bush has maintained that the decay of English humanism and its replacement by learned Puritanism and the Cambridge Platonism had two principal causes:

1. The Nemean lion is not Hercules, but his opponent, usually moralised as some vice that he had to overcome to attain to his patrimony as the exiled son of Zeus. The lamb, on the other hand, is Christ's chosen symbol as the Saving Victim, and has the attribute of innocence, especially silly innocence. Erasmus speaks of Christ's partiality for the image of Himself as a shepherd, and the faithful as sheep. (The praise of Folie, op.cit., Sig. S1 recto et seq.)
In the first place, Christian humanism which depended so much upon the personality of its exponents might suffer from internal decay and dry rot. There was then, as always, the danger that the official custodians of *litterae humaniores* might forget the spirit for the letter, might allow a gospel of life to become a class-room routine, that the study of virtue and literature might give way to grammar and flagellation.  

Because the fundamentals have not been inculcated the young men have been seduced by Platonic extravagances and the new science. At the point where the argument of the play connects with its society, its point can only be illustrated by introducing the pedant, who is the personification of the decay of the English humanist tradition. Grammar is his specialty; he expounds and expatiates, treating all intellectual activity as debate, more concerned with the congruity of his epithets than the truth of his contentions. Dull is probably right about the beast shot by the Princess, but his false Latin is all that Holofernes will allow him, besides the title, "monster ignorance". Nathaniel's attempt to gratify the pedant by listing the advantages that Dull has not had, evokes instead the deadness and uselessness of such pedantic disciplines.

Sir, he hath never fed of the dainties that are bred in a book.
He hath not eat paper as it were; he hath not drunk ink: his intellect is not replenished;
he is only an animal, ... II.ii.24-7)

In Nathaniel's attitude there is a deep contradiction: he believes that it is learning that sets a man above the beasts, and yet that there are

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some who have a right to this elevation, and some who have not. His heresy is similar to that discerned by the Princess, for what really constitutes the difference is the rational soul and the free will of man, and the possibility of inheriting heaven by God's infinite mercy and grace.

Dull is not abashed by the Curate's scorn, but asks a homely riddle which puts us in mind of the era before the pedants, when Adam delved and Eve span and none was a gentleman.

The Pedant of course may turn his hand to poetry and we have a unique opportunity to observe both the wretched stuff he is capable of, and the theory of poetry he has developed to justify it: he believes despite the absolute mundanity of his imagination in the sovereign mystery of inspiration. The poetic genius is

... a foolish extravagant spirit, full of forms, figures, shapes, objects, Ideas, apprehensions, notions, revolutions: these are begot in the ventricle of memory, nourished in the womb of pia mater, and delivered upon the mellowing of occasion. (IV.ii.66-8)

Shakespeare may have subscribed to some such conventional notion of furor poeticius (Vide Midsummer Night's Dream, V. i.4-17), but he sees that the poet's great gift turns to his reproach if it is not harnessed to communicate an active ideal. The responsibility was one which Shakespeare found, as it must be found, crippling, especially when his own convictions wavered in the face of disappointment, the approach of old age, and the evidence of decadence in his society and its tastes. At this stage in his development, his idea of the poet's role is clarifying itself, here
by disposing of the concept of poetry as a gentleman's accomplishment, a way of decorating and embellishing banal and flippant experience. The poet must sing that all may hear, delight, understand and profit, and if ever that aim is perverted, as it is by Chapman, who can say,

The prophane multitude I hate, & onelie consecrate
my strange Poems to these serching spirits, whō
learning hath made noble, and nobilitie sacred ... But that Poesie should be as peruiali as Oratorie, and plaims his special ornaminrnt (sic), were the plaine way to barbarisme: ...

mistake: he is wilfully setting it aside, transferring the *summum bonum* from the idea of knowledge to the person of Rosaline, but only in the poem, for just as he was not really interested in the aim of knowledge pursued by the others, we have heard him expatiate on his love for Rosaline. The argument of the poem, is not an actual argument, for the objection is only imitated and not actually made. Within the framework of mock argument he praises her as the strength that bowed his oaken thoughts, the book wherein knowledge may be studied and then as the divinity of Jove. The poet is still an eagle, bravely importuning the godhead, and he modestly admits that his love in the cynosure only of learned and intrepid eyes. The eagle regarding the sun is Berowne's favourite, if not his only, emblem, for he adapts it and uses it in every context. Of course, it is not his own invention, for a history of the neo-platonic influence in European poetry could be written from the evidence of the use and re-use of this image. One of the earliest examples is Serafino's —

*L'aquila dil suo sguardo affissa al Sole*  
*Tutti suoi figli anchor proua alla spera,*  
*E quel fissar non puc, sdegnosa, e fiera*  
*Morto lo tra del nido, e non lo uuole.*  
*Simile spesso far mia mente suole*  
*De suo pensier, poi che son nati a schiera,*  
*Che qual non alla mia donna altiera*  
*Presto l'uccide e mai non se ne duole.*  
*questo é quel Sol, ch'ogni altra uista abbaglia.*  
*Che sel uedesse ognium, com'il uedo io,*  
*Diria, che al mio nissun stato si aguaglia.*
Perche la mente, a ciascun pensier mio
Spesso conven per lei tanto alto saglia,
Che conoscer mi fa che cosa è Dio.

The image reappears in de Billy's *Sonnets Spirituels*, Claude de Pontoux's *L'Idée* (1594), and Sonnet XCIX of the *Hecatombathia* is merely a rifacimento of Serafino's with the blasphemy omitted and the ending twisted into a rejection of love. More examples can be found in the sonnets of Molza and Tasso. The interactions between Berowne's intellectual pride, and the factitious brilliance of the lady are what undermine the poem from the very beginning. Its most conspicuous fault is the lack of enardia for the lines halt from conceit to conceit, ever failing, despite the ballooning hyperbole to rise off the ground and figure forth the volatility of a lover's passion. Holofernes's principal interest is in the metre, which he approves, but he laments the lack of elegancy, facility and golden cadence, missing the point entirely, for Berowne has deliberately chastened his style and imitated the meticulous movement of logic in order to disguise his own sophistry. Nathaniel's criticism of the poem is passed in the same key, and with the same basic play on words as Rosaline's will be. Ironically he utters another truth, which the lords have denied:

Society, saith the text, is the happiness of life. (IV.iii.160)

The third scene of the act brings us back to the gentles’ game. Berowne wanders on, in his melancholy mood, preying upon himself, toiling in a pitch, like the human intelligence according to Montaigne:

She doth but quest and fixret, and vncessantly goeth turning, winding, building and entangling her selfe in hir owne works; as doe our silkwormes, and therein stiffleth hir selfe. Mus in pice. A Mouse in pitch.  

Berowne cannot conquer the notion that it is pitch that defiles, that Rosaline’s pitch-ball eyes have corrupted him. For a brief instant it might appear that he has learnt his lesson, for he quotes from Costard —

Well, set thee down, sorrow; for so they say the fool said, and so say I, and I the fool; ...

(IV. iii. 4–5)

(But since the Wisedome of the world I finde, Before Heauens Wisedome, Foolishnesse indeede, While such Illusions doe the spirit blinde, As onely growe vpon vngratious seede: Which wicked Humours in the heart doe breede, While truest Wisedome liues aboue the Sunne;  
Let me but play the Foole, and I haue done.)

but even this is only a glancing blow at the truth, and Berowne’s mind spins on, as self-conscious as ever,

Well proved, Wit!  (IV. iii. 5–6)

1. Florio’s Montaigne, op. cit., p. 635, "Of Experience".
He chafes against his love, speaking of it as a carnal infatuation ("but for her eye, I would not love her"), correcting himself wryly to a more acceptable position, only to call himself a liar. He is enamoured of the notion of Cupid's blunt arrow, which he is glad to see had thumped the King.

So sweet a kiss the golden sun gives not,  
To those fresh morning drops upon the rose,  
As thy eye-beams when their rays have smote  
The night of dew that on my cheeks down flows:  
(IV. iii. 25-8)

The King's Petrarchism is almost pure: he makes his comparison with the sun, the commonest analogue of the form of the good, and he embodies it in a particular manifestation, so that the beauty of his lady is actually confounded with the beauty of a spring morning. The vagueness of the conceit of the night of dew can probably be explained by the Petrarchist tendency to identify states of mind with meteorological phenomena, but the inadvertent associations of the King's face with the morning rose warn us that the jerks of the king's invention may topple him into the absurd.

Nor shines the silver moon one half so bright  
Through the transparent bosom of the deep,  
As does thy face through tears of mine give light  
Thou shinst in every tear that I do weep:  
(IV. iii. 29-32)

The night of dew has turned into the ocean: even if the imagination succeeds in reducing the King's brine to tear size, the impression is still that of a deluge. The imaginative difficulties are not reduced by the next lines,
No drop but as a coach doth carry thee;  
So ridest thou triumphing in my woe.

(IV. iii. 33-4)

The conceit is staggering: Holofernes would have loved it, because certainly imitari is here of no consequence — the mirror is not held up to theoretical possibility, let alone to nature. The King's sonnet is of course, very modish, for in its audacity, its deliberate incredibility it resembles the newfangle Marino. Such a poem is not a communication, but an object of wonder. Out of the phenomenon of the reflection in miniature on drops of water the King manufactures prodigious correspondences, deliberately stressing the preposterousness of his invention.

A comparable poem in English is Alabaster's sonnet, "A Morning Meditation" which also explores the imaginative possibilities of light reflected off tear-drops.

The sun begins upon my heart to shine,  
Now let a cloud of thoughts in order train  
As dewy spangles wont, and entertain  
In many drops his Passion divine,  
That on them, as a rainbow may recline  
The white of innocence, the black of pain,  
The blue of stripes, the yellow of disdain,  
The purpose which his blood doth well resign;  
And let these thousand thoughts pour on mine eyes  
A thousand tears as glasses to behold him  
And thousand tears, thousand sweet words devise  
Vpon my lips as pictures to unfold him:  
So shall reflect three rainbows from one sun,  
Thoughts, tears and words, yet acting all as one.  

Boyet would envy the King his facility, elegance and impudence, for it far outstrips his own effort to write about the same eyes which so abundantly furnish optic marvels.

Do but behold the tears that swell in me,
And they thy glory through my grief will show:
But do not love thyself; then thou will keep
My tears for glasses and still make me weep. (IV. iii. 35-8)

It follows naturally from his demand that she regard his tears that he fear that she will respond to her own reflected beauty and not to his passion. The image conveys egotistic heartlessness with considerable force, but the King ruins his one legitimate effect with the unnecessary and bathetical last couplet.

Longaville, the taciturn, who has so far spoken no more than seventeen lines, many of them curt, devisor of the penance of tongue removal, is worried about the persuasive effect of his lines. Berowne reassures him sotto voce from his tree that poetry aids the blind god in matters of seduction.

O! rhymes are guards on wanton Cupid's hose;
Disfigure not his shop. (IV. iii. 58-9)

The connection between poetry and wantonness is not a freak of Berowne's imagination. Not only the rank philistines among the Elizabethans sounded the alarm about the power of songs and flattering poems to undermine virtue. The garment of style was assumed like fine clothes, to attract attention and to impress. Barclay confuses the two deliberately in his description of disordered love and venerious:
Ye counterfaite Courtiers come with your fleing braine,  
Expressed by these variable garments that ye finde,  
To tempt chast damosels, and turn them to your mind.  

Montaigne argued seriously:

... who shall debarre Cupid the service and  
conuersation of Poesie, shall weaken him of his  
best weapons.  

Lodge characterises Fornication as a poet:

... put him to a sonnet, Da Portes cannot equall him;  
nay in ye nice tearmes of lechery he exceeds him:  

Longaville uses a syllogistic form: I vow to have nothing to do  
with women; you being a goddess are not a woman; therefore I did not  
vow to have anything to do with you; but from the beginning the casuistry  
is admitted. Heavenly rhetoric persuaded him to a false perjury; what  
follows is an attempt to persuade us that black is white. The thesis that  
Katharine is a goddess, upon which the whole argument depends, is  
carried to the point of blasphemy, for he credits her with power to redeem  
him and to absolve his sin. Again a collapse in the last couplet implies  
the correct comment upon what goes before, for it is cold and cynical.  

Berowne's comment is justified, if only he had not forgotten that his  
beloved was given the attribute of Jove and the epithet celestial.

1. Barclay, Stultifera Navis, op. cit., fol. 8 verso.  
2. Florio's Montaigne, op. cit., p. 495, "Upon some verses of Virgill".  
3. Wits Miserie, and the Worlds Madnesse: Discovering the Devils  
Incarnat of this Age. London, Printed by Adam Islip, ... 1596,  
p. 47.
This is the liver vein, which makes flesh a deity;  
A green goose a goddess;  
Pure, pure idoltry.  
God amend us, God amend!  
We are much out o' the' way. (IV. iii. 72-4)

The Celestina was copuesta in reprehensió & los loros enamorados:  
& vecidos en su desord.e-nado apetito a sus amigas llamā & dizē ser su  
dios. This is one thing Rastell did not alter.  
Berowne sits above his  
companions' in folly, "in the sky", commenting upon their behaviour like  
Puck upon the Athenian lovers. His muttered interjections reveal how  
far he is from reason, as he seeks not merely to disagree with Dumaine's  
hyperbolic description of his mistress but to denigrate her in a manner  
that is equally absurd.  

Of all the poems Dumaine's is the most sensual and the most cryptic.  
It speaks of sexual desire in terms of delicate but unmistakeable  
suggestiveness.

On a day, slack the day! -  
Love, whose month is ever May,  
Spied a blossom passing fair  
Playing in the wanton air. (IV. iii. 99-102)

1. C. A womā Nay a god of goddesses. S. beleuyst yt thā  
ye and as a goddes I here confesse ...  
S. peas peas  
A woman a god nay to god a vyllayn  
Of your sayeng ye may be sory.

The Interlude of Calisto and Melebea, Malone Society Reprint (1908), II. 158-163.
The lyric movement suggests actual singing, and the theme is sweet ravishment, the governing image the culling of a blossom. Time is suspended by the action of love in a perpetual springtime, like the time of the amorous shepherd in Marlowe's poem, implying the motif of carpe diem by contradicting it. In the next couplet the image of the wanton air is developed into a sensuous conceit of the breeze penetrating the flower's velvet leaves and enjoying her hidden beauties.

Through the velvet leaves the wind
All unseen can passage find; ... (IV.iii.103-4)

The image of clandestine enjoyment is obviously appropriate to seduction and not Platonical wooing. In the next lines the poet makes explicit the parallel between the flower penetrated by the wind, and the lady. The image of the lover sick to death stresses the physical nature of his passion. He loses control of the mechanism of seduction with the introduction of his own personal situation, which is crudely presumptuous:

Air, would I might triumph so!
But alack! my hand is sworn
Ne'er to pluck thee from thy thorn. (IV.iii.108-110)

The exquisite sensuousness of the poems opening fades away, leaving nothing but the residue of Dumaine's arrogance. His love is the natural result of the exuberance of his young blood, so that the lady is virtually warned to expect nothing but the instability of youthful ardour:

1. Boyet uses the same image (V.ii.293) and is sharply checked by the Princess.
Youth so apt to pluck a sweet. (IV. iii. 112)

In the last quatrain he compares himself to Jove drawn from the side of the Juno of knowledge by the wonder in Katharine's mortal eye:

The four lovers then present four types of courtly wooing: Berowne is the type who makes of his love a continuation of his exaltation of his own reason, and identifies his lady with the knowledge that he has decided to seek at the cost of wisdom and charity; the King is an intellectual wooer of a different kind, whose love stimulates his invention to quaint intricacies of conceit, which exercise his mind but leave his heart and the lady untouched; Longaville is the idolator, who extends the concept of the power of the good reflected in the lady into an affirmation of her godhead, confusing the mediating power of Beatrice with redemption; Dumaine is not the exquisite sensualist, closer to the flesh, if not the spirit, of love than his peers, but nevertheless corroded with youthful presumption. Thus each one of them, because of the particular cast of his mind, distorts the passion and purpose of love, creating a maze of his own fancy and losing himself in it. Like God's grace lavished on the sinner bent on his own will, love now turns to their reproach. Not one lord but thinks to condemn the inconstancy of the others in round terms until he has been revealed as partaking of the common fault. Each is prepared to claim a superiority to the others because he perceives their fault clearly and is blind to his own. Berowne is seduced by the role of the scourge of God into forgetting his own guilt so far that he prepares for his own utter discomfiture (which, the audience knows, is coming upon
him space). He uses the term of Alexander, who was above the infatuation of mere mortals ¹, calling the three discovered lovers "worms". The image he uses, of the beam and the mote, is itself a parable of the blindness of the conscience where one's own sins are involved. From their former heroic aspirations to emulate Hercules (in their labours), Nestor, Solomon (in their wisdom) and Timon (in their self-imposed isolation), he argues, they have declined to childish games, and it is the decline from a serious pursuit to a trivial one which Berowne makes the central point of his argument. It is almost as if he is inwardly convinced of the lightness of a love so easily conceived in despite of the laws of probity and constancy. But Nemesis, alias Jaquenetta is at hand. With sharply contrasting simplicity, she presents her condemnation.

Our person misdoubts it; 'twas treason he said. (IV.iii.192)

The priest's judgment has called the argument of Berowne a treason, ergo, the King has committed treason upon himself too, reducing the little state of man in him to a chaos. Berowne, sneakily trying to destroy the letter blames Costard for his disgrace.

Ah! you whoreson loggerhead, you were born to do me shame. (IV.iii.202)

Proteus fumed that his servant shamed him, not realising how true it was. Costard has suffered for an edict which he never consented to,

while Berowne, who did consent to it, has sought to break it with impunity, while punishing those who were known to break it. He smarts before the bumpkins' unwinking gaze, and begs the King to send them away, so that he may confess without shame, calling them _turtles_, the figures of true love. For all his unlettered ignorance, Costard's judgment is not to be scorned.

_Walk aside the true folk, and let the traitors stay._

(IV. iii. 210)

Of course Berowne sings a new tune, talking as fast as he can for the right of young blood to rebel, arguing the natural mutability of flesh and blood, the debt of nature, urging with a swift tumble of words the acceptance of their mutual failing. He calls their vow, quite unwarrantedly, an "old decree". In his wild hyperbole he trots out his well-worn figure of the sun, no longer knowledge, but as in his poem, Rosaline, whom he has the discernment and the temerity to admire. The King calls his attitude a "zeal" and a fury, but in himself the same phenomenon becomes something different. Berowne sails on undaunted into further massive comparisons, until he adopts the sure-fire rhetorical technique of eschewing rhetoric: his words recall the Princess's, but it is the different effect of their application in this case, which we notice.

_Fie, painted rhetoric! O! she needs it not: To things of sale a seller's praise belongs._ (IV. iii. 236-7)

_His solar imagery is adopted only to give the King access to no image of more grandeur, so that he can only retaliate by literally denigrating Rosaline. Berowne is forced to posit a kind of black sun,
making blackness the index of beauty, for

Be she all sootie-blacke, or bery-browne,
Shees white as morrows milk or flaks new blowne.
And tho she be some dunghill drudge at home,
Yet can he resigne her some refise roome,
Amids the well-knowne stars: or, if not there,
Sure will he Saint her in his Calendere. ¹

keeping all his speech in alternately rhyming quatrains, until there

is no alternative left, but jeering in his turn, at the Princess. The

absent ladies are only the occasion of their game, the ball that they play

with, so that Berowne can say,

I'll prove her fair, or talk till doomsday here. (IV, iii. 271)

His next effect, the conceit of a street paved with eyes, apart from

being painful and preposterous, leads to a dead end in a dirty joke.

Tired of this, and disquieted by the unexamined nature of their moral

predicament, they commission Berowne to prove that they may pursue

their inclinations and woo the ladies with an easy conscience, to supply

"some flattery for this evil", some "tricks, some quillets", thinking to

gloss their sin out of existence. What Saint Julian, patron of Hospitallers,
could not do, has been accomplished by Dan Cupid, without a struggle.

We might apply the cry of Summer, at the intellectual acrobatics of Ver:

¹. Joseph Hall, Poems ed. A. Davenport (Liverpool, 1949), p.18,
Virgedemiariun, II.21-26.
O vanitie it selfe! O wit ill spent!
So studie thousands not to mend their liues,
But to maintayne the sime they most affect,
To be helo advocates against their own soules.

Berowne glosses the situation with a posed peroration in which he makes again the point of his undelivered sonnet, that women are the source of the true Promethean fire. It has been noticed that the lines,

From women's eyes this doctrine I derive:
They are the ground, the books, the academes,
From whence doth spring the true Promethean fire.

resemble Southwell's *Saint Peter's Complaint*, although the similarity has usually been regarded as a meaningless coincidence because Southwell must have published after the play was written. The poem is actually a version of Tansillo's *Le grime di San Pietro*, newly in vogue with the revival of interest in the *quattrocento-secentisti*. Tansillo applies the image of the eyes as a book wherein knowledge may be read in a traditional mediaeval manner, but perhaps rather too sentimentally and erotically for post-counter-**reformation** taste, to Christ, whose eyes are

Sweet volumes stoard with learning fit for Saints,
Wherein eternall studie neuer faints,
Still finding all, yet seeking all it finds,
How endlessse is your labirinth of blisse,
Where to be lost the sweetest finding is?

The parallel between Berowne's argument and Tansillo's use of the mediaeval notion of Christ as wisdom, if it is significant at all, underlines the delinquency of the lords. No audience, let alone one trained in oratory and debate, could overlook the circumstances of Berowne's encomium on love. It is conditioned by its function to convince the hero of an untruth, as Berowne argued that he could prove black Rosaline as fair as the sun. Again he is prepared to talk until doomsday. He uses his eagle image again, as he proves that the love of woman is psychedelic. His argument is genuinely eloquent and seductive: the famous lines in praise of love, have long been recognised for their compelling beauty, although it is clear that beyond fulfilling the function of exquisitely competent panegyric, they mean very little. There would be no point in Shakespeare's argument if the young men were simply incompetent practitioners of erroneous arts; we must be sensible of the power and persuasiveness of their views, so that when the ladies hold up the satirist's glass at the end of the play, we also feel implicated. As John Vyvyan has remarked, lines 354–9 are either nonsense or philosophy, and he proves very ably that they are philosophy, which is to miss Shakespeare's point, that they are both nonsense and philosophy. Berowne speaks of the folly of their oath, but still postulates wisdom as their chief aim, but the knowledge of the self that is real wisdom is as far from them as ever, as Berowne realises in his glancing way.

Let us once lose our oath to find ourselves,
Or else we lose ourselves to keep our oaths. (IV. iii. 358-9)

His last lines are almost blasphemous, for he includes in his argument Christ's one commandment:

It is religion to be thus forsworn;
For charity itself fulfils the law;
And who can sever love from charity? (IV. iii. 360-2)

Any infant in the audience could have answered him, for the distinction between Caritas and Amor, Agape and Eros was perfectly well understood. Costard was condemned contrary to the law of charity; the ladies were lodged in the field contrary to the law of charity, and their wooing will be no less so. The old image of warfare which the King had used in the first scene, revives, sustained by Berowne's reference to corporals, and affection's men-at-arms, as the King responds with enthusiasm to Berowne's creation, all persuasion and no justice, declaring his loyalty to the new standard of Saint Cupid and inciting his turncoat soldiers to instant attack on the new front. But Berowne, for all his glibness, cannot refrain from acting as the impotent conscience once more: like all sophisters he has succeeded in persuading everyone but himself, lingering on stage to say sourly:

Allons! allons! Sow'd cockle reap'd no corn;
And justice always whirls in equal measure:
Light wenches may prove plagues to men forsworn;
If so, our copper buys no better treasure.
(IV. iii. 380-3)

As the editor of the Arden edition notices, this comes in inharmoniously after his address of loyalty to love, nevertheless the lightness of
the convention does not prepare us for the process of judgment indicated by Berowne's image of reaping. We must learn the same lesson that they do, the lesson of Ralegh's poem.

What is our life, a play of passion,
Our mirth the music of division
Our mothers wombes the tyring houses be
Where we are drest for this short Comedy,
Heauen the judicious sharpe spectator is,
That sits and markes still who doth act amisse,
Our graues that hide vs from the searching Sun,
Are like drawne curtaynes when the play is done,
Thus march we playing to our latest rest,
Cnely we dye in earnest, that's no Iast.

For the young men nothing is really serious; three of them are imaginative and unreflecting, one of them is discerning but impotent and cynical.

The ladies are unimpressed by the lords' literary and other love offerings. The King's love is for the Princess nothing but what might be "cramm'd up into a sheet of paper" (V. i. 7). Katharine, mourning a sister dead for love, is too bitter, calling Dumaine's favours,

Some thousand verses of a faithful lover;
A huge translation of hypocrisy,
Vilely compiled, profound simplicity. (IV. ii. 50-2)

In commenting upon her love-offerings, Rosaline shows more self-knowledge in a line, than the men do in the whole play. She knows that she is not fair, and Berowne's letters amuse her all the more in trying to

prove that she is. Maria is indolent and serene; for her Longaville's letter is simply a bore. They declare war on the young men. Rosaline's unholy glee at the prospect is qualified by her assessment of her lover's infirmity of character —

O! that I knew he were but in by the week. (IV. ii. 61)

The Princess reflects sagely upon the particular quality of this foolishness in "wise" men. She sees that there is a continuity between the brashness of their initial quest and their present behaviour. Maria's comment illuminates the way in which wit is now being misapplied.

Folly in fools bears not so strong a note,
As foolery in the wise, when wit doth dote;
Since all the power thereof it doth apply
To prove by wit, worth in simplicity. (IV. ii. 75-8)

Now the intelligence of these learned fools, instead of being futilely spent gratifying their curiosity about the world, is wasted manufacturing justifications for their own folly. Where the lords imagine a battle of flowers, the sweet strivings of amorous intertwining, the ladies are preparing something different. Boyet calls them to arms for the first skirmish is at hand, and serrer of ranks the ladies await, disguised and armed cap à pie, for the Princess intends to pay mockery with mockery. She, while showing no trace of Katharine's paranoia, simply does not believe that the passion of the lords is love. She treats their coming as a play, a matter of their penned speeches, and decides to confound the whole performance, as merciless with the lords as she is merciful to Holofernes's actors. Bit by bit the play of the ladies and gentlemen is
being revealed as shallow attitudinising, life treated as a play: the ladies keep another reality firmly in sight, but the lords strut their hour on the stage with no awareness that it will ever have to come to an end.

Moth, the Prologue of the lords' play, although he understands in a crude and workmanlike way what play-acting is, cannot handle the play-acting of compliment. The lines he is to say seem nonsense, because they have no relation to facts that he can observe, and there is no established convention or fiction that he can exploit or understand. Unlike the actor, he is talking to an audience that will not listen: he has not the necessary cooperation which gives a character life. The authors of his piece are self-regarding aesthetes, and deservedly they perish in the public theatre. Native ingenuity is defeated by the barren artifice of the courtly wooers and retires willingly.

Rosaline now takes over the play, and questions the fictions of compliment in her own way. She acts her role well: the Princess's sonnet is probably 'mown to her, for her references border close upon it, giving the King illusory hope,

\[\text{My face is but a moon, and clouded too. (V.ii.203)}\]

The King replies in the convention of his poem, begging her to unmask so that she may shine upon their watery eyne, unleashing the optic wonders listed in his sonnet, and Rosaline replies with the genuine wit which the King so sadly lacks:
Thou now requests but moonshine in the water. (V. ii. 208)

The image is often used for the illusory claims of worldly learning, for example, in Erasmus's words —

... these Sophistrers and Logiciens, beyng a race of men more kackeling than a meny of dawes; eche of whome in bablyng male compare with tenne women chosen for the nothes, and farre more happie shoulde be, in case they were onely bablers, and not skold, also: in sorte that oftenymes for the moone shynye in the water, they striue whole daies together, and with to muche arguynge, lette the truethe of the mattier slippe by them. 1

He has called her attendant ladies stars, so that by now the ladies have been all or severally identified with all the heavenly bodies. They adopt the character of the moon which they have learned from the lords themselves, enacting the preliminaries of the dance and then withdrawing. The meeting then breaks up and the four couples converse apart. This is the only direct wooing that the lords accomplish within the play, and it is directed to the wrong persons. The ladies are rigorous, remorselessly snaring the gentlemen in their own mental toils, sometimes with a sinister touch, like Katharine's volley with Longaville, when, having proved him conclusively to be a calf, she counsels him darkly,

Bleat softly then; the butcher hears you cry. (V. ii. 255)

Rosaline calls an end to their skirmishing, reassembles her army, and the gentlemen ride off. The victors gloat over the way in which they

1. The praise of Folie, op. cit., Sig. Lii verso.
turned aside all the point of the gentlemen's wit, and reveal what we have waited to hear, that they have taken another blind oath. In the return parley, they offer nothing but rigour. The King, chastened, invites the Princess to his court, but she replies as we expect her to, in terms which the King has allowed himself to forget.

Nor God, nor I, delights in perjur'd men. (V. ii. 346)

The King ripostes with a lame and condensed form of the Promethean fire argument:

The virtue of your eye must break my oath. (V. ii. 348)

but the Princess replies with perfect orthodoxy,

You nickname virtue: vice you should have spoke;
For virtue's office never breaks men's troth. (V. ii. 349-50)

She swears upon her virginity that she will not condone his fault by accepting his hospitality. In case we have forgotten how the King's oath was visited on the Princess, he admits himself,

O! you have lived in desolation here,
Unseen, unvisited, much to our shame. (V. ii. 357-8)

She must deny it, in good manners, and mentions the Muscovites.

Rosaline will not abate the rigour of her wit and speaks to the point,

My lady in the manner of the days,
In courtesy gives undeserving praise. (V. ii. 365-6)

Berowne, having had a breathing space, trots out his well-worn figure of the sun —
Your wit makes wise things foolish; when we greet
With your eyes best seeing, heaven's fiery eye,
By light we lose light. (V. ii. 374-6)

But his stale paradox proves him a fool, as Rosaline demonstrates.

Discovering that their disguise was pierced, the lords fall into amazement and look sick. Berowne incorrigibly seizes upon the new situation, and with high eloquence, announces his rejection of the arts of painted rhetoric, in alternately rhyming quatrains, with carefully ranked parallel phrases, ending with his famous heaping figure of the affectations of language,

Taffeta phrases, silken terms precise,
Three-pill'd hyperboles, spruce affection,
Figures pedantical; these summer flies
Have blown me full of maggot ostentation. (V. ii. 406-9)

The plenty of their wit is allied with the imposthume of disease bred by the ease and bounty of the summer, which must be purged by the winter. Renouncing eloquence is pretty much like renouncing pleasure and comfort; Berowne undertakes it — for the present. He utters his first villanist statement like a new rhetoric that he has discovered ...

And, to begin! Wench, — so God help me, law! —
My love to thee is sound, sans crack or flaw. (V. ii. 404-5)

His oath is from the law-courts: this bluntness is not simplicity, for Rosaline darts at the affected terms sans and begs for its removal.

Still speaking in his new low vein, Berowne pleads for his fellows in love, but the imagery he uses strikes us strangely.
Write "Lord have mercy on us" in those three;
They are infected; in their hearts it lies;
They have the plague and caught it of your eyes;
The lords are visited; you are not free,
For the Lord's tokens on you do I see. (V. ii. 419-23)

Why should the language of plain-speaking bring this terrible image
into the language of dalliance? Apart from what it reveals about
Berowne's attitudes to love, it may be that in the real world so rigorously
excluded from the King's academe, the real world of the audience as well
as that of the play, the plague was already raging. Plainspeaking also
reveals that they have falsely bound themselves again, and the situation
becomes painfully revealing, as Berowne's urbanity dissolves, and he
turns vituperatively upon the professional courtier, who listens with
enforced good humour as Berowne curses him in the impotence of his
disappointment.

Die when you will, a smock shall be your shroud,
You leer upon me, do you? there's an eye
Wounds like a leaden sword. (V. ii. 479-481)

The battleground of love has developed in an unpleasant fashion when
Costard, whom Berowne calls "pure wit" with less irony than he intends,
announces the catastrophe of this extraordinary action.

THE CATASTROPHE

In what sense is *Love's Labour's Lost* a comedy? No very trouble-
some matter has been created so that it may turn into joy. We have not
dealt with characters in the low and middle states of life, neither is it in
low style. It is not a tragicomedy, nor is it satire, for the behaviour of
Berowne, the satirist within the play, is shown to be absurd because his criticism arises from his own arrogance and intolerance, and his greater discernment is never applied to his own behaviour. But if it is not Aristophanic or Jonsonian, the play is no less un-Terentian and un-romantic. It is not brought to a triumphant conclusion in an escape or a birth, for Berowne admits that it is an abortion, applying the Princess's description of the great things that "labouring perish in their birth";

A right description of our sport my lord. (V. ii. 517)

He had used the same image himself for the misbegotten academy that proved stillborn. The frail artifice foaming off the young men's brains is viable for a few hours, like cuckoospit or sea-foam, and Shakespeare allows us to enjoy its charm, for the impact of the play depends upon our participation in the catastrophe, when the frost of truth kills this untimely blossom. The play is, as T. W. Baldwin argues, 1 constructed on an idea, and the form may be regarded as reversed, not to form a tragedy, but an anti-comedy, in which the metaphor of salvation does not function as an escape from reality, but reality rescues man from the mazes of his own ceaselessly labouring mind. To figure forth such an extraordinary vision an extraordinary form was required, of wit so sharp that it cut itself. The play resembles, in its embassages and counsels of war, occasional skirmishes and incursions into the world of the commons for an insight into the repercussions of the policies of the

ruling class, a Shakespearean History. The similarity may be justified by reference to the analogy of the intellectual state of man and the commonwealth, in this case disrupted by the defection of the king, or right reason. The levels of meaning interpenetrate, for the King's defection is not merely an analogue of the eclipse of right reason, it is itself the failure of right reason to occupy its rightful place in the King's soul. By creating this brittle world of compliment and populating it with smart courtiers enacting their own vanities, Shakespeare managed to free his imagination from the lure of Platonism on the one hand, and elegant satire on the other, so that he could draw freely upon the founts of popular story. He cannot find the spiritual strength to write great comedy in the sophisticated tradition as it existed, and the attempts of Nashe and Peele to confront traditional material had resulted in creations of great pith and beauty, but did not indicate any clear path to a successor. In the street-theatre tradition of dramatic pageant and morality, there was plenty of commitment to the duties of oratory to edify and instruct, but little to delight the poor souls who stood on the lumpy cobbles and looked on. Shakespeare brings the two streams into a confrontation, as he plays off differing political ideologies in the Histories, allowing them to grapple freely until both evaporate before the stark evocation of reality. The self-conscious entertainment offered so dutifully by the citizens is contrasted with the vain-glorious muddle of art and life with which the lords have supplanted all action and assumption of responsibility. The lords' performance is the indulgence by extraordinary talents of their own inclinations, while Holofernes and his actors labour to overcome their
deficiencies in order to please their patroness and edify the general.

The pageant of the Nine Worthies is a traditional form of entertainment. The characters were usually Duke Josua, Hector, David, Alexander, Judas Machabeus, Julius Caesar, Arthur, Charlemagne and Guy of Warwick or Bevis of Hampton. They were presented as chivalric figures, with their arms emblazoned on a device, for they are regarded as the ancient champions of heraldry and representatives of the nine chivalric virtues, also denoted by the nine precious stones and the nine commandments of chivalry, namely,

You shall holde, with the sacrifice of the great God of heauen.
You shall honour, your father and mother.
You shall be mercifull, to all people.
You shall doe no harme, to the poore.
You shall not turne your backe to your enemies.
You shall hold promise, as well to frend as foe.
You shall kepe hospitalitie, especially to strangers.
You shall vpholde maydens right.
You shall not see, the wydowes wronged.

While the choice of characters may vary to include Colbrande, Sampson or Sir Lancelot du Lac, the significance of the pageant is always the same. The King may well complain that Holofernes and his actors come to do him shame, for their entertainment with its close connection with the chivalric ideal acts as a reproach to him for his abandonment of all the duties of chivalry.

The show begins in an atmosphere of confusion, with Costard's version of Pompey, a most unusual inclusion in the number of worthies, being usually a figure of pride. This Pompey is however the embodiment of humility for he takes Dumaine's correction with simplicity and in four lines prostrates himself before the "sweet lass of France", stressing his utter dependence upon her mercy and cooperation.

If your ladyship would say, thanks Pompey, I had done.  
(V. ii. 551)

To such ingenuousness the Princess can only reply:

Great thanks, great Pompey.  
(V. ii. 552)

Boyet and the lords have greeted this lowborn spectacle with loud derision, using it as a vehicle for performances of their own. Except for the Princess, who every now and then addresses a mild and encouraging word to the actors, the ladies, who so gleefully destroyed the lords' mummery, remain mute. The Princess knows the truth of the lesson that Theseus sought to teach Hippolyta, chafing at the homespun entertainment offered at her nuptials, that

... never anything can be amiss,  
When simpleness and duty tender it.  
(Midsummer Night's Dream  V. i. 82-3)

The effect that the play within a play is having on the surrounding play is very subtle. The lords' behaviour is irritating because we wish that the pageant could get along. The play in A Midsummer Night's Dream is not held up by the comments of the spectators, and the whole spectacle is got through in an atmosphere of speed and light-heartedness. Here the actors
stand helpless like Aunt Sallies, bombarded by the strutting lords. The audience, which must now accept the lords as an extension of itself, does not find them expressing its own views, as Theseus and the Athenians do, because it has no opportunity to form any. When they join the world of the audience the lords invite judgment as real people, and they come off badly. When the hapless curate is completely outfaced by the mockery of the gentiles, Costard is called on to cover his flight, and he speaks to us of the life that they live together, of the virtues which help men to bear with each other.

... a foolish mild man; an honest man, look you, and soon dash'd! He is a marvellous good neighbour, faith, and a very good bowler, but for Alissaunder, - alas you see how it is, a little o'er parted.

(V. ii. 574-8)

Renaissance poets have always understood the persuasive value of halting expression. In their most moving poems Sidney and Ralegh ostensibly eschew eloquence for the subtler persuasive implications of the inability to express themselves. 1 For Shakespeare the having of "that within which passeth show" was often depicted by the failure of

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1. Our passions are most like to Floods and streams,
The shallow murmur; but the Deepe are Dumb.
So when affections yeeld Discourse it seems
The bottom is but shallow whence they come.
They that are rich in words must needs discover
That they are poore in that which makes a Louer.
(Raleigh, Poems, ed. Latham, No. xvii, p.18)

Dumbe Swans, not chattering Pyes doe Louers proue,
They loue indeede, who dare not say they loue.
(Feuillerat, Sidney, Vol. II , p.264, Astrophel and Stella, liv.)

Relative slowness of speech is also connected with sageness, e.g. The tongue of a wiseman is in his heart, but the heart of a foole in hys tong.
(Baldwin, op. cit., Sig. N7 recto.)
words. ¹ Costard's plea cannot fail, for Nathaniel profits by our growing impatience with the lords, who are never dashed by anything!

The next emblem has no place in a pageant of the Nine Worthies: the Titan who has haunted the play is at last before our eyes in the person of Moth, strangling a snake. Moth himself had offered Armado the precedent of Hercules as a justification for his love (I. ii. 63) and Armado had repeated it (I. ii. 166). He also likens himself to the Nemean lion, the first of Hercules's labours (IV. i. 97). Berowne uses the image of Hercules when speaking of the defection of the academicians (IV. iii. 165) and then identifies love with Hercules "still climbing trees in the Hesperides" (IV. iii. 337-8). The image of the infant Hercules is first proposed in V. i., and now here it is. ² The old tradition of Hercules expressed in the Livres du fort Hercule culminates in the study by Coluccio Salutati, written between 1378 and 1383. ³ The labours have manifold significance, as analogues of the conquest of sin or the acquisition of wisdom. Usually Hercules's strength is considered a figure of intellectual power, while the story of the twelve labours undertaken to regain his

1. Vide Sonnet. XXIII, for example.

2. In the chivalric tradition Hercules was supposed to be the ancestor of the Kings of Navarre (Seznec, La Survivance des Dieux Antiques (London, 1940), p. 22.) The Charterhouse of Pavia shows an "étrange série de portraits apocryphes où l'enfant Hercule étrangle les serpents, ou Judas Machabée apparaît avec le chapeau de Mercure ... (ibid., p. 31).

divine inheritance has a clear practical application to the struggle of man to regain heaven. 1 It is the older tradition which applies in this play, not the superhuman hero based on the Furens, which is the creation of the Renaissance. Shakespeare’s ikon shows us the Titan, the perfect man, as a child, strangling a serpent, the emblem of sin, particularly of pride and deceit, the first tempter. 2 The figure cut by Moth is lamentably funny, but its main point is to render even sillier the Herculean pretensions of the lords and Armado. As if taking the point, the gentlemen are more than ever determined to destroy the schoolmaster’s production. They drive him from the stage, calling him an ass, and he

1. Erasmus often uses the illustration of Hercules, e.g. in the Enchiridion Militis Christiani/ Whiche may be called in englysshe, the hansom weapon of a christen Knight/ replenysshed with many goodly & godly preceptes: ... newly corrected and imprinted ... Johan Bydell (n. d., 1544), Sig. H7 recto, “the labours of Hercules putteth the in remembrance that beuenmust be opteyned with honest labours and enforcements infatygable”. cf. Bacon, “Hercules followers in Learning (sic), that is, the more seuer, and laborious sort of Enquirers into truth”. (The Advancement of Learning, op. cit., fol. 18 recto.) In The phoenix nest ... set forth by R.S. of the Inner Temple ... Imprinted at London by Iohn Jackson. 1593, p. 14, Hercules shows “what deeds by vertues strent are don”.

2. For example, in the emblematic costumes designed by Henrik Nicias for his Comoedia, A worke in Ryme, containing an Enterlude of Myndes, witnessing the Mans Fall from God and Christ. Set forth by H.N. ... Translated out of Base-almyayne into English. (s. d., s. t.) (1574?), the figure of the Searcher is "a Man Personage, clothed lika Serpent, beneath the knees, with a slyding Tayle comming out behynde; haueing in his Hande an Image of a Serpent: ther-vpon written/ SUBTILTEE. (fol. 8 recto).
upbraids them sadly, without hope of moving them:

This is not generous, not gentle, not humble.

(V. ii. 621)

The Princess is moved for him, but she cannot defend him, and he retires vanquished. The lords have scented fresh prey in Armado, who keeps his head despite their interjections, even daring to ask Longaville to keep quiet, and speaking of the right of the character he represents, Hector, to honour, because "when he breathed, he was a man" (V. ii. 653), until Costard suddenly breaks in with an interruption that is not at all frivolous. The news is a shock. Apart from Armado's curious love language of the lion to the lamb, we have only seen her associating freely with Costard, and Berowne himself, who may have put Costard up to making this accusation at this moment, called the couple "turtles".

Perhaps Berowne expects to unmask Armado, but he can hardly be prepared for the seriousness of the scene as it develops. The foolish lords continue to applaud this real life drama, as if it were enacted for no other purpose than their gratification. Berowne may be satisfied that Costard's challenge reveals the fact that Armado has no shirt, but the birth of a bastard is hardly a subject for comic gratification. The ladies remain silent. Armado may be a hollow sham but he is still the sire of the child that leaps in Jaquenetta's womb, and unless he help her, "the poor wench is cast away" (V. ii. 666). The announcement of the birth does not provide a comic catastrophe, for the child is already bowed with the sins of its begetting. Life has invaded artifice and destroyed the play of the worthies, but life is not only birth, it is also death.
midst of the lords' extravagant merriment, death enters, in the person of Marcade, in the same way that Nemesis enters in Respublica, Adversity in Magnificence, God's Visitation in the Triall of Treasure, Correction in The Tide tarrieth no Man and Horror in The Conflict of Conscience. The lords are frozen in the positions that they assumed to watch the pageant, and it becomes clear that they will never again regain the centre of the stage. The symmetry refuses to re-establish itself and the play of the unworthies dissolves before our eyes. Berowne sends away the masquers, but Armado seizes the opportunity to show us that he has learned the first lesson of wisdom.

I have seen the day of wrong through the little hole of discretion, and I will right myself like a soldier. (V. ii. 714-5)

The Princess sets about leaving, grave and composed, while the King follows her about trying to extend belated and unwanted hospitality, and even to propose. Berowne lends his eloquence, but the Princess cuts his slick tortuousness short. The King urges,

Now at the latest minute of the hour, Grant us your loves.

But the Princess replies,

A time, methinks too short To make a world-without-end bargain in. (V. ii. 776-9)

As a preparation for the solemn vows of a husband, she enjoins him to a year's penance, in a hermitage "remote from all the pleasure of the world". One third of what he vowed in vain-glory he must now fulfil in
expiation. The Princess uses a revealing similitude in explaining her idea:

If frosts and fasts, hard lodging and thin weeds,
Nip not the gaudy blossoms of your love,
But that it bear this trial and last love; ...
I will be thine. (V. ii. 791–7)

Only some such winter can prove if the promise of the young men's gifts will have fruit. The King accepts the challenge with enough bombast in his tone to show that no miracle has happened. Katharine gives Dumaine a year's penance also, but with a meaner promise of requital at the end,

Then, if I have much love, I'll give you some. (V. ii. 820)

Maria too says that she will accept a faithful friend proved by a year's waiting. Rosaline adds a new dimension to the penance she devises for Berowne,

You shall this twelve-month term from day to day,
Visit the speechless sick, and still converse
With groaning wretches; and your task shall be
With all the fierce endavour of your wit
To enforce the pained impotent to smile. (V. ii. 840–4)

Berowne is appalled. He has never submitted the profuse productions of wit to the approval of anyone, much less those whose perceptions are dulled by suffering and despair. But Rosaline is adamant in her demand that he use his gift to benefit the commonwealth. He will have to develop a new skill, of beguiling pain, not inflicting it, of inspiring hope instead of indulging cynicism. The audience is the judge.
... if sickly ears,
Deaf'd with the clamour of their own dear groans
Will hear your idle scorns, continue them,
And I will have you and that fault withal;
But if they will not, throw away that spirit ...

(V. ii. 853-7)

The ladies have usurped the function of the audience for the present, for they judge the lords' performance, and so we know that it is over. It is Berowne who acknowledges that their summing up has ended the play, ruefully and with some surprise.

Our wooing doth not end like an old play;
Jack hath not Jill: these ladies' courtesy
Might well have made our sport a comedy. (V. ii. 864-6)

The King takes the view of most of the commentators, that love's labour is not lost, because they must simply wait a year, 1 but in the play-world in which all that the playwright wills is possible, Shakespeare has deliberately posited a resolution outside the scope of a play. He has not allowed a happy ending, and that for a purpose connected with the whole structure of the play. The lords might as well begin stripping themselves of their finery, for Jaquenetta's pregnancy and the King's death have caused their images to fade away. When Armado enters, he is an ordinary fellow, all the panoply of heraldic Hector laid aside. He has accepted the consequence of his action and bound himself to serve Jaquenetta for three years. Fundamentally his punishment resembles the

1. E.g. John Vyvyan, Shakespeare and the Rose of Love (London, 1960), p. 24, "After some vicissitudes, the lovers are accepted by their ladies; but a preliminary sentence is imposed on each. These penances are in fact a deeper sort of learning; so neither side has really lost".
lords', as his passion did, although his mistress was only a country girl, and his love lust crudely disguised, and not lust intellectualised. The reduction of the lords to the level of an audience of the new action is made most clear in the staging of the debate which replaces them on the stage. An age-old theme in fresh and simple poetry fills the void left by the civil war of wits, and makes explicit the themes that have underlain their chimeric action.

The song "in praise of the owl and the cuckoo" develops the Princess's image of the blossoms of the King's love surviving a harsh winter, into a fuller statement of the theme of affliction as the mother of virtue and self-knowledge. Armado speaks as if the owl will sing before the cuckoo, which is what we might expect of comedy, which reënacts the miracle of the thawing of winter in the burgeoning of new life: twice he mentions Hiems and Ver in that order, but he makes the Spring sing first, so that the song, like the play and human life, ends in winter. Spring's song suggests a basic misgiving about all the glories of the springtime, which serve as a frame for the harsh song of the cuckoo, which

... then, on every tree
Mocks married men; for thus sings he,
Cuckoo;
Cuckoo, cuckoo; O word of fear,
Unpleasing to a married ear.

Cuckoo and cuckold, whether semantically connected or not, have always been connected in the popular imagination. Apart from the obvious fact that the cuckoo lays its eggs in other birds' nests, there is actual
evidence of the confusion of the two expressions, in "giving the cuckoo" to one's friend, and getting the "cuckoo's note". Dekker speaks of the "horned sun a golden cuckold, — the cuckoo and no owl to be heard". 1 Richard Niccols based a whole poem on the connection of the cuckoo with adultery, supplying a mock explanation of the fearfulness of his cry to the married ear.

Dan Cuckow was a bird hatcht in that houre
When Mars did sport in Cythereas bowre
Whereby the note, which his hoarse voice doth beare,
Is harsh and fatal to the wedded eare! ... 2

In classical iconography the cuckoo was construed as a figure of the cuckold; Valeriano quotes Horace to illustrate the connection:

Vnde cóuliæ illa, siue quemplam adulterae
vxoris maritum dicere uolumus, siue ignaum,
siu stupidum, aut nullo animo praeditum
hominem notare, Cuculum appellamus, ut spud
Horatium sermonibus:
    Tum Praenestinus saimo multum de fluenti
    Expressa arbusto regerit comucia, durus
    Vindematur, & inicetus sui saepe viator.
    Cessisset, magna compellens voce Cucullum. 3

In spring lust is diffused in the air like a potion; all creation sings the joys of the flesh. Green geese like Jaquenetta fall a-breeding. We

2. The Cuckow. Ricardus Niccols, in Artibus Bac. Oxon. ... At London printed by F.K. and are to be sold by W.C. 1607, p.2.
3. Hieroglyphica sive de sacris aegyptiurum literis commentariori, Ioannis Pierii Valeriani Bolzani Bellunensis Bellunensis ... Baselae. 1556 (s.t.), p.131.
are familiar with folly and wantonness as attributes of the spring, but there is a subtler connection of the springtime of man's life with the fullest blossoming of his intellectual powers: in speaking of the artifice of spring Shakespeare connects it specifically with the young men, proud in the fulness of their transitory and illusory human powers. 1 Summer's Last Will and Testament also ends with the preparation to face a winter of hardship, with humility and faith in God rather than in oneself, and Nashe portrays spring as an intellectual prodigal, squandering his plenty in galliards and giving wenches green gowns. Nashe's picture is crueller than Shakespeare's for Ver is a bore and a fool, and the cuckoo's song charming, if fragile and deceptive. As Finette remarked in the old farce, of the song of her cocu.

Autour Noel en la saison,
Chantant sous la cheminee,
C'est une chose éprouvée.

The bastards conceived as a consequence of spring dalliance make their presence obvious in the winter when the hearth becomes the centre of a social grouping which is permanent, unlike the easy commerce of the spring. We leave the trees in which the cuckoo roves restless, and follow the owl home to her nest beneath a man-made roof. Maidens and

1. Cf. Mans May or a Moneths Minde: Wherein the Libertie of mans minde is compared to the Moneth of May. by Peter Smalle. ... London, Printed by George Purslove for Samuel Rend. 1615.

shepherds are replaced by Tom, Dick, Joan and Marion, persons, known to each other and to us. The logs and the milk must be brought by someone's freezing hand; smocks may not be bleached and the immaculate red and white disappears beneath the grease and smuts of the kitchen. The owl that sings now is not the screech-owl, "death's dreadful messenger", but the wise owl who shunned the trees for fear of birdlime, a fear which proved to be justified so that all the other birds flocked to her for counsel, a brisk and sympathetic bird like the heroine of Drayton's *The Owl*. The life led in this winterbound cottage is the life of Costard and Dull. Their taciturn and goodnatured endurance is what we must lay against the young men's wordy exuberance. The art which this community has need of is oratory, the parson's saw. Mercury, whose words end the play according to the comment of V. ii. 320, is the figure of *efficax sermo*, represented by the opposite of Boyet's figure, a mouth with an eye in it. Mercury and Hercules are often confused; especially in the emblems of just eloquence. The Gallic Hercules is represented winged at head and foot like Mercury and leading men of all conditions by a gold chain attached to his tongue and their ears. In an English version of Hercules at the cross-roads, he stands between an old man with a book and the caduceus, and a figure of pleasure, who offers him the lute, often

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1. The story is told in *A schol of wyse Conceytes, Wherein as euery Conceyte hath wit, so the most haue much mirth*, Set forth in common places by order of the Alphabet. Translated out of diuers Greeke and Latine Wryters, by Thomas Blage. ... Printed at London, by Henrie Binneman. *Anno, 1572, fol. 47 verso.*
confused with the lyre in the imagery of Apollo. Thus we can take the line

The words of Mercury are harsh after the songs of Apollo.

(V. ii. 920)

as summing up the whole conflict adumbrated in the play, between the plainspeaking God of information and the inspirer of the divine afflatus of poetry. The owl is associated with Mercury in an emblem from Wither's collection, which shows Mercury and Minerva hand in hand, with her owl perched on the caduceus. The emblem is meant to demonstrate the way in which we ought to avoid rash action, by scanning the soul in recollection and humility, a moral which has an obvious application to the action of the play. The opposition of Mercury and Apollo is one that must readily have occurred to poets, although they would not always have been so ready to give the last word to Mercury. In fact intellectual endeavours should be characterised by the astuteness, plainness and eloquence of Mercury, and the genius and inspiration of Apollo as well: many academies and academics used both upon their impress. Shakespeare, the intellectual poet, has a fling at witty sophistication and obscurity, but the committed playwright undercuts and criticises it, and from its ruins

1. A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne: Quickened with Metrical Illustrations, ... by George Wither ... London, Printed by A. M. for Robert Millbourne ... MDCXXXV, p. 22, Appendix, fig. 3.

2. Ibid., p. 17 , Appendix, fig. 4.

3. See, e.g., the titlepage of Dionysii Lebeii-Batillii ... Emblemata, Emblemata a J. J. Boissardo ... delineata sunt et a T. de Bry Sculpita, et nunc reecess in lucem edita, Francofurti ad Moeniam, MDCXXXVii, Appendix, fig. 5.
allows the song which contains the germ of his great romantic comedies to sprout.

The Promethean fire stolen from the wheels of Apollo's chariot does not shine in the eyes of greasy Joan, scouring her pot in her sooty kitchen, but Shakespeare is
t
that she deserves as much love as my lady, and that it will not be measured by the artifice that celebrates it, but by the degree of committal and fidelity that characterises it. Love's Labour's Lost is Shakespeare's fiat; he is prepared to accept the dual responsibility of the playwright, as poet and orator. He demonstrates this by spinning an elegant and trifling story of flirtatious love, which glimmers with the cool fire of artifice, and then shining a stronger and clearer beam through its transparent fabric so that it fades away. What is left is the kernel of our human society, laid as bare in this little song as Armado would have been without his doublet. Through all the vicissitudes of his career, Shakespeare never forgot his duty to Tom, Dick, Joan and Marion, although he may have chafed at it, as Prospero fretted at his guardianship of Caliban, and ultimately he may have felt defeated in it. He wrote his own pure poem, The Phoenix and the Turtle, and we can only speculate how far he might have wanted to follow Ariel's free flight further into the mysteries of creative contemplation. As a playwright, he disciplined his imagination and sang for all men to hear, but especially for the Grumios, Launces, and Costards of the world, whose language was their only patrimony, and their songs their only riches.
APPENDIX
DIONYSSI
LIBRI-IVL. II
REGNI MEHOMATRICV
PRÆSIDIS
EMBLEMATA.
Emblemata a Ioao Iac.
Boysardo Veluntino
delincata sunt,
Et de Theodoro de Bry
sculpti sunt nunc recens
in lucem edita.
Francofurti ad Moentii
A. D. M. xcv

Fig. 5.
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DOVIZI, BERNARDO, Comedia di Bernardo Divitio da Bibiena
intitolata Calandra. (Col.: Stampata in Roma nell' anno
M.D.XXIII).

DU VAIR, GUILLAUME, A byckler against adversitie: or a treatise of
constancie. Written in French by ... the Lord dv Vair ... done into English by Andrevv Couvr. London, Printed
by Bernard Alsop ... 1625.

EDWARDS, RICHARD, The Paradvse of daintie Devices ... Devised and
written for the most part by M. Edwards ... Imprinted
at London, by - Henry Dizle, ... 1586.

ELYOT, SIR THOMAS, The bankette of saplence. compyled by syr
Thomas Eliot knyghte, and newly augmented with dyuerse
tyitles & sentences. (Col.: Londini in aedibus Thomae
Bertheleti ... M.D.XXXIX.)
The boke named the Gouernour devised by syr Thomas

Of the knowledeg whiche maketh a wise man. Londini in
aedibus Thomas Bertheleti. MDXXXIII.
ERASMUS, DESIDERIUS, *Apophthegmes, that is to saie, prompte quicke wittie and sententious saynages of certain Emperours, Kynges, Capitaines, Philosophiers, and Cratours, aswell Grekes, as Romaines ...* First gathered and compiled in Latine by the ryght famous clerke Maister Erasmus of Roterodame. And now translated into Englyshe by Nicholas Vdall. *Excusum typis Ricardi Grafton: Londini, 1542.*

Enchiridion Militis Christiani/ Whiche may be called in englysshe the hansom weapon of a Christen Knuyght/ replenysshed with many goodly & godly preceptes: newly corrected and imprinted ... Johan Bydell. (1544)

The praise of Folie. *Morae Encomivm* a booke made in Latine by that great clerke Erasmus Roterodame. Englisshed by sir Thomas Chaloner Knight. Anno M.D.XLIX.

FIRENZUOLA, AGNOLO, I Lucidi Comedia di Messer Agnolo Firenzuola fiorentino. In Firenza M.D.LII. (Col.: Appresso I Giunti).

FITZHERBERT, JOHN?, *The Boke of Husbandry.* (Col.: Imprinted at London ... by Thomas Berthelet ... anno. M.D.XXXVII.

FLETCHER, ANTHONY, *Certaine very proper and most profitable Similies ... collected by Anthonie Fletcher ... 1595.* Printed at London, by John Jackson for Isaac Bing.

FLETCHER, GILES the Elder, Licia, or Poemes of Love, in honour of the admirable and singular vertues of his Lady, to the imitation of the best Latin Poets, and others. Wherevnto is added the Rising to the Crowne of Richard the third. (1593?)

FLORIO's MONTAIGNE, *The essaies Or Morall, Politike and Militarie Discourses of Lo: Michael de Montaigne ...* First written by him in French And now done into English By ... John Florio. Printed at London by Val. Sims for Edward Blount ... 1603.

FOX, JOHN, *Acts and Monuments of these latter and perillous dayes ...* Gathered and collected by John Foxe ... Imprinted at London by John Daye ... 1563.
FRAUNCE, ABRAHAM, *The Third part of the Countesse of Pembroke's Yuychurch: Entituled Amintas Dale* ... by Abraham Fraunce ... At Lyndon Printed, for Thomas Woodcocke ... 1591.

FULLER, THOMAS, *The Holy State* by Thomas Fuller ... Cambridge, Printed by R.D. for John Williams ... 1642.


A Hundreth sundrie Flowres ... Gathered partely (by translation) in the fyne outlandish Gardens of Euripides, Ouid, Petrarke, Aristio and others ... At London, Imprinted for Richarde Smith. (1573)


GIRALDI CINZIO, GIOVANBATTISTA, *Discorsi di M. Giovannbattista Giraldi Cynthio nobile Ferrarese ... intorno al comporre de i Romanzi, delle Commedie, e delle Tragedie* ... In Vinegia appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari et Fratelli. MDLIII.


GOSSON, STEPHEN, *The Ephemerides of Phialo, deuided into three Bookes*. The first, A method which he ought to follow that desirith to rebuke his freend, when he seeth him swarue: without kindling his choler or hurting himselfe ... by Step. Gosson, Stud. Oxon. Imprinted at London by Thomas Dawson. Anno 1579.

Plays Confuted in flue Actions, Proving that they are not to be suffred in a Christian common weale, ... by Steph. Gosson, Stud. Oxon ... London Imprinted for Thomas Gosson ... (1582).

GREENE, ROBERT, *Ciceronis Amor, Tullies Love* ... by Robert Greene ... At London, printed by J.R. for Nicholas Lyng. 1605.

*The honorable Historie of frier Bacon, and frier Bongay* ... Made by Robert Greene Maister of Arts. London, Printed for Edward White, ... 1594.

*A pleasant concerted comodie of George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield* ... Imprinted at London by Simon Stafford, for Cuthbert Burby: ... 1599.

*The historie of Orlando Furioso* ... London, Printed by John Dantes for Cuthbert Burble, ... 1594.

*Philomela, the Lady Fitz-vvaters Nightingale.* By Robert Greene, ... London, Imprinted by George Purslowe. 1615.

*The Scottish Historie of James the fourth* ... Entermixed with a pleasant Comedie, Presented by Choram King of Faverlies: ... Written by Robert Greene Maister of Arts. London Printed by Thomas Creede. 1598.

GUAZZO, STEFANO, *The ciuile Conversation of M. Stephen Guazzo*, written first in Italian, diuided into foure bookees, the first three translated out of French by G. Pettie ... The fourth ... now translated out of Italian into English by Barth. Young, ... Imprinted at London by Thomas East. 1586.

GUEVARA, ANTONIO DE, *Dispraise of the life of a Courtier, and a commendacion of the life of the labouring man.* MDXLVIII. (Col.: Excusum Londini in aedibus Richardi Graftoni.)


HALL, JOSEPH, *Heaven vpon Earth, Or Of true Peace and Tranquilitie of Minde* ... London. Printed by John Windet for Samuel Macham and Matthew Cooke ... 1606.

HARINGTON, SIR JOHN, *The booke of frendeship of Marcus Tullie Cicero.* Ano dni. 1550. (Col.: Imprinted at London ... in the hous of Tho. Berthelette.)

HERMAN, V, *A simple and religious consultation of vs Herman* ... Archebishop of Colone ... Imprinted in ... 1547. I.D.

*A briefe and playne declaration of the duety of married folkes* ... by Hermon Archebishop of Colaine ... newly translated into the English tongue by Haunce Dekin. (Col.: Imprinted at London, by I. C. for H.S.)
HOLLAND'S PLUTARCH, The Philosophie commonlie called the Morals... written by... Plutarch... translated out of Greeke into English by Philemon Holland... At London Printed Arnold Hatfield. 1603.

A pleasant conceited Comedie, wherein is shewed how a man may chose a good wife from a bad. As it hath bene sundry times acted by the Earle of Worcesters Servants. London Printed for Mathew Lawe... 1602.

HOWARD, HENRY, Ninth Earl of Northumberland, A defensatiue against the poyson of supposed Prophecies:... At London Printed by John Charlewodd... 1583.

HOWELL, THOMAS, H. his Deuises for his owne exercise and his friends pleasure. H. Jackson. 1581.


INGELEND, THOMAS, A pretie and Mery new Enterlude: called the Disobedient Child. Compiled by Thomas Ingelend... Imprinted at London... by Thomas Colwell. (1570?)

A newe, mery and wittie Comedie or Enterlude, newly imprinted, treating vpon the Historie of Iacob and Esau... Imprinted at London by Henrie Bynneman... 1583.

JUNIUS, HADRIANUS, The nomenclator or Remembrancer of Adrianus Junius Physician... now in English by John Higins... Imprinted at London for Ralph Newberie and Henrie Denham. 1585.

KING, JOHN, Vitis Palatina. A Sermon appointed to be preached at Whitehall vpon the Tuesday after the mariaige of the Ladie Elizabeth her Grace. By the B. of London. London, printed for Iohn Bill. 1514.

LARKE, JOHN, The boke of wisdome otherwise called the Flower of Vertue... Translated fyrst out of Italian into French, and out of French into English by John Larke. (Col.: London, Thomas Col(well) ) (1565?)

LEGH, GERALD, The Accedens of Amorie (Col.: Imprynted at London ... by Richard Tottel, Anno. 1578.)

LING, NICHOLAS, Politeuphusia wits common wealth. At London, Printed by I.R. for Nicholas Lyng ... 1597.

Lodge, Thomas, Wit's Miserie, and the VVorlds Madnesse: Discovering the Deuils Incarnat of this Age. London, Printed by Adam Islip, ... 1596.


LUPSETE, THOMAS, An Exhortation to vonge men, perswadinge them to walke in the patehe way that leadeth to honeste and goodnes: By Thomas Lupsete Londoner. 1554. (Col.: Londini in aedibus Thomas Berthelet. Anno M.D.X XV.)

LUPTON, THOMAS, A Moral and Pitieful comedie, Intituled, All for Money ... Compiled by T. Lupton. At London. Printed by Roger Warde and Richard Mundee, ... Anno. 1578.

LYNCH, RICHARD, The Fountain of Ancient Fiction, wherein is lively depicutured the Images and Statues of the Ancients, with their proper and particular expositions Done out of Italian into English by Richard Linche Gent. London Printed by Adam Islip. 1599.

MANISCALCO, MARIANO, Comedia del vitto muliebre. Composta p Mariano Maniscalco da Siene. Ad instantia di Miss. Eustachio de Petrucci ... (Col.: Impressa in Siena p Simione de Niccolo ... Ad: x de Agosto. 1519.)

MEDUNA, BARTOLAMEO, Lo Scolare del R.P.M. Bartolameo Meduna, Conventuale di San Francesco ... In Venetia appresso Pietro Fachinetti, 1688.

MELANCTHON, PHILIP, A very godly defense full of learning defending the mariage of Freistes gathered by Philip Melanchton ... translated out of Latine into Englishy by Lewes beuchame: the yeare of the lorde. M. CCCCC.xlj.
MELBANCKE, BRIAN, Philotimus. The warre betwixt Nature and Fortune. Compiled by Brian Melbancke Imprinted at London by Roger Warde, ... 1583.

MORE, SIR THOMAS, A frute full pleasault, & wittie worke, of the best state of a publique weale, and of the newe yle, called Utopia: ... by Sir Thomas More ... and translated into English by Raphe Robynson ... Imprinted at London, by Abraham Vele, ... (1558).


NARDI, JACOPO, Comedia di amicitia (s.t., s.d., Florence? 1510?)

NEGRI DA BASSANO, FRANCESCO, Tragedia di F.N.B. intitolata libero arbitrio. M.D.XLVI. (s.t., Basle) A certaine Tragedie wrytten fyrst in Italian by F.N.B. entituled, Freewyl, and translated into English by Henry Cheeke. (London, J. Charlewood, 1589.)

NICCOLS, RICHARD, The Cuckow ... Ricardvs Niccols in Artibus Bac. Oxon ... At London, printed by F.K. and are to be sold by W.C. 1607.

NICLAS, HENRIK, Comoedia. A worke in Ryme, containing an Enterlude of Myndes, witnessing the Mans Fall from God and Christ. Set forth by H.N. ... Translated out of Base-almanyne into English. (s.t., s.d., 1574?)

NOBILI, FLAMINIO, Trattato dell'Amore Hymano Composto, & donato ha gia molti anni da M. Flaminio Nobili ... Stampata appresso Vincentio Busdraghi in Lucca nell'anno MDLXVII.

NORES, GIASON DI, Discorse di Jason de Nores intorno a que' principii cause, et accresimenti, che la comedy, la tragedia, et il poema heridico ricevono dalla philosophia morale,... in Padova, Appresso Paulo Meieto 1587.

OSIANDER, LUCAS, A Manvell or briefe volume of Controversies of Religion betwene the Protestants and the Papiets ... Written in Latine, ... by Lucass Osiander, and now Englished with some additions and corrections. At London Printed by Humfrey Lownes. 1606.


PEELE, GEORGE, *The Old Wives Tale. A pleasant conceited Comedie ... Written by G.F. Printed at London by John Dayter ... 1595.

PETRARCA, FRANCESCO, *Phisike against Fortune aswell prosperous as aduerse ... Written in Latin by Franciss Petrarch ... and now first Englished by Thomas Twyne. At London, printed by Richard Watkyns. An. Dom. 1579.


PICCOLOMINI, ALESSANDRO, *Dela institutione di tutta la vita dell'homo nato nobile e in citta libera. Libri X. In lingua toscana ... Composti da S. Alessandro Piccolomini ... Venetiis apud Hieronymum Scotum. 1542.

PLAUTUS, TITUS MACCUS, *Comadia di Pla'ito novamente tradotta, intitolata Menecchini molto piacevoli et ridicvolosa.* M.D.XXVIII. (Col.: Venetia per Girolamo Lecco.)

PUTTENHAM, GEORGE, *The Arte of English Poesie, Confirmed into three Bookes: The first of Poets and Poesie, the second of Proportion, the third of Ornament.* At London. Printed by Richard Field ... 1589.

RATCLIFFE, AEGREMONT, Politique Discourses, treating of the
differences and inequalities of vocations. Translated
out of French, by Aegremont Ratcliffe ... Imprinted at
London for Edward Aggas. 1578.

RHENANUS, JOHANNUS, Speculum Aestheticum (Electoral Library at
Cassel, MS, Theatr. 4 . 2.)

RIPA, CESARE, Iconologia ovo descriptione d'imagini delle virtu,
Viti, Affetti, Passioni humane, Corpi celesti, Mondo
e sue partì. Opera di Cesare Ripa Perugino ... In
Padua per Petro Paolo Tozzi. M.DC.XI. Nella
Stamperia del Pasquati.

ROBINSON, CLEMENT, A handefull of pleasant delites, Containing
sundrie new Sonets and delectable Histories ... by
Clement Robinson, and divers others. At London Printed
by Richard Ihones ... 1584.

ROMEI, ANNIBALE, The Courtiers Academie: Comprehending Seuen
Seuerall dares discourses ... Originally written in Italian
by Count Haniball Romei ... and translated into English
by I(ohn) K(epers) ... Printed by Valentine Sims. (1598)

S., R., The phoenix nest ... set forth by R.S. of the Inner Temple.
Imprinted at London by John Jackson. 1593.

SCOTTO, MICHAEL, Phisionomia laqual compilo Maestro Michael Scotto ...
(Col.: Stampata in Vinegia per Francesco Bindoni &
Matteo Pasini Compagni ... 1533).

SERAFINO, Serafino. Opera dello Elegantissimo Poeta Serafino Aquilano,
quasi tutta di nuovo riformata, con molte cose aggiunte.
In Vinegia. M.D.XLIII.

SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP, Sir P.S, his Astrophel and Stella. Wherein the
excellence of sweete Poesie is concluded. For T.Newman.
1591.

SMALLE, PETER, Mans May or a Moneths Minde: Wherein the libertie
of mans minde us compared to the Moneth of May. By
Peter Smalle ... London, Printed by George Purslowe
for Samuel Rand. 1615.

SMITH, SIR THOMAS, The Common-welth of England, and maner of
government thereof. Compiled by the honorable Sir Thomas
Smith, Knight. At London Imprinted by John Windet for
Gregorie Seton ... 1589.

STANDISH, JOHN, *A lytle treatise compost by Johan Stadysshe against the ptestation of Robert Barnes at the tyme of his death*. In sed. R. Redman, 1540.

STEVENSON, WILLIAM, *A ryght Pithy, Pleasant and merie Comedie: intytuled Gammer Gartons Nedle: Played on stage, not longe ago in Christes Collège in Cambridge*. Made by M. S. Mr. of Art. Imprinted at London ... by Thomas Colwell. (Col.: 1576)

TASSO, ERCOLE, *Of Mariage and Wiuing*. An excellent, pleasant, and Philosophical Controuersie betweene the two famous Tassi now living, the one Hercules the Philosopher, the other Torquato the Poet. Done into English by R(obert) T(oste) Gentleman. London Printed by Thomas Creede ... 1599.


TOTTEL'S MISCELLANY, *Songes and sonettes, written by the right honourable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and other*. Apud Ricardum Tottel ... 1557.

TRISSINO, GIANGIORGIO, *Comedie del Trissino Intitulata I Simillimi*. (Col.: Stampata in Venezia per Twillmew Ianoiw da Bressa Ne lannw M.DXLVIII ...)

VALERIANUS, JOHANNUS PETRUS, *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris aegyptiorum literis commentarii*. Iannis Pierii Valeriani Bolzani Bellunensis ... Basileae. 1556. (s. t.)

VALERIUS, CORNELIUS, *The Casket of Jewels: Contaynyng a playne description of Morall Philosophie, diligently and after a very easie Methode declared by the well learned and famous Author Cornelius Valerius: Lately turned out of Latin into Englishe by Iohn Charleton*. Imprinted at London, by Wlliam Hovv, for Richard Iohnes. 1571.

VARCHI, BENEDETTO, *La Suocera, Commedia di M. Benedetto Varchi ... in Firenze, Appresso Bartollomeo Sermartelli. MDLXIX.

VIVES, LUDOVICUS, *An Introduction to Vysecombe made by Ludouicus Vives and translated into Englyshe by R. Morysine*. (Col.: Londini in aedibus Thomae Bertheleti. M.D.XLII.)
The office and duetie of an husband, made by the excellët Philosopher Lodouicus Vives, and translated into Englyshe by Thomas Paynell. Imprinted at London ... by Iohn Cawood ... (1550?)

VORAGINE, JACOPUS DE, (End) Thus endeth the legende/ named in Latyn Legéda aurea ... MCCCCC.xxvii ... Imprynted in London in Flete strete at the sign of the sonne/ by Wynkyn de Worde.

WAGER, WILLIAM, A very mery and Pythie Commedie, called The longer thou liuest, the more foole thou art ... Imprinted at London, by Wylyam HoW for Richard Johnes ... (1580?)

WATSON, THOMAS, Holsome and Catholyke doctryne concerninge the seuen Sacramentes ... by ... Thomas byshop of Lincolne. Anno 1558 ... Excusum Londini in adibus Roberti Caly ...

WHETSTONE, GEORGE, The Right Excellent and Famous Historye of Promos and Cassandra: ... The worke of George Whetstones Gent. ... (Col.: Imprinted at London by Richard Johnes, ... 1578).

Wits Theater of the little World ... Printed by I.R. for N.L. ... 1599.

WITHER, GEORGE, A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne: Quickened with Metricall Illustrations, ... by George Wither ... London. Printed by A.M. for Robert Millbourne ... MDCXXXV.

WOTTON, HENRY, A courtlie Controuersie of Cupids Cautels, ... translated out of French by Hen. Wotton ... At London Imprinted by Francis Coldocke and Henry Bynneman. 1578.