

Thesis

A comparison of the Treatment of
Romantic Motives in Sir Philip
Sidney's Arcadia, and in Typical
Earlier and Later Romances.

Internal H. A. English

1912.

Magdalena Inocencio B.A.

ProQuest Number: 10096291

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

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

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



ProQuest 10096291

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

All rights reserved.

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

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

A COMPARISON OF THE TREATMENT OF ROMANTIC MOTIVES IN SIR PHILIP
SIDNEY'S ARCADIA, AND IN TYPICAL EARLIER AND LATER ROMANCES.

INTRODUCTION

PART I. History of the popularity in England of the three romances.
"Amadis of Gaul", the "Arcadia" and "Le Grand Cyrus".

Section I. Romance reading in England in the 14th and 15th centuries

Section II. History of "Amadis of Gaul".

(a) Prior to its introduction in England.

(b) Its History in England.

Section III. History of the Arcadia.

Section IV. History of Le Grand Cyrus. *In England.*

PART II. Comparison of romantic motives in "Amadis", "Arcadia", and
"Le Grand Cyrus".

Section I. RELIGION.

(a) In "Amadis of Gaul". *of the same nature as the religious
sentiments of the Middle Ages*

(b) In the "Arcadia".

(c) In "Le Grand Cyrus".

Section II. MAGIC. In the three romances.

Section III. LOVE.

(a) In "Amadis of Gaul".

(b) In the "Arcadia".

(c) In "Le Grand Cyrus".

Section IV. WAR.

(a) In "Amadis of Gaul".

(b) In the "Arcadia".

(c) In "Le Grand Cyrus".

CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

The object of this comparison is to trace, in the romances chosen, the adaptation of earlier motives to meet the demands of successive generations. This is aimed at by a comparative examination of the works under the headings, "chivalry, gallantry and religion", - "the three columns", according to Hallam,⁽¹⁾ upon which "repose the fictions of the Middle Ages".

For this purpose the "Amadis de Gaula", and the French heroic romance, "Le Grand Cyrus", have been chosen to represent the earlier and later romances respectively.

This choice may seem to need some justification. Objection may be made to the use of foreign material: it may however be argued that the number of translations of the works in question published in England,⁽²⁾ and the abundance of proof of the familiarity of English writers with them,⁽²⁾ earn for them a place in the history of English literature. Moreover there is no adequate representative of English origin of either the typical fifteenth century, or the typical seventeenth century romance. As Hallam points out, "the romances of chivalry" are of "two kinds",⁽³⁾ and the type, which the "Amadis of Gaul" established, is distinct from the earlier, to which Malory's compilation of twelfth and thirteenth century material belongs. Nor were there any heroic romances of note written in England. Jusserand claims, "Pendant tout le XVII^e. siècle, c'est en France que les romanciers d'outre manche cherchent leur inspiration",⁽⁴⁾ and while commenting on the immense popularity of the French romances in England, he can only instance Boyle's Parthenissa⁽⁵⁾ as an example of this species in England. Indeed, to quote Dunlop,⁽⁶⁾ "during the agitated reign of Charles I, and the subsistence of the Commonwealth, the English Nation were better employed than in the composition . . . of romances".

The choice of the Amadis to represent the class it inaugurated, needs no explanation. Praised by Tasso⁽⁷⁾, and spared from the Barbers

(1) Introduction to the literature of Europe in the 15th 16th and 17th Centuries, by Henry Hallam. Vol.I. p.134. (Pub. 1882).

(2) Part I. of present study.

(3) "Introduction to the Literature of Europe etc." Vol.I. p.134.

(4) "Le Roman Anglais". Par J. J. Jusserand (p.27) Pub.Leroux Paris 1886

(5) "Parthenissa" by Roger Boyle. Earl of Orrery. (1654).

(6) History of Prose Fiction. John Colin Dunlop. Vol.II. p.563.

(Pub. Bell & Sons 1888).

(7) Per giudizio di molti, e' il mio particolarmente, è la piu bella che si legga fra quelle di questo genere, e forse la piu giovevole, perchè nello affetto e nel costume si lascian addietro tutte l'altre, e nella varietà degli accidenti non cede a alcuna che da poi o prima fosse stata scritta. Torquato - Tasso. Lettere. Quoted in "de l'Amadis de Gaule et de son influence" (Page 16) Par Eugene Baret.

(1) bonfire, as the first and best of its kind, it still wrings a tribute from the modern critics who say, with Mr. Kelly,⁽²⁾ "Amadis is at least the only chivalresque novel that man need read". "Le Grand Cyrus" has been chosen as perhaps the most typical and influential of the French heroic romances. Both Mr. Raleigh⁽³⁾ and Professor Ker⁽⁴⁾ describe this type as the "Grand Cyrus School",⁽⁵⁾ and Miss Littleboy is voicing the general opinion when she says "Mlle. de Scudery's Artamene ou le Grand Cyrus was perhaps the most popular".

These points conceded, sufficient reason for a comparison of the works chosen is easily established. Such a comparison has indeed been already advocated by Miss E. J. Morley, writer of the Quain Essay 1901. "It is worth while", she comments, "to compare seventeenth century romances, or Sidney's Arcadia itself, with the love troubles of such early heroes as Amadis of Gaul".⁽⁵⁾ Each work is linked to the other two by certain bonds of resemblance or imitation. Herr Brunhuber notes instances of indebtedness to the Amadis in his "Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia und ihre Nachläufer",⁽⁶⁾ and this serves to corroborate the general statements of other critics, as that of M. Jusserand, who says:- "Il y a de l'Amadis et du Palmerin dans l'ouvrage de Sidney. Amadis est venu vivre parmi les bergers, mais il reste Amadis, aussi vaillant et aussi prêt que jamais à tirer l'épée".⁽⁷⁾ M. Baret even traces a foreshadowing of the pastoral motive in certain scenes of the Amadis, which seem to bring it even nearer to the Arcadia in spirit, although the other has derived its pastoral character from another source.⁽⁸⁾

The Amadis is even more closely allied to the French heroic romances. M. Jusserand claims it as the part model of this species. He states this very definitely. "C'est par imitation du genre mis à la mode par d'Urfé et en même temps, par imitation de ces Amadis qu'on lisait encore, que furent composés, peu après, les énormes et célèbres

(1) Don Quixote. Part I. Chap.VI.

(2) "A History of Spanish Literature". By James FitzMaurice Kelly. p.123. "Short Histories of the Literatures of the World Series".

"The relations between French and English Literature in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Anne Littleboy. Quain Essay. 1895.

(3) "The English Novel" by Walter Raleigh. p.102. Ed.pub.Murray. 1895.

(4) Epic and Romance. By W. P. Ker. Chap.V. (Pub.Macmillan 1908 p.327)

(5) "The Works of Sir Philip Sidney", by Edith J. Morley. Quain Essay 1901. Page 11.

(6) Page 13-19. (Pub. M. Edelmann 1903).

(7) Le Roman au temps de Shakespeare. Page.91. (Pub.Delagrave 1887).

(8) De l'Amadis de Gaule et de son influence sur les moeurs et la litterature au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle. Par Eugène Baret. Page 125 (Pub. Paris. 1853).

romans de Poléxandre par Gomberville, de Cassandre par La Calprenède, de Cyrus et de Clélie par Mademoiselle de Scudéry.⁽¹⁾ The resemblance is borne in upon M. Baret as he analyses the Amadis. Noting certain characteristics which seem more modern in tone, he says. "Il nous conduit par un dégradation insensible aux meilleures scènes de nos romans du dix-septième siècle."⁽²⁾

Any instance in a French heroic romance of direct borrowing from or imitation of the Arcadia is yet to be pointed out. M. Taine however places it in the same class as "Cyrus" and "Clélie", and also notes a close resemblance to certain of its characters in the "Astrée" of D'Urfé, Mlle. de Scudéry's avowed model. "Musidorus", he says "is the brother of Céladon; Pamela is closely related to the severe heroines of Astrée".⁽³⁾

Mr. Raleigh connects the Arcadia with the works in question, in summing up the position of the Arcadia in the devolution of the romance. "The Arcadia, in fact, is in some sort a half way house between the older romances of chivalry and the long winded heroic romances of the seventeenth century".⁽⁴⁾ The Arcadia was probably known to the Authors of these heroic romances, and in their own language. M. Jusserand speaks of the popularity it won in France. "En France l'ouvrage de Sidney reçut un hommage extraordinaire pour l'époque".⁽⁵⁾ It was translated in 1624 by J. Baudoin. A rival translation "chez le libraire Robert Fouez" appeared in the following year and a literary quarrel ensued,⁽⁶⁾ which must have caused the work to be much talked of in literary circles. The Arcadia was actually dramatised in 1640 under the title of "La cour bergère".⁽⁷⁾

There is also at the outset, good ground for supposing that these examples will exhibit that "deliberate adaptation of older motives and material to meet the requirements of successive generations", and to form a vehicle of expression for the thoughts aims and ideals of a new age, which it is the object of this thesis to establish. The preceding remarks have already suggested this. Indeed, in the case of the Arcadia and the seventeenth century romance, the use of early material

(1) Le Roman Anglais. p.21.

(2) "De l'Amadis de Gaule" etc. p.130.

(3) History of English Literature by H. A. Taine. Bk.II. Chap.1. (Trans. by H. Van Laun. 1887. Vol.I. p.164).

(4) "The English Novel". p.60.

(5) "Le Roman au temps de Shakespeare". p.109.

(6) Ibid. p.109-113. See also prefaces to rival editions.

(7) La Cour Bergère. Par Antoine Mareschal.

as a framework may be regarded as proved by the instances of borrowing and traces of influence pointed out by Herr Brunhuber and others. To this may be added the dicta of other critics, suggesting the infusion of the Spirit of the age into the dry bones of tradition. Mr. Aitkins in the Cambridge History of Literature defines the Arcadia as "a romance which enshrines Sidney's noble ideals of mediæval chivalry"⁽¹⁾ and Mr. Courthope remarks "Regarded historically, as a mirror of the feelings of Sidney and the best of his contemporaries, the Arcadia is an interesting monument".⁽²⁾

M. Baret insists upon this same characteristic in the Amadis, where perhaps it is not quite so obvious. "L'Espagne", he says of "la redaction de Montalvo", "a crée sur un thème ancien une composition originale, en introduisant dans un cadre emprunté la nuance des sentiments, et l'art nouveau, qui donnent à notre roman son importance et sa valeur spéciales"⁽³⁾. The material is ancient, the Author of Montalvo's "antique originals" is not even conclusively identified, and most scholars agree that the primitive theme probably goes back to the same source as that from which the Arthurian legend sprang; Yet M. Baret can say, "L'Amadis est l'image expressive de son temps, le tableau fortement coloré des goûts, des sentiments, des tendances, de l'imagination en Espagne vers la fin du quinzième siècle"⁽⁴⁾.

To support the view that these works can be regarded as embodying a developing ideal of manners etc. it has been thought well to collect evidence as to the contemporary esteem in which they were held, and the contemporary opinion of their relative merits. For although these works may be regarded as marking successive stages in the development of romantic fiction, no one type ever wholly superseded its predecessor. The number of Editions of Amadis and of the Arcadia published in the 16th and 17th centuries, and the numerous references to them in the literature of the times, prove conclusively that they continued to be living literature circulating among the reading public; although perhaps the favorite of different sections of it at different periods of the century. An examination, such as that undertaken in this thesis throws light, in consequence, not only on successive stages in the development of romantic fiction, but also on the literary taste of different grades of the seventeenth century romance-reading public.

(1) Cambridge History of English Literature. Vol.III. Chap.XVI.

(2) History of English Poetry. Vol.II. p.222.

(3) De l'Amadis de Gaule etc. Page 19.

(4) " " " " " 124.

The preliminary examination, in the next chapter, of the various estimates of these romances made by editors and critics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, will illustrate, - before proceeding to the comparison proper, - the fluctuations in their reputation. It will also serve to support the view that each class of fashionable recreative literature, as it is supplanted in the favour of those cultured classes for whom it was first written, finds its way to, and lives on as the delight of, less critical circles.

(END OF INTRODUCTION)

P A R T I.

HISTORY OF THE POPULARITY IN ENGLAND OF THE THREE ROMANCES, AMADIS OF GAUL, THE "ARCADIA" AND LE GRAND CYRUS

Section I. Romance reading in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Romances had been the chief literature before the reading public throughout the Middle Ages. As Ascham says "in our forefathers tyme . . . fewe bookes were read in our tong, sayying certaine bookes of chevalrie as they sayd, for pastime and pleasure".⁽¹⁾ These "bookes of chevalrie" however were more numerous than Ascham would seem to imply. The output was large. Many contemporary works contain passages enumerating popular romances, which serve to show the variety of these works with which the writer was familiar. Such a passage from "Flamencá"⁽²⁾ is quoted by Professor Ker⁽³⁾ as typical. The opening lines of the "Cursor Mundi" give another such enumeration of well known titles, and speak more definitely of their popularity. To quote from the Trinity M.S.⁽⁴⁾ version

"Men zernen jestes for to here
And romaunce rede in dyverse manere
Of Alisaunder the conqueroure
Of Julius Cesar the emperoure
Of Greke and Troye the longe strif
Theremony men lost his lif
Of bruyt that baron bolde of londe
Furste conqueroure of engelonde
Of Kyng Arthour that was so riche
Was noon in his tyme him liche
Of wondris that his knyghtes felle
And auntres duden men herde telle
As wawayn kay & othere ful abul
For to kepe the rounde tabul
How Kyng Charles and Rouland Fauzt
With sarazines nolde thei (never be) sauzt
Of Tristram and of Isonde the swete

(1) "The Scholemaster" by Roger Ascham (1568) Works pub. Cambridge University Press. p.230.

(2) Flamencá (ll 609-701) Quoted. "Epic & Romancé" by W. P. Ker. Appendix. Note D. (Ed. pub. Macmillan 1908 p.384).

(4) "Cursor Mundi" (pub. Early English Text Society) 11.1-26

How thei with love first gan mete
Of Kyng Ion and of Isombras
Of Idoyne and of Amadas
Storyes of dyverse thinges
Of princes prelatys and of kynges
Mony songes of dyverse ryme
As Englysshe frensshe and latyne
To rede and here mony are prest
Of thinges that hem liketh best".

The number of romances produced vouches for their popularity.

The perusal of romances was the recreation of the quieter moments of the mediaeval court. We find "Romanz reading on the bok"⁽¹⁾, included among the various entertainments with which the accession of Havelok was celebrated. Professor Ker says of the metrical romances, "The new romances were intended to be read in my lady's bower"⁽²⁾ and quotes a charming scene from the Chevalier au lion⁽¹⁾ of Chrestian de Troyes to confirm his statement.

Criseyde, it may be remembered, is found, sitting with "two other ladies" within a paved parlour; and they three Herden a mayden reden hem the geste of al the sege of Thebes whil hem leste"⁽³⁾.

It seems probable that in the latter half of the 14th century, the romance fell from this position of unrivalled popularity. The mediaeval romances were not written originally in the "romantic" spirit. They were less the outcome of beautiful dreams, than a definite adoption of certain conventions for the representation of life. Thus the mediaeval romances were the literary expression of their age, and as such, they fall into comparative neglect as the passing of the age they had depicted threw on them for a time the shadow of "old fashionedness". Hence it is significant that we find small use of romantic material in Gower, who draws so heavily upon other sources. Chaucer's attitude is perhaps more characteristic, since he does not ignore the wealth of romantic material, yet in borrowing from it freely, "wears his rue with a difference".

In the Knight's tale, Chaucer gives us a complete and perfect version of a mediaeval romance,⁽⁴⁾ but he gives it a dramatic raison d'être by putting it into the mouth of this old Knight, who himself

(1) "The Lay of Havelok The Dane" (pub. Early English Text Society 1.232)

(2) Lamb. Hist. of Lit. Vol.I. Chap.13.

(3) Troilus and Criseyde. Bk.II. l.81-4.

(4) Epic & Romance. P.365.

strikes an old fashioned note among his fellow pilgrims. Similar dramatic excuse is to be found for the unquestioning adoption of mediaeval conventions in other tales⁽¹⁾, when Chaucer has been contented to beautify the ancient framework, without interfering with its structure. And to place beside this use of mediaeval material, we have the pitiless attack upon the inferior romance in Sir Thopas, the sneer in the Nun's Priest's Tale⁽²⁾, and the fact that when he reproduces a romance in his own person, he gives us a "Troilus & Cressida".

This slight neglect however was only temporary. As time changed the blemish of being "oldfashioned" into the recommendation of belonging to "the goodly usage of those antique times", the fortunes of romance took an upward turn, and reached a triumphant climax. So that Mr. Raleigh can speak of the romances as "holding in this period the position of the highest imaginative training of the educated classes."⁽³⁾ The Morte D'Arthur was published in the year 1485.

The opening of a printing press in England in 1477 gave a great impetus to the circulation of romances, the production of which was one of the main occupations of Caxton's press. Caxton himself had been employed in the translation of romances earlier in his life, - it was chiefly in order "to multiply copies" of his translation of "Le Recueil des Histories de Troye" that he put himself to the pains of learning the newly discovered art of printing,⁽⁴⁾ - and no doubt his personal⁽⁵⁾ wishes inclined towards the propagation of this species of literature. Yet at the same time, as Mr. Lee maintains, "he doubtlessly reflected his patrons' predilections in his choice of books"⁽⁶⁾; and it is noticeable that many of these romances were produced at the request of some patron, who was often of the highest rank. His translation of "Le Recueil" mentioned above was made under the patronage of the Duchess of Burgundy, sister to Edward IV.⁽⁷⁾ He translated and printed "The

(1) Cf. The Franklins tale. The Clerks Tale, etc.

(2) This story is all as true, I undertake,
As is the book of Launcelot de Lake,
That women holde in ful gret reverence. ll 4401 - 4403.

(3) The English Novel. p.22

(4) National Dictionary of Biography. "William Caxton".

(5) Cf. His comment at the close of "The Order of Chivalry", "Translated out of Frennshe into Englysshe . . . by William Caxton."

"Oh ye knyghtes of Englonde, where is the custome of usage of noble chivalry, that was used in those days. What do you now but go to the baynes and playe atte dyse" . . . leve this, leve it, and rede the noble volumes of Saynt Graal, of Lancelot, of Galaad, of Trystram . . . and many mo, Here shall ye see manhode and curtosye and gentylnesse.

(6) Nat. Dic. Biog.

(7) Nat. Dic. Biog. "Caxton".

History of Blanchardin and Eglantine" at the request of Margaret Duchess of Somerset.⁽¹⁾ How he was persuaded to undertake the production of the Morte D'Arthur we know from his own words, "Many noble and dyvers gentlemen of thys royaume of England, camen and demanded of me many and oft tymes, wherefore that I have not do made and emprynte the noble hystorye of the Saynt Greal, and of the most renowned crysten king ... Arthur."⁽²⁾

There is indeed every reason for believing that the close of the century saw a revival of interest in chivalric ideas of which the "Amadis of Gaul" itself was an expression; and that in England, Caxton was not alone in his desire "that gentlemen "should" resorte to the auncient custommes of chyvalry".⁽³⁾ Martin Hume notes that "Henry VII tried to strengthen his weak claims by asserting that he was descended from the Auncient British Kings". He called his eldest son Arthur, and "such patronage as he could give to literature was given to the revival and spread of the chivalric idea."⁽⁴⁾ Mr. Murison, commenting on this same "attempted revival of chivalry" in his chapter on Hawes in the Cambridge History of literature⁽⁵⁾ calls attention to the passages in the "Passetyme of pleasure", where "Graunde Amoure" is "admonished" "for to renue that hath be longe decayd, the flour of chyvalry"⁽⁶⁾ and to "the dissertation of King Melizius on the true meaning of the chivalric idea",⁽⁶⁾ to the end that Grand Amour may "lerne perfytely" himself "for to governe by prudent chyvalry".

However, new influences were at work, and the reign of the romance was destined to be overthrown. Mr. Raleigh says "the supremacy of the romance in the literary world was of short duration." The press of Wynkyn de Worde, which put forth so many romances was also engaged in supplying aid to the New Learning,⁽⁷⁾ and "The New Learning, if not actually hostile to the mediaeval romance, was certainly contemptuous of it".⁽⁸⁾ "The old order changeth, giving place to the new", and the romances belong to the old order. ^{quoting}

(1) Nat. Dic. Biog. "Caxton".

(2) Caxtons Preface to the "Morte D'Arthur".

(3) Caxtons Epilogue to "The Order of Chivalry".

(4) Spanish influence on English Literature, by Martin Hume. Chap. IV (pub. Everleigh Nash, 1905. p.116).

(5) Vol. II. Chap. IX. p. 228.

(6) Passetyme of Pleasure. Cap. XXVI. (Percy Society Publications, Vol. XXIV. p. 116).

(7) The English Novel. Page 20.

(8) Ibid. P. 21.

The story of their subsequent degradation is long, and critics differ somewhat over the details of their history. In Mr. Raleigh's judgment "Their gradual passage from the folio to the Chap book might exemplify Hamlet's moral, "how a king may go a progress through the guts of a beggar", "⁽¹⁾ A statement which the subsequent examination into the fate of "Amadis", which alone concerns this thesis, only partly corroborates. Certain it is however, that the first half of the sixteenth century saw a startling change in the position of the romance. Professor Ker, speaking of the catalogue of romances, which appears in the "Complaynt of Scotland" (1549)⁽²⁾ says:- "This passage belongs to the close of the Middle Ages, when the epic and romantic books were falling into neglect".⁽³⁾ The following comments give the keynote to the nature of the change "There is no distinction here between literary romance and popular tales; the once fashionable poetical works are reduced to their original elements. Arthur and Gawain are no more respected than the Red Etin, etc. . . . But on the whole the list represents the common mediaeval taste in fiction". The romances have fallen from their high estate, the various orders are now classed together without distinction; yet they are still read and the passage in the "Complaynt" where they are enumerated is as lengthy as any of its prototypes.

Such also was the position at the introduction of *Amadis* some twenty years later. The New Learning had produced a violent reaction against the traditions of the Middle Ages, and the position of the romance had suffered in consequence. Mr. Gregory Smith finds "a strong dislike of Mediaeval literature" one of "the most remarkable of the *idées fixés* of the Elizabethans"⁽⁴⁾ and various attacks might be instanced to uphold this view. Yet this attitude was confined to critical circles. Even there it was often a matter of theory rather than of practice; and the very nature of the denunciations which occur in contemporary writings show that their authors were familiar with romantic literature. Ascham for instance in his attack on the *Morte Arthure* betrays considerable knowledge of its contents.⁽⁵⁾ And to place beside the expression of these hostile opinions, we have the fact that the reproduction of romances was being carried on successfully by

(1) The English Novel. p.22.

(2) The Complaynt of Scotland. (Early English Text Society pp 62-64).

(3) Epic and Romance. Appendix. Note D. (pp 387, 388).

(4) Elizabethan critical essays, ed. with a critical introduction by G. Gregory Smith. Preface (Pub. Clarendon Press p.XXXVI).

(5) Scholemaster. p.230.

Copland: while the following passage from Puttenham might even be taken to imply that the ancient custom of reciting romances to music in the great hall had lived on, into Elizabethan days. "And we ourselves who compiled this treatise have written for pleasure a litle brief Romance or historicall ditty in the English tong, of the Isle of Great Britaine, in short and long meetres, and by breaches or divisions to be more commodiously song to the harpe in places of assembly when the company shal be desirous to heare of old adventures and valiaunces of noble knights in times past, as are those of King Arthur and his knights of the round table, Sir Bevys of Southampton, Guy of Warwicke, and others like".

The Arte of English Poesie. By George Puttenham. (1589).

Section II. The History of Amadis of Gaul.

A. The Amadis de Gaula, prior to its introduction into England.

The "Amadis de Gaula" as we have it was issued from the press at Saragossa in 1508. It professed on its title page to have been "corrected and amended by the honorable and virtuous gentleman Garcia Ordóñez de Montalvo, 'Regidor' of Medina del Campo". He claims to have "corrected it, from the ancient originals, which were corrupt and composed in an old style by the fault of different writers, leaving out many superfluous words and introducing others of a more polished and elegant style"⁽¹⁾.

Much controversy has raged around the "antiquos originales" of which no trace remains. Several vital questions concerning them remain unanswered, the investigation of which lies beyond the scope of the present work. Some critical opinions on these points must however be noted as they bear on the claim of the Amadis to be regarded as typical fifteenth century work.

The author of Montalvo's original is not yet identified with absolute certainty. Southey, quoting the testimony of Gomez Eannes de Zurara, says "it can be no longer doubted that Vasco Lobeira is the author of Amadis of Gaul"⁽²⁾ and the British Museum catalogue accepts this verdict, which dates its composition "towards the close of the fourteenth century."⁽³⁾ The most modern critics however are in favour of the authorship of one Joham de Lobeira, although they do not speak with such assured conviction. Mr. Kelly writes that "the probability is that the lost original was written in Portuguese by Joham de Lobeira (1261-1325)"⁽³⁾ and Mr. Williams, among others, accepting this verdict, has tried to explain the confusion as an instance of a familiar name, in this case, of a soldier, coming in time to replace that of an earlier unknown poet.⁽⁴⁾

(1) "El qual fue coregido y emendado por el honrado y virtuoso cavellero garciordones de Montalvo - regidor de la noble villa de Medina del campo y corregiole delos antiquos originales que estavan corruptos y compuestos en antiquo estilo, quitado muchas palabras superfluas y poniendo de mas polido y elegante estilo.

(2) "Amadis of Gaul". Trans. Robert Southey. Preface (pub. 1872 p.XI).

(3) Spanish Literature. By J. FitzMaurice Kelly. p.123.

(4) "The Amadis Question". By G. S. Williams. Revue Hispanique Tom 21 No.59.

The relation of this original to Montalvo's "rifacimento" and the sources from which it was itself drawn are also contested. The latter problem which is commonly known as the Amadis question has been much discussed. Critics are universally agreed that this fourteenth century document can only have been a working up of older material, and three countries dispute the honour of having given birth to the original romance. The result of what is perhaps the most recent examination of the evidence is sufficient for our purpose. Mr. Williams, after amassing and sifting all the arguments which have yet been brought forward, decides, "Finally then, as to the primitive Amadis, whether French Spanish or Portuguese, we have no sufficient evidence to form a judgment".⁽¹⁾

The extent of Montalvo's process of "correction" concerns us more closely. It is doubtful how far he enlarged the original, beyond the story of the birth of Esplandian, which is generally accepted as having been added by him to prepare the way for the "Sergas de Esplandian", his contribution to the long line of sequels. The evidence is naturally of the most slender nature. The Comte de Tressan was of the opinion that the original story ended with the rescue of Oriana at the close of the third book;⁽²⁾ a theory which has some basis in the inferiority in the opening chapters of the fourth, which Southey notes, while attacking the Comte's supposition.⁽²⁾ Montalvo himself speaks on this subject in veiled language. He describes himself, as desiring "some shadow of memory" and so "correcting the three books of Amadis, which through the fault of perverse writers and composers have become very corrupt and vicious, and translating and amending the fourth book with the "Sergas de Esplandian" his son which has not been seen until now within the memory of man",⁽³⁾ - a statement which Theophile Braga the modern authority upon the

(1) The Amadis question.

(2) See Southey's preface. p.XIII.

(3) "E y desseando que de mi alguna sombra de memoria quedarse, no me atreviendo a poner el mi flaco ingenio en aquello que los mas cuerdos sabios se ocuparon, qui se le juntar con estos postrimeros que las cosas mas liuianes y de menor substancia escriuieron por ser a el segun su flaqueza, mas conformes, corrigiendo estos tres libros de Amadis, que por falta delos malos escriptores and componedores muy crruptos y viciosos se leyan, y trasladando y emmendando el libro quatro con las sergas de Esplandian su hijo, que hasta aqui no es en memoria de ninguno ser visto".

"Prologus".

literature of the Peninsula, interprets by arguing "that Montalvo must have added the 4th Book afterwards from a Portuguese original"⁽¹⁾.

All that is required for the purposes of this thesis however, is sufficient testimony as to the modification of his material by Montalvo to justify the Amadis being regarded as a fifteenth century work. This is less disputed ground. Mr. Williams is of the opinion that the didactic tone of the romance is the mark of his hand. He quotes Montalvo's own words, "what profit in such tales? None save as they furnish good examples and doctrines, and further than this they should conform with the teachings of Holy Church", and continues "Following this indication the attribution of the admonitions and moralizing, and the emphasis laid upon adherence to Church teachings may with some degree of certainty be fixed"⁽²⁾. M. Baret, while agreeing with Mr. Williams, traces the new attitude towards love to the pen of the "Refabbricator" also. "Cet amour inquiet, respectueux, délicat, . . . ce discernement constitué . . . l'originalité propre, le véritable caractère de l'oeuvre de Montalvo"⁽³⁾. He goes on to give the final verdict in favour of this hypothesis, in the words quoted before "L'Amadis est l'image expressive de son temps, le tableau fortement coloré des goûts, des sentiments, des tendances de l'imagination en Espagne vers la fin du quinzième siècle"⁽⁴⁾.

The Amadis met with a warm reception, and entered at once upon a career of amazing popularity. As Martin Hume tells us, "The Amadis of Gaul .. became a perfect craze in Spain"⁽⁵⁾. It passed through a number of editions during the century, and was imitated and continued. Montalvo himself inaugurated the series of continuations with the "Sergas de Esplandian" which was published, as we have seen, with the original edition of the Amadis.⁽⁶⁾ His example was followed up until the histories of Amadis' decadent successors reached the 13th book.⁽⁷⁾ The series of romances dealing with the Palmerin family and Don

(1) Quoted by G. S. Williams.

(2) The Amadis Question.

(3) De l'Amadis de Gaule. etc. P.128.

(4) De l'Amadis de Gaule. etc. P.124.

(5) Spanish Influence on English Literature. P.114.

(6) See p.14.

(7) Mr. Kelly assigns the following authors and dates (pp.157-8.)

6th Bk.	Florisando. (1510)	Paez de Ribera.		
7th	Lisvarte. (1510).	Feliciano de Silva.		
8th	Lisvarte. (1510).	Juan Diaz.		
9th	Amadis de Grecia (1530).	Feliciano de Silva.		
10th	Florizel de Nigues. (1532).	"	"	"
11th	Rogel de Grecia	"	"	"

Belianis of Greece are also universally accepted as imitations of the same model.⁽¹⁾

Other evidence as to the popularity of these romances is not wanting. [They found favour in high places]. The Amadis became a favorite with Francis I. then State prisoner in Spain.⁽²⁾ Don Belianis was one of the favorite books of the Emperor.⁽³⁾ Their popularity with all orders of society was such as to become a positive national danger. Martin Hume says "it is incredible with what force these tales fixed themselves upon the imagination of Spain in the Sixteenth Century";⁽⁴⁾ and in consequence we find Charles V. actually being forced to forbid the importation of the romances into the colonies as a menace to industry.⁽⁵⁾

The craze spread to France. Francis I. on his return to his own country ordered the Amadis to be translated. The result was the French version by Nicholas d'Herberay, published 1540. Under royal patronage, and endowed with an additional charm by the suggestion which had already been mooted that the original romance was of French origin, the Amadis enjoyed great popularity. M. Baret tells us, "Le succès fut immense. Une foule de témoignages vont nous offrir la preuve de cet universal engouement"⁽⁶⁾, and proceeds to quote La Noue, Brantome, and "le reverend père Possevino" among his witnesses. Such was its influence that M. Baret is able to instance various proverbial sayings, coined from the Amadis, passing current in the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth century in France.

Its influence also made itself felt in Italy. Again we have M. Baret's testimony, "Il (Bernardo Tasso) composa d'abord deux ébauches tirées des principaux épisodes du roman espagnol, Amadigi et Floridante,"⁽⁷⁾ while the familiar reference to "the constant ile" and

(1) The Palmerin series, and Don Belianis were produced as follows:-
"Palmerin de Oliva. 1511. "Attributed to an anonymous lady of Augusto briga, possibly by Francisco Velasquez de Ciudad Rodrigo".
Primaleon 1512. the above said Francisco Velasquez.
Polindo (1526) Cronica del muy valiente Platir (1533)
Palmerin de Inglaterra 1547

(2) "Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors". By John Garrett Underhill. Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Columbia University p.301.

(3) Ibid. p.300.

(4) Spanish Influence on English Literature. p.114.

(5) Cf. Spanish Literature. J.F.Kelly. p.158. Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors. Underhill. p.117.

(6) De L'Amadis de Gaule. p.163.

(7) Ibid .. p.15.

"the Arch of Faithfull lovers"⁽¹⁾ in "the Courtyer" of Count Baldassare Castiglione, may be taken as an indication how well it was known in court circles.

B. The Introduction of the "Amadis de Gaula" into England and its subsequent history.

The Amadis did not find its way at once into England.

Lord Berners might indeed have brought it back with him from his diplomatic mission to Spain in 1518. He was sufficiently interested in Spanish literature to translate two works, one the celebrated "El Relox de Principes" of Guevara better known to the Elizabethans in North's translation "The Diall of Princes".

There is however no evidence of his having introduced the Amadis into England, though it may of course have been included among the eighty books mentioned but not named in the inventory of his goods. The name Amadis does not occur in Lindsay's list of "leill luffaris storeis ameabyll"⁽²⁾, nor is it referred to by Ascham as a rival of the Morte D'Arthur.

With the advent of Philip and his suite to court his royal bride, we have the first historical reference to the Amadis in England, since we are told that the courtiers' chief delight lay in visiting places mentioned in that romance, and in identifying the scenes of various adventures.⁽³⁾ This must naturally have aroused the interest of the English Nobles in the work, which would now be accessible to them in French, through d'Herberay's translation. This was also in all probability the inspiration of the first English translation by Thomas Paynell, since his patron Sir Anthony Brown had served as equerry to Philip.

This edition, however, which was not published until 1567, was unsuccessful. Only a small number of copies were issued and it was never reprinted, and it was not until 1590, when Anthony Munday produced a retranslation, that the Amadis achieved a popular success

(1) "The Book of the Courtyer" from the Italian of Count Baldassare Castiglione, done into English by Sir Thomas Hoby (Pub. 1900) p. 267.

(2) The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay. "The Epistil" ll. 34 seq.

(3) Cf. Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors. p. 117. Spanish Influence on English Literature. p. 114.

in England.

It is in consequence, the general custom of critics, regarding the work only from the point of view of its English versions, to allow the Amadis no recognition in England until the publication of Munday's version, and consequently no favour among the cultured classes. Mr. Aitkins says "Nor must the Spanish romances popularised by Anthony Munday in his English translations be entirely forgotten", and goes on to remark "The works were viewed with disfavour by the cultured classes on account of their preposterous plots, and the crudeness and inaccuracy of their renderings"⁽¹⁾ Mr. Underhill traces the failure of Paynell's edition to the fact that he "appealed to a higher class of audience"⁽²⁾.

I venture however to think that a closer examination of certain facts will serve to disprove these conclusions, and to show that while Paynell's edition was unsuccessful, its failure was due to the nature of the version itself, and that the Amadis was well known, and even at one time fashionable in literary circles, most probably in its French form, long before the labours of Munday brought it into the ranks of "popular" literature in England.

Paynell's title alone is significant—"The Tresurie of Amadis of France", "conteyning eloquente orations, pythie epistles, learned letters and fervente complayntes serving for sundrie purposes". The book contains only a series of disjointed extracts, and is described by its compiler, as being "stufte with pleasant orations, fine epistles, singular complayntes, with matter mixt so fitly and aptly to serve the turne of all persons, not curious nor filled full of obscure and dark sense but playne and pleasant, depending and answering one an other with most delectable matter for all causes, as well encouraging the bashfull person and cowarde to be valiant, as the worthie ladies and damselles in their amourous epistles". In short, this version is nothing else but an attempt to "dish up" the old chivalric romance in the more fashionable form of an etiquette book, - a sort of complete letter writer. Lest any misapprehension as to this purpose should arise, the book is provided with the following table.

"A table of the principall matters of this booke, reduced into common places for the more speedie and easie finding of the maner to write letters, missives, according to the minde and argument of him that writeth".

(1) Cambridge History of English Literature. Vol.III. Chap.XVI.

(2) Spanish literature in the England of the Tudors. p.304.

"I. A forme to declare his advice, to ask or give counsell of
"anything to lords, friends, parents, alies or subjects".

"II. A forme to write or to say they accept the counsell given,"
"or to take another example at random."

"X. A forme to give thanks to one."

"XI. A forme to write when a man will please one".

"XII. A forme to write or to speak amorous or lovely purposes".

This treatment of the Amadis may be significant as to the comparative popularity of the etiquette book and the romance with cultured readers, but it is not surprising that this version, so wrested from its true nature, did not meet with striking success.

There ^{is} however, as has already been suggested, grounds for believing that the Amadis was read in its true form during the years prior to the publication of Munday's translation. Some such inference may be drawn from the references in contemporary literature which I have been able to collect, though they are only three in number. In the "Debate between Pride and lowliness", which J. P. Collier dated as circa 1568,⁽¹⁾ the poet, Francis Thynn, speaks of his own work as

"Better Iwys then Amadis de Gaule
As els the Pallas forced with pleasure

Or ballads that entreate of nought but love."⁽²⁾

Here we have the Amadis classed with the Palace of Pleasure, and what we may perhaps interpret as the love-songs of the courtly makers Surrey and Wyatt and others. This can only be taken to mean that it was definitely regarded as fashionable recreative literature.

The other two allusions are later, and their chief significance lies in the familiarity with the work which they assume on the part of their readers. They show a change of tone. The laudatory note has gone, and we see that the Amadis has lost its brief authority as a model of style. Yet Sidney refers to it easily, as to a work with which men were familiar from their boyhood:-

"Truly I have knowen men, that even with reading Amadis de Gaule (which God knoweth wanteth much of a perfect poesie) have found their harts mooved to the exercise of courtesie, liberalitie and especially courage".⁽³⁾

(1) "The Debate between Pride and Lowliness". By Francis Thynn (Pub. Shakespeare Society) p.39.

(2) Ibid. P.67.

(3) The Apologie for Poetrie. Pub. Pitt Press Series. p.26.

Thomas Underdowne, seven years later⁽¹⁾, in the preface to his "newly corrected and augmented" edition of the "Aethiopian historie" classes the Amadis familiarly with the other famous romances against which he brings Ascham's stricture. He prefers the "Aethiopica" to "others of like argument", and complains, "Mort D'Arthure, Arthur of Little Britain, yea and Amadis of Gaule (etc.) accompte violent murder, or murder for no cause manhoode: and fornication and all unlawful luste friendly love:"⁽²⁾ acknowledging however by the "yea and" some differentiation in favour of the more modern romance.

In these two latter references there can be no doubt that the whole unabbreviated romance is meant and not the selections of Paynell; and although this is not made clear in the lines in the "Debate" the date of which would admit reference to Paynell's edition it is very unlikely that the latter by one small issue could have attained the notoriety implied. We are thus led to conclude that the Amadis was read thus widely in its French form. Mr. Lee is of this opinion, as regards Sidney's knowledge of the romance. . He notes Sidney's indebtedness to the Spanish chivalric romances, "especially . . . Amadis which he probably read in a French version."⁽³⁾

It may be noted in this connection, that both Thynn and Sidney refer to it under its French title. It must have been in this form also that it figured in the library of Mary Queen of Scots, in the catalogue of which, Mr. Raleigh points out,⁽⁴⁾ it is included in company with other romances.⁽⁵⁾ There we find, "the first buik of Amades de Gaule"⁽⁶⁾ "The nynte buk"⁽⁷⁾ . . and the "levint" none of which were yet translated in English.

Thus, when the success of Mary Tyler's translation of the 1st part of the "Espejo de Principes under the title of the "Knight of the Sun" inspired the production of Munday's series of translations

(1) 1587 Mr. Evelyn Shuckburgh in his preface dates the Apologie "at the beginning of this year (1581) or at the end of the previous year".

(2) "An Aethiopian Historie" written in Greek by Heliodorus . . . Englished by Thomas Underdowne. Newly corrected and augmented .. 1587. Preface.

(3) Page 223

(4) National Dictionary of Biography. Sidney, Sir Philip, by S. Lee.

(5) Vide "The Catalogue of the Library of Mary Queen of Scots". Published by the Maitland Club.

(6) Ibid p.4.

(7) " " 7.

of the Palmerin romances and subsequently the Amadis, the latter at least was new only to the less cultured sections of the public. Indeed, with regard to more literary circles Mr. Aitkins words may be repeated in a more particular sense than he intended them to bear. "Munday's translations of the Spanish chivalric romances catered for a taste already jaded"⁽¹⁾. Naturally it was to readers to whom the Amadis came with all the charm of novelty, that the new edition appealed, and the success of Munday's version was chiefly "popular".

His series of translations opened with "the famous and pleasant Palladino of England", published in 1588. His versions of the Amadis which are based entirely upon d'Herberay's appeared as follows:-

Amadis de Gaule. Bk.I. published 1590.

"The Seconde Booke of Amadis de Gaule" Englished by L. P. (L. P. standing for Lazarus Pyott, Munday's pseudonym⁽²⁾) 1595.

"The Auncient famous and honorable history of Amadis de Gaule", containing all four books, published in 1619. Munday's name does not appear on the title page, but the dedication is signed A.M. The third and fourth books having each a separate title page, dated 1618, it is possible that they were published separately in that year, but the British Museum possesses no specimen of that issue, and Mr. Seccombe does not include it in his list of Munday's publications.⁽²⁾

In addition to these editions of the Amadis, he produced translations of many other romances. Mr. Seccombe gives a list of these in his article on Munday in the National Dictionary of Biography; it includes:- "Palmerin d'Olive" 1st part (pub.1588). 2nd part 1597. "The famous history of Palmendos" (1589) "Gerileon of England" (1592). "Palmerin of England" (1602) and re-issued 1609 and 1616, - and the "Historie of Primaleon of Greece." 1619.

Munday's work, then, may be regarded as marking a sudden "boom" in the Peninsular romance. (It proves that the taste for romances lingered on still among readers of a certain class.) The very fact of Munday's having undertaken such a task suggests that some interest in the literature of this nature had already been evinced by his public. He had the true journalist's knack of anticipating the demands of his readers, and was the kind of author who is always careful to write for the best market.

These translations met with a warm reception, as the persistence with which they were produced demonstrates sufficiently. This success

(1) Camb. History. Vol.III. Chap.16.

(2) See Nat. Dic. Biog.

however, as has already been remarked was "purely popular". Upon this latter point critics are unanimous.

Munday himself was the son of a London draper, and his appeal was to the class from which he had sprung. It is significant, that while following in some instances the fashion of dedicating a literary production to some noble-man⁽¹⁾, he dedicates certain of his works to untitled patrons. Thus the Second Book of the Amadis is inscribed to "the vertuous young gentleman Maister Gvalter Borough", and "Palmerin of England" to "The Right Worshipfull Maister John Swynnerton Esquire; and the most vertuous gentlewoman his wife". His productions do not belong to a high order of literature. The speed with which they were produced made highly finished work impossible, and he acknowledges as much complacently in his prefaces. "If it be not so eloquently handled as you expected, you must beare with the bad conceit, which was never capable of any such cunning. Good will is the line whereby I leuell my workes, and freendlye acceptation the greatest grace in gentle mindes"⁽²⁾. One may almost read a suggestion of pride into "the abrupt lines of an unlearned soldier, who hath written plaine English, void of all eloquence"⁽³⁾, his own description of his work. His translations were in fact openly destined for readers whose enjoyment of a story was not disturbed by any over-critical feeling for the niceties of style, and may be regarded as belonging definitely to the lower order of literature, which was intended for the diversion of the city rather than of the court or the college.

The reputation of these romances among cultured circles suffered accordingly, that of the Amadis included; and the references to it in contemporary literature, - although implying familiarity with the work - are slighting in tone. Thus we find such a phrase as Dekkar's "my sweet Amadis de Gaule farewell"⁽⁴⁾, where it appears to be used contemptuously with some such sense as "my fine fellow". Meres in repeating the moral strictures, which appeared in Underdowne's preface⁽⁵⁾, abandons the distinction between the Peninsular and the mediæval romances, which the latter had implied. He classes all together in

(1) The 1619 edition of Amadis de Gaul is dedicated to Sir Philip Herbert, and "Primaleon" to "Henrie Vere, Earle of Oxenford".

(2) Address "To the Gentlemen Readers" Close of "Amadis de Gaule" Bk. I. 1590.

(3) Preface to "The seconde book of Amadis de Gaule" 1595.

(4) Satiro-Mastix, or the untrussing of the humourous poet (pub. 1602) (No pagination).

(5) Vide ante p. 20.

one sweeping condemnation; "as the Lord de la Nowe in the sixe discourse of his politicke and military discourses censureth of the bookes of Amadis de Gaule, which he saith are no lesse hurtfull to youth than the workes of Machiavell to age: so these bookes are accordingly to be censured by whose names follow; Bevis of Hampton, Guy of Warwick, Arthur of the Round Table, Huon of Bordeaux, Oliver of the Castle, the four sons of Aymoun, Gargantua, Gireleon, the Honour of Chivalry, Primaleon of Greece, Palmerin de Oliva the Seven Champions, the myrror of Knighthood, Blancherdyne, Mervin, Howleglasse, the stories of Palledyne and Palmendos, the blacke knight, the maiden knight, the history of Celestina, the castle of fame, Gallien of France, Ornatus and Artesia"⁽¹⁾. Here we have mediaeval romance, satire, jest book, dream allegory, Spanish realistic novel and the romance from the Peninsula, all alike "in one red burial blent".

A similar lack of discrimination is shown by Jonson in his "Execration upon Vulcan" where he alludes to the curate's famous bonfire, but ignores Cervante's exception in favour of the Amadis. He says,

"Had I compiled from Amadis de Gaul
The Esplandians, Arthur, Palmerins and all
The learned library of Don Quixote
And so some goodlier monster had begot;

.
Then thou hadst had some colour for thy flames
On such my serious follies: but thou'lt say
There were some pieces of as base alloy."

Here we have the usual attitude of contempt for the romance of whatever quality, but the familiarity with which the various names are referred to is also significant, and shows that the literary critic, while condemning, had some knowledge of them.

The interest in these romances did not cease with Munday's output. Translations of the various romances of the Amadis and Palmerin cycles began again to appear in the latter half of the century, inspired, it is possible to conceive, by the new fashion for the French heroic romance. The British Museum preserves copies of the following issues of the Amadis:-

"The famous and reknowned history of Amadis de Gaule, being the sixt part never before published". Translated out of French into

(1) Palladis Tamia. Pub. London 1598. p. 267.

English by Francis Kirkman. 1652.

"The fifth Book of the most pleasant and delectable History of Amadis de Gaule", Containing etc. 1664.

The translators name does not appear, but the translation is ascribed by the British Museum catalogue to James Johnson.

"The most excellent and famous history of the most Renowned Knight, Amadis of Greece, etc. 1694.

"The famous and delightful history of the renowned and valiant Prince Amadis de Gaul, etc. The whole now abridged by J.S.Gent. 1702.

A note inscribed by "R. Farmer" on the flyleaf of the 1590 edition mentions another issue, "The Adventures of Amadis de Gaule" Lond.fol.1677.

Thus we have clear testimony to the fact that the Amadis was still read throughout the seventeenth century. Burton gives us a clue as to the class of readers among whom it thus retained its popularity. Speaking of the absence of learning among our gentry, he says:- "The major part ... are wholly bent for hawks and hounds, and are carried away many times with intemperate lusts, gaming and drinking. If they read a book at any time (si quid est interim otii à venatu, poculis, alea, scortis) it is an English chronicle, Sir Huon of Bordeaux, Amadis de Gaule, and a playbook or some pamphlet of news and that at such seasons only, when they cannot stir abroad to drive away time.⁽¹⁾

Another time he includes in "the catalogue of ignoramus" "such inamoratoes as read nothing but play books, idle poems, jests, Amadis de Gaul, the Knight of the Sun, the Seven Champions, Palmerin de Oliva, (Sir) Huon of Bordeaux etc. Such many times prove in the end as mad as Don Quixote".⁽²⁾

The Amadis, then, in common with the other romances - with which, as we have already seen it had come to be classed indiscriminately, and of whose after history its own may be regarded as typical, - had spread from town to country, and become the literature of a class, higher in social rank, but we may gather even less endowed with critical faculties, than the London citizens to whom Munday had appealed. The country gentleman is conservative in his tastes, and it is probable that the Amadis retained its position as a favorite among these sporting circles throughout the century.

We find however one allusion to the Amadis, which suggests that it did not at once sink to the level of merely recreative literature

(1) The Anatomy of Melancholy. (Pub.1853) I.370.

(2) Ibid. II. 107.

but still retained at least into the second decade of the century some consideration, although among less cultured circles, as a book of "fine nurture" and supplying a model of "Rhetoricke".

Fynes Moryson, writing his Itinerary, after advising the traveller "to study familiar works to obtain good command of phrase" goes on to recommend the Amadis in particular for this purpose. "Therefore for this purpose he shall seeke out the best familiar epistles for his writing, and I thinke no book better for his discourse than Amadis of Gaule, for the Knights errant, and the ladies of courts doe herein exchange courtly speeches, and these books are in all languages translated by the masters of eloquence"⁽¹⁾

It is possible that Moryson had actually "The Treasure" in his mind. Several re-issues of the abridged version, Paynel's original, had been produced in France, where it may consequently be assumed to have achieved popularity and recognition⁽²⁾. We have however no evidence that another edition of his version was ever published in England, or that another translation was produced. Mr. Underhill it may be added speaking of Paynell's version, states confidently that "it was never reprinted"⁽³⁾. It is thus impossible to assume from Moryson's statement, any general revival of interest in the abridged form of the romance, and, on the whole, it seems more probable that his words merely indicate some recognition on the part of the less-cultured readers of the Amadis of its intrinsic literary value.

Another feature in the history of the Amadis is suggested by Burton, one which we shall find repeated in that of the Arcadia. In addition to his condemnation of it as the literature of the unlettered he censures it on moral grounds. In the Section headed "Artificial allurements of Love, causes and provocations to lust, etc". he remarks "Some again are incensed by reading amorous toys, Amadis de Gaul, Palmerin de Oliva, the Knight of the Son etc"⁽⁴⁾. Here speaks the Puritan spirit. We have seen before a somewhat similar position taken up by Underdowne and Meres, but Burton's strictures are on broader grounds. It is no longer the contempt of Renaissance of the manners and morals of the "barbarous age" when "unlawful luste" was "accompted friendly love"; but it is the Puritan judgment on all

(1) "An Itinerary" written by Fynes Moryson gent, first in the Latin Tongue, and then translated by him into English. (Pub. Maclehose 1908 Vol. III. p. 379).

(2) Paynell probably used "Le Tresor des Amadis" pub. at Antwerp in 1560 Editions of this appeared in 1591 (Paris) 1582? 1605, & 1606 (Lyons.)

(3) Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors. p. 118

(4) The Anatomy of Melancholy. III. 124.

that is "vain and amatorious"; by which all merely recreative fiction is condemned, "the brood of Folly without father bred." A similar spirit speaks in Bunyan's repentant reference to his own inordinate fondness in youth for romantic literature.

He says "Alas, I said, what is the scripture, give me a ballad, a news-book, George on horseback or Bevis of Southampton, but for the holy scriptures I cared not"⁽¹⁾, and this allusion has for us another significance. It illustrates forcibly the place the romance had come to hold as the literature of apprentices and potboys. To what depths certain romances had sunk by the end of the century is illustrated by some announcements of pamphlet literature which chance has preserved for us. Thus, for example, bound up with the 1694 edition of Amadis of Greece is a list of books wherewith "all English and Irish chapmen may be furnished .. at reasonable Rates," which professes to include "all sorts of divinity books, physick, astrology, romances, plays, paper books, bonds and releases", and places "The Famous history of Sir Bevis of Southampton", and "The Third part of the Seven Champions" beside "The English Fortune Teller" by J.P. and "Markham's faithful Farrier". Another to be mentioned again in reference to the Arcadia, advertises "the History of Argalus and Parthenia" beside "The Accomplished Seamen's delight" and "Ruffells little book for little children". Don Belianis would seem to have reached the low water mark of degradation for it actually survives in "Ancient penny history" form,⁽²⁾ shorn of all its flowers of Rhetoricke and reduced to a bare skeleton of some two dozen pages. The progress of "the king through the guts of a beggar" is complete.

It seems probable that the Amadis never fell to such depths. The "Amadis of Greece" was indeed published by Deacon, and dedicated to the Beauties of Great Britain, for "whose satisfaction and delight" his future endeavours were to be "wholly directed". There its downward journey would seem to end. The 1702 edition suggests a turn in its history. It presents the original romance "the famous and delightful History of the renowned and valiant Prince Amadis de Gaul, setting forth his glorious adventures and success in arms during his travels into the most known parts of the world. His unparalleled love to the fair princess Oriana, and his success therein being a true pattern of heroick valour and virtuous love". "Abridged

(1) Sighs from Hell. Works pub. 1767 Vol. I p.501

(2) Bound by the British Museum with other similar literary specimens, and dated 1780.

by J. S. Gent" into one hundred and eighty seven pages.

Here we have the same abridgement of the work for purposes of cheap production, which we have seen practised in the case of Don Belianis, although it is not carried to such an extreme length. There is however in the preface some recognition of other aspects of the work than mere plot interest. Indeed, in direct contradiction to the judgment of Burton, the writer claims for the romance the didactic value so dear to the 18th century heart. The reader shall "find no doubt his small expence and leizure hours well bestowed in improving his knowledge" as well as "pleasing his fancy". The whole "History" was, we are assured, "contrived and penned by learned and judicious men to stir up an emulation in the minds of either sex to contend the noblest ways in acquiring true virtues and generous bravements set by them as patterns to be imitated". Moreover, the edition was produced "that the memory of so famous a work should not be lost". The worst is over, and the romance at last attracts some modicum of attention by its flavour of antiquity. From hence forward we shall see, while the "popular" tradition lingers in the use of the romance as children's literature, at the same time, it comes to be reinstated upon the bookshelf, as a relic of time, to be guarded, if not appreciated nor indeed even read.

In spite of the dedication of the 1690 edition to the "Beauties of Great Britain", the Amadis does not seem to have enjoyed for any length of time the shelter which the Arcadia found in the ladies library.⁽¹⁾ It does not appear on Leonora's shelves, nor is any name from it included among the romantic appellations "gliding through half a dozen tender syllables", which Bridget Tipkin enumerates as suitable for herself, and her husband respectively.⁽²⁾ But as has already been said, it does not seem to have become a mere nursery book, as did others of the romances. It is not included for instance with "Don Belianis, Guy of Warwick, and the Seven Champions as the reading of Bickerstaff's little Godson".⁽³⁾

On the other hand, the Amadis gave the title and the names of the dramatis personæ to that most fashionable production, an Italian Opera, appearing in 1715. This would seem to be based upon Tasso's refashioning of the story, and the functions of the characters in it bear no resemblance to the original. Nevertheless the fact remains that "Amadis

(1) Spectator. No.37

(2) Steele. The Tender Husband. Act II. Sc.I.

(3) " Tatler. 95.

of Gaul, a famous hero in love with Oriana", "Dardanus" "Melissa", and "Oriana" actually appear upon the operatic stage.

Bolingbroke moreover gives the Amadis his serious consideration, and although his criticism is hardly favourable, his words imply that there would be some among his readers likely to be acquainted with this romance. In discussing the value of the "tales of Ancient historians" in general, he condemns "imagination grown lawless", which "tells of heroes and giants, fairies and enchantresses, which reason, far from receiving as historical, rejects as unworthy to be placed even among the fabulous;" and takes the Amadis to illustrate his point. "What I have said" he concludes, "will not be controverted by any man who has read Amadis of Gaul".⁽¹⁾

The next century saw the retranslation of the Amadis by Southey, when this romance shared in the revived interest in all things mediaeval and obtained the recognition among scholars which it still retains.

(1) Letters No. IV.

The Arcadia, Sidney tells us, was composed in leisure moments for the immediate diversion of his sister. "Your dear selfe", he says in the dedication to "my dear ladie and sister" "can best witness the maner, being done in loose sheetes of paper, most of it in your presence, the rest, by sheetes sent unto you, as fast as they were done".⁽¹⁾ It was never intended for publication. As he tells his sister expressly "it is done onlie for you, onlie to you, if you keepe it to your selfe, or to such friendes who will weigh errors in the ballaunce of good will, I hope for the father's sake, it will be pardoned, perchance made much of, though in it selfe it has deformities. For indeed for severer eyes it is not, being but a trifle and that triflinglie handled."

During Sidney's lifetime it was circulated in manuscript, privately among his circle of friends. Molyneux's account in Holinshed's chronicles of Sidney's death, is followed by a reference to "his booke which he named Arcadia", and after praising it the writer continues "few works of like subject hath beene either of some more earnestlie sought, closelie kept, or placed in better place, and amongst better jewels than that was; so that a speciale deere friende he should be that could have a sight, but much more deere that could once obtaine a copie of it".⁽²⁾ This testimony beside laying stress on its inaccessibility and showing us how jealously "the cruell father" guarded "this child" which "he was loath to father", suggests also the interest excited by this production.

Molyneux, as has been remarked,^{him} praises it highly, and it may be gathered from the nature of his praise that he himself had managed to secure some first hand knowledge of it, perhaps as a "hearer". He describes it as "a work (though a mere fantasie toie and fiction) showing such excellence of spirit, gallant invention, utrietie of matter, or orderlie disposition, and couched in frame of such apt words without superfluitie, eloquente phrases and fine conceipt with interchange of devise, so delightfull to the reader, and pleasant to the hearer as nothing could be taken out to amend it, or added to it that would not impaire it"

(1) Dedication of the Arcadia

(2) Holinshed's Chronicles Anno, Dom. 1586 Vol. IV. p. 880
(pub 1807-8)

On his death-bed Sidney is reported to have expressed a wish that it should be destroyed. Fortunately this was not carried out: and in 1590, the first edition was published by one William Ponsonbie, and the Arcadia entered upon a career of wider popularity.

The question of the earlier editions needs a comment.

An attempt appears to have been made in the year of Sidney's death to secure the Arcadia for the reading public by means of a pirated edition. Mr Sommers quotes a letter from Fulke Greville to Sir Francis Walsingham, warning him of some such attempt.⁽¹⁾ "Sr. this day, one Ponsonby a booke-bynder in Poles Church yard came to me and told me that ther was one in hand to print Sir Philip Sidney's old Arcadia, asking me yf it were done with your honor's consent or any other of his frendes? I told him to my knowledge, No". Greville goes on to say he has forwarded to Sidney's widow "a correction of that old one, don 4 or 5 years sinse," and it would appear to be from this original that the 1590 edition was compiled. A second edition, in folio, was produced by the same publisher 1593, the text of which having been re-edited by the Countess of Pembroke differs slightly from the former version.

x The preface indeed may be understood to claim to be ^{it as} an improvement on the original edition, which is described as "the disfigured face wherewith this work not long since appeared to the public view". However, as Mr Sommers points out the textual variations are slight, and do not justify the vaunt of the preface. The chief difference lies in the fact that in the second edition a fourth and fifth book, and a conclusion to Book III, are added.⁽²⁾ The Countess' "honorable labour" as the mysterious H.S. author of the preface himself allows "began in correcting the faults, ended in supplying the defects", and the result was "the conclusion not the perfecting of the Arcadia, and that no further than the authors own writing or knowne determination could direct". It is this edition which has served as a model to all subsequent editions, until that recently produced by Mr. Sommers.

(1) Introduction to his edition of the Arcadia

(2) There is nothing in these additions, which would give any support to Ben Jonson's statement that "Sir Philip Sidney had ane intention to have transformed all his Arcadia to the stories of King Arthur." Conversations with William Drummond No. X

Further additions were made later. In 1621 Sir William Alexander inserted a supplement to the defect in Book III, where a hiatus had been left between the original portion appearing in the first edition, and the conclusion added in the second; and a second and rival supplement by a "Mr. Ja. Johnstown" appeared beside this in the edition, 1638. In 1627 a sixth and final book was added by R.B. of Lincolnes Inne Esq. which was included in the subsequent re-issues. Gervase Markham also among others "added Arcadia", but his additions⁽¹⁾ were published separately, and never with the original romance.

It can hardly be doubted that the Arcadia was eagerly read at its first appearance, seeing that it had been so eagerly sought after in M. S. and had perhaps already circulated to some extent beyond the privileged few whom Molyneux describes.⁽²⁾

This popularity proved enduring. Writing probably about a century after its first appearance Anthony Wood describes it as "the most celebrated romance ever written",⁽³⁾ and editions continued to be produced until 1725. Mr Sommers in his introduction gives "a complete bibliographical account of the work during the three past centuries" from which the following list has been taken, copies of the various editions, except the second, having been examined in the British Museum. The first edition as has been said, appeared in 1590. Others appeared as follows:- the second edition 1593, the third 1598 re-issued from Edinburgh 1599, the fourth, 1605, (re-issued 1613), the fifth 1621, the sixth 1623, (reissued 1627), the seventh, 1629, the eighth 1633, the ninth 1638, the tenth 1655, the eleventh 1662, and the thirteenth⁽⁴⁾ 1674. The fourteenth edition appeared 1725, and in this same year Mrs Stanley produced a "modernized version"

(1) The English Arcadia, (alluding his beginning from Sir Philip Sidney's ending, published 1607.

The second and last part of the First Book of the Arcadia, making a complete end of the first history, pub. 1613

See Markham. National Dictionary of Biography. The British Museum possesses no copy of either publication, and I have not been able to examine them

(2) See its possible influence on Greené's Menaphon, pub. 1589

(3) Athenæ Oxoniensis. ed. Bliss. I. 525

(4) The numerical descriptions ascribed in the various editions are those given on the title page. Mr. Sommers (see Introduction) treats the various re-issues as separate editions. The British Museum preserves no copy of a professed "Twelfth" edition, and Mr. Sommers does not include one in his account.

It remains to be seen to what classes of readers this popularity extended. The first appeal, as we have seen, was to the courtly circle of Sidney's personal friends, and the *Arcadia* seems to have retained this position among the literature of cultured readers throughout the following century.

Burton quotes from it,⁽¹⁾ and we have reason to suppose that James I, although he held Sidney "no poet",⁽²⁾ appreciated his *Arcadia*⁽³⁾. Later it was brought into especial prominence by the supposed use of Pamela's prayer by Charles I upon the scaffold. The inference to be drawn from the very acceptance of such a rumour is that the *Arcadia* was not unlikely to have been included among the king's favourites. The incident has an added importance for us, since it was the means of calling forth Milton's criticism.

A vain amatori^ous poem he finds it, "among religious thoughts and duties not worthy to be named; nor to be read at any time without good caution"⁽⁴⁾. Nevertheless he recognises that "it is a book in that kind full of worth and wit",⁽⁴⁾ and we feel the Puritan rather than the Poet spoke in the condemnation.

The *Arcadia*, indeed, as the romance proper, seems to have fallen under the Puritan ban on all recreative literature. In the preface to the 1674 edition, such an attack is alluded to. "Yea", cries the author "I have heard a divine even in a sermon, planting all the artillery of his wit and eloquence, to batter down the esteem thereof, as not only useless, but noxious, for youth especially in the reading thereof, condemning that pastime to be lost time, expended on the perusing of this book, luscious only to the palate of wanton appetites, and disposing them unto vicious inclinations". This attack, from the very pulpit, is yet another testimony of the widespread popularity of the romance. Some such condemnation, too, would seem to have provoked Fuller's defence.

(1) *Anatomy of melancholy*. ed. Shilleto. Vol. III. 105

(2) See Ben Jonson's conversations with William Drummond (No. X) for the statement. "The King said Sir Philip Sidney was no poet."

(3) See the dedication of the supplement to the defect in Bk. III (first appearing in 1638) by "Mr. Ja. Johnstoun Scoto-Brit" to "King James" for a reference to "the great accompt your Majesty hath of the writer"

(4) *Eikonoklastes*. Chap. I.
Milton's Prose Works, Pub. Bohn. Vol. I. p. 328

"I confesse I have heard some of modern pretended wits cavil thereat, meerly because they made it not themselves: such who say, that his book is the occasion that many pretious hours are otherwise spent no better, must acknowledge it also the cause that many idle hours are otherwise spent no worse, than in reading thereof".⁽¹⁾

This condemnation however seems to have been merely polemical, and as late as 1692 the Arcadia won high praise from the serious-minded Sir William Temple. "The true spirit" he writes "or vein of ancient poetry of this kind" ("poetry in prose under the name of romance") "seems to shine most on Sir Philip Sidney, whom I esteem both the greatest poet and noblest genius of any that have left writings behind them, and published in ours or any other modern language."⁽²⁾

Nevertheless while in thus preserving its position as literature it differs from the Amadis in history, it presents also a parallel development to the downward progress of the earlier romance. The Arcadia, while primarily designed for court circles, and enjoying a popularity amongst them throughout the century, passed gradually to less and less cultured sections of the reading public.

By the third decade of the sixteenth century it had found a place among the books read by the private gentleman's wife or daughter, a class, which would not seem to have been distinguished by a high standard of culture to judge from the rather satiric tone of the reference in "Tom of all trades or the plaine path way to Preferment" published 1636⁽³⁾. This pamphlet contains a chapter dealing with the upbringing of a man's daughters, where the reader is carefully admonished, "instead of reading Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, let them read the grounds of good huswifery" "This, the reading of romances, is not the way to breed a private gentleman's daughter". A similar inference is to be drawn from an allusion in Nabbes "Totenham Court", (written in 1633 and published five years later) where "Changelore boasts".

"The womens creature, Sir I'll be

.
. I'll spin or thread their needles (4)
Read Spenser and the Arcadia for their company"

- (1) The Worthies of England "Kent"
pub. 1811 Vol. I. page 499
(2) "Of Poetry" Works pub. 1720 Vol. I p. 241
(3) Page 47
(4) Act III. So.3.

In the latter half of the century, the Arcadia, or rather selected portions of it, would appear to have taken a definite place among the Chapman's stock-in-trade. Kirkman classes the Arcadia with the popular romances. In the preface to his translation of Don Belianis of Greece, he remarks, "We have many pleasant and ingenious romances in the English tongue, but we are obliged to other nations for their invention of them. Very few have been written originally in English, and only in Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia hath had the success to be not only approved in our language but rendered into French and other languages"⁽¹⁾. The connection of the Arcadia with "pleasant and ingenious romances" by Kirkman, the recognised purveyor of popular literature, would seem to imply that it had come to share their position. Further proof however is at hand in the inclusion of "Argalus & Parthenia" in the booksellers list already cited in dealing with the Amadis. There it figures beside "Arithmetick", a treatise fitted for the use and Benefit of such tradesmen as are ignorant of that art, and the apparently much read "English Fortune teller, by J.P.", Among the Books printed for and sold by Joseph Blair, Book seller at the Looking glass on London Bridge. Sir Sidney Lee (it must be added) in his article on Sidney in the National Dictionary of Biography touches on this phase in the Arcadia's history, saying, "extracts and epitomes of the Arcadia were long popular as chap books." A suggestion of its wide-spread popularity is given in the fact that Richardson found no incongruity in naming his village girl Pamela.

In addition to its development as popular literature, the career of the Arcadia presents another striking feature, in which it is perhaps not altogether extravagant to find some resemblance to The history of the Amadis. The style in which it was written made a great impression upon contemporary readers, and, as a result, established itself as a fashionable mode of speech. Mr Lee suggests this aspect of its influence, stating that "Almost from the day of its publication, court ladies imitated its affected turns of speech" and citing Dekkars "Arcadian" gentle women⁽²⁾ and Ben Jonson's Saviolina⁽³⁾ who uses "as choice figures in her ordinary conferences as any .. in the Arcadia", as examples.

(1) Preface to "The second part of Don Belianis of Greece.
Pub. 1664

(2) Gulls Hornbook Chap. VI.
Pub. Huth Library Vol. II p. 254

(3) Every Man out of his humour Act. 11 Sc..1

This use of the Arcadia as a model of polite speech seems similar to that of the Amadis as a complete letter writer. In both we see the romance taken as supplying a model of fine nurture. This fashion in speech seems to have had a longer life than such modes generally enjoy, since Crashaw describing his "Not impossible She" in the mid seventeenth century, demands of her

"Sidneian showers
of sweet discourse".

The reputation of the Arcadia, as Mr Lee points out, declined somewhat during the next century. Nevertheless it continued to be read. It figures beside Le Grand Cyrus in Leonora's library.⁽¹⁾ Johnson shows acquaintance with it, in his recognition of Shakespeare's debt to Sidney for the "Episode of Edmund".⁽²⁾ Ambrose Philips appears to be alluding to it in his tribute to "gentle Sidney" "the Shepherd's friend,"⁽³⁾ and Cowper refers regretfully, to those Arcadian scenes "which Maro sings

And Sidney warbler of poetic prose".⁽⁴⁾

Even its detractors betray their familiarity with the object of their attack. It so happened that the Romantic movement did not at once bring to Sidney the recognition it brought to many minor Elizabethan's. At the very beginning and at the height the movement it found hostile critics in Horace Walpole who objected to the dolorous Arcadia⁽⁵⁾ and in Hazlitt⁽⁶⁾. Lamb it is true comes into the lists in defence of Sir Philip Sidney. but he chooses his sonnets as his vantage ground, and concedes only a few phrases to "the noble images, passions, sentiments and poetical delicacies of character scattered all over the Arcadia, (in spite of some stiffness and encumberment)"⁽⁶⁾ Hazlitt on the contrary subjects it to a long and severe criticism; "in a word", he sums up, "and not to speak profanely the Arcadia is a riddle," its subject "the most involved, irksome, improgressive and heteroclitite subject that ever was chosen to exercise the pen or patience of man". He goes on to describe its present position. "It no longer adorns the toilette or lies upon the pillow of maids of honour and peeresses in their own right, (the Pamelas and Philocleas of a later age), but

(1) Spectator. No. 37

(2) Notes to King Lear. Works pub. 1825. Vol.V p. 175

(3) Sixth Pastoral

(4) The Task. III. 1. 514

(5) Letters (pub. 1861) Vol. II p. 23

(6) Last essays of Elia. Works (pub 1903) Vol. II p. 219

remains upon the shelves of the libraries of the curious in long works and great names⁽¹⁾

The Arcadia, then, joins the Amadis upon the scholar's bookshelf. Whether it remains there and nowhere else is not so certain. A distinguished modern critic can be found to class it among the books which every one knows of and nobody reads,⁽²⁾ yet several new editions have been produced in recent years,⁽³⁾ and the newspaper critic of the latest, the exponent of the view of the "man in the street", hopes cheerfully that it "will be widely read"⁽⁴⁾

The latter history of the Arcadia indeed differs from that of the chivalric romances, through the influence of its own other aspects. It was chiefly as a pastoral that it commended itself to eighteenth century readers. The 1725 edition is prefaced by a disquisition on "Pastoral writings", and it is as a pastoral that it extracted a tribute from Philips. It is partly perhaps too as a pastoral that it incurred the scorn of the later romantic critics, and called forth the diatribe quoted above from Hazlitt, himself an ardent admirer of the chivalric romance.

There is yet another factor to be considered in comparing the career of the Arcadia with that of the chivalric or heroic romances, or, indeed, in attempting any prediction of its future history. In addition to its interest for the student tracing the history of literary fashions as representing typical forms of recreative fiction, it has the permanent and universal interest belonging to all good literature.

(1) Lectures on The Literature of the age of Elizabeth
William Hazlitt. pub. Bell 1884 p. 211

(2) Greg. Pastoral Poetry.

(3) Ed. O. Sommers 1891; Pub. Sampson & Law (editor anonymous)
1898; ed. E.A. Baker. 1904; ed. Feuillerat 1912;

(4) The Observer. Feb. 25th 1912

Section IV

The History of "The Grand Cyrus"

An English translation of Le Grand Cyrus was published in 1653, the very year in which the original was completed. The heroic romance was the fashionable reading of the mid-century in England as in France. In 1647 William Browne translated Gomberville's Polexandre, and his example was followed quickly by other translators. Translations of the romances of Mlle de Scudery were produced as follows:-

Ibrahim or the illustrious Bassa in 1652, translated by Henry Cogan. Artamenes or the Grand Cyrus, Englished by F.G. Esq. in 1653, and Clelie translated by J. Davies in 1656.

The popularity - commented on by all critics - of this class of romance is illustrated by the following lengthy list which appears as a bookseller's advertisement at the close of a volume of The Grand Cyrus.

Here are advertised as:- "New and excellent Romances, printed for Humphrey Moseley, at the Princes Armes in St. Paul's Church Yard. Cassandra, the fam'd romance, now elegantly rendered into English by a Person of quality.

Ibrahim or the illustrious Bassa, an excellent new Romance... now Englished by Henry Cogan gent.
Artamenes or the Grand Cyrus, an excellent new romance, written by that famous wit of France, Monsieur de Scudery .. and now Englished by F.G.Esq.
The continuation of Artamenes etc.
The third volume of Artamenes etc.
The fourth volume of Artamenes.
The fifth volume of Artamenes.
The History of Polexander, and a romance. Englished by William Browne, gent.

The History of a banished virgin, a romance, trans. by J.H.Esq.
Cassandra, the fam'd romance...
Elegantly rendered into English by the right honorable the Lord George Digby.

The History of Philoxipes and Policrite taken out of Artamenes, made English by an Honourable person.

The history of Don Fenise a new romance written in Spanish by Francisco de las Coveras ... Englished by a person of honour.

Aurora, Ismenia and The Prince, with Oronia the Ciprian Virgin trans. by Thomas Stanley Esq.

Cleopatra, a new romance, written in French by the fam'd author of Cassandre, and now Englished by a gentleman of the Inner Temple.

La Stratonica or the unfortunate Queen, a new romance written in Italian and Englished by I. B. gent.

Choice novels and Amourous tales written by the most refined wits of Italy newly translated into English by a person of Quality.

Missena, an excellent new romance, ... now Englished by an honourable person.

Dianea, an excellent new romance, written in Italian by Gio Francisco Laredano - translated into English by Sir Ashton Cooper."

Such a list not only serves to illustrate the demand for this class of literature, it also gives us testimony as to the aristocratic circles in which it was received. Many of the translations, it may be noticed, were made "by persons of honour", "flow'ry courtiers", a fact in itself sufficient to commend them to the perusal of the "quality".

The bookseller too appears to be accustomed to cater for cultured purchasers, for the remainder of his advertisement is occupied with new and choice histories, among which the "De Bello Belgico" Mr Howel's History of Lewis the thirteenth King of France and The History of Life and death" by Francis Lord Verulam are included.

The French heroic romance then began its career as its predecessors had done as the recreative fiction of the cultured class. How the Cyrus delighted its readers, is shown by the many allusions to it in the letters of Dorothy Osborne,⁽¹⁾ who reads it volume by volume (as they come to her hand, and then sends them on to her lover, who seems to appreciate them equally. It appears indeed to be her especial favorite. Parthenissa suffers from the comparison. "Perhaps I like it the worse for having a piece of Cyrus by me, for that I am hugely pleased with, and that", she continues "I would fain have you read",⁽²⁾ Her correspondent, Sir William Temple, it may be noted retained the taste for romances implied by this interest in the Cyrus, to the end of his life, as may be seen from his praise of the Arcadia already quoted.

The vogue of the heroic romance as court literature came to an end. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the heroic romance

(1) Letters ed. E. A. Parry pp. 114, 117, 125, 151, 175, 200, and 232

(2) Letters p. 232

has come to be regarded with some contempt by the man of letters as the typical literature of the fair-sex. So Addison places The Grand Cyrus on Leonora's bookshelf, "with a pin stuck in one of the middle leaves"⁽¹⁾ to testify to the fact, that, unlike many of the volumes in the shelves, it is really read. So Steele depicts Bridget Tiphin⁽²⁾ with an inordinate admiration for the heroes and heroines of romance.

Yet in spite of the critics' mockery they continue to be read. As late as 1750, the taste for romance reading among young girls is sufficiently marked to call forth Mrs Lennox's satire. Arabella, the heroine of the "Female Quixote", had been allowed to browse at will from her "earliest youth" in her father's library, "in which, unfortunately for her were great store of romances, and what was still more unfortunate, not in the original French, but very bad translations."⁽³⁾ She imbibes to the full the lessons these convey, and imitates Statia, Parisates, Clelie and Mandane, and those "illustrious heroines of antiquity, whom it is glory to resemble", with disastrous results until at the close, she is made to see the error of her ways. Nevertheless it seems probable that Mrs. Lennox, like Cervantes before her, was only speeding the departure of an already passing fashion. At the beginning of the next century Scott making Lady Margaret and Edith Bellenden "attached to the perusal of romances,"⁽⁴⁾ and familiar with "Artamenes", finds it necessary to add an explanatory note; since, he explains, "few in the present age are acquainted with the ponderous tomes to which the age of Louis XIV gave rise."⁽⁵⁾

A very little later, Hazlitt, himself a lover of romantic literature, describes the seventeenth century romance, as "now, alas, exploded";⁽⁶⁾ and the modern critic shows no inclination to revoke this sentence. They "are agreed" Mr Raleigh tells us that these romances "are unreadable".⁽⁷⁾

- (1) Spectator No. 37
- (2) Tender Husband Act II. sc. 1.
- (3) Female Quixote Vol. I. p. 6
- (4) Old Mortality (pub. 1859) Vol. I. p. 204
- (5) See Note to p. 204
- (6) Sketches & Essays (Pub. 1890) p. 181
- (7) The English Novel. p.92

P A R T I I

Comparison of romantic motives in Amadis of Gaul, Arcadia, and Le Grand Cyrus.

- - - - -

The attempt made in the last chapter to trace the fortunes of these three romances among the different sections of the English reading public has shown their prolonged popularity and the general similarity of their course from fashionable and court circles to the scholar's bookshelf.

The following study of the treatment of the themes of Love, Religion (and magic), and war, in these romances is directed to illustrate the manner in which in each case the traditional material is reshaped in such a way as to reflect the ideals, manners and customs of the day, - to show in fact that each romance is to its own age "modern", as much a "novel" as a romance.

Section I.

Religion

Religion in Amadis of Gaul

The Religion of the Amadis is that of the Roman Catholic Church. The characters, we are told, "sinners as they were, believed the Holy Catholic Faith"⁽¹⁾

References occur to the following ceremonies.

Mass⁽²⁾.

Confession,⁽³⁾ followed by the appointment of a penance and by absolution.

Last unction⁽⁴⁾.

The religious orders are referred to, the monastery,⁽⁵⁾ the nunnery⁽⁶⁾ and the rule of solitary devotion professed by the hermit⁽⁷⁾. Other features especially Catholic are the prayers and invocations addressed to the Virgin,⁽⁸⁾ the use of relics,⁽⁹⁾ and the definition of

(1) Amadis of Gaul. Vol. II. p. 283

(2) Ibid. Vol. I. 57, 70, 74 II 94, 264 etc.

(3) " II. 265 etc.

(4) I 59.

(5) I. 101

(6) I. 128 II. 310

(7) I. 112

(8) I. 286, 288 etc.

(9) II. 264.

the sacramental elements as the "real body of God". (1).

In addition occur characteristics, which, although they are not peculiar to this church, but rather express Christian sentiment in general, are of a highly religious nature. Little formal professions of belief appear constantly interspersed in the narrative. For example, in discussing the monstrous origin of the Endriago, the author remarks. "The Physic for sin is repentance, which obtains pardon from that most high Lord, who for such sins, placed himself upon the cross, where he died as a very man, and afterwards rose again a very God". (2) There are also various references to the scriptures (3) and characters in scripture history. (3)

The characters pursue a simple scheme of morality following the lines laid down by the Church. When they transgress this code, they confess, and are absolved. They listen obediently to the instructions of the Church as expressed by the hermit Nasciano and accept unquestioningly his interference in temporal affairs. They are as children before him. They attend divine service very frequently, and the Knights hear mass before any important venture. The latter regard their military careers moreover as a commission divinely imposed upon them, and explain their often unnecessary bloodshed as the service of the Lord. These are the sheep within the fold. Without are the enemies of the Church, the devil worshippers, committing horrid sins, and professing deadly enmity towards "the Christians who seek to destroy us". (4)

The religious aspect of the Amadis is especially stressed by Montalvo. Indeed he makes astounding claims as to the spiritual profit to be derived from the work. "What shall we take" (of it) he asks "which shall bear any fruit profitable for us. Certainly in my sight, no other thing save the good examples and teachings which most appertain to our salvation, because the Grace of God being permitted to be imprinted in our hearts, they draw us to it, let us take (them) for wings with which our souls may mount to the height

(1) I. 70

(2) Amadis of Gaul II. 274 cf. II. 285

(3) cf. Amadis of Gaul II. 164 "Oh how God takes vengeance upon the unjust! ... remember reader that Nimrod who built the Tower of Babel."

I. 130 "Here it came to pass what the gospel saith, that no hidden thing but shall be known".

(4) A. de 9. II. 277.

of glory for which we were created" (1)

Montalvo's attitude shows the "pressure" of the times clearly. Tichnor decides "the Spanish version" (of the Amadis) "was made between 1492 and 1504" (2) which brings the work of refashioning the romance within years of great activity in the Spanish Church. In 1480 the Inquisition was finally established in Castile, and in the following year it inaugurated its reign of terror. "By 1498" according to Lhorente's calculations, (3) - doubted, it must be confessed, by Prescott (4) - "10,228 persons had been burnt alive." Although the Jewish race was the especial, it was not the sole, object of attack. None were safe. The slightest suspicion of heresy was sufficient to bring even the highest officials to the torture-chamber or the stake. Books suspected of containing heretical doctrines suffered a similar fate, and in 1490 Torquemada, the grand inquisitor, condemned 6,000 volumes to the flames (4) Small reason then to wonder that Montalvo is anxious to bring his work under the aegis of the church, that he emphasises its expression of "las doctrinas que mas ala salvacion nuestia se allegaron", and that he preserves the picture of implicit obedience to the authority of the church, and close connection of at least religious observances with daily life. Hence also it is, no doubt, that he intersperses the pious comments and the little professions of the true faith noticed earlier, which can be ascribed to his hand with practical certainty in view of the tone of the preface. His purpose indeed is betrayed by the closing lines of the preface, in which can be detected a ring of personal fear. "If perchance," he cries, "in this ill arranged work any fault should appear, such as are divinely or humanly forbidden, I demand pardon for it humbly since that I myself holding and believing firmly all

(1) Preface to "Amadis de Gaula" Quoted from ed pub Sasseno 1551. Prologo Que tomaremos .. que algun fruto provechoso nos acarrun? Por cierto a mi ver otra cosa no salvo los buenos exemplos & doctrinas, que mas ala saluacion nuestra se allegaron, porque siendo permitido de ser imprimida en nuestros coracones la gracia del muy alto senor para a ella nos allegar' tomemos por alas con que nuestras animas suban a la alteza de la gloria para donde fueron criadas.

(2) History of Spanish Literature by George Tichnor. Pub, Boston 1888 Vol. I. p. 234.

(3) Quoted - The Church in Spain, by Ferdinand Meyrick "National Churches series:" Page 370

(4) Ferdinand & Isabella II. XXVI

(5) The Church in Spain p. 367

that which the Holy Mother Church holds and commands, rather foolish judgment, than intention was the cause of it⁽¹⁾!

Thus the revision bears the stamp of being fifteenth century work, in its attitude of ostentatious orthodoxy in religious matters, and the claims it sets forward of didactic value.

Religion had already played a part in Romance but in the Amadis it assumes an especial character. The religious motive in it differs alike from the highly imaginative conception of the Grail story, and the predominantly didactic purpose of a Sir Isumbras. In the Amadis indeed it forms no integral part of the story, it is super imposed, yet so closely adapted as to give an impression of complete unity. We have in fact a stirring story, so treated as to conform with the teachings of Holy Church'.

This especial care for orthodoxy is further illustrated by the disappearance of the touches of Pagan and anti-clerical feeling, which appear in the older romances, such as that in the famous passage in Aucassin and Nicolette⁽²⁾ and of which an example is preserved by Malory in his version of Elaine's dying speech⁽³⁾. We have no traces of this spirit in the Amadis.

(1) Si per ventura en esta mal ordenada obra, algun yerro pareciere de aquellos que en lo divino y humano son prohibidos, demando humilente dello perdon: pues que teniendo y crayendoyo firmente todo lo que la santa Madre Iglesia tiene y manda, mas le simple discrecion que la obra fue della causa.

(2) En Paradis qu' ai j'ò a faire. Je n'i quier entrer mais que j'aie Nicolette, ma tresdouce amie que j'aim tant. C'en paradis ne vont fors tex gens, con je vous dirai. Il i vont cil viel prestre et cil viel clop et cil manke, que totejor et toti nuit cropent devant ces autex et en ces viés creutes at cil a ces viés capes esreses et a ces viés taterales vestues, qui sont nu et descaué et estrumelé, qui moeurent de faim et de soi et de froit et de mesaises. Ic'il vont en paradis; avecú ci'ax n'ai jou que faire. Mais en infer voil jou aler; car en infer vont li bel clerc et li bel chevalier qui sont mort as tornois et as rices queres, et li boin sergant et li franc home. Avecú ci'ax voil jou aler. Et s'i vont les beles dames cortoises que eles ont deus amis ou trois avoc leurs barons, et s'i va li ors et li argens et li vairs et li gris et si i vont harpeor et jogleor et li roi del siecle. Avocú ci'ax voil jou aler, mais que j'aie Nicolette ma tresdouce amie, avecú mi. Aucassin et Nicolette. Edited Hermann Suchier.

Pub. Paris 1909 pp. 8. 9

(3) "And ever she complained still upon Sir Launcelot. Then her ghostly father bade her leave such thoughts. Then she said. Why should I leave such thoughts? Am I not an earthly woman, ... my belief is I do none offence though I love an earthly man."

Morte Darthur. Pub Macmillan & Co. 1909

"The Globe Edition" Page 430.

The decision too in the vexed question of the rival claims of love and religious ideals, one of the problems which most occupied the mediæval mind, is on the side of religion. Amadis, perfect knight as he was, came near to suffering defeat from the Endriago, because "the devils seeing how this knight had put more trust in his mistress Oriana than in God, had power thereby".⁽¹⁾ The ideal attitude is given in Urganda's prophecy concerning Esplandian - "He shall have God on his right hand, and his lady on his left"⁽²⁾.

To the fifteenth century also belongs the intense hatred of the enemies of the faith, which is seen in the fury of the combats against unbelievers. Famongamadan, giant and idol worshipper, dying, blasphemes "God and His Mother Holy Mary". Beltenebros, not accustomed to insult the fallen foe, derides him, and then "plucking the boar spear from the horse's body, thrust it into the mouth of Famongamadan, and nailed him backward to the earth".⁽³⁾

The infidels moreover are represented as capable of every atrocity. This same Famongamadan, "had a custom to sacrifice damsels to an idol in the Boiling Lake."⁽⁴⁾ Bandaquido commits incest⁽⁵⁾. Characteristic also of the age in which the inquisition was still occupied in wringing acceptance of Christianity from Jew and Moor, is the proselytising spirit shown on another occasion, when Amadis spares Medarque upon these conditions, "become a Christian with all thy people, and build churches and monasteries in all thy dominions".⁽⁶⁾

Nevertheless, much necessarily remains which suggests an earlier age, and which, - we can assume - belongs to the older original. The hermit Nasciano in particular, since he plays an active part in the denouement must presumably have held a place in Montalvo's "antiquos originales". The order of solitary devotion is in itself an essentially mediæval institution, and one doomed to disappear early before the new influences, and, in the case of Spain, before the growing jealous domination of the Inquisition. The Hermit of Poor Rock is perhaps the more typical of the two hermits who appear

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|-----|-----|
| (1) | Amadis of Gaul. | II. | 281 |
| (2) | " | II. | 259 |
| (3) | " | II. | 32 |
| (4) | " | II. | 29 |
| (5) | " | II. | 275 |
| (6) | " | II. | 166 |

in the story. He "lives in a dreary place and a hard life",⁽¹⁾ "upon a high rock, full seven leagues out at sea",⁽¹⁾ "renouncing all the pleasures and delights of the world",⁽¹⁾ and "enduring great poverty"⁽²⁾. The character of Nasciano is treated with superstitious awe. Nasciano is credited with various supernatural attributes, as the outcome of his extreme sanctity. It is suggested that he may have been divinely informed of the crisis in temporal affairs, which demanded his interference;⁽³⁾ and we are told "it was the opinion of the neighbouring peasantry, that he was sometimes regaled with heavenly food, and when he went out to beg provision, neither lion nor any wild beast would harm him, but when they met him on his ass would fawn on him."⁽⁴⁾

The reflection of another great mediæval institution, the military orders, - which although living on in form to the days of Montalvo himself, belonged rather in spirit to the twelfth century, - can be traced in the acceptance by the knights of their military careers, as the service of God. "Their true office" we are told "was to cleanse the world of such customs"⁽⁵⁾ as cruelty rapine and murder, while Amadis is said to face danger "for His sake (6) and in His Service".⁽⁷⁾

Suggestive also perhaps of an earlier date than the eve of the Renaissance is the superstition betrayed in the treatment of the devil worshippers, and the active part assigned to "devils" in general. The giant race worship idols, with human sacrifices. In the case of the giant Bandaguido these idols are described. "They were three in number, the one like a man, the other as a lion and the third after the manner of a griffin." As has already been suggested, this ugly picture of the worship of the unbelievers is probably connected with the intense hatred of them characteristic of the times, yet it is to be noted that these idols are not regarded as mere images, they are actual false gods, - devils. The idol worshipped by Famongamadan is in reality "the wicked enemy, who is satisfied with such wickedness .. by whose advice and words he (Famongamadan) was guided in everything." Thus while superstition was by no means confined to the pre-renaissance ages, and the

- (1) Amadis of Gaul I. 283
- (2) Ibid p. 285
- (3) Amadis. Vol. III. 201
- (4) " " II. 184
- (5) " " II. 163
- (6) " " II. 278
- (7) " " II. 280

conception of the devil as an active promoter of evil survived down to the days of Bunyan, if not to our own times, this conception might seem to belong particularly to a period so especially preoccupied with the material embodiment of evil, with devils, demons and the seven pains of Hell, as were the 13th and 14th centuries. Thus, while the treatment is largely characteristic of the 15th century, certain earlier features remain. It is even possible that in preserving these Montalvo was not departing widely from the conditions still prevailing at the time. It seems probable indeed, in view of certain facts, that Spain thus early after the union was considerably behind the other European powers in progress. For centuries past she had laboured under the misrule of kings distinguished by every vice, and had suffered in consequence every form of social disorder hostile to the spread of culture. Her geographical position moreover with its isolation from Italy, then the chief seat of European culture, and the general disposition on the part of her people to proud conservatism, helped no doubt to impede her progress.

By this also may the fact be accounted for that Montalvo, dealing with 13th century material, is able to as it were "bring it up to date", when Malory, writing in England a few years earlier, leaves the task unattempted. "And for to pass the time this book shall be pleasant to read in, but for to give faith and belief that all is true that is contained herein, ye be at your liberty"

RELIGION IN THE ARCADIA

The religion depicted in the Arcadia is professedly pagan. Hence we find the following pagan attributes.

I. Worship of Apollo.

1. Rites to Apollo. "Basilius determined .. to performe certain rites to Apollo, and even then began with his wife and daughters to sing a hymn by them yearly used."⁽¹⁾

2. Oracle consulted at Delphos. Basilius sends Philanax his minister to consult the oracle at Delphos. Philanax is sceptical, and his unbelief is divined and reproved by the "spirite that possest the profesying woman".⁽²⁾

II. Worship of Cupid.

The countrie of Lycia (was) so much devoted to Cupid as that in every place his naked pictures and images were superstitiously adored.⁽³⁾

III. Frequent references to "the Gods".

We are just to thank the Gods, etc.

Nevertheless, although Sidney aims at historical accuracy in describing the devotions of the Arcadians, he is not consistent in this attempt. It is merely an artistic device, which when deeply moved, he discards with an inconsequence characteristic of his age. He is content to use a few external features to serve his purpose, and with no thought of historical consistency he permits the worshippers of Apollo, to give expression, in argument and prayer, to the religious thought of his own day. This is especially noticeable in Pamela's answer to Cecropia, and in her famous prayer.

Cecropia endeavours to persuade her niece to forsake the paths of virtue and yield to her cousin's supposed desires, by arguing the folly of refusing present delights, for fear of incurring penalties in an hypothetical future existence.⁽⁴⁾ In fact she voices the atheistical view, "Eat, drink, for to-morrow we die". In reply Pamela establishes the existence of a "Nature of Wisdome goodness and providence which knows what it doth", "à God, and an all knowing God",⁽⁵⁾ whose "power is

(1) The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia. Ed. Oskar Sommer. p.227,
(2) " " " Pages 354, 5, Cf. p.14.
(3) " " " Page 160.
(4) Arcadia P.281
(5) " " 283

infinite"⁽¹⁾, (terms hardly applicable to Pagan dieties), and this by an elaborate logical argument of "effect to cause"⁽²⁾, and "the necessity of a controlling unity"⁽¹⁾

This argument was preceded by her famous prayer. Milton described this as "the prayer of a heathen woman praying to a heathen God"⁽³⁾. Yet this charge of Paganism is almost refuted out of his own mouth, since by his assumption, it was actually used by a "most christian" King in the hour of death, - a time when men are not used to jest or indulge their aesthetic fancies. In further disproof of this biased condemnation, I quote the opening to show the many reminiscences of Bible phrase and thought.

"O all seeing Light,⁽⁴⁾ and eternal life⁽⁵⁾ of all things to whom nothing is either so great that it may resist, or so small that it is contemned: looke upon⁽⁶⁾ my misery with thy eye of mercy, and let thine infinite power vouchsafe to limite out some proportion of delivrance⁽⁷⁾ unto me, as to thee shall seem most convenient.⁽⁸⁾ Let not injurie, O Lord, triumph over me,⁽⁹⁾ and let my faultes by thy handes be corrected and make not my unjuste enemye the minister of thy justice.⁽¹⁰⁾ But yet my God, if in thy wisdome this be the aptest chastizement for my inexcusable follie, if this bondage be fittest for my over-hie desires; if the pride of my not-enough humble harte be thus broken,⁽¹¹⁾ O Lord, I yeeld unto thy will⁽¹²⁾ and joyfully embrace what sorrow thou wilt have me suffer."

(1) Arcadia p.284

(2) " 282

(3) Prose works of John Milton. Pub. "Bohn's Standard Library". Vol.I. p.327.

(4) Cf. I am the Light of the World. John, 8.12.

Light of Lights. Athanasian Creed.

(5) Cf. I am the Life. John 14.6.

The life was the light. John. 1. 4.

(6) Cf. Look thou upon me and be merciful unto me. Ps.119, 132.

Cf. Also Ps. 25, 18.

(7) Cf. Ps. 144.7. 14.1.

(8) Cf. "Food convenient for me". Prov. 30.8.

(9) Cf. Let not mine enemye triumph over me. Ps.25.2.

(10) For this thought. Cf. II. Samuel. XXIV. 14

For David's choice of a punishment.

"Let us fall into the hands of the Lord ... and .. not into the hand of man.

(11) Cf. Ps. 51.17.

(12) This doctrine of joyful submission is so characteristic of Christian teaching that references seem unnecessary. Cf. however, "Thy will be done", and Job.1.21.

This use of pseudo Paganism for the nominal religion of the personages of this story is characteristic of the age in which Sidney lived. It was no doubt partly suggested by the classical origin of the pastoral motive, but the introduction of Pagan Deities and beliefs into Elizabethan literature was probably more than a mere imitation of a classical model. It was inspired rather by a delighted appreciation of their suitability and poetical value. The poet conjured up a Golden Age in which the worship of a suffering Christ touched on a note of discord, while such easy and picturesque devotions afforded a free field to his pen in days when topics relating to religious subjects were still dangerous to handle. Moreover he found in the picturesque ceremonies and fairy-like beliefs of the Pagan world a fount of poetic beauty and romantic suggestion. Thus contemporary imagination ran riot among nymphs and goddesses, and Sidney with the rest gave his "trifle, triflingly handled" a pagan setting.

Yet, as has been shown, Sidney does not adhere entirely to this original intention. The romance is still, to the young Author, too nearly a thing of reality to remain entirely in a Golden Age. Hence the scenery depicted is strangely reminiscent of Sidney's Kentish home, and the characters display "traits and manners which belong rather to Elizabethan than classic times." Hence also in moments of tension Sidney lets slip the mask and openly expresses his own philosophy and faith; and in addition, less consciously, he illustrates, by his treatment of the motive of religion in general, the characteristic attitude of his age.

Sidney belongs to a new order. The "Holy Catholic Church" has given place with the young Elizabethan Englishman to the "Reformed Faith", and the Renaissance and the reformation have done their work in the emancipation of the mind of man. The new movement is mirrored in the literature of the time, and we can trace its influence clearly in the Arcadia as elsewhere. The very use of Pagan fancies for idle purposes, which is, as has been said, characteristic of this period, is undoubtedly to be traced back to the new familiarity with classic literature, and the new freedom from ecclesiastical prejudice, which were two great gifts of the Renaissance. Beyond this, the whole attitude towards religion has changed since Montalvo adapted his "originales" to conform with the teachings of Holy Church. This "Holy Church" of the Amadis is no longer a supreme and infallible authority. Men have learned to turn the critical eye of reason upon their religion, and the simple faith of the earlier works has given place

to obstinate questionings.

Pamela's answer to the agnostic is in itself a breaking away from the older Catholic tradition which firmly discouraged the free use of reason in matters of faith,⁽¹⁾ and tended to regard the logical justification of her tenets as implying a slight to the Church's authority.

This criticism was occasionally carried still further. The foe to Christianity is no longer the heathen putting Christians to the sword, but the atheist armed with all the weapons of logical argument. The Italian freethinker,⁽¹⁾ instead of the Saracen, the man who knows too much to acquiesce in religious belief instead of the ignorant heathen whose steps have not yet been directed to the right way.

Hence Cecropia, purposing to make Pamela "lesse feeling of those heavenly conceipts",⁽²⁾ uses not persecution, but argument as to the illogical nature of religious beliefs". Her very arguments illustrate the new attitude. She condemns religion as the off-spring of "foolish fear and fearful ignorance", - clouds which the Renaissance thought deemed it its especial mission to disperse, - "brought by greate clerkes into the world to serve as shewelles to keep them from great faults." In this last we can catch some faint echo of the condemnation, 'a monkish invention', with its suggestion that to some minds the church was touched by a dim reflection of the discredit into which the Middle Ages, its great exponent, had fallen.

Nevertheless such an attitude is confined to a few. Atheism has become once more an opponent to be reckoned with, but in England at least the whole force of public opinion is against it. In fiction it is confined to the blackest villains, who meet with a fitting end. Cecropia, who it may be noted perishes miserably at her son's hand, is utterly routed by Pamela's not quite logical conclusions, and is filled with shame before her angry denunciation "Peace, wicked woman, peace. Unworthy to breathe that doest not acknowledge the breathgiver", which can be taken without any violence to probability, to express Sidney's own sentiments.

Hence Sidney's treatment of religion may be taken as indicative of the attitude of the thinking man towards such problems, at an interesting stage in church history. The new movements have sanctioned the artistic use of and interest in Pagan worship, they have also

(1) Cf. Ascham's denunciation of the irreligion of the Italians. Schole Master.

(2) Arcadia. Ed. Sommers p.281.

created a new enemy for the church, in the frankly disbelieving. On the other hand, although emancipated from the more superstitious deference to authority, the Elizabethans are still faithful sons of the Christian Church. Even when professing to depict Paganism, they unconsciously express their own religious sentiments, and the active unbeliever arouses almost as much horror as did the devil worshippers in the Amadis.

RELIGION IN LE GRAND CYRUS

The religion depicted in Le Grand Cyrus is Pagan. References are made to the worship of the following deities:-

- Apollo⁽¹⁾
- Diana⁽²⁾ of Ephesus
- Jupiter "Belus"⁽³⁾
- Jupiter "Ammon"⁽⁴⁾
- Mars⁽⁵⁾
- Mithra⁽⁶⁾
- Venus Urania⁽⁷⁾

The worship consists chiefly of frequent ceremonies of sacrifice and of the presentation of votive offerings.⁽⁸⁾ The services are apparently conducted by a priestly order of "sacrificateurs" under the direction of the magi, although in some instances the actual sacrifice is made by a temporal dignitary, as by Ciaxare at the sacrifice celebrating the supposed death of Cyrus.⁽⁹⁾ In the case of Venus Urania, the Goddess is served by vierges voilées, it being "la coutume que toutes les ceremonies en estoient faites par des filles de condition, qui se vouoient au service de la Deesse, et qui la servoient trois ans dans sa temple, avant que d'estre mariées."⁽¹⁰⁾ Honour is paid to the Gods by the beauty of the temples erected for their worship, (which attain wide spread renown),⁽¹¹⁾ and by the richness of the treasures deposited in them.

The commands, or rather in fact, the advice of the deities are sought by the means of oracles.⁽¹²⁾ The Gods are believed to communicate with men through the medium of dreams also,⁽¹³⁾ and through the prophetic

- (1) "Artamene ou Le Grand Cyrus" I. 178.
- (2) " " " I. 178.
- (3) " " " II. 751.
- (4) " " " IV. 45.
- (5) " " " V. 1262.
- (6) " " " II. 354.
- (7) " " " I. 325.

(8) Le Grand Cyrus III. 121 etc.

(9) For description of sacrifice see. I. 327 onwards

(10) See II. Bk. 3

(11) Vide. Le temple de Diane à Ephese qui commençoit d'etre en grande reputation. I.178.

(12) Cf. I. III

(13) Les Medes . . croyent que les songes sont les voyes les plus ordinaires par lesquelles les Dieux se communiquent aux hommes I.198.

utterances of the magi.⁽¹⁾

A Pagan setting is of course inevitable in a work which deals with characters whose existence in the ancient world is vouched for by history, if it is to make any claim to historical verisimilitude. Le Grand Cyrus does make such a claim; indeed the historical aspect of the work is strongly emphasised. "Le heros, que vous allez voir,⁽²⁾ n'est pas un de ces heros imaginaires . . . c'est un heros effectif" are the words with which the preface opens. The author gives us her authorities, "je suy quasi partout Herodote, Zenophon, Justin, Zonare Justin, Zonare and Diodore Silicien".⁽³⁾ She even goes out of her way to accumulate the historical interest. Not only are the famous events connected with the life of Cyrus, such as the siege and capture of Babylon described in detail: but as she herself confesses "presque toutes les personnes illustres qui vivoient au siecle de mon heros"⁽⁴⁾ are drawn into the story on the slightest pretext. The youthful Cyrus visits Solon, and Sapho. Aesop figures at the court of Croesus as depicted in the romantic story of Cleamene and the Princess Palmis.

Hence the use of the Pagan religions in Le Grand Cyrus is inevitable in the face of the stress laid upon the historical element of the romance. Although in fact the attribution of the Christian faith to Cyrus or Croesus would have shocked even the elastic literary conscience of the Elizabethan, such an anachronism had become in the 17th century an absolute impossibility before the new interest in history as history, and the new attitude of historical inquiry which demanded "authorities" even of a romance.⁽⁵⁾

The influence of the times is also to be traced in the treatment of this subject. As has been said the historical motive is much stressed. In a similar way, the use of the historical religious material has been emphasised. The references to Pagan rites are constant, the descriptions of them minute. For instance, in the account of the ceremony at which Cyrus first sees Mandane, we are given the following picture of the preparations for the sacrifice.

"Nous commencasmes de voir passer devant nous, tous les aprests d'un superbe sacrifice. Nous vismes donc arriver cent taureaux blancs, couronnez de fleurs, conduits chacun par deux hommes, nombre ordinaire aux hecatombes. Nous vismes passer quantité de riches

(1) Chrisante says of the Magi. "Les dieux les inspirent encore par des voyes secrettes. Leur responses sont presque aussi assurees que celles des oracles . . . et beaucoup plus claires." I. 185.

(2) "Le Grand Cyrus" Partie I. livre I. "Au Lecteur".

(3) Le Grand Cyrus. I. livre I. au Lecteur

vases d'or, pour recevoir le sang des victimes and pour faire les libations. Nous vismes aussi porter les Foyers sacrez pour brusler l'encens and les riches couteaux qui devoient servir a engorger ses victimes. Tous les sacrificateurs marchoient deux a deux en leurs habits de ceremonie, and toutes choses enfin estoient prestes pour le sacrifice".⁽¹⁾

Again, on the occasion when the King of Assyria consults the oracle, the scene in the temple, and the mode of delivery is thus described:-

"Cette femme", - ("la prestesse qui vit separée de tout le reste du monde, et rend ses oracles a ceux qui la viennent consulter,") - "Ouvrit une grande Grille d'or, qui est au chevet de son lit, et s'estant mise a genoux sur des quarreaux qui estoient devant elle, fut un assez long temps la teste avancée dans l'emboucheure d'une petite voûte obscure, qui est au dela de cette grille, et que l'on a practiquée dans l'épaisseur de la muraille. En suite de quoy, saisie et possedée de l'esprit Divin qui l'agitoit, les longues tresses de ses cheueux se desnouerent d'elles memes et s'esparpillerent sur ses espauls, et se levant et se tournant vers le Roy d'Assirie, le visage tout changé, les yeux plus hillans qu'a l'ordinaire, le teint plus vermeil et le son de la voix de beaucoup plus esclatant; elle prononca distinctement ces paroles".⁽²⁾

In both cases, - by no means isolated instances, - there is some literary justification for the elaborate detail. The scene is one of dramatic tension, such as might well rivet the smallest particulars upon the spectators' memory. The narration is put into the mouth of an eye witness, and one moreover who is a stranger whom in consequence the incidents would strike with all the force of novelty.⁽³⁾ Yet nevertheless it is impossible not to suspect Mlle. de Scudery of an underlying purpose of delivering sound instruction. The whole descriptions suggest an appeal to the reader athirst for instruction, rather than to the anxious listeners to whom they were professedly addressed. Such a touch as the explanatory comment "nombre ordinaire aux hecatombes", made on the hundred sacrificial bulls, serves to confirm this suspicion. As a detail of general custom rather than an observation of the moment it can have no dramatic raison d'être.

(1) Artamene on le Grand Cyrus. I. 327.

(2) Le Grand Cyrus. II. 756

(3) The sacrifice, which is at Sinope, is described by Chrisante a Persian. The oracle, at Babylon, by Martesia, a Mede.

The care with which the various local deities are distinguished, and the different religious customs of the countries introduced to our notice might also be attributed to this purpose. For example Chrisante explains carefully "que Mitra le Dieu des Persans, quoy que sous un autre nom, estoit aussi le Dieu des Scithes et des Massagettes même plus particulièrement qu'a nous: car ils ne sacrifient jamais qu'a le soleil que nous appellons ainsi, et ne luy immolent que les chevaux".⁽¹⁾ The beauty of the temple of Diana at Ephesus leads Artamene to the following reflection "que nostre nation auoit tort de n'en (des temples) bastir jamais, et de n'offrir ses sacrifices que sur le haut des montagnes; ne jugeant pas que les ouvrages des hommes puissent estre digne d'estre la maison des Dieux".⁽²⁾ conveying, incidentally, an interesting fact to the reader.

The preface to Ibrahim provides a rather more explicit illustration of this desire to provide instruction, when with some pride in her historical accuracy the writer points out a difference between ancient and modern court etiquette. Commenting on the fact that she has made certain of her characters "tutoyer" their sovereign, she adds, "Ce n'est pas une faute de respecte, mais au contraire, c'est pour en avoir davantage, and pour marquer le coustume de ces peuples qui parlent ainsi a leurs souverains".⁽³⁾

In providing such items of general information, she was supplying the demand of the times. The seventeenth century was characterised by a vast hunger for knowledge, or, to quote a contemporary definition, "an hydroptique immoderate desire for humane learning".⁽⁴⁾ In England this was expressed in the erudite writings of a Burton, and in the work of a Bacon, who "took all learning for his province".

Some such spirit too of inquiry and of aspiration after culture, "wit and learning", was an important factor no doubt in the sum total of forces which led to the establishment of the salon, of which Le Grand Cyrus, as the work of the distinguished president of the famous "Samedis" and a favoured guest at l'hotel Rambouillet, may be regarded as a typical offspring.

It was in fact the recognised duty of literature of every branch, in some way, to pay tribute to this demand, and the romance was by no means exempt. Huet in his treatise on romance, published 1670,

(1) Le Grand Cyrus, II. 354.

(2) " " I. 289. Cf. Herodotus. "History" Bk.I. 131.

(3) Ibrahim ou l'illustre Bassa. Preface.

(4) Donne. Letters. Pub. 1651. No. 51.

expresses definitely the contemporary ideal of the novel as conveying intellectual and moral instruction. "Ainsi le divertissement du lecteur, que le Romancier habile semble se proposer pour but, n'est qu'une fin subordonnée a la principale, qui est l'instruction de l'esprit et la correction des moeurs"⁽¹⁾

Moreover instruction in this particular subject was particularly welcome. A new interest in Pagan mythology was felt in the mid-century, which differed considerably from the enthusiasm it evoked at the Renaissance. The ecstatic delight in the beautiful passionate legends had given place to a sober interest in the historic aspect of the ancient beliefs, and to a conscientious attempt to reproduce the contemporary form of worship when depicting classical times. This appears in the classic drama, as for instance in *Polyeucte*.

The subject of classical mythology was also brought into prominence in connection with the dispute as to the nature of supernatural machinery to be admitted into poetry, whether or no Christian Theology is admissible in verse. Desmarte^s de Saint Sorlin, in his "defense du poeme heroique," employs the whole of his first dialogue⁽²⁾ in the discussion of this subject; and Davenant writing from Paris, in 1650, considers it necessary to explain at some length, why, in writing his "Gondibert," he resolved his "argument should consist of Christian persons"⁽³⁾.

This interest was reflected in the doings of the *Precieuse Society*. The names adopted by its members were frequently borrowed from those of classical characters or mythological personages. Livet in his account of l'hotel de Rambouillet gives two instances⁽⁴⁾ of what he describes as "les divertissements mythologiques"⁽⁵⁾. These consisted merely in dressing and posing as Diana and her nymphs "parmi les grands arbres", and did not involve much classical learning, yet they serve to show an interest in Pagan mythology.

(1) Lettre de Monsieur Huet a Monsieur Segrays. De L'origine des Romans. Pub.1670. Page VII.

(2) "Il faut de nos debats t'apprendre la matiere
Phebus de son Parnasse a mandé dans ces lieux
Qu'il faut des nobles vers bannir le serieux,
Que le Dieu des Chrétiens, les demons, et les anges
Aux lecteurs enjouez sont des noms trop étranges
Qu'il faut avoir recours aux contes fabuleux
Si l'on veut dans les vers mesler le merveilleux.

"La defense du Poeme heroique." Pub.Paris. Dialogue I.p.3.

(3) Preface to Gondibert

(4) *Precieux et Precieuses*. par.Ch.L.Livet. Pub.Paris 1895. pp.15 & 22.

(5) *Ibid.* p.22.

Hence then, Mlle. de Scudery's detailed treatment of Pagan motives is characteristic of her age, both in conforming with the general ideal of supplying instruction in a pleasing form, and in catering for the especial interest in classical mythology current in France at this time.

It remains to be considered how much she has succeeded in catching anything of the true Pagan spirit, or failed to divest herself of the habits of mind of her own century.

She shows familiarity with certain of the characteristic features of Pagan faith which are furthest removed from modern thought. Thus she gives us traces of the beliefs arising from an anthropomorphic conception of divinity. Artamene, is taken for a God by the enemy in battle; "Ils creurent que c'estoit quelque Divinité, qui venoit sauver leur ennemy, et contre laquelle il n'y avoit moyen de resister"⁽¹⁾; and we find also a passing allusion to claims to semi-divine parentage in the case of Epimenides of Crete.⁽²⁾ She represents correctly the Polytheistic attitude, in that her Pagans not only acknowledge the plurality of Gods within their own system but also recognise the Gods of other and hostile nations as Gods to be propitiated. Claxare on the expedition against Babylon 'fit offrir des sacrifices non seulement aux Dieux des Medes et des Persans, mais encore a ceux des Assiriens afin de les rendre tous propices et favorables.'⁽³⁾ Correct also is the fatalistic attitude, expressions of which are put into the mouths of the characters⁽⁴⁾ from time to time.

It was however naturally impossible for her to apprehend the inspiration of Paganism; and the religion depicted is purely formal.

The very sacrifices, it might be noted, have almost always a material purpose, a petition to be made for a material benefit, or thanks to be given for one received: and the scheme of morality followed by the characters is entirely uninfluenced by their creed.

This latter is indeed frankly that prescribed by the seventeenth century. The devotees of Venus serve their mistresses for years never daring even to avow their love, much less to frame what they would have condemned as "une pensée criminelle". Similarly the exaggerated code of honour they observe belongs to the Court of Anne of Austria. On occasions the voice of scepticism is heard although

- (1) Le Grand Cyrus. I.398.
(2) " " II. .
(3) " " II.504.
(4) " " V.618. etc.

faintly. To a reference to the descent of Epimenides from a nymph the author adds, "quoy qu'il en soit".⁽¹⁾ Again when Artamene refuses to consult the oracle, he professes to consider, "que c'estoit tesmoigner plus de respect pour les Dieux de ne vouloir pas scavoir leur secrets que le vouloir par une impatience inutile penetrer si avant dans l'advenir".⁽²⁾ Chrisante to whom this reply is made suspects, and justly, that this is not his real reason, but the criticism of the seventeenth century spoke in the excuse. Thus, as we read *Le Grand Cyrus*, we constantly see the author unconsciously shifting the scene to the familiar setting of her own times or allowing the voice of her age to be heard through that of her characters. In one instance however, she appears to have done this deliberately. Critics who regard *Le Grand Cyrus* as a social allegory full of topical allusions find one such allusion in the material under consideration in this chapter. M. Coussin writes:- "Mandane est sans cesse occupée de sacrifices et de ceremonies religieuses; quelquefois meme elle se retire parmi les vierges voilées qui demeurent au temple de Diane. N'est ce point une allusion manifeste à la pieté si connue de M^{me}. de Longueville et à ses frequentes retraites chez les carmalites".⁽³⁾

Indeed the whole motive of these "vierges voilées" seems to bear an especial significance for contemporary conditions. Mandane retires to their community, as to a sanctuary, to escape from the persecutions of her abductor. Princess Palmis having formed an attachment of which her father does not approve is placed among them, and an order is received from him "de faire prendre l'habit des vièrges voilées à la Princesse sa fille et de la disposer à faire les derniers voeux".⁽⁴⁾

Little information has come down to us from antiquity to warrant such a picture, while on the other hand, it is easy to find parallels in the convent life at that time. M. Coussin has already suggested the connection of Mandane's sojourn there with the custom among fashionable ladies of going into conventual retreat occasionally. The abuse of forcing unwanted daughters to take the veil was, as M. Livet shows⁽⁵⁾ one of the crying evils of the day. The subsequent adventures, the subornation of the temple, and the attempt at rescue

(1) *Le Grand Cyrus*. II. Bk. 3.

(2) " " " I. 290.

(3) *La Societe Francaise, au XVII^e. siecle d'apres le Grand Cyrus de Mlle. de Scudery* Par. M. Victor Coussin Pub. Paris. 1858 Page. 33.

(4) *Le Grand Cyrus*. IV. 359.

(5) *Precieux et Precieuses*, par Ch. Livet. p. XIII.

by the disappointed lover must have been common occurrences. We have too, perhaps, Mlle. de Scuderi's own criticism of this abuse in the refusal of the authorities to accept such unwilling submission, "cela estant absolument opposé a leurs coustumes"⁽¹⁾.

To sum up, Mlle. de Scuderi has conscientiously amassed accurate historical detail to give her work a correct setting; and in so doing, - as also in the introduction of certain slight criticisms and of one apparent instance of social allegory, - she was no doubt influenced by the spirit of her age.

More than this outward shell she cannot give us. [The underlying inspiration of Paganism lay utterly beyond her ken. Thus she never catches a glimpse of the primeval elements, which lay at the back of the Pagan creeds, of the fear which drove primitive man to conceive of nameless powers around him, nor of the sensuality, which lingered in his conception of his Gods, the mark of the intelligence which had not long shaken off the brute.] There is little more in her representation, which to-day would be regarded as characteristically oriental or Greek. There is no suggestion for instance of the peculiar quality in the oriental imagination, which tends to embody its deities in grotesque shapes, - bird-headed, beast-bodied. Nor indeed of the general inscrutability of the oriental mind. Cyrus' least emotion is analysed for us.⁽²⁾ Only in the revel in pomp and magnificence,⁽³⁾ do we catch a glimpse of the East. She gives us equally little of what we are accustomed to regard as Greek. Neither is there any suggestion of the calm grandeur and sublime dignity which we associate with the Greek genius nor indeed of the "beauty which is truth".

The blame for this must not be laid to Mlle. de Scuderi's account. The limitations are the limitations of her age. The workings of the oriental mind are still a sealed book to the western intelligence, the difference is only that in her day, the existence of the problem was not recognised.

(1) Le Grand Cyrus. IV. 360.

(2) Cf. Le Grand Cyrus. I.33. etc.

(3) Cf. For instance the account of the audience chamber where Thomiris, Queen of the Massagettes receives Artamene. II. 342.

"Tout cet appartement estoit tendu de Pourpre Tyrienne, toute convertie de plaques d'or massifs, où estoient représentées en bas relief diverses actions de leurs rois. L'on voyoit pendre au haut du dome de cette chambre, cent lampes d'or enrichies de pierreries". The throne "elevé de trois marches" is "tout convert de drap d'or dont le dais estoit aussi, l'un et l'autre estant encore orné de plusieurs plaques d'or massif".

Neither was it possible for her to realize the Greek spirit, for seventeenth century France was removed as by an abyss of ages, from the Greece which had evolved the myths, from Greece, as Gilbert Murray describes her, "when the morning lay before her, and her wings were strong".

Thus Le Grand Cyrus, and the Arcadia depart from the earlier traditions of the romance in adopting for their characters Pagan faiths: while in the Amadis Montalvo adheres to the older usage, and further strongly emphasises the religious aspect of the work, and its didactic value. Moreover, as we have seen, as this emphasis of the orthodoxy of the Amadis was characteristic of the age of the inquisition, the adoption of semi classical themes and a Pagan setting was equally characteristic of the ages immediately succeeding the Renaissance.

In the delineation of Pagan material, we have been able to trace the influence of the times, in cases where the real sentiments of the author, or his views on topics connected with worship are betrayed, and also in the general attitude towards Pagan faith. It is this latter alone that admits of any comparison, and it remains to repeat, in this connection, certain conclusions already arrived at. Sidney it was said, was a child of the Renaissance, frankly adopting the beautiful unrealities of Pagan myths for his picture of Arcady as for "an idle tale". Mlle. de Scudéri adopts this same pagan material in all seriousness, as the actual historic theology of her "héros effectif"

Section II

Magic

5 In the Amadis, the following magic motives appear.

Persons endowed with supernatural gifts.

Urganda the Unknown.

Apolidon, Emperour of Greece, and Arcalaus the Enchanter endowed in a lesser degree.

Supernatural powers attributed to them.

- (1) To throw a person into a trance⁽¹⁾
- (2) To fix some delusion in the victim's mind; (as when Urganda charms a damsel to imagine herself surrounded by burning torches, thus driving her to seek refuge in a lake).
- (3) To fix an enchantment round a certain article or place, as the enchanted sword, only to be drawn from the scabbard by "the most true lover"⁽³⁾, the withered garland, which will only revive when placed on the head of the truest lady,⁽⁴⁾ and the wonders of Firm Island⁽⁵⁾

Attributed to Urganda alone we find the further gifts of Foreknowledge, shown in her numerous enigmatical prophecies,⁽⁶⁾ and recognised by the personages of the romance who describe her as "the one to whom nothing is hidden"⁽⁷⁾ etc; and the power to change her shape.⁽⁸⁾ Giants⁽⁹⁾ and Monsters⁽¹⁰⁾ also appear, which, as relics of Folk lore, may receive a mention under this heading.

The wonders of Firm Island deserve to be enumerated. They are many and marvellous. A gateway rejects all but true lovers, the image which guards it uttering "so dreadful a blast with smoke and flames of fire that they shall be stunned and cast out as dead."⁽¹¹⁾ The faithful on the other hand, are welcomed with sweet music and find their names recorded in jasper. The valour of knights and the fairness of women is subjected to a similar test in the approach to the forbidden chamber,⁽¹²⁾ the entry of which is finally achieved by both Amadis and Oriana. The guests in the castle are enlivened

- (1) Amadis of Gaul. I. 121 cf. Morte Darthur Bk.I. ch. 22
- (2) Amadis of Gaul I. 69 cf the enchantment laid by Nimiane upon Merlin. Merlin ch. XXXIII. Pub. Early English Text Society.
- (3) Amadis of Gaul II. 35 cf. Morte D'Arthur. Bk.I. Chap.III. Bk. II. Ch.1. and Bk.XIII. Ch.5.
- (4) Amadis of Gaul. II. 35.
- (5) cf. I. 251 seq. II. 120 seq.
- (6) cf. I. 15, 16, 18, 71. II. 78 etc.
- (7) I. 65
- (8) I. 18
- (9) I. 25. II. 28. II. 273 etc.
- (10) II. 275
- (11) Amadis of Gaul Vol. I. p. 252
- (12) " " " " " 253

also by spectacular shows. A serpent and a lion appear in the hall and fight together⁽¹⁾; a bull bursts in, and retires tame, ridden by an ape,⁽²⁾ a hart, with candles on its horns, races through the bedchambers, pursued by hounds,⁽³⁾ and "three times in the day and as often in the night, the palace whirled round."⁽⁴⁾

This magic has in the main the character of the magic of chivalric romances, but certain modifications can be discerned. In the first place magic plays a less important part than in many of the earlier romances.

As Southey points out "Arcalaus is but a poor enchanter; he has only a room in his castle protected by a spell; his courage is more formidable than his black art, it is the fleetness of his horse that preserves him, not his magic."⁽⁵⁾ Urganda, although possessing greater powers, and by no means lacking in picturesqueness, is not really vital to the story. She assists in bringing about certain adventures, once she actually rescues Amadis by sending her damsels to awake him from the trance into which he has been thrown by Arcalaus,⁽⁶⁾ but on the whole her part in the drama is that of chorus, rather than that of actor, and she has no hand in bringing about the final "dénouement". The preliminary wonders⁽⁷⁾ of Firm Island too are of little consequence, although the tests of valour, beauty and true love are more important, since it is Amadis' success in entering the Forbidden Chamber, which proves to Oriana his loyalty,⁽⁸⁾ when she doubted him.

Nevertheless the further development of this motive does not again affect the action but serves only to provide a striking close to the story when the final reconciliation has been effected. It is only when the marriage ceremony has been completed that Oriana proves successfully "the adventure of the Arch of True Lovers, and of the Forbidden Chamber".

Again signs are not wanting that the writer has wished to bring the magic he uses into harmony with religious orthodoxy - that

- (1) Amadis of Gaul Vol. II. 120 (cf. Morte Darthur Bk. XIV Chap.6)
(2) " " " II. 124
(3) " " " II. 121
(4) " " " 124
(5) (Southey's preface).
(6) " " Bk I. Chap. 20.
(7) II. 120 etc.
(8) I. 288 "When Oriana heard this, her joy was very great for that which had occasioned her great anger was thus disproved."

he is attempting here, as he attempts later in his treatment of love to reconcile the themes of romance, and the teachings of the Church. Thus we find it is not Urganda, but Nasciano who brings about the reconciliation at the close of the romance, by revealing to Lisvarte the connection between Oriana and Amadis, and the parentage of Esplandian. The treatment of the giants and monsters points to the same conclusion since they are connected definitely with the powers of spiritual evil. The giants, as we have seen, are devil worshippers, and the monster Endriago is the offspring of one of their number by an incestuous union. Occasionally moreover we can detect a hint of some such underlying conception of the need of reconciliation in the words of the characters themselves. Lisvarte, having received a prophetic warning from Urganda, exclaims, "I must not for the knowledge of anyone, however wise so ever, distrust the power of him who ordaineth all things".⁽¹⁾ Urganda herself expresses a somewhat similar sentiment, in words which imply definite religious belief. Pressed by Oriana to foretell the future, she replies "Dear Daughter, -- do you think to escape it, if it be evil, by knowing it beforehand. Believe not so, for that which is permitted and ordained by the Most High none can alter, whether it be good or bad, unless he remedies it"⁽²⁾!

Such an attempt to reconcile the motive of magic with the teachings of the Church would be of course merely an extension of the principle we have already seen practised in the treatment of "Religion" itself. As such it also must be regarded as a sign of the times, the result of the pressure of ecclesiastical influence in Spain. It may however be taken also as indicative of a change of feeling of a less local nature. With the Renaissance Europe had moved into a new era, and although in the closing years of the 15th century the change was not yet fully apparent, a break with the things of the past had already been made. The acceptance of magic as a "probable" if not possible source of romantic adventure was one of the traditions of the old order destined to pass away, and even as early as 1475 Caxton had written of the Morte d'Arthur, in the lines quoted before "for to give faith and belief that all is true that is contained herein, ye be at your liberty".

Here again, too, as in the case of religion it is perhaps characteristic of Spain's rather tardy development, that while in

(1) Amadis of Gaul. II. 49
 (2) " " " II. 78

England Broceliande is already relegated to the unreal "land of Faerie" Montalvo attempts to meet the new spirit of criticism by a conscientious attempt at compromise.

In the Arcadia the change is complete, and the "mediaeval magic" disappears, to be replaced by the new supernatural machinery belonging to the Pagan religion. Even the magic motives for which analogies could be found in mediaeval romances such as The "divining dream"⁽¹⁾ and the supposed love philtre,⁽²⁾ which occur, are more probably to be referred to classical precedents. The giants and monsters referred to are stripped of any supernatural quality. The supporters of the king of Pontus include "two brothers of huge both greatness and force,"⁽³⁾ but these are none too well endowed with intellect, and fall easy victims to the superior science of the two young princes.

Pyrocles stays a monster, whom Plexirtes "had kept in a strong place from the youth of it." It is described as "of most ugly shape, armed like a rhinoceros, as strong as an elephant, as fierce as a lion, as nimble as a leopard and as cruel as a tiger"⁽⁴⁾, but there is no suggestion connecting it with the powers of darkness nor is it endowed with fiery breath or any other supernatural attribute. Mr. Addleshaw does indeed allude to the "dragons"⁽⁵⁾ which with other beasts of prey form "dangerous and unwelcome" additions to the society of Arcadia, but I have not been able to discover to what he is referring.

Basilus and his guests are entertained with marvels, but these are the effect not, as in the old romance, of magic spells, but of mechanical contrivances. Thus the display which delights them is of "artificiale inventions", such as "the casting of water" to make "with the shining of the sun upon it, a perfect rainbow", and "birds - made so finely that they did not only deceive the sight with their figure, but the hearing with their songs, which the watery instruments made their gorge deliver". Another device presents at least a parallel to the "whirling palace" already noticed in the Amadis, and as such serves to emphasise the change. Whilst the company sup in the garden, "the table and they about the table, did all turn round". But this is effected, not through the spells of Apolidon,

(1) Arcadia ed. Sommers 273. cf. "De divinatione."

(2) " ed. E. A. Baker p. 492. See

Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy. Vol. III. p. 150 (ed. Shilleto) for references to this superstition by classical authors.

(3) Arcadia ed. Sommers p. 140

(4) Arcadia ed. Sommers p. 208

(5) "Sir Philip Sidney" p. 354

but "by means of water which ran under and carried it about as a mill."⁽¹⁾

On the other hand the place of mediæval magic in the machinery of the story is taken by motives borrowed from Pagan religion. The prophetic utterances of a Merlin or an Urganda are succeeded by the oracle, which, in the *Arcadia* forms an integral part of the story. It is the cryptic utterance of the oracle at Delphi which moves Basilius to retire to *Arcadia*, and so live in rustic retirement, while the whole dénouement may be regarded as the fulfilment of its prophesy.

In *Le Grand Cyrus*, the motives of oracle and omen are again used, and as in the *Arcadia* the unexpected fulfilment of their prophesies forms a feature of the story. The birth of *Cyrus* is attended by portents and auguries, and it is foretold of him that he shall "renverser toute l'Asie". The king of *Assyria* too is emboldened in his rivalry of *Cyrus* by an oracle assuring him he shall at last find peace in his mistress' arms, a prophecy fulfilled in his death. These motives as in the *Arcadia* are accepted without question as part of the Pagan religion represented, and in the case of this romance, form part of the historical setting. There is however, in one instance, an attempt - more characteristic of the general attitude of the seventeenth century towards such marvels - the interest and the desire for a rational explanation - to explain a classical superstition, which the author has chosen to introduce. Among the treasures shown to *Panthea* by *Mexaris*, her avaricious lover, is the Ring of *Gyges*, which had the magical property of rendering its wearer invisible.⁽²⁾ This, in a subsequent relation of the incident is described to *Cyrus*, who although he has already been assured many times of the fact, finds it hard to believe. He is moved to attempt some explanation. "Il n'est pas assurément impossible, qu'il ne puisse sortir de cette pierre, je ne scay quel éclat qui esblouit, ou qui forme une espece de nuage qui dérobe la personne qui le porte aux yeux de ceux qui sont auprès d'elle"; and he proceeds to enumerate other examples of such marvels, "l'aimant qui attire le fer", "l'Amiantos" sur laquelle le feu ne fait aucune impression, and "le basilic, qui tue par ses regards". The ring, it may be added plays no part in the development of the story, and this fact may perhaps be taken as indication of the different way in which *Sidney* and *Mlle de Scuderi* regarded their supernatural material.

(1) *Arcadia* ed. Sommers p. 63

(2) *Le Grand Cyrus* V. p. 118 seq.

Both, as we have seen, discard the old romantic motive of mediæval magic, which had played a large part in the earlier romance, but had undergone some modification in the Amadis. Both use Pagan machinery to supply its place. Here, however, as has been shown in the treatment of "Religion", a difference can be detected, Sidney using the motive of the oracle rather as a convenient artistic device, Mlle. de Scuderi as an historical fact, which, with any other characteristic superstition should be introduced to the notice of her readers.

Section III. LOVE

"Love" in the Amadis of Gaul.

This romance, as the title suggests, deals with the life of Amadis, - with his prowess and feats of arms, and with his love for Oriana daughter of Lisvarte, King of Britain. This latter is the predominant motive. It might even be said to include the rest, for love is the inspiration of every feat of courage he performs, and is the very main-spring of his life. Estranged from Oriana by a temporary misunderstanding, he abandons entirely his career of arms, avowing he has "neither heart nor strength nor spirit, having lost all in losing her from whom it came,"⁽¹⁾ and so great is the abandonment of his grief that his life itself is endangered.⁽²⁾

The Amadis is, then, the story of a great love. The permanent nature of the passion is impressed on us from the very first, when as a lad of twelve Amadis first conceives the adoration for Oriana which is to influence his whole career. The scene is described thus: "Now that Oriana was there, the Queen gave her the child of the sea that he should serve her, and Oriana said that "it pleased her", and that word which she said the child kept in his heart, so that he never lost it from his memory, and in all his life he was never weary of serving her, and his heart was surrendered to her, and this love lasted as long as they lasted, for as well as he loved her, did she also love him."⁽³⁾

Their attachment, then, dated from the years when Amadis was yet "the child of the sea", the nameless boy of unknown parentage, whom Gandales had brought up as his own son. Their mutual love was not however immediately acknowledged; "the child of the sea", who knew nothing of her love, thought himself presumptuous to have placed his thoughts on her; and she who loved him in her heart was careful not to speak more with him than with another; but their eyes delighted to reveal to the heart what was the thing on earth they loved best".

Meanwhile the time came that Amadis must go forth and prove himself worthy of his love, and after another and similar charming

- 1) Amadis of Gaul Vol. I p.270
- 2) " " " I 282
- 3) " " " I 27

little scene⁽¹⁾ in which he obtains of Oriana that she herself shall request King Perion to Knight him, thus making him technically "her Knight", he is knighted and departs.

From hence forth we watch Amadis proceed triumphantly in the capacity of a lover, as well as in that of a knight. From the "child without lands and without lineage", "doomed to live with the pain of his own rashness, and die without declaring it", as he described himself when "he heard the birds sing in the wood, and saw the flowers on all sides, and thought of his love",⁽²⁾ he advances, first to know himself "the son of a King" and "dearly loved" by the Lady Oriana,⁽³⁾ then to be recognised as son and heir to King Perion,⁽⁴⁾ and finally to return with all honour to Lisvarte's court, to be accorded a secret interview by his mistress⁽⁵⁾ and to be established there as one of her mother's knights.⁽⁶⁾

Then after he has rescued Oriana from her captors their love receives its final consummation, "and the fairest damsel in the world became a woman. Yet was their love encreased thereby, as pure and true love always is".⁽⁷⁾

The course of true love how ever was not destined to flow thus smoothly for long, and some time after this occurred the one great rupture which shook their mutual faith. Some foolish words, spoken by Amadis' dwarf servant in ignorance, raised the demon jealousy in Oriana, so that "giving way to her wrath, and devising only how she might revenge herself for what she had suffered", she sent Amadis an angry letter, withdrawing her exceeding and misplaced love for him, and forbidding him ever again to appear in her presence. Allusion has already been made to Amadis' extreme grief at this sentence. He withdrew to the mountains hoping for nothing but death, and meeting the hermit of Poor Rock retired with him to his solitude "for the little while he had to live". In the meantime Amadis' success in passing the Arch of true lovers convinces Oriana of her error, and she is overcome by remorse. By a lucky accident

- | | | |
|----|----------------|------------|
| 1) | Amadis of Gaul | I. 31 seq. |
| 2) | " " " | I. 47 |
| 3) | " " " | I. 60 |
| 4) | " " " | I. 62 |
| 5) | " " " | I. 94 |
| 6) | " " " | I. 97 |
| 7) | " " " | I. 197 |

his hiding place is discovered, and when summoned by the penitent Oriana, Amadis returns to Britain, to enjoy unhindered, in the seclusion of Miraflores, the company of his mistress "in joys dearer to him than Paradise".

Once again the happiness of the secret lovers is menaced, this time from without; King Lisvarte misled by mischief makers, and annoyed at Amadis opposition to his policy with regard to Madasima, withdrew his favour, with the result that not long before the birth of Esplandian, Amadis and his lineage were forced to leave the court and withdraw their fealty. After years of separation matters are brought to a head by the determination of the King "to send his daughter Oriana to the Emperor of Rome to be his wife". Oriana protests vehemently and the scheme meets with unanimous opposition at the British Court, yet Lisvarte persists, and finally Oriana fainting with terror is forcibly embarked for Rome. But the news has reached Amadis in time, and he is ready. The Roman fleet is attacked in open sea, captured, and Oriana and her damsels are conveyed to Firm Island. Lisvarte resents this bitterly, war is declared and two great battles ensue, until the denouement is unexpectedly brought about by the revelation to Lisvarte by Nasciano of the relations between Amadis and Oriana. This knowledge, combined with his real affection for Esplandian, and the removal of the Emperor's influence by death, disposes him to accept terms of peace, and the timely assistance rendered him by Amadis and his friends, when beset by the armies of Aravigo and Arcalaus, effects the final reconciliation.

Peace is established, and Oriana is given to Amadis in marriage as a guerdon for this last signal service. The marriage is celebrated at Firm Island amid great rejoicings and the whole closes with Oriana's entrance into the "Forbidden Chamber", a triumphant vindication of her claim as "the fairest of women" to be "the worthy mate" of Amadis, who surpassed all others in valour.

The picture is clearly mediæval in outline, and the story of their love may be regarded as illustrating the ideals of the middle ages. The love of a Princess for an unknown knight or retainer at her father's court, and the departure of the young lover to make himself, by deeds of prowess, worthy of his exalted mistress, are common features of mediæval story. King Horn is a familiar instance of the combination of these motives. Moreover the whole situation arises out of mediæval conventions, and would have been

impossible, or at least unnecessary under later conditions. To the modern reader the reason is not clear, why Amadis, the son of a powerful neighbouring king, already a famous knight, and a personal favorite of Lisvarte, should not have asked and obtained Oriana's hand at the end of the first volume. Even Montalvo of the 15th century, as we shall see later, strains at the persistency with which their relationship is concealed, since he makes Lisvarte exclaim, "how ill was it done to keep this secret from me so long." (1)

The situation then is dependent upon the mediaeval standard, which regarded such a secret connection as the ideal form of love, which placed foremost among its "leges amoris", "Qui non celat non amare potest" (2) and regarded marriage as a thing apart from love, if not actually hostile to it.

The mediaeval lover in no way regarded marriage as the immediate goal of his devotion. As Mr. Taylor points out "marriage in high life was more often a joining of fiefs than a union of hearts", (3) and in consequence, although recognitions of the beauty of wedded devotion do occur in contemporary literature, (4) on the whole, marriage to the mediaeval mind, had little connection with romantic love.

It was not regarded as an insuperable bar to future amours, (5) neither did lovers look to it, to ratify and strengthen their affection. Indeed Marie de Champagne actually gave as a decision in a court of love, that love could not possibly exist between husband and wife. (6)

1) Amadis of Gaul III 206

2) See the "code of love" as given by André le Chapelain in his work on love, known as the "Flos Amoris", quoted by Raynouard, "Choix de Poesies originales de Troubadours". Tom II p.p. LV, LVI, from the M.S. copy of the work in the Bibliotheque nationale.

3) The Mediaeval Mind, by Henry Osborn Taylor. Pub. 1911 p.586

4) See "The Owl and the Nightingale" c.f. also the Legend of Good Women 1 535 of Alceste "She taught of fyn lovinge, And namely of Wyfhood The Livinge".

5) "Causa conjugii ab amore non est excusatio recta". Code. Clause I.

6) See André le Chapelain.

Quoted Raynouard. Tom II p. CI. In answer to the question. "Utrum inter conjugatos amor possit habere locum?" She replies, "Dicimus enim et stabilite tenere firmamus amorem non posse inter duos lugales suas extendere vires". etc.,

This did not imply that the relation between the lovers was ideal, but that it must remain voluntary, that love was destroyed by constraint and obligation, for "Love wol not ben constreyned by maistrye; when maistrye comth, the god of love anon Beteth hise winges, and farewel! he is gon!"⁽¹⁾

Marriage indeed as Mr. Taylor shows, represented rather a settling down process, suggestive perhaps of middle age, and in consequence it was to be deprecated in a young man, and was likely to injure his knightly reputation.

As such, in the world of romance an early marriage was a sacrifice no lady could permit her knight to make; and in the story of Héloïse we can see the same principle applied in the world of real life.

Such a union of frank youthful passion, unsanctioned by civil or religious rites, as that between Amadis and Oriana, or Troilus and Cressida was by no means condemned by mediaeval standards. The connections of the various lovers of romance are almost always illicit, but there is rarely a hint of blame. Their sorrows are the outcome of the workings of a jealous fate, rather than of the judgment of God; and it remained for the nineteenth century to read a moral lesson into the Arthur story.

The stress laid by the church upon virginity as the highest ideal, weakened its authority, when it came to discriminate between the legitimate and the illegitimate connection, the lesser and the greater evil, and such criticism as appears in literature is directed rather against the self indulgence involved than against the irregularity of the union. As far as the conscience of the offenders was concerned, their action was justified by the strength of their passion.

Nevertheless, although in theory at least such a connection did not shock the mediaeval sensibilities, the lenient attitude of public opinion did not affect the desire for secrecy on the part of the lovers. Secrecy was one of the chief conditions demanded by the court of love. Thus in the code, we read, not only "qui non celat, non amare potest," but even, "amor raro consuevit durare vulgatus." The Amadis itself is a striking illustration of the practice of these generally accepted principles, since here the

1) Chaucer. The Frankeleyn's Tale. l. 35
Cf also Arthur's "and many knyghtes love is free in hymselfe, and never wille be bounden, for where he is bounden he loseth hymselfe". (ed. Oskar Sommers) Vol. I p. 762

secrecy preserved cannot, as in many cases, be attributed to the fear of a husband's jealousy. Here too, in addition to this tacit acceptance of the necessity of secrecy, on which the story is based, - we can find passing comments, such as of Amadis "he kept his love secret as one that had all virtues in his heart", which serve to show how generally this standard had come to be regarded as one of the distinguishing features of the ideal lover.

Thus the main situation in the love story of Amadis is dependent upon certain conventions characteristic of the middle ages. The treatment also accords with what we have seen was the characteristic attitude towards these matters. Although we shall see later that Montalvo in the end attempts to gloss over the nature of the connection between the lovers, there is no real blame implied either here or in the case of other impetuous lovers. Criana yields to Amadis' wishes, simply and at once. There is no need for argument or persuasion, for there is no idea of moral conflict. The more ephemeral loves of Galoar and others are treated with equal leniency. Southey comments on this, quoting the boast of Urganda, who in presenting the bastard sons of Galoar and King Cildadan as comrades to Esplandian, exclaims "it is enough glory for me, since I can have no children myself that these by my means have been born to others"⁽¹⁾.

The law represented as in force in lesser Britain condemning the mother of an illegitimate child to death, is described as "this so cruel and abominable custom"⁽²⁾ and is regarded with horror.

Amadis fulfils the requirements of the mediaeval ideals in the faithful concealment of his love, and in his entire devotion to his mistress. This latter is evinced by an as implicit obedience to her least command as was displayed by Lancelot, Tristram, or Iwain. Once, the principle carried to its logical conclusion was like to have cost him his life. When, worn out with grief, he is lying at the point of death on Poor Rock, fate brings the damsel of Denmark to that desert spot. Beltenabros, sorely tempted to reveal his identity, mentally reviews the arguments for and against; "if he made himself known that would be breaking his Lady's command, and if he did not he should remain without any hope or possible remedy". Even now his obedience triumphs, and he decides in her favour against himself.

1) Amadis of Gaul Preface. P.XVII

2) Amadis of Gaul I 8.

for "to disobey her will would be worse than death".⁽¹⁾

His behaviour in lesser matters is also characteristic. Thus as the code requires "in repentina coamantis visione, cor tremescit amantis";⁽²⁾ Amadis is affected by the very mention of his mistress's name. On one occasion, we are told, "when he heard his lady named, his heart trembled in such sort that he had nigh fallen from his horse".⁽³⁾ At the sight of her he forgets everything.⁽⁴⁾ Again it is decreed by the code "minus dormit et edit quem amoris cogitatio vexat";⁽²⁾ and we learn that in early youth at least his absorbing passion robbed Amadis of his sleep.⁽⁵⁾ His reliance upon the thought or sight of his mistress to inspire him with courage⁽⁶⁾ has its parallels also in the stories of other mediæval hero-lovers. Even of Bevis of Hampton, we read, when attacked by the lions he

"looked on Iosian

"And suche a confort toke he then

"That though the Lyons were grym and lothe

"At one stroke he slew them both".⁽⁷⁾

Thus the love depicted in the Amadis is the chivalrous or "courtly" love of the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, it is in the treatment of this motive, M. Baret would suggest, that the work most characteristic of fifteenth century Spain is to be found.

It must be recognised, that Montalvo, a Spaniard, in representing the ideals of chivalry, was really depicting an institution of comparatively recent florescence in his own country. Chivalry and chivalrous love were the creation and the expression of the genius of mediæval Europe, but the development of Spain was so retarded by century after century of misrule and disorder that she only achieved this essentially mediæval institution at a time when, in the neighbouring countries, the old order was already threatened by the new. Mr. Watts describes this St. Martin's summer of chivalry in Spain as follows:- "Among the characteristics of the age of Don Juan, (1407-1454) was a singular growth of the spirit of chivalry - of chivalry

(1) Amadis of Gaul II.2.

(2) The Code. Clause 16.

(3) Amadis of Gaul. I.39.

(4) Amadis of Gaul. I.90.. When, in the middle of his combat with Dardan, "the sight of her so overcame him, that the sword hung loose in his hand".

(5) I. 50, 51.

(6) Cf. I.93. II.280.

(7) Sir Reves of Hamtoun. Pub. Early English Text Society.

(M) Text. 11. 2211-2214.

as embodied in the order and institution of that name, having honour and a fantastic reverence for womanhood for its bases. Imported from abroad, this was an exotic which took root and flourished with extraordinary luxuriance in the congenial soil of Spain,⁽¹⁾ a hundred years after it had waned in other parts of Western Europe".

Thus Montalvo, refashioning his materials in a country, in which that very century had produced some of the conditions that had given rise to the romance in its original form, was able to retain some of the characteristic features, and at the same time "suit" modern taste. That he did so, - that the Amadis reflected the ideas of the day - is clear from the immediate and unqualified popularity of the romance, which implies a stronger appeal to the sympathies of its readers than would have been possible, had it merely stirred the dust of forgotten traditions.

There are however certain traces of the hand of the "refabbricator" and it is rather to these that M. Baret refers. Love between man and woman is of such eternal similarity and perennial novelty that here generalisations are more than usually dangerous; nevertheless the treatment of love in the Amadis would seem to convey a hint of a new relationship of more intimate sympathy and of more equal companionship than the rather inconsistent attitude of combined worship and contempt taken towards woman in the middle ages proper would permit. Oriana achieved the adventure of the forbidden chamber as well as Amadis, and proves herself "worthy" to be his "mate". The lovers play chess together at Miraflores.⁽²⁾ Moreover Amadis shows a rare "understanding" - sympathy with his mistress. When, together, disguised, they attempt the trial of the magic sword and garland, "Oriana's flesh quivered with fear seeing she was before her parents,"⁽³⁾ but "her true friend never let go her hand", and his sympathy enabled her to go through the ordeal. Again we read, on another occasion, "Oriana's face fell, so that Amadis, whose eyes never left her, understood her feelings"⁽⁴⁾. M. Baret describes their love as "cet amour inquiet, respectueux, délicat, dont la nuance raffinée est un des côtés les plus nouveaux, les plus originaux de l'Amadis".⁽⁵⁾

In one other respect, Montalvo's hand can be clearly traced. It has already been noted in a former chapter that Montalvo was chiefly concerned in adapting his material to make it conform with the

(1) Spain, 711-1492 A.D. by Henry Edward Watts
Story of the Nations, series p.251

(2) Amadis of Gaul II. 37

(3) " " " II. 42

(4) " " " II. 69

(5) De l'Amadis de Gaule et de son influence, etc., p. 128

teachings of Holy Church. The love of Amadis and Oriana has not escaped his zeal. Thus when Oriana is rebuked by the hermit, we learn from her lips for the first time, that their union has the justification of the plighted promise of marriage,⁽¹⁾ which the Roman Catholic Church regards as binding: and with the arrival of Nasciano at Firm Island near the close of the romance, the idea is suddenly introduced that the lovers are legally married in the eyes of the Church.⁽²⁾ A remote prospect of marriage was no doubt in the minds of the lovers from the beginning, and some such promise may well have been given, but unless Oriana's words in the forest "though it be an error and a sin now, let it not be so before God"⁽³⁾ be given this liberal interpretation, the reader is not admitted as witness. Moreover it seems strange if the marriage could be regarded as legal and binding, that such an excellent argument against the union of Oriana and the Emperour was ignored for so long by those concerned in preventing the marriage. Indeed the fact that Oriana was not free to marry, placed Lisvarte's action in giving her to another in a different light. The concealment of this all important information more than justifies his rebuke, "how ill done it was to keep this secret from me so long"⁽⁴⁾, and to modern eyes gives him a case against the lovers.

It seems, on the whole, reasonable to suspect this ecclesiastical justification of being an afterthought, the addition of course of Montalvo, super-imposed rather clumsily on the original narrative to redeem the work from any possible charge of wantonness.

Other instances of the same process can be traced. The connection between Perion and Elisena is justified by a like pledge of marriage,⁽⁵⁾ and in other cases where this is impossible, Montalvo finds a jesuitical excuse in the virtue of the offspring. Thus Lisvarte's illegitimate son by the Princess Celinda is said to be "so fair a one, that it seemeth that sin hath produced good fruit, and will therefore be by the most high Lord forgiven".⁽⁶⁾

Thus it would appear, that though Spain in the 15th century had thus tardily accepted the chivalric ideals, and with them, the ideal of "chivalric love", the strong dominant influence of the church

- (1) Amadis of Gaul, II. 264.
- (2) " " III. 203.
- (3) " " -I. 197.
- (4) " " III. 206.
- (5) " " I. 5.
- (6) " " II. 178.

prevented these from being carried to a logical conclusion: for although there is no hint of condemnation of the lovers in the writer's attitude, he is anxious to strengthen their position by the open sanction of the Church. Indeed this last considered mark of Montalvo's hand is especially characteristic, in showing his own religious bias, the dominant zeal for orthodoxy in Spain due to the activity of the Church, and the consequent adaptation of the comparatively recently accepted conventions of the order of chivalry.

Hence, to sum up the rather contradictory arguments, the love depicted in the Amadis is the "chivalric" or "courtly love" of the Middle Ages; but, as such, does not represent, for the Spaniard, a deliberate reversion to a past order of things, but rather an expression of ideals which had only taken root in his country in that century, and in consequence had not had time to become even old-fashioned. On the other hand, certain rather elusive characteristics appear which suggest an advance upon the Mediaeval standards, and the mark of the times is especially noticeable in Montalvo's attempt to reconcile the conventions of chivalric love with the teachings of Holy Church.

"LOVE" IN THE ARCADIA

The Arcadia is, par excellence, a love story. It deals with the loves of two young princes Musidorus and Pyrocles, for Pamela and Philoclea the daughters of Basilius, King of Arcadia.

Musidorus and Pyrocles, are travelling incognito, in search of adventure. After various exploits and hair breadth escapes, which are described later for the amusement of the ladies by Musidorus, Pyrocles chanced to see at the house of Kalendar, a prominent noble in Arcadia, a picture of Philoclea. He learns at the same time how her father Basilius, alarmed by an oracle⁽¹⁾ which seemed to predict his death at the hand of his future sons-in-law, has carried her and her sister away into rustic seclusion, where they are jealously guarded from possible suitors, and her beauty and strange story inspire him with a romantic passion. At last after a struggle with himself, in which "there was never any taste of philosophy nor inward feeling" ⁽²⁾ which he "did not call for his succour", he departed secretly to seek his mistress in the flesh.

When next we see him, he is established as Zelmane the Amazon, a guest in Basilius' household, and is more deeply in love than ever. Already too he is vexed with the cross purposes in love which are to work out the fulfilment of the oracle, for, he is beloved as a woman by Basilius, and as a man by Gynecia, whose keen eyes have penetrated his disguise.

In this rôle, he is discovered by Musidorus who overwhelms him with reproaches. A lively argument ensues as to the nature of love, which Musidorus would condemn as "the basest and fruitlessest of all passions" and which Pyrocles defends. Musidorus departs at length, with his opinions somewhat modified, but still vowing to himself "all the

(1) The wording of the Oracle is given in Bk. II. (p. 225) It runs

Thy elder care shall from thy carefull face
By princely means be stolen, and yet not lost.
Thy younger shall with Natures blisse embrace
An uncouth love, which Nature hateth most.
Both they themselves unto such two shall wed,
Who at thy beer, as at a barre shall plead;
Why thee (a living man) they had made dead.
In thy owne seate a forraine state shall sit,
And ere that all these blowes thy head doo hit,
Thou with thy Wife adultery shall commit".

(2) Arcadia (ed. Oskar Sommers) p. 58

heavens cannot bring me to such thralldome".⁽¹⁾ How Cupid avenged this defiance is best told in his own words. "Scarcely, think I, had I spoken this word, when the Ladies came foorth, at which sight I thinke the very words returned back again to strike my soule, at least an unmeasurable sting I felt in myselfe, that I had spoken such words. When first I saw her (Pamela) I was presently stricken, and I (like a foolish child, that when anything hits him will strike himself again upon it) would needs look againe, as though I would perswade mine eyes they were deceived. But alas, well have I found that Love to a yielding hart is king, but to a resisting, is a tyrant".. "But what meane I to speak of the causes of my love, which is as impossible to describe as to measure the backside of heaven? Let this word suffice, I love."⁽¹⁾ Following the example of Pyrocles, he too assumes a disguise, and succeeds in obtaining employment as a shepherd under Dametas, Pamela's churlish guardian.

Thus we see the two young princes, "metamorphosed by the same God one as a shepherd one as a woman"⁽²⁾ established in the near vicinity of their mistresses. A period of courtship ensues in which Musidorus conveys to Pamela a suspicion of his real identity and purposes, and Pyrocles inspires Philoclea with an ardent affection for the woman Zelmane, an affection which is mingled with strange desires, which she cannot explain.

At length the lovers succeed in declaring their love. Pyrocles, escaping for once the jealous viligence of Gynecia, reveals himself to Philoclea and "with such embracements as it seemed their souls desired to meet ... they passed the promise of marriage".⁽³⁾ Pamela is moved to show some signs of the favour she bears towards him to Musidorus, but his happiness is short lived, since "love, never staying

(1) Arcadia ed. Oskar Sommers p. 79

(2) Arcadia (ed Baker) p. 444 Hitherto all illustrations from the Arcadia have been taken from Mr. Oskar Sommers edition, which is a facsimile of the Quarto of 1590. This Quarto edition however contains only Books I and II and part of Book III, and for the purpose of examining the treatment of love in the romance, it is necessary to consult the remaining two and a half books, which first appeared in the 3rd edition, published 1593. These books were, to quote Mr. Greg, "compiled by the Countess of Pembroke from the loose sheets sent her from time to time by her brother" and can be regarded therefore as sufficiently authentic with regard to the general development of the story for the purposes of this comparison.

References to these later books are given to the modern edition edited by Mr. Ernest A. Baker

(3) Arcadia ed. Oskar Sommers p. 179

to ask reason's leave" led him "to take her in his arms, offering to kiss her and as it were to establish a trophy of his victory", and she, her pride in arms, instantly retracted her concessions, and forbade him to appear again in her presence.

At this juncture the fortunes of the young princesses undergo a sudden change. Decoyed into the forest to a supposed "shepherdish" entertainment, they, with Zelmane, are seized and carried off. This is done at the command of their Aunt, Cecropia, to promote the suit of her son Amphialus for Philoclea's hand, and to further her own ambitious designs of obtaining for him the crown of Arcadia. The sisters are subjected to insults, threats and various mental torments including the spectacle of the apparent execution of the other, until at length they are freed by the death of Cecropia, and the exertions of Zelmane from within and Musidorus from without.

At this Pamela, who had long before repented of her harshness, receives Musidorus again into her favour, Philoclea confides the secret of Zelmane's sex to her sister, and it only remains for the lovers to devise some means of bringing about their marriage.

The rescued return to their old mode of life; the princesses are as jealously guarded as before, and Zelmane as eagerly courted by his unnatural suitors.

At length Musidorus succeeds in despatching Pamela's various warders on false errands, and they steal away together towards the nearest sea port. Pyrocles meantime has obtained a similar respite from supervision by giving an assignation to both Basilius and Gynecia in a cave near by, where they meet and pass the night, without recognising each other. He is not so fortunate however as his cousin, since Philoclea, deceived by the indifference which Pyrocles has been forced to assume to cover his designs, has fretted herself so ill as to make flight impossible.

Events now hasten to a crisis. Dametas, hastening to give the alarm of Pamela's absence, discovers the young prince in male attire in Philoclea's bed chamber, and makes him prisoner. Then comes the news of the death of Basilius, who drinking a supposed love potion intended by his wife for Zelmane has fallen into a trance which has every appearance of death. Meanwhile Musidorus and Pamela are brought back by some officious peasants who had taken them prisoners in the forest. A trial is instituted at which Gynecia, overcome by shame, admits the charge of murder, and the princes are condemned to death as accessories to the fact. The timely revival of Basilius in a chastened

mood, effects the "accomplishment of the misinterpreted oracle", and thereby removing the chief obstacle to their marriage prepares the way for the happy union of the lovers. This is celebrated at length amid great rejoicings and the young princes conduct their wives to their own countries leaving Basilius and Gynecia to "the happy quiet of their after life".(1)

The Arcadia has been described as "enshrining Sidney's noble ideals of mediaeval chivalry".(2) With regard, however to his treatment of love, though there is the same idealisation of it that is associated with mediaeval chivalry, and as we shall see, instances of close resemblance in motive and situation, yet in the whole the mediaeval conventions of the "chivalric love" are modified or else disappear.

Certain instances do occur of motives having apparently been borrowed or adapted from the older love stories of romance, of which we know Sidney to have been familiar with at least Troylus and Cresseid⁽³⁾, the Amadis⁽⁴⁾ and "honest King Arthur".⁽⁵⁾

The love of Pamela for Dametas' shepherd is clearly a survival of the motive of love between a Princess and an unknown knight or retainer at her father's court; which, in dealing with the Amadis we saw to be an especially characteristic feature of the romance of chivalry. Other less striking resemblances can no doubt be detected in the stories of minor characters. Herr Brunhüber⁽⁶⁾ points out the probable connection between the repudiation of a defeated champion Philantus by his mistress Artesia, and a similar incident in the Amadis where one of the hero's many unsuccessful opponents is indignantly renounced by his humiliated lady; and he notices further slight resemblances to the later continuations of that romance.

There is however, on the other hand, no trace of the especial conventions of "Chivalric" love, out of which the most characteristic situation of the mediaeval romances arose. Marriage is neither ignored nor deprecated in the Arcadia. The object of neither young prince's affections is bound in wed-lock to another, or separated from him by a vast difference in estate. Neither do they both lavish their

(1) Arcadia ed. E. A. Baker p. 678

(2) Cambridge History of English Literature Vol. III Chap. XVI p.353

(3) See the "Apologie" Pub. Cambridge University Press. p. 51

(4) Ibid p. 26

(5) Ibid p. 42

(6) Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, und ihre Nachläufer
p. 14

devotion on the same lady. Their loves are eligible young princesses, and marriage is their immediate goal throughout. The first declaration of love between Pyrocles and Philoclea ends as we have seen with "the passing of a promise of marriage", and after the return of the rescued princesses "there passed not many days" before "the now fully recomforted Dorus" devised with Pamela a scheme "for his stealing her away".⁽¹⁾

In the story of Argalus and Parthenia, we are given a picture of the happiness of wedded lovers. The messenger sent to seek Argalus found him "sitting in a parler with the fair Parthenia, he reading in a book . . . she by him as to heare him read, but while his eyes looked on the booke, she looked on his eyes, and sometimes staying him, with some prety question, not so much to be resolved of the doubt, as to give him occasion to look upon her".⁽²⁾

Some suggestion of the older situation lingers perhaps in the impetuosity on the part of the lover which occasionally called forth a rebuke such as Philoclea's "Doost thou love me, keepe me then still worthy to be beloved".⁽³⁾ The decision of the mistress in this matter however is always accepted as final and the illicit union is condemned throughout. On one occasion we are told definitely that while the offenders "affirm they love that which an ill governed passion maketh them to follow: love may have no such priviledge", "that sweet and heavenly uniting of the minds, which properly is called love, hath no other knot but virtue, and therefore if it is a right love it can never slide into any action, that is not virtuous".⁽⁴⁾

There is never any attempt to condone Gynecia's unlawful passion. In addition to the punishment meted out to her in the disastrous consequences which attended her assignation with Zelmane, she is torment-ed throughout by the pangs of conscience. "Forlorn creature that I am", she cries out in her agony, "I would I might be freely wicked since wickedness doth prevail; but the footsteps of my overtrodden virtue lie still as bitter accusations against me, I am divided in myself, how can I stand."⁽⁵⁾ There is no need for the Author to add his condemnation to emphasise the real nature of her action for she realises it fully herself, exclaiming "O vertue what hideous thing is this which doth

- (1) Arcadia (ed. E. A. Baker) p. 452
- (2) Arcadia (ed. Oskar Sommers) p. 291
- (3) 1 Ibid p. 179 Cf. Also p. 212 same edition
- (4) Arcadia (ed. E. A. Baker) p. 621
- (5) Arcadia (ed. E. A. Baker) p. 460

eclips thee". (1)

Thus contrary to the mediaeval convention, marriage is regarded as the necessary sanction of passion, and the compelling bond of love. It is revered as a sacred institution, "the most holy conjunction that falls to mankind". (2)

This change in the standards accepted in the realm of romance is to be accounted for by the greater changes just accomplished in the World of Reality. The influence of the Renaissance extended to the Scheme of morality, and although an improvement in public morals might seem the most unlikely change to be effected by a movement which produced the "devils incarnate" of Italy, this increased veneration for the married state can nevertheless be traced to its influence. The mediaeval Church, it has been seen, in advocating celibacy as the ideal state, rather deprecated marriage and weakened the distinction between the lawful and unlawful union. The Renaissance, expressing itself partly as it did in reformation, changed this standpoint. One of the most important objects of attack of the Protestant leaders was the Roman doctrine of celibacy, and Luther insists vehemently upon the dignity of matrimony, and claims that he has restored the state to its due honor. (3) The matter moreover came to be regarded generally, in its effect upon the material welfare of the community rather than upon the spiritual welfare of the individual. Regarded from the point of view of the State, Marriage appeared a necessary and sacred institution, whose ties it was the duty of every citizen to hold inviolate. (4) The ideal of virginity was to be deprecated, while such conventions as prevailed in the mediaeval romance, which if consistently carried into practice would have produced anarchy could

(1) Arcadia (Oskar Sommers) p. 99

(2) Arcadia (ed. E. A. Baker) p. 603

(3) Works of Martin Luther (Frankfurt a.M. 1854) Vol. 61 p. 178 301 also vol 21/70

(4) See the severe treatment meted out to "the Breakers of Wedlocke" in the Utopia, where they are punished "with most grievous bondage". (The Utopia pub. Clarendon Press) p. 229

And Latimer's abuse of "their divorcements and other like condicioness" arising out of child marriages and marriages brought about solely for reasons of estate or political expediency. (Seven sermons before Edward VI. Arber's English reprints p. 35) His insistence too that "Love which is Godly is to be preferred above all earthly things in marriage" (p. 34) is a mark of the new era, for although the sentiment had already appeared in Langland, it had not in all probability been preached before in high places.

not be sufficiently condemned.(1) This (new) view of the importance of marriage to the state appears also in the teachings of Luther. On one occasion he says "For policies and civil governments cannot exist without marriage. The unmarried states - celibacy and license - are a pestilence and poison to the government and the world."⁽²⁾

In addition, the actual marriage bond was considered to be of service to the state, in that it bound a man's interests more closely to those of the community, and influenced him upon the side of law and order. "Unmarried men" remarked Bacon "are best friends, best masters, best servants, but not always best subjects, for they are light to run away."⁽³⁾ That Sydney himself, who through Lanquet had come into close contact with Reformation thought,⁽⁴⁾ had some such idea in his mind would appear from the following passage, taken from Euarchus' speech in judgment on Gynecia, "Marriage is the most holy conjunction that falls to mankind, out of which all families, and so consequently all societies do proceed, which not only by community of goods, but by community of children is to knit the minds in a most perfect union, which whose breaks, dissolves all humanity".⁽⁵⁾

Nevertheless this change in the attitude adopted towards marriage was not prompted solely by the consideration of it as a social

- (1) cf Ascham's denunciation of the morals of the "Morte Arthur", "the whole pleasure of which book standeth in two special points, in open manslaughter and bold bawdry, in which book those he counted the noblest knights that do kill most men without any quarrel, and commit the foulest adulteries by subtlest shifts ... This is good stuff for wise men to laugh at." Schoolmaster Bk I pub. Cambridge University Press. p. 231
cf also the severe treatment of these offences in More's Utopia already alluded to.
- (2) Works of Martin Luther Vol. LXII p. 337 (Tisch Reden)
- (3) Essays. "Of Marriage and Single Life"
- (4) That Sidney and Lanquet had had some discussion on the subject appears from their correspondence. There Lanquet urges Sidney to marry, pointing out the abiding joys of fatherhood.
"I greatly wonder that you . . . should have been able to preserve your freedom so long. Perhaps you have determined to follow the example of your Minerva, (Queen Elizabeth see note.) See that you do not repent your purpose, when it is too late, and consider how great is their happiness, to whom, as they return home, (in the words of the poet).
Sweet children run to be the first to kiss
And fill the breast with joy too deep for words.
Take the advice of Master Beale, on the matter, he believes that a man cannot live well and happily in celibacy." Letter from Frankfort, 8th Jan. 1578

"The correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney with Hubert Lanquet"
(trans. S. A. Pears 1845. p. 133)

institution. It was connected with and formed a corollary to deeper reaching changes in the position of Woman, and in the generally accepted conception of love.

At the Renaissance the idealisation of love had received a new sanction from its association with philosophy in the interpretation given to Plato's theory of beauty.

To the mediaeval mind, love had appeared an external force, which sweeping away all resistance had carried its victim to the extremities of passion, and if needs be, suffering. The Renaissance "Platonist," found the source of love within, and in the highest aspirations of the human soul; for he regarded love as the expression of the yearnings of the soul after the true beauty "which is our home." "Sensual covetyng", Bembo decides in the passage which might be taken as the Elizabethans' "text book" of the theory of "Platonic" love, "is the lowermost steppe of the stagers by which a man may ascende to true love".⁽¹⁾ How this "true" or "platonick" love is engendered, he has already explained. "Speakyng" he says "of the beawtie .. that moveth thys fevent covetyng which we call love, we will terme it an influence of the heavenlie bountifulness the which for all it stretcheth over all thynges that be created (like the light of the sonn) yet when it findeth out a face well proportioned and framed with a certain livelie agreement of severall colours, thereinto it distilleth it self, and apeereth most welfavoured, and decketh out and lyghtneth the subject where it shyneth .. so that it draweth unto it men's eyes with pleasure, and percing through them imprinteth him selfe in the soule".⁽²⁾ "Beauty" then "is good and consequently the true love of it is most good and holy, and evermore bringeth forth good frutes in the soules of them, that with the bridle of reason restrayne the yll disposition of sense".⁽³⁾

The influence of this thought of the philosopher, whom Sidney "ever esteemed most worthy of reverence",⁽⁴⁾ is to be traced in the debate between Pyrocles and Musidorus in the Arcadia. There the main grounds of Musidorus' attack is that the love for woman is a "bastard love engendered betwixt lust and idleness", and as such utterly unworthy to be compared with the "true love" ⁽⁵⁾ whose object is virtue alone; and Pyrocles replies by defending earthly passion as the stepping stone to

- (1) The Courtyer Trans. Hoby (pub. 1900) p. 346
- (2) The Courtyer Trans. Hoby (Pub. London 1900) p. 343
- (3) Ibid p. 345
- (4) The "Apologie" p. 44
- (5) Arcadia ed. Oskar Sommers p. 52

higher things. He argues "In that heavenly love since there are two parts, the one the love it self, the other the excellency of the thing loved; I, not able at first to frame both in me, do now (like a diligent workman) make ready the chiefe instrument, and first part of that great worke, which is love itself; which, when I have a while practised in this sort, then you shall see me turn it to greater matters"⁽¹⁾ Some suggestion of this idea, too, lingers perhaps in the lyric "My true love hath my heart, and I have his"⁽²⁾

These ideas moreover may be credited with exercising some influence on the attitude taken up towards women. The sixteenth century saw a marked change in the position of women, by which the ambiguous relation of combined veneration and contempt of the mediaeval period, gave way to a more equal fellowship. The renaissance lover expresses less veneration for his mistress, but he treats her with more real respect. In spite of certain cynical attacks upon the sex, which were produced in imitation of classical and mediaeval models throughout the century,⁽³⁾ woman comes to occupy a more honoured position in Renaissance literature. The more formal tributes to the feminine character are sometimes, we feel, inspired chiefly by the Platonic conception of virtue as a necessary accompaniment of beauty.⁽⁴⁾ At least certain phrases occurring in the *Arcadia*, of praise of members of the sex, which, Pyrocles affirms "is framed of nature with the same parts of the minde for the exercise of of virtue as we are"⁽⁵⁾ can be suspected of being based on some such fundamental idea. Thus Parthenia's beauty is described as "but the fair embassadour of a most fair mind."⁽⁶⁾ Urania's beauty is the least

(1) Ibid p. 54

(2) " ed. E. A. Baker p. 456

(3) Cf. for example Nash's "Anatomie of Absurditie" Mr. Ronald McKerrow, in the notes to his edition of Nash's Works, remarks, "Attacks on the female sex were of course numerous, and some of the opinions here cited are frequently referred to," and adds later, "It seems that one of the many literary debates in the merits of the female sex was in progress at the time, though I have been able to discover little trace of it elsewhere (Vol. IV pp. 2.13) Such a debate, it may be remarked, implies a recognition of the possibilities of higher claims for the sex. There is also some anticipation of the Puritan attack upon woman of the following age for inconstancy, vanity and wantonness in Fenton's retention of his originals severe condemnation of the "sect femenyne."

Cf for example *Tragicall Discourses* ed. Robert Langton Douglas IV pp. 8,17,18,36 etc. and the introduction to the same edition p.2

(4) Cf. Courtier p. 348 "Beautie is alwayes good"

(5) *Arcadia* ed. Oskar Sommers p.53

(6) Ibid p. 5

thing they praised her for"⁽¹⁾

But if the general esteem of womanhood was increased by the new meaning found in her beauty, woman herself also had made a great advance, and probably never since until the present day has she attained so high a standard of education and culture. Ascham's account of Lady Jane Gray's studies is the most commonly cited illustration of the studious habits of the great ladies of the time,⁽²⁾ and Raleigh's account of Lady Hoby will serve as an example of culture in a woman of somewhat less exalted rank. She was one of the "five daughters" of Sir Anthony Cooke whose "virtues and learning eclipsed" even their fathers, and "whom he made skilful in Greek and Latin". "After the death of Hoby, Lady Hoby married Lord John Russell, she lived to write Latin epitaphs on both her husbands, and to be the literary adviser and friend of Sir John Harrington."⁽³⁾ No man could have underrated woman's intellectual capacity at the court of Elizabeth. The change, too, in man's pursuits from those solely connected with warfare to more courtly games and accomplishments, in which the woman also might excel, brought the sexes into closer familiarity. "To draw and peinct" "to daunse" and "to sing and play upon instruments" is demanded by Castiglione of "waytyng" gentlewoman" and courtier alike.⁽⁴⁾ It would appear that woman had also some share in man's more active pursuits although her indulgence in them was deprecated; for Gonzago is made to remark "In my time I have seene woman playe at tenise, practise feates of armes, ride, hunt and do (in a maner) all the exercises beeside that a gentilman can do",⁽⁵⁾ and Julian to answer "Sins I may facion this woman after my minde I will have her not to practise these many exercises so sturdie and boisterous".⁽⁵⁾

The new intimacy between the sexes is reflected in the Arcadia. Apart from Sidney's preface which gives us a charming picture of the relation between the brother and sister, the novel shows throughout a most sympathetic insight into the feminine character. Indeed one critic ⁽⁶⁾ has actually been found to suggest, apparently on this

(1) "Arcadia". p.1.

(2) Ascham's Schoolmaster Bk. I p. 201.

(3) Introduction to "The Courtyer" by Walter Raleigh p. XXXVIII Cf. also Ben Jonson's tribute to "the learned soul of Lucy Countess of Bedford. Epigrams No. LXXVI. Works Pub. 1869 p.671

(4) The Book of the Courtier "from the Italian of Count Baldassare Castiglione: done into English by Sir Thomas Hoby. Anno 1561" (pub. London 1900 pp. 370, 376)

(5) Ibid p. 220

(6) See "Sir Philip Sidney" by Percy Addleshaw pub.1909 p.341

ground, that the Countess of Pembroke had a larger share in its composition than the dedication would lead us to suppose, but his theory is entirely unsupported.

The portrayal of the first movements of love in the innocent little Philoclea, for instance, is done with an intuition and a delicate skill, which recalls to the readers' mind, the methods of Richardson - past master in the art of analysing the workings of the feminine mind - in dealing with a similar subject.⁽¹⁾

Philoclea had already conceived a "most friendly affection for Zelmane, "whether" or not "true love (well considered) have an infective power, at last she fell in with love's harbinger wishing. First she would wish that they two might live all their lives together, like two of Diana's Nymphes. But that wish, she thought not sufficient, because she knew there would be more nymphes beside them, who also would have their part in Zelmane. Then would she wish that she were her sister, that such a natural band might make her more special to her. But against that, she considered, that though being her sister if she happened to be married, she should be robbed of her. Then grown bolder, she would wish either her selfe or Zelmane a man that there might succeed a blessed marriage between them. But when once that wish had displayed his ensigne in her mind, then followed whole squadrom of longings, that so it might be, with a main battle of mislikings and repynings against their creation that so it was not. Finally making her know her selfe the better by the image of those fancies: ... Love puld of his maske and shewed his face unto her, and told her plainly, that shee was his prisoner". And she is left "desiring she knew not what".⁽²⁾

The characters of the two sisters are delicately discriminated. Kalendar at the opening of the story distinguishes between the "sweetness" and "humility" of Philoclea and the majesty of Pamela, who has inherited her mother's "wisdom, greatness and nobilitie knit to a more constant temper";⁽³⁾ and the contrast of the two ideal types of womanhood is preserved throughout. It is seen in their treatment of their lovers. Philoclea responds to every throb of her lover's soul. Pamela preserves her mask of disdain until the very moment of surrender. Very characteristic too is their different

(1) Cf Emily Jervois' ingenious confession of her "throbs" and "flutters" Sir Charles Grandison (pub.1883) Vol.II p.120.

(2) Arcadia (Oskar Sommers) p. 117

(3) " " " p. 12

behaviour in prison. They are confined separately, and Cecropia armed with arguments and threats visits them in turn. Peeping in upon Philoclea, she saw her "sitting lowe upon a cushion in a given-over manner. Her teares came dripping downe like raine in sunshine and she not taking heede to wipe the teares, they ranne down upon her cheeks and lips, as upon cherries which the dropping tree bedeweth".⁽¹⁾ "Pamela", she found "did walke up and down, full of deep (though patient) thoughts. For her look and countenance was settled, her pace soft, and almost still of one measure, without any passionate gesture or violent motion".⁽²⁾

The portrayal of the passion-torn Gynecia, ^{has} won especial praise from M. Jusserand, who describes her as being "la digne contemporaine aux héros aux fortes passions du Théâtre de Marlowe", [and as giving to the work "un intérêt permanent".⁽³⁾]

Mr. Courthope⁽⁴⁾ has already suggested that the prominence of the female character, and the variety of types depicted, distinguish Sidney's romance from its chivalric predecessors.

Sidney's work then marks the new epoch, not only by presenting a more lively delineation of the type of ideal heroine, but also by the introduction of a wider range of female character, and of many variations of the love theme. The narrow mediaeval convention which practically recognised only two types of lover of either sex, the faithful and the unfaithful, has been abandoned, before the growing complexities of life. In addition to the main motive of successful courtship, we are given pictures of married lovers, severed at last by death,⁽⁵⁾ of a deluded prince,⁽⁶⁾ and princess,⁽⁷⁾ who are respectively inveigled into a mésalliance which ends disastrously⁽⁶⁾ for their happiness, and of many victims and of irregular passion and unrequited love. These latter include Amphialus, Philoclea's captor, Plangus who devotes his life service to Erona, and Zelmane who follows Pyrocles disguised as a page, and dies at last in his arms from over fatigue and disappointment.

(1) Arcadia. ed. Oskar Sommers p. 260

(2) Ibid p. 264

(3) "Le Roman au temps de Shakespeare" p. 96

(4) A History of English poetry Vol. II p. 224

(5) Vide the story of Argalus and Parthenia (Arcadia ed. Oskar Sommers)

(6) Vide the marriage of the King of Iberia, father of Plangus, with the latter's mistress.

(7) Vide story of Erona's love for Antiphilus

Indeed, the sympathies of Sidney, himself an unhappy lover, are especially stirred by the sorrows of love's votaries, and for sheer pathos the well known scene of the death of the little Zelmene⁽¹⁾ is hard to rival. It is rash to generalize - the Arthur romance has its Elaine - but at least mediaeval literature can present few parallels to such a scene.

The chief novelty, however, lies not so much in the originality of these motives nor in the treatment, but in the apparently deliberate accumulation of so many varieties of the love theme. In the *Arcadia*, M. Jusserand remarks, "sont étudiées toutes les variétés de l'amour," and he further describes it as "une étude approfondie du sentiment de l'amour". Again such terms could not be applied to the mediaeval romance, and this aspect of the *Arcadia* is yet another indication of the change in the attitude adopted towards love. The lover has become more deliberate and self conscious, and love is regarded no longer as an incalculable force but as a passion to be analysed and gauged.

Thus the *Arcadia* may be taken to indicate the sum of changes which the Renaissance brought about in the conventional conception of love. We have seen that the mediaeval convention of love as incompatible with marriage has disappeared, and a more modern moral standard established, while the influence of the Platonic theory of love has assisted in the purification and elevation of the passion. We have seen also that women have attained a new footing of more equality and greater familiarity with men, which is reflected in the *Arcadia* in the predominance of female characters, and the intuition and sympathy with which these are depicted. In regard to the actual treatment of the love motive, we have noted the abandonment of the mediaeval conventional types, the new sympathy with the unsuccessful lover and the new interest in the complexities and variations of this theme.

In all this, then, Sidney's treatment of love may be regarded as illustrating the ideals of his age. It remains to glance at the form regulating the expression of this love, the conventions of courtship. Here again these are characteristically Elizabethan, and once more we can trace the passing of the older ideals.

Although a less martial hero had appeared in the "Romaunt of the Rose"⁽²⁾ the ideal lover of the middle ages was par excellence

(1) *Arcadia*. ed Oskar Sommers p. 205 seq.

(2) Cf. Chaucers Translation of the "Romaunt of the Rose" ll. 2256 seq

a warrior, a man who could win and hold by force of arms. "Probitas sola quemcunque dignum facit amore". This ideal was considerably modified at the Renaissance, although proficiency in martial arts was still demanded of the ideal gentleman. Castiglione includes among the chief qualities of his courtyer "to be skilful in all kynd of marciall feates both on horsebacke and a foote and well practised in them. whiche is his chief profession"; but this is no longer sufficient in itself, and he is also required "to have the feate of drawing and paynting", "to daunce" "to sing upon the booke and to play upon the lute and to sing to it with a ditty". Count Lewis tells a pleasant anecdote which illustrates the new ideals. "A worthie gentlewoman in a noble assembly spake pleaseuntly unto one that shall be namelesse for this tyme, whome she to shew hym a good countenance, desired to daunce with her, and he refusing both that and to heare musick and many other entertainentes offered him, alwaies affirming such trifles not to be his profession, at last the gentlewoman demaundyng him "what is then your profession"? he answered with a frowning look "To fight". Then saide the gentlewoman: "Seeing you are not nowe at the warre nor in place to fight I woulde thinke it beste for you to bee well besnered and set up in an armorie with other implementes of warre till time wer that you should be occupied, least you waxe more rustier than you are".(1)

The lovers in the *Arcadia* fulfil all the demands of such a standard. They are skilled in arms. We have accounts of heroic feats performed by them in the course of their travels; we see them joust successfully, and watch Pyrocles overthrow the braggart Philantus; and it is almost entirely due to their efforts that the Princesses are at last released from their captivity. Such is Dorus' courage and physical strength that he kills with his shepherd's knife the bear which is about to attack Pamela. Yet they are equally endowed with the more polite accomplishments, and it is rather by these they conquer their mistress's hearts. It is "liking Zelmane's manners" that "did breed good will"(2) in Philoclea, and Pamela couples with her confession of her love to Philoclea an enthusiastic account of Dorus' performances for her amusement. One time he daunced the matachine daunce in armour,(3) "O with what graceful dexteritie". "An other time he perswaded his

(1) The Courtyer p. 49

(2) *Arcadia* ed. Oskar Sommers p. 116

(3) *Ibid* 123

maister" "in manner of a dialogue to play Priamus while he plaide Paris;" another time he "runs at the ring" before her.

The young princes practise all the customary arts of the wooer. Zelmane improvises a ditty to his mistress bathing and sings it to the lute. Musidorus addresses Pamela in impassioned if "halting" verse. Like Orlando he "mars trees by writing love songs on their barks," and he and Pamela when eloping delay rather too long over this pleasing occupation. In short Pyrocles and Musidorus present those features with which Shakespeare's lovers have made us familiar, and whole treatment of the love motive is representative, and justifies Mr. Courthope's conclusion, "regarded historically as a mirror of the feelings of Sidney, and the best of his contemporaries, the Arcadia is a most interesting monument".(1)

(1) History of English Poetry Vol. II p.222

"LOVE" in Le Grand Cyrus.

In "Le Grand Cyrus" the love motive not only predominates, but overshadows entirely all other interests. The novel professes to describe the career of Cyrus King of Persia, depicted for us by Herodotus and Xenophon as a great soldier and ruler. In reality however, it gives us the story of his "romantic" love for the daughter of Ciaxar, his marriage with whom is barely mentioned by Xenophon. As Boileau indignantly exclaims, "Au lieu de représenter, comme elle le devait, dans la personne de Cyrus, un roi promis par les prophètes, tel qu'il est exprimé dans la Bible, où comme le peint Herodote, le plus grand conquérant que l'on eut encore vu. - ... Au lieu dis-je de faire un modèle de toute perfection, elle en compose un Artamene plus fou que tous les Célétons, et tous les Sylvandres, qui n'est occupé que du seul soin de sa Mandane, qui ne sait du matin au soir que lamenter, gemir, et filer le parfait amour".⁽¹⁾

This "grande passion" dates from the dramatic moment in the temple, when, at a sacrifice which proves to be held to celebrate his own supposed death, Mandane first "gleamed upon his sight" a vision of radiant beauty.

Cyrus, it must be explained, has suffered persecution at the hands of his maternal grandfather, Astiage, King of Media, who regarding him by the light of many prophecies and portents as destined to prove the scourge of Asia, ordered him to be exposed as an infant, and when fate had restored him miraculously to his parents, did not altogether relinquish his hostile purposes. Astiage had communicated his terrors to his son, Ciaxar, King of Cappadocia, and it is this Ciaxar, who with his daughter Mandane attended the sacrifice to give thanks for the supposed removal by death of the danger to the peace of Asia, to which sacrifice fate brought the young prince then completing his education by travel.

The effect of Mandanè's beauty on Cyrus is instantaneous. Even the reader is aware of its power through the cumber of elaborate description, for "la fraîcheur et la beauté des plus rares fleurs de printemps ne sauroit donner qu'une idée imparfaite de ce que cette Princesse possédoit";⁽²⁾ and his first glance seals Cyrus' fate. "Depuis que la Princesse de Capadoce fut entrée, il ne vit plus rien

(1) Boileau "Oeuvres complètes" Tom.III. p.176.
"Discours de l'héros du roman".

(2) Artamene ou Le Grand Cyrus. I.331.

de tout ce que s'y passa".⁽¹⁾ The strangeness and danger of his own position forgotten, "il la regarde tousjours, et, en la regardant, il changea diverses fois de contour".⁽¹⁾

His admiration is only increased by the accounts he receives of her from various sources. Great as her beauty is, it is rivalled by equal endowments of intellect and virtue. "Elle possede de la beauté sans affectation, et sans vanité: elle est près du throné sans orgueil, elle voit les malheurs d'autruy avec compassion", and, (here speaks the seventeenth century) "elle a des charmes inevitables dans sa conversation".⁽²⁾ At last, throwing prudence to the winds, Cyrus enters her father's service under the assumed name he has borne while travelling incognito, and there follows a long courtship, in which, as Artamenes, he wins gradually her respect and gratitude and finally her affection.

By startling military successes he attains a reputation as "le plus redoutable des hommes",⁽³⁾ "un homme qui ne combatoit guère sans vaincre;"⁽⁴⁾ and gains moreover the personal favour of Ciaxar, although throughout, his steps are dogged and his feats rivalled (but never surpassed) by a certain Philadaspe, who afterwards proves another Prince in disguise attracted to the Cappadocian Court by the same magnet which had drawn Cyrus thither.

In the meantime, his valour and his devotion win him a place in Mandane's heart, and unconsciously she begins to return his affection. To quote her own confession, "je l'amais aussi un peu, sans le scavoir." Artamene's love is finally "declared", and Mandane's own feelings made clear to her, by a fortunate accident. Artamene, before going to battle entrusts to a companion a letter containing an avowal, which is to be delivered to Mandane in the event of his death. It so happens that, in the final pursuit of the flying foe, his horse bolts, and Artamene already wounded is separated from his men, and disappears. All efforts to trace him are unsuccessful, and in consequence, while, in reality, he is lying wounded in a neighbouring "chasteau", he is thought to be dead and mourned accordingly. By the time he is sufficiently recovered to return, Feraulas has already delivered the letter, and Mandane is acquainted with his passion. Henceforward he makes some progress. At first she treats him with becoming severity, but, as we are told "Artamene

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------|----|--------|
| (1) | Le Grand Cyrus | I. | 337 |
| (2) | " | " | I. 355 |
| (3) | " | " | I. 26 |
| (4) | " | " | I. 56 |

vescut avec tant de respect aupres de Mandane, et elle connut si parfaitement, qu'il n'avoit pour elle que des sentimens pleins de vertu et d'innocence, qu'elle commença de n'esviter plus sa rencontre avec tant de soin et de luy accorder quelque fois la liberté de luy dire combien il l'estimoit, sans oser neantmoins l'entretenir ouvertement de sa passion^s. At length he confides to her his real identity. The possibility of obtaining Ciaxar's consent to their marriage is discussed, and Mandane imposes a condition allowing him three months to effect the necessary reconciliation, at the close of which time, if unsuccessful, he is to be banished.

Their love story now enters into a second phase, when, assured of each other, they are debarred from happiness by external circumstances. No ripe moment for a confession to Ciaxare occurs, and his terror of his nephew is increased by fresh portents. Artamene is sent away on an embassy to Thomiris, Queen of the Masagettes. She conceives a violent passion for him, and detains him at her court, until escaping at last, he returns to Capodocia to be met with the amazing tidings that Mandane has been abducted by the supposed Philadaspe. A very large portion of the romance is occupied by the adventures of Cyrus in pursuit, and the attempts at rescue. Mandane is tracked to Assyria, of which country the death of his mother has made her abductor king. Cyrus takes the impregnable Babylon by a stratagem only to find she has been secretly conveyed out of the city. The fugitives are pursued to Sinope. There the King of Assyria himself is made prisoner, but Mandane has already been taken out of his hands by another abductor, Prince Mazare. A shipwreck throws her into the power of a third lover, the king of Pontus, who is more successful in retaining her. Cyrus and the king of Assyria, meantime, enter into a compact by which they agree to bury their differences and work together to effect her rescue, after which their rival claims are to be decided once and for ever by single combat. On account of this understanding with a prisoner, who afterwards escapes, Cyrus is suspected of treason, thrown into prison, (where his identity is revealed,) and only rescued by a rising of the populace; when his honourable behaviour in refusing liberty at the price of insurrection restores Ciaxar's faith in his honour. After many further adventures, false hopes, and fruitless victories, and, it must be added, some jealousies on the part of the separated lovers, Mandane

is at last liberated by the surrender of Cumes. She welcomes Cyrus as her deliverer, and he, during the necessary preparations for their return to Medea, entertains her and other Princesses, whom the fate of war has brought to his camp, with great ceremony. She confesses that she is willing to comply with Ciaxare's wishes with regard to their marriage, of which he is now in favour, and all is merry as a marriage bell. However, there is still the King of Assyria to be reckoned with. He summons Cyrus, and the two meet in the long deferred single combat, only to be interrupted with the news that Mandane has been again carried off. Her last abductor carries her to Thomiris, Queen of the Masagettes, her rival for Cyrus' heart. The king of Assyria loses his life in an attempt to rescue her, and in the subsequent war, Cyrus is taken prisoner and his life endangered. However Cresus and Mazare effect a timely rescue, and the lovers are re-united. Mandane - "relaschant quelque chose de cette exacte and severe retenue, qui l'avoit tousiours obligée à cacher les plus tendres sentimens à Cyrus" - shows him the depth of her affection, and his happiness is finally completed by their union.

As was suggested at the beginning of the chapter, Mlle de Scudéri, in thus transforming the life of Cyrus into a romantic love story, is departing entirely from her classical originals. Herodotus does not mention Mandane, and Xenophon devotes no more to his marriage, and the negotiations which preceded it, than the two following paragraphs, which are quoted from a sixteenth century French translation. ⁽¹⁾

"Quand ilz furent arrivez au pais de Mede, Cyrus alla visiter Cyaxares, et apres toutes les festes à cesrequisés, luy dit comme il luy avoit apresté un palays et une royale maison dans Babylone, ou il pourroit habiter comme chez soy: et ce disant luy fit plusieurs dōs exquis et precieux. Adoncq' Cyaxares luy envoya par la fille une couronne d'or des brasseletz et carcans de mesme et une robe Medique la plus belle qu'il fut possible de voir. Comme la pucelle coronnoit Cyrus, Cyaxares luy dit: Ainsi que ton pere prioit pour femme ma soeur, aussi à ceste mesme fin, je te donne ma fille pour ta femme: et t'avise que c'est celle, qui se jouoyt si souvent et chantoit avecq' toy en ton enfance, et quand on luy

(1) La Cyropédie de Xenophon.
Traduite de Grec en lanque Francoyse, par Jaques de Ventemille,
Rhodien.

demandoit qui seroit son mary, elle respondoit Cyrus. Au demourant, à cause que je n'ay aucuns horis masles de moy, je te donne le Royaume de Mede pour son mariage. Cyrus luy respondit, qu'il estimoit beaucoup les presens, la fille, et la parenté dont elle estoit yssue, toute fois qu'il n'accorderoit point ce mariage, sans la volonté de ses pere et mere, et ce disant donna à la pucelle plusieurs choses qu'il pensoit estre agreables à son oncle. Ce fait il se partet de Mede" etc.⁽¹⁾

Shortly after - "Cyrus - en passant par le Mede, espouse du consentement de ses parens la fille de Cyaxares, la quelle en dit encor de nostre temps avoir esté merveilleusement belle et gracieuse: Combien qu'aucuns autheurs vueillent affermer qu'il espousa la seur de sa mere, laquelle veritablement ne pouvoit estre jeune en ce temps, ains fort vieille. Si tost qu'il l'eut espousée il l'emmena hors de Mede."⁽²⁾

So slight then was the basis for her romantic structure provided by her authorities. It remains to be seen how far Mlle de Scudéri is indebted to earlier romantic literature for the material for her elaborate love story, and how far she has herself invented themes, which, as her original work, might be regarded as illustrating the conditions or the ideals of her age.

The outlines of the stories seem largely to have been taken from existing romantic traditions. Many motives, such as the first meeting of the lovers in the temple,⁽³⁾ the shipwreck,⁽⁴⁾ the pirate,⁽⁵⁾ the exposure of children and the subsequent recognitions⁽⁶⁾ are taken from the romances of Greece herself which would have been accessible to Mlle de Scudéri in French translations.⁽⁷⁾

(1) Xenophon, Bk. 8 chap. 8

(2) Bk. 8. chap. 9

(3) Cf. Le Grand Cyrus, Partie I. livre 2 (p. 137 seq) with the meeting of the lovers in "Theagenes & Chariclea" "translated from the Greek of Heliodorus" Bk. III (Pub, London 1789 Part 1 p. 136)

(4) cf. Le Grand Cyrus I. 82 etc. and Clitophon & Leucippe Bk. III Translated Rowland Smith p. 390 seq. Also Theagenes & Chariclea (I.p.249) where the vessel is in imminent danger, and is finally driven ashore.

(5) cf. Le Grand Cyrus I. 304 etc. and Theagenes & Chariclea Bk. I (I.p.1.seq)

(6) cf. Daphnis & Chloe Bk. translated Angel Day Pub. Tudor Library p.153. Theagenes & Chariclea B.10 (II p.227) and for this motive in Le Grand Cyrus, the exposure of Cyrus himself I. livre 2, and the story of Cleamane II. Bk. 6 p. 62

(7) The "Ethiopicarica" and Daphnis & Chloe were translated by Amyot in the years 1546 and 1559 respectively. A translation of Clitophon & Leucippe by J. Baudouin appeared in 1635.

The passion too of Thomiris for Artamene recalls that of Queen Arsace for Theagenes.⁽¹⁾ Other motives again appear which we are accustomed to regard as characteristic of the mediæval romances, and it is these which concern our purpose. Thus we can recognize the familiar motive of love between a princess and an unknown retainer at her father's court in the story of Cyrus and Mandane, and in that of Cleomene and Palmis, - a motive, which, in dealing with the Amadis, we have already seen to be common in mediæval literature. Like Amadis, Artamene sets out to win the esteem of his mistress by military exploits.

"Probitas (prowess) sola quemcunque dignum facit amore".⁽²⁾

Like Amadis, he conceals his love, in this case, even when in so doing he incurs the charge of treason. He too, avows implicit obedience to his mistress, "une âme obeissante a toutes ses volontez",⁽³⁾ and he trembles before her as devoutly as the code demanded.⁽⁴⁾

It is possible moreover to trace a resemblance in the whole plan of the story to the earlier romance. The comparatively speedy surmounting of the obstacles which faced the wooer at the outset, and the long interval between the avowal of mutual love and the final union of the lovers, - an interval brought about by external circumstances, in which their mutual faith is shaken only by one single, although serious, misunderstanding - are indeed strangely reminiscent of the Amadis itself. They are, moreover, which is more significant for our purpose, characteristically mediæval, arising, as we have seen, out of a peculiar convention of chivalric love. Here the convention has vanished, but the result remains. It is now a real tangible barrier, no voluntary postponement of the marriage service, which separates the lovers, but nevertheless the bulk of the work as in the mediæval romances deals with their adventures after their love is declared, rather than with the previous wooings. Two volumes are sufficient to establish an understanding. Their engagement is protracted throughout the remaining eighteen. Yet never once during this interval or during the period of waiting endured by others of the lovers does the thought of gratifying their desires by an illicit union occur to any of the characters. Thus this particular mediæval situation is presented with a

(1) cf. *Le Grand Cyrus* II.383 seq. and *Theagenes & Chariclea* Bk 7. (Part II p 59 onwards)

(2) *The Code of Love* (18)

(3) *Le Grand Cyrus* I. 52

(4) *Code of Love*. Clause 20 *Amorosus semper est timorosus* Cf. *Le Grand Cyrus* I. 52 I. 418 etc.

difference a difference, which as we shall see, is characteristic of the spirit in which the whole motive is treated, and which shows clearly the impress of the times.

In the seventeenth century, the social life of France entered upon a new phase. The frank riotous youth of the renaissance world gave place to a staid and more fastidious spirit. A more fastidious refinement makes itself felt, which may well have been connected with feminine influence. M. Livet when commenting upon the achievements of the century, and "les reformes .. dans les mœurs", notes that "les hommes commencèrent à rechercher la société des femmes"⁽¹⁾ and this period saw the birth of "l'esprit de conversation".⁽²⁾ The institution of the salon is a monument of this social development. Some similar change too in England towards the end of the century is chronicled in Dryden's lines

"If love and honour now are higher raised,⁽³⁾

Tis not the poet but the age is praised."

Changes of this nature necessarily make their influence most felt in branches of literature which deal with the relations of men and women, moving in what is known as "society" and it is inevitable in consequence that we should find many signs of the new spirit in Le Grand Cyrus. The new ideal is of a passion, "une amour respectueuse, .. sage et violente tout ensemble",⁽⁴⁾ the working out of which shall be as an intricate game played before the social world as spectators, according to the rules laid down by "bien-séance."

An immediate effect of the new effort towards social politeness and decorum, is the total disappearance of the illicit union from the romance. As has been said, the postponement of their marriage suggests no such step to the lovers. Mandane's various abductors never fail for a moment to preserve the respect due to her. Even when, in the case of Philoxipe, the object of his affections is of such low rank as to make marriage impossible, his love remains "tres respectueuse, et de telle sorte qu'il n'eust pas voulu souffrir un desir criminal dans son coeur".⁽⁵⁾ It is Mlle de Scudéri's boast that "la bienséance des choses et des conditions est assez exactement observée, et je n'ay rien mis en mon livre que les dames

(1) Précieux et Précieuses Introduction p. 1

(2) " " p.ii.

(3) Conquest of Granada Pt. II Epilogue l. 410 & seq.

(4) Le Grand Cyrus. Partie V p. 39

(5) Le Grand Cyrus l. 950

ne puissent lire sans baisser les yeux et sans rougir.⁽¹⁾

This vaunt is fully justified. The whole is treated with a delicacy which amounts at times to prudery. Each heroine professes une "vertu severe," which regards an avowal of love, as a want of respect, almost an insult, which forbids her ever to admit frankly her affection and which leads her to regulate her every action by the rules of "la plus exacte bien seance". This latter tyrant is fully established. Even Cleonice, the most modern, and the most sincere of the gallery of women, doubts whether "la maniere dont je vy avec Ligdamis (her much tried lover) quoy que très innocente n'est point un peu contraire à cette exacte bienséance ... car enfin, je scay qu'il est amoureux et je le voy tous les jours".⁽²⁾ Princess Palmis in what seems likely to be a last interview with her lover, who is desperately wounded and a prisoner, does not permit him even to kiss her hand "la retirant, sans violence toute fois".⁽³⁾ "J'aime la gloire" exclaims Mandane, "beaucoup plus que je n'estime Artamene: quoy que je l'estime beaucoup".⁽⁴⁾

This delicacy was one of the most characteristic features of the Précieuse society. Ridiculous as it may seem to modern eyes, it served as a protest against the more dangerous extremes of coarseness and license, and as such it represents, perhaps, the most valuable achievement of the Précieuse society. M. Livet decides, "la révolte de Madame de Rambouillet contre tout ce qui choquait le goût on la délicatesse était, pour ainsi dire, dans l'air plutôt même qu'elle ne fut spontanée chez la marquise, et elle ne pouvait être isolée dans un temps ou de longs excès appelaient une prompte réaction, Mais elle sut tirer un admirable parti des tendances nouvelles, et si les germes existaient, c'est à son action vivifiante qu'on en doit l'éclosion si désirée".⁽⁵⁾ Following his indication, we can regard this trait as characteristic not merely of the Précieuse society to which Mlle de Scudéri belonged (in opposition to the general feeling of the age), but also as illustrating the general tendency of the age.

This improved morale, however, did not work conversely to produce a corresponding wholehearted exaltation of the married

(1) L'illustre Bassa. Preface

(2) Le Grand Cyrus. IV. 1028

(3) IV. p. 1213

(4) Le Grand Cyrus II. 221

(5) Précieux et Précieuse. Introduction p. XIII

state. Although most of the lovers ultimately find their happiness in marriage, and in the stories of Abradate and Panthée and Aglatidas and Amestris we have charming pictures of wedded lovers, there occur also passages in which marriage is deprecated as strongly as ever in mediæval romance, although from a different point of view.

Elise describes married life; "Il faut s'assujettir entièrement" to the humour of one's husband, "luy obéir sans murmurer, n'estre jamais en liberté et n'estre pas mesme maitresse de sa propre personne."⁽¹⁾ "Le mariage est une terrible chose". Here for the first time in romance we hear the woman criticising her share of the bargain. Nor indeed does she do so without reason. Le Grand Cyrus, story of ideal love as it is, gives us glimpses of the darker side of matrimony. Le mariage de convenance is still the rule, and the daughter is almost entirely at her parent's disposal. Amestris, the dutiful daughter, avows "je m'estois resoluë d'obéir aveuglement à mon père, (in the matter of marriage), je ne voulois point que mon esprit se determinast à rien,"⁽²⁾ and Artelinde is forced into a marriage by her mother.⁽³⁾ Once married the wife is subject utterly to the will or caprice of her husband. Hence a case like that of the same Artelinde, - whose Mother "ne pouvant plus souffrir la forme de vivre de sa fille, l'avoit enfin forcée de se marier, à un homme qui dés le lendemain de ses nocces, l'avoit menée à la campagne, où elle ne voyoit personne, and où elle faisoit une penitence fort rigoureuse de toutes ses galanteries passées".⁽⁴⁾ Even were the marriage entered into by choice, there remained the possibility of the husband's becoming tyrannical through jealousy. The persecutions inflicted upon Amestris by her first husband Otane are sufficient illustration of this.⁽⁵⁾

Filled with jealousy of her former lover Aglatidas, he employs his servants to spy upon her, ransacks her private possessions, and finally keeps her, at a country seat, virtually a prisoner, closely watched and forbidden all intercourse with her friends. Small ^{wonder} reason then that the woman occasionally expressed reluctance to renounce her legal freedom for the bonds of wedlock, especially when

- (1) Le Grand Cyrus. Part 7. Bk. I p. 349.
 (2) " " " I. 909
 (3) " " " IV. 1100
 (4) " " " IV. 1100
 (5) " " " IV. livre 2.

her delicacy forbade her to contemplate the compensatory joys of motherhood. This delicacy indeed may well have contributed to increase her aversion for matrimony. "Le mariage" .. cries Cathos .. est "une chose tout a fait choquante"⁽¹⁾ Some such depreciation of marriage is to be traced also in English literature in the Restoration drama, where Millamant states her objections to "dwindling into a wife",⁽²⁾ somewhat more frankly than her French sisters.

The love motives introduced into *Le Grand Cyrus* then are almost entirely those of courtship, or belonging to the period of separation and trial of the affianced lovers.

As we have already seen, some of the mediæval ideal of service remains. *Cyrus* strives for military glory to advance himself in his mistress' favour, and constant references occur to small services rendered by lovers to their ladies. A new element however has appeared in courtship, which in itself is especially characteristic. Stevenson defines marriage as "one long conversation chequered by disputes"; and some such description might well be applied to the courtship of Mlle de Scudéri's lovers.

An increase in the proportion of scenes of a "drawing room" character, and certain set discussions on manners or morals had appeared already, it must be admitted, in the Elizabethan novel, but in *Le Grand Cyrus*, the element of conversation assumes very different proportions. The whole structure indeed is a tissue of conversations. It is by this device that the situation is presented. The gradual advance of the lover in his mistress' favour, is shown by a series of conversations, in which she displays increasing graciousness, and we learn his real position in her heart through her replies to the questions with which she is pressed by her confidante⁽³⁾. It is by this means that we learn the thoughts and feelings of all the characters,⁽⁴⁾ - each has his *Feraulas*, or *Martesie*, - and in the event of an auditor failing him, the inner workings of the lover's mind are represented for us in the form of a debate with himself.⁽⁵⁾ The personages are made to reveal

(1) *Les Précieuses Redicules*. sc. 5

(2) *The Way of the World* Act. IV. sc. 5

(3) cf. for example, the conversations of *Cleomene & Asmenie* IV. p 1000 seq. 1026 seq. of *Panthée & Doralise*.

(4) cf. *Cyrus*' confession of despair to *Chrisante*, after the delivery of the unfavorable oracle. IV. 1241

(5) cf. V. 139 for example

themselves in words rather than in deeds, and it is in conversation that we are made acquainted with their marked characteristics.

Thus for example the contrasting dispositions of Panthée's two lovers, the generous Abradate, and the avaricious Mexaris are brought out by a discussion as to whether or no "celuy qui donne peu contre son inclination, oblige plus que celui qui donne beaucoup en suivant la sienne"⁽¹⁾. The frivolity of Artelinde is displayed in a defence of flirting.⁽²⁾

It is under this guise moreover that the biographies of the innumerable minor characters are introduced, the stories of their love being related by some third person for the entertainment of the assembled company. The device it may be added is employed without any consideration of possibility since the narratives invariably occupy more than three hundred pages,⁽³⁾ and would have taken hours to relate. M. le Breton notes that in one instance Chrisante speaks "durant six cents pages sans reprendre haleine."⁽⁴⁾

Conversation, as these calculations suggest, is the chief amusement of the characters. It might almost be called their occupation. It is to promote conversation that the various "divertissements" such as "les collations", "les visites", "les promenades", "les concerts" - appear to have been devised. Even "la chasse" as enjoyed by the ladies and their cavaliers seems to have consisted chiefly in a leisurely ride enlivened by conversation, with perhaps an occasional glimpse of the stag or hounds.⁽⁵⁾ Conversations on love, or the pains of love are the only solace of the hero. Occasionally the discourse takes the form of an impromptu debate before an appointed judge, as when the four "amants infortunés" debate before Martesie as to which has the greatest claim to compassion.⁽⁶⁾ Generally however the subject is introduced and treated in a less formal manner, but the insistence upon the eloquence and

(1) V. 143

(2) IV. 796

(3) "L'Histoire de Ligdamis and de Cleonice" one of the shortest of the "biographies" occupies 328 pages. As there are 23 lines in a page, and on an average 6 words in a line, the narration, if the rate of 100 words a minute is adopted, would have occupied over seven hours.

(4) "Le Roman au dix-septième siècle
par André le Breton. Pub. Librairie Hachette 1890
p. 168

(5) Le Grand Cyrus V. 66

(6) " " III. 107 seq.

ease in conversation, displayed by the principal characters,⁽¹⁾ shows that these gifts were highly prized, and that these casual conversations were regarded as opportunities for displaying social accomplishments.

How big a part was played by conversation in actual courtship, is illustrated by the story of Ligdamis and Cleonice.⁽²⁾

Ligdamis and Cleonice, both disgusted with the gallantry fashionable among their circle of friends, and both vowing eternal immunity from the pains of love, enter upon a kind of platonic friendship, which is to terminate instantly should either of them commit the folly of falling in love. Upon the strength of this friendship, Cleonice admits Ligdamis, whom she meets daily at social gatherings into her complete confidence, and they converse intimately upon all subjects. "Ligdamis ne formait pas un dessein, qu'il ne communiquast à Cleonice. ... De son costé, il avoit part à ses plus secretes pensées: elle luy confiait mille petits deplaisirs domestiques que l'humeur de Stenobée luy causoit: elle luy disoit sincerement ce qu'elle pensoit de toutes les personnes qu'elle voyoit, and de toutes les choses qui arrivoient: and elle luy monstroit les sentimens de son âme les plus cachez si ouvertement qu'il ne la connoissoit queres moins qu'il se connoissoit luy mesme".

Entranced by the riches of her mind, thus bared to his view, Ligdamis' friendship for her changes to a warmer passion, which at length he recognises as love. This avowed, Cleonice is horror-stricken, and reminds him of their compact. He is banished from her presence, but returns after the stated interval has elapsed, as deeply in love as ever. Another long interview, when, "apres plus de deux heures de conversation", she consents to permit him to remain in her vicinity and restoring him to their old intimacy "la chose alla effectivement de telle sorte, que Cleonice devint en effet la confidante de la passion que Ligdamis avoit pour elle". Here the whole action has lain in conversation, which is given in so much detail that the relation occupies some hundred and fifty pages.

That, in giving this paramount importance to the motive of conversation, Mlle de Scudéri is reproducing a characteristic feature of the age, is beyond the question. The existence of the salons is

(1) Cyrus is described as having "une éloquence forte et puissante". I. 651. and we read of Mandane "Elle avoit quelque chose de galant et d'aisé dans l'esprit qui rendoit son entretien incomparable." I. 428

(2) Le Grand Cyrus. IV. livre 3. 103

in itself sufficient proof of the conversational tastes of the time. It is also significant that Mlle de Scuderi, led no doubt by the appreciation of her public of this aspect of her work, actually published a selection of "conversations sur divers sujets". In one other respect Le Grand Cyrus differs considerably from the older romances, in its treatment of the subject of love, that is in the relative importance assigned to this motive. In Le Grand Cyrus the love motive is the chief factor in the romance. The element of adventure, which rivalled the love interest in the earlier romances has sunk into comparative insignificance. M. Coussin admits "les aventures .. sont des fictions fort mediocre qui n'ont jamais dû amuser beaucoup les contemporains";⁽¹⁾ and, although, the succès de scandale of social allegory should no doubt be numbered among its attractions, there can be no dissent from Mr Raleigh's judgment. "It was the love affairs above all else that attracted readers to these romances".⁽²⁾

Such a predominance of the "love" interest is, in itself, not uncharacteristic of the age.

Apart from the taste for this amorous fiction on the part of the seventeenth century readers implied by Mr. Raleigh's last quoted remark, and, indeed, demonstrated by the popularity of the most amorous of the heroic novels, there appears to have been a general tendency, in the mid seventeenth century, to elaborate the love motive in literature at the expense of all other interests, and, in fact, to lose the hero in the lover.

This is to be traced in the drama; and Corneille's theory, formulated in 1660,⁽³⁾ "la dignité de la tragedie demande quelque grand intérêt d'Etat ou quelque passion plus noble et plus mâle que l'amour" - seems to suggest a protest against, and in consequence a recognition of this obsession. The English heroic dramas later exhibit the same distinguishing feature.

"Beauty and Honour" are indeed "the marks they shoot at". In "l'Influence Française en Angleterre au XVII^e siècle," M. Charlanne enumerates many examples,⁽⁴⁾ which illustrate this "préoccupation avec amour". As the title of his work would lead us to expect, M. Charlanne regards this phenomenon as due to the influence of the

(1) La Société Française au XVII^e siècle d'après le Grand Cyrus de Mlle de Scudéri par M. Victor Coussin. Pub, Paris 1858 p. 17

(2) The English Novel, p. 95.

(3) See Petit de Julleville. Histoire de la langue et le littérature Française Vol. IV. p. 292

(4) L'influence Française en Angleterre au XVII^e siècle. par L. Charlanne. P. 417.

French fashion brought over by the court, on its return from exile at St. Germain. Other critics find presages of this change in the Jacobean drama, of which Heywood already in 1634 complains that it has forsaken "high facinorious things", "great patriots dukes and kings" to deal with "puling lovers and crafty cheats" (1). Nevertheless, whether we are to regard this characteristic as arising in France, and imported into England, or as developing simultaneously in both countries, it is a clearly marked tendency, and one moreover which may well have been already in the air when Mlle de Scudéri shaped her romance.

That this new ideal of the romance of love came to supplant entirely the older models of the romance of war, love and magic, is shown by Huet in his "Traité de l'origine des romans" written some twenty years after "le Grand Cyrus". In this de Huet after defining "les romans" as "des fictions d'avantures amoureuses", explains, "J'ajoute d'avantures amoureuses, parce que l'amour doit être le principal sujet de roman", (2) and he goes on to elaborate this same theory of the necessary preoccupation of the romance with love. "Les romans ont l'amour pour sujet principal, et ne traitent la politique et la guerre que par incident". (3)

(1) Prologue to "A Challenge for Beautie"

(2) Lettre de Monsieur Huet à Monsieur de Segrais de l'origine des Romans. pub. 1670 p. VI.

(3) p. VIII

Section IV. "WAR".

War in "Amadis of Gaul".

The "Amadis of Gaul" contains its full share of the "chivalrous adventures, which occupy by far the greatest proportion of romantic compilations". We have combats of every description, single combats . . . both in the lists before appointed judges,⁽¹⁾ and by the way against chance comers⁽²⁾ ; and desperate conflicts against heavy odds, two⁽³⁾ and three⁽⁴⁾ to one, or one knight encountering a whole company of villeins⁽⁵⁾ or alone in the stronghold of an enemy⁽⁶⁾. We have also set combats to settle some disputed question, three to three,⁽⁷⁾ twelve to twelve and even hundred to hundred, and actual pitched battles by land⁽⁸⁾ and sea.⁽⁹⁾

War is indeed the staple of the romance. Amadis "the formal hero" is invincible, "for God had gifted him above all others in the world in hardihood, and in all good customs that beseem a knight". It is by right of this, of his "surpassing in prowess him who made the enchantment, and who had no peer in his time", that he achieves the entry of the Forbidden Chamber, - the supreme recognition of his virtue. Prowess to is the means by which his love expresses itself. He invokes the aid of his mistress before a battle, and his success is a tribute to the inspiration he receives from the very thought of her.

"Praise for prowess" moreover is the heart's desire of all the knights, the lust for it the mainspring of all their actions. It is the spur which drives them to take part in any great struggle,

(1) Cf. Amadis of Gaul. I. 56 seq. 88 seq. II. 95 says etc.

(2) Cf. I. 48, 114, 132, 141. etc.

(3) Cf. I. 2, 50, 78. II. 29, 48, 79 etc.

(4) I. 67. I. 112.

(5) Cf. I. 77. 160.

(6) Cf. Galoar's encounters with the inhospitable knights of the castle in the Forest of Arnida, I. 98 seq, and Amadis' adventures in the castles of Galpono (I. 41 seq.) and Arcalaus' (I. 116 seq.) respectively, and in assistance of King Perion when "he played the devil in the castle". I. 38.

(7) Cf. The combat between the Duke and his two nephews and Galvanes, Agrayes and Olivas to try the former on the charge of having treacherously murdered Olivas' cousin.

I. 212.

Cf. Also the "combat of twelve" to decide the claims of the Emperour to a right over the Kingdom of Bohemia.

II. 242 seq.

and the battle, a hundred a side against King Gildadan.

II. 53 seq.

(8) Cf. II. 187 seq. II. 214 seq. III. 162 seq.

(9) I. 63. seq.

independently of the cause of quarrel, - "So famous will it be" says Amadis, of one great battle, "that all knights of arms should be there"⁽¹⁾, - and it moves them to espouse the weaker cause, without any regard for the justice of the respective claims. To do so indeed is almost an obligation. "Being free to choose his side", it is once said, "he should have taken ours, for we are the weaker"⁽²⁾ "Honour" in fact is regarded more than the cause at stake, and no advantage might be taken which while securing an easy victory would diminish the glory of the victor. King Abies on one occasion forgoes an advantage gained by surprising the enemy, for "the more honour"⁽³⁾ of a combat on equal terms.

This ideal of war for its own sake is essentially the ideal of mediæval chivalry.

Amadis "the mirror of early chivalry" is a characteristic mediæval knight. His career is typical. Reared by Gandales as his own son, he is sent at the early age of seven years to the Court of Languines,⁽⁴⁾ King of Scotland, according to the common custom, whereby the future "candidates for knighthood" were taken from their own homes to be educated at the castle of their feudal superior.⁽⁵⁾ There he dwelt peacefully "until the time came that he thought he could take arms if he were knighted"⁽⁶⁾, serving as a boy the Queen, "who loved him so that she would scarce suffer him to be out of her sight"⁽⁴⁾, and gaining the proficiency in arms which was to stand him in such good stead in the future.

Having thus passed apparently through the usual stages of "page" and "squire",-although the names, which are applied to his companions, are never actually used of him,-he at last received his knighthood at Perion's hand, and "taking his lance and his shield he mounted and went his way unseen of any for it was yet night"⁽⁷⁾

Thus Amadis enters upon his career as knight errant. After sundry adventures, which chance brought him, and having already won some reputation in the battle against King Abies, Amadis, now recognised as Perion's son, determines to attach himself to the household of King Lisvarte; "for there they tell me", he explains, "is chivalry more worthily maintained than in the house of any other King

(1) Amadis of Gaul. II. 204.

(2) " " " II. 156.

(3) " " " I. 54.

(4) " " " I. 22.

(5) See History of Fiction Vol. I. p.128.

(6) Amadis of Gaul. I. 27.

(7) Amadis of Gaul. I. 33.

or Emperour⁽¹⁾. Then he is established after some preliminaries as Queen Brisena's Knight, and he passes several years, living at the court, defending the interests of Lisvarte against all comers, championing the cause of all who came thither to seek justice or assistance, or going out in quest of "adventures wherein renown might be won". After he is dismissed from Lisvarte's court, he sojourns for a time in Gaul at Oriana's command, but as soon as she permits him, he departs and wanders once more "performing deeds of prowess", and "redressing wrongs"; until the climax of the story arrives which brings him to open war with Lisvarte, followed by the denouement which leaves him, the husband of Oriana, master of Firm Island and heir to Britain, ready to echo Don Quadragante's words, "Time and youth have hitherto prevented me from repose, and from any other care than for my horse and arms, but now reason and age invite me to another manner of life"⁽²⁾. The errant knight gives place to the ruler.

His qualities too are characteristic. In addition to his prowess in arms, and fidelity as a lover, he manifests the virtues which Mr. Courthope cites as "peculiar" to the order of knighthood, - "Loyalty, the virtue that bound a vassal to his Lord, honour, the sentiment that forbade the knight to advance or defend his own interests by a lie, courtesy, the principle which taught him to give to each man the consideration due to him"⁽³⁾.

Of Amadis we read "his gentleness and courtesy are not less worthy praise than his valour"⁽⁴⁾. This courtesy, it must be added, would seem to be extended to men of all classes, not confined with any spirit of knightly exclusiveness to those of his own rank, for he "is beloved of all even by the simple men"⁽⁵⁾. He is bound by truth and honour, and is ready to fulfil his word at all costs. He even performs, as the Greek Knight, the "boon" demanded by Grasinda, by which he should uphold the supremacy of her beauty at the British Court. "He thought himself in the worst danger he had ever endured since he left Gaul, and cursed himself and his fortunes, the hour wherein he was born"⁽⁶⁾, "but his honour was greatly injured if he refused to perform his promise"⁽⁶⁾ and he "fulfils all she required". Loyal he is also.

(1) Amadis of Gaul. I.63.

(2) " " III.261.

(3) History of English Poetry. Vol.II. p.9.

(4) Amadis of Gaul.III.115.

(5) " " II.10. Cf. also II. 280, 281, 286, for the devotion of his personal attendants to Amadis.

(6) Amadis of Gaul. II.304.

The problem indeed of the relationship of feudal lord and errant knight is interestingly presented.

Amadis and his "lineage" are established as knights of Lisvarte's Court. The former's engagement as Brisena's Knight is ratified by a solemn compact. "I am at your service, and your daughters, and afterward at the service of all these", (the damsels of the court,) "but I am only yours, and if I shall ever do service to the King, it shall be as your knight, and not as his". "'As such do I receive you'⁽¹⁾, said the Queen". Later, at her express wish, he commends to the King his brother Galoar, who formally becomes the "King's Knight"⁽²⁾. Here we have the characteristic mediæval relationship, the knight attached to the court of a feudal superior, on whom he is dependent for maintenance, and material rewards for his services, and whose authority he in turn upholds. The benefits of such a system are mutual. Serolys, the Fleming, lays down as the best means of promoting the honour and advancement of a kingdom, "to seek good knights from all parts, and love and cherish and honour and reward them with his bounty, so that strangers shall seek him for the fame thereof". "They alone", he continues, "have been fortunate and mighty who have thus strengthened themselves with the aid of famous knights, distributing treasures to them, and acquiring by their aid greater treasures, the spoils of others"⁽³⁾. Such is the policy of Lisvarte, "who was the man in the world who with the best good will received all errant knights". On the other hand, the knights expect some ultimate reward for their services. It is on this ground that Amadis and his friends actually break with Lisvarte, although his refusal instead of proceeding from niggardise signifies rather the withdrawal of his favour. Amadis and his cousin Agrayes demand as a boon that Madasima should be given to Don Galvanes in marriage, with the Island of Mongaza as a dower; but, although "knowing what they asked was a reasonable and becoming thing, and just"⁽⁴⁾, he refuses discourteously. "You make us feel, sir", quoth Agrayes, "that our services will profit us little here"; and Lisvarte finally dismisses them. "The world is wide enough, go through it and look for those who may know you better." The overlord refuses to perform his part of the bargain by rewarding past services, the voluntary covenant is broken, and the injured knights are free to seek another lord.

- (1) Amadis of Gaul. I. 97.
- (2) " " " I.167.
- (3) " " " I.175.
- (4) " " " Vol.I.143.
- (5) " " " II.p.108.

Such a rupture however is contrary to the feudal ideals of loyalty cherished by the knights. It would have been almost impossible had they been actually bound to him by feudal ties. As it is the dismissal of his brother does not release Galoar "the King's Knight" from his allegiance.

"Now seeing how you are at enmity with the King, and that I am not discharged from his service", he explains to Amadis, "I am greatly perplexed, for if I should help you, my honour would be tainted, and if I should aid him, it is the pain of death to me to do aught against you". "At a time like this", the other decides, "you ought not to forsake the King"⁽¹⁾ Amadis himself, "who sleeping and waking had had no thought of anything but his service"⁽²⁾, comes back as the Knight of the Serpent with his father and brother, to fight on his side in the battle against Arcalaus and the seven Kings, and finally proves his unextinguished loyalty by assisting him in the last great battle against these persistent enemies. He refuses moreover to aid his friends to wrest the Island of Mongaza from Lisvarte, and "all spake of it as being honourably and right loyally done"⁽³⁾.

While Amadis himself is typically mediæval in character and circumstances, and is placed in his relation to Lisvarte in a typical situation, the actual fighting described with such spirit and detail is also of the Middle Ages. The procedure of the combats, which, setting aside the actual battles, varies scarcely at all, is after the correct mediæval pattern. The opponents with lances couched charge on horseback, until one or both are disabled or unhorsed, - a result it may be added, generally achieved in the first onslaught. Only, however, in battle for a most trivial cause, is honour satisfied with this. Otherwise the struggle is resumed with the sword. According to the strict rule of courtesy, were only one of the combatants unhorsed, the other permitted him to be remounted, or alighted himself, and on one occasion Gradamor claims this privilege of Don Florestan,⁽⁴⁾ but as a general rule in the Amadis, in the bitter conflicts against giant or deadly enemy, no such grace is asked or given. It becomes the policy of the fallen to kill his enemy's horse,⁽⁵⁾ of the other to ride over his enemy.⁽⁶⁾ When the combatants meet on foot, sword in hand,

(2) II. 106.

(3) II. 152.

(4) III. 7.

(5) Cf. I. 213. etc.

(6) Cf. I. 75. When "Galoar twice rode over the giant before he could rise", etc.

the struggle is desperate, and each, excited by the other's taunts, news and hacks, until all their armour is broken and cut away, limbs are lopped off, and the vanquished yields and dies. Only occasionally is his life spared in serious battle. Esplandian begs the lives of the arrogant Romans⁽¹⁾ from the Greek Knight, and Don Florestan spares Gradomar at Don Grumedan's request,⁽²⁾ but more often those who have the presumption to give battle to Amadis or any of his lineage pay for it with their lives.

These "set combats", [it must be added], were preceded by certain forms. Either a challenge was sent by a messenger, armed always with proper "credentials",⁽³⁾ or, if the matter were less weighty, and the combat to take place immediately, the knight hung up his shield as a general defiance and waited till it was struck, as a sign of acceptance of the challenge.⁽⁴⁾

The battles differ little actually from the tournaments. Only knights appear to have taken part; even the squires were only permitted to assist by remounting the combatants.

There are references it must be admitted to "archers and cross bow" men, but these scarcely figure in the battles described. In the "cruel battle between King Lisvarte and Don Galvanes and their people"⁽⁵⁾ they are withdrawn by agreement. Later we hear of Barsinan marching with two thousand knights,⁽⁶⁾ "and cross-bowmen and archers," but in the battle "he is placed in the van with two thousand knights".⁽⁷⁾ Only when Lisvarte is forcing a pass do the "cross-bowmen and bowyers" "annoy" the enemy.⁽⁸⁾ The knights fought, armed as for a joust, and as then they made the most of the opportunity offered. More they could not do, and their individual efforts were assisted by only the simplest practical manoeuvres. The army is divided into "battalions", a body guard appointed for the King, and occasionally a reserve force withheld to wait until the enemy is weakened, or to come to the rescue at need. In one instance an ambush is devised, into which the enemy are led by the flight of a decoy squadron,⁽⁹⁾ but the victors do not press this advantage.. They desist in favour of a combat between equal numbers

(1) Amadis of Gaul. III.43.

(2) III. 9.

(3) Cf. Amadis of Gaul. II. 82 seq. etc.

(4) Cf. III. 41 etc. When "the Greek Knight hung" his shield upon the pillar to see if any of the Romans would challenge him.

(5) II. 189.

(6) III. 167.

(7) Amadis of Gaul. III.223.

(8) " " II.196.

(9) " " I. 51.

"for the more honour". It was against the spirit of chivalry to employ ruse to effect what valour alone should perform, and the whole purpose of tactics in warfare was alien to their ideals. No plan even to overwhelm the enemy with numbers was sanctioned by their code.

In thus presenting a picture of mediæval chivalry in his "redaction" of the Amadis, Montalvo, as has already been suggested in dealing with the love-theme, was not merely depicting a favorite tradition, but was representing a living force which still animated his readers.

[Chivalry, as has already been said, was introduced late into Spain, and although, as Mr. Courthope points out, feudalism, the system which originally gave rise to the chivalric conceptions, came to an end in Spain with the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the subsequent concentration of power in the hands of the monarch, yet Spain's backward place in the march of European progress made her acceptance of chivalric ideals no anomaly. Moreover the main feature of her development, the new dominance of ecclesiastical authority, was in no way opposed to the adoption of the institutions of chivalry, since even the zeal for orthodoxy of a Montalvo was satisfied by its ultimate religious basis. The attendance at religious ceremonies on the part of the Knights, and the conception of their military careers as a divine mission, have been already alluded to in the chapter on Religion.]

We find in fact in the Amadis, not only a representation of mediæval chivalry, but a representation which displays it in some of its youthful freshness. The features which Mr. Osborn Taylor describes as indicating "the emptying of the spirit of chivalry" do not appear in the Amadis. He says:- "One phase of this lay in the expansion of form and ceremony, while life was departing; as for example in the hypertrophe of heraldry and in the pageantry of the later tournaments, where such care was taken to prevent injury to the combatants. A subtler phase of chivalry's emptying lay in its precocity and in the excessive growth of fantasy and utter romance"⁽¹⁾.

These words which he uses in speaking of Froissart's chronicles, a monument of fourteenth century France, do not apply to Montalvo's work produced in Spain in the late fifteenth century. The chivalrous idea had been too recently implanted in the latter country to have been worked up to the state of artificial refinement which Mr. Taylor describes.

There is, for instance, very little pageantry connected with the combats in the Amadis. The matter is too vital for the spectators to

(1) Mediaeval Mind. Vol.I. p.557.

have eyes for the splendour of accessories. Rather they tremble and turn faint at the peril of their champion. For example, during Amadis' battle with Ardan Canileo, Oriana, watching at her chamber window, "throws herself on the ground and beats her face". The judges themselves are "much grieved"⁽¹⁾, and Arban and Angriote "endure great agony" on his account.⁽²⁾ In consequence it is the strength rather than the appearance of their accoutrements which the combatants consider, and descriptions of the splendour of their arms are rare. - Indeed the account of the armour given by Urganda to "the Knights of the Serpent"⁽³⁾ and of that worn by Amadis, when, as the Green Knight, he upholds Grasinda's beauty against the Roman Knights, are the only noteworthy exceptions. In the latter case we are told "the armour he wore Grasinda had provided for him; the breast plate was white as snow, the surcoat was of her colours, and laced with threads of gold, and his helmet and shield were of the same colour as the surcoat"⁽⁴⁾. The subsequent struggle would redeem the wearer from any suspicion of "carpet knighthood", were any such proof necessary. The account of this combat indeed makes perfectly clear that the chivalric combats in the Amadis were far from becoming merely spectacular. After throwing Salustanquido, he is challenged by Grandamor and Lasanor. "They, without speaking or making obeisance to the King, went into the lists, and the one taking the Greek Knight's shield dashed it against the pillar so violently that he brake it in pieces. . . . At this the Greek Knight was so enraged that his heart burnt for anger; he left Grasinda and caught his lance, rode full against the two Romans, and they at him". Both Romans are unhorsed "and the Greek Knight also alighted". "Then all were amazed to see his great prowess, and how little he cared for these enemies! he had so prest them that Lasanor cried for mercy, and while he was crying, the Greek Knight lifted up his foot and, kicking him in the breast, felled him; then he turned to the other who had broken his shield, but he could not endure his might, and ran towards the King that he might save him. The Greek Knight turned him, and drove him towards the pillar, and then he ran round the pillar avoiding the blows which his enemy aimed at him in exceeding wrath, and which fell sometimes on the stones and struck fire there, till at last being sorely wearied the Greek Knight caught

- (1) Amadis of Gaul. II. 98.
 (2) " " II. p.100.
 (3) " " II. 206.
 (4) " " III. 34.

him in his arms and squeezed him till all his strength was gone, then let him fall, and took his shield and dashed it upon his helmet so that it broke the helmet, and he made him mount upon the pillar, and then thrust him down, and placed the fragments of the shield upon his breast; next he took Lasanor by the leg and dragged him beside his brother, and all who were present thought he meant to behead them. And Don Grumedan cried out, "Methinks the Greek hath well avenged his shield"⁽¹⁾.

The breathless fury of a combat such as this is far removed from the bloodless contests which Mr. Taylor has in mind. Here at least no claim can be made that we find the ideals of courtesy in war pressed to an extreme conclusion. The original offence of the haughty brothers was against courtesy, but the Greek Knight's revenge on his already humiliated foes touches on the primitive and the brutal, and the whole account is one, it would be hard to parallel elsewhere in the literature of chivalry. It may be noticed in this connection that two of the rules of combat mentioned by Dunlop are apparently ignored here, as elsewhere in this romance. "It was not lawful", he says, "to wound an adversary's horse nor to strike a knight who took off his visor or helmet"⁽²⁾. Amadis "fears lest" his opponents "should kill his horse"⁽³⁾, a policy put in practice in other combats, and apparently strikes his helmetless enemy, an action which would seem to be included in the prohibition to which Dunlop refers. It would be difficult, we feel, in the face of such a combat to accuse the chivalry depicted in the Amadis "of fantasy and utter romance". The contests are in deadly earnest, and for the most part fought with good reason. A large proportion have a political significance, comparatively few are prompted by arrogant curiosity or result from a rash vow, and once Amadis actually rebukes three knights for fighting upon a ridiculous pretext. "'Sirs", he cried, "may it please ye stay awhile and tell me on what occasion your quarrel ariseth?"⁽⁴⁾. One of them replied "Because

(1) Amadis of Gaul. Vol.III. p.41, 2 & 3.

(2) History of Fiction. Vol.I. Cf. Morte D'Arthur, Bk.X. Chap.LXXI.

(Many knights held .. it was unknighly done in a tournament to kill a horse wilfully) Bk.X. Chap.XLII. etc.

This idea appears also in the Charlemagne romances. Cf. Sir Otuel.

Ellis' "Specimens of Early English romances". Vol.II. p.336.

By implication the disabling of the combatant by dashing off his helmet appears to support Dunlop's statement.

Cf. For instance the tournament of Lonazap. Morte D'Arthur. Bk.X. Chaps.LXVIII. LXIX. etc.

(3) Cf. Amadis of Gaul. I.213.

(4) Amadis of Gaul. I.111.

this knight maintaineth that he alone is able to achieve as great an enterprize as we two together". "Certes", said Amadis, "a slight cause, for the goodness of the one diminisheth no jot of the other", and they saw that he spake with good reason, and so endeth the strife." The chivalric idea of "honour" has not yet attained the hypersensitive development, which was to lead to the "quarrels on the seventh cause". There was still too much of real import to employ the sword. There is, it may be added, no recognition of the value of human life implied in Amadis' rebuke. The indifference which figured in some of the earlier romances remains. Briolania and her aunt entertain Amadis "with cheer and honour" after his wholesale slaughter of her people.⁽¹⁾ Galoar, after the fall he received from Don Florestan, rode on "so wrathful, that whatever knight encountered him in that time felt the effects, and many were slain for the act of another".⁽²⁾

The "chivalry" represented in the Amadis, indeed, while untouched by the artificiality which can be distinguished in its later development in countries where it had early grown and flourished, shows few traces of influence of the new ideas already spreading throughout Europe. Not only is life held cheap, and "to follow the honorable profession of arms" regarded as a duty to God and man; - but the actual warfare depicted is untouched by any foreshadowing of the great changes in military art which were to come. The knight is still the only recognised figure in battle. There is no appreciation of the part to be played by the common soldier. Already at Agincourt the English bowman had proved their equality with the flower of French chivalry, and in England the merchant classes had become a power to be reckoned with in the government of the country. But in the Amadis a knight is a match for any number of "villeins". Galoar routs easily "six villeins, armed with morions and battle-axes".⁽³⁾ In the encounter in the inhospitable knight's castle, he accounts singlehanded for thirteen halberders.⁽⁴⁾

The men at arms, too, as has been stated, play practically no part in their battles. Battles were still, in effect, gigantic jousts, where "great feats of chivalry" were witnessed, and the individual prowess and initiative of every knight was the chief factor in the

(1) Amadis of Gaul. Vol. I. 139.

Cf. The speedy marriage of Ywayn, and the wife of his slaughtered foe. "Ywayne and Gawin." Pub. "Ritsons Metrical Romances. Vol. I."

(2) Amadis of Gaul. I. 220.

(3) " " I. 77.

(4) " " I. 99.

tale of victory.

Only in fact in the description of the sea-fight can we trace any distinct indication of Spain's development. The vessels escorting Oriana to Rome are encountered by the fleet collected by Amadis and his friends. Seeing the enemy ahead the Romans "divided into three squadrons so that two cut off their landing, and that the third made right towards them in pursuit". The ships close together, each captain singling out another vessel for attack. "Amadis aimed at nothing but to grapple with that on board which Oriana was;" at length this was accomplished by means "of a great anchor" which is thrown into the ship. The vessel is then boarded, and soon is yielded up. Similar engagements meantime have taken place with the other vessels, and at length all are taken, "so that not one ship or boat escaped to carry tidings of their defeat".

The motive of a battle at sea is not a common feature of the chivalric romance, and its introduction here, (if it is to be regarded as an addition from Montalvo's pen), and perhaps the actual details of the fight, the manœuvre to surround the enemy, the grappling and boarding, would seem to reflect the effect on the writer's imagination of his country's new naval successes, and growing maritime power.

Thus we have seen that the Amadis presents a picture of the ideals of chivalry, in love and war. We have seen also that in preserving and presenting this picture Montalvo was not reviving the "goodly usage of these antique times" in opposition to the standards and ideals of his own age, since chivalry and its attendant conventions were late introduced into Spain, and flourished there with freshness and vigour when in the other countries of Western Europe it had already become a creed outworn. Only in ecclesiastical discipline had Spain achieved an advance on her mediæval self, and these new demands were amply met by the orthodoxy of Montalvo's version. [Hence it is that Amadis, while satisfying the ideals of Montalvo's sixteenth century readers, is nevertheless "the mirror of early chivalry". One

"Who revered his conscience as his king;

Whose glory was redressing human wrong;

Who loved one only, and who clave to her " .]

(1) Sea-battles occur in Parzival and in "Orendal". Also in The Decameron; in the 7th and 10th novels of the second day, the 4th of the 4th day, and the 1st of fifth day. In the latter the use of grappling irons is referred to.

"War" in the "Arcadia"
- - - - -

"Battles and tournaments", says Mr Sidney Lee of the Arcadia, "fill a large space of the canvas."⁽¹⁾ Sidney was himself a soldier, and one we know who loved a good war-song, hence it is not surprising that war plays a considerable part in his pastoral romance.

The recitals of war-like enterprizes are introduced in Musidorus' and Pyrocles' stories of their past life. Jousts take place at the Iberian Court and in Arcadia itself, and, with the siege of Amphialus' castle where the young princesses are imprisoned, the chief characters engage in actual warfare.

As in the Amadis, there is considerable variety in the nature of the fighting described.

We have single combats,⁽²⁾ set combats between three and three,⁽³⁾ fights against heavy odds, seven or eight to one,⁽⁴⁾ three score to three etc.,⁽⁵⁾ desperate stands against innumerable enemies,⁽⁶⁾ sieges⁽⁷⁾ and pitched battles⁽⁸⁾

Many features characteristic of mediæval chivalry can be traced. The careers of the young princes resemble those of the errant knights, "querant aventures": although their motives and their actions sometimes suggest the newer ideals. Together, devoted friends, in a relationship which recalls the older brotherhood-in-arms, they wander "in unknowne order to see more of the world, and to imploy those gifts esteemed rare in them to the good of mankinde"⁽⁹⁾ They perform many "private chivalries,"⁽¹⁰⁾ they "deliver" countries "of both cruel monsters and monstrous men,"⁽¹¹⁾ and wrest kingdoms from unjust usurpers or Tyrannous or blood-thirsty monarchs. They are inspired by the same lust for honour, which we saw was the

(1) National Dictionary of Biography

(2) cf. Arcadia, ed Oskar Sommers pp. 153 181 seq. 291 seq. 316 seq. etc.

(3) cf. the combat of the King of Pontus, Leonatus and Musidorus against King Otaves and two giants, to decide the issue of the War p. 208 seq. cf. also p. 161 seq.

(4) p. 182

(5) p. 198

(6) cf. the stand made by Musidorus & Pyrocles on the scaffold, where the former was to have been executed at the command of the King of Phrygia - p.137 seq. cf. also p. 190 seq.

(7) See p. 160 seq. Also the protracted siege of Amphialus' castle by the "Basilians"

(8) See p. 266 seq.

(9) Arcadia ed. Oskar Somers p. 142

(10) " " " 147

(11) " " " 141

ruling passion of the knights of the Amadis.

Of Pyrocles, we are told - "the naturall hunger" of "high honour, which was in him, suffered him not to account a resting seate" of such reputation as he had already gained, "but still to make one action beget another, whereby his doings might send his praise to others' mouthes to rebound againe true contentment to his spirite"⁽¹⁾ His cousin is not behind him in ambition. Their participation in the various wars is directed by this principle. Thus they take Erona's part "both because the weaker ... and because they heard the King of Armenia (her enemy) had in his company three of the most famous men living for matter of arms"⁽²⁾ - considerations very similar to those which determined Amadis and his father and brother to espouse the cause of Lisvarte.⁽³⁾

Philantus, another character, confesses that he has taken up arms against Amphialus through "a liking of martiall matters without anie mislike of (his) person."⁽⁴⁾

Thus Sidney has animated his characters with the spirit⁽⁵⁾ of ancient chivalry, binding them under the tyrannie of Honour, and sending them forth through the world "to redress wrongs and to gain the praise of prowess".

The joust motive is of course an obvious inheritance from the older romances, and the combats in the Arcadia are drawn after the chivalric model. The Arcadian gentlemen joust for reasons similar to those which moved the mediæval knights. Lovers uphold the beauty of their mistresses against all comers;⁽⁶⁾ besiegers and besieged break the monotony of the blockade by single combats;⁽⁷⁾ and appointed champions fight out the issue of their respective causes in the lists.⁽⁸⁾

(1) Arcadia ed. Sommers p. 141

(2) " " " 147

(3) cf. Amadis of Gaul Vol II p. 204 and Vol. IV p. 178, where Gasquilan assists Lisvarte in the hope of engaging Amadis in battle not for any enmity "he bore to him, but because of the renown of (his) great chivalry"

(4) Arcadia ed Sommers p. 286

(5) Arcadia. ed. Oskar Sommers p. 292

(6) cf. Morte Darthur Bk. IV. chap. XX Bk. VIII chap. XXVII Bk. IX chap. XIII and Amadis of Gaul Vol. III p. 29 seq. where the green Knight upholds Grasinda's claim to be the fairest damsel

(7) cf. The battles between Sir Launcelot and Sir Gawaine during the siege of Benwick Morte Darthur Bk. XX Chap. XX.

(8) cf. The battle between Sir Tristram and Sir Marhaus, to decide the question of the "truage" of Cornwall. Morte Darthur Bk VIII chap V. seq. "Richard Coeur de Lion" where a battle is decided by a combat between three champions from either side
Quoted "Ellis' Specimens of Early English Romances" Vol. 11. p. 267
Guy of Warwick l. 3500 seq. cf. Also Amadis of Gaul I. 56

The procedure is that of the earlier jousts. The aggressor sends a formal challenge by messenger,⁽¹⁾ or hangs up his shield in token of defiance.⁽²⁾ Judges are duly appointed and the lists prepared.⁽³⁾ The combatants charge at a given signal. In the serious combats, when one opponent was unhorsed, the other alighted,⁽⁴⁾ and an engagement with swords on foot ensued.⁽⁵⁾ The actual jousts however consisted only of the tilt on horseback, which was repeated until one of the combatants was unhorsed,⁽⁶⁾ or until six staves were broken, in which case the victory was adjudged to him who had scored the most telling hits.⁽⁷⁾

In this latter modification of the older order we are brought indeed to the point of departure from the chivalry of the Middle Ages proper. Mr Taylor describes the visible signs of "the emptying of the spirit of chivalry", as "the expansion of form and ceremony, as for example in the hypertrophe of heralding^{ing} and the pageantry of the later tournaments, where such care was taken to prevent injury to the combats^{ants}" and in "the excessive growth of fantasy and utter romance."⁽⁸⁾

These words, quoted before in the dealing with the Amadis, express the change which is visible in the "chivalry" of the Arcadia.

The "Iberian" jousts for instance are purely spectacular. The combatants use blunted weapons. "The manner was that the forenoone they should run at "tilt", with wooden staves, and "in afternoone in a broad field in manner of battell,"⁽⁹⁾ not differing otherwise from earnest, but that the sharpness of the weapons was taken away.⁽¹⁰⁾ They had their value no doubt as exhibitions of

(1) Arcadia. ed Oskar Sommers p. 286 also 297

(2) Arcadia. ed Sommers p. 69

(3) " 72 etc.

(4) Traces of the old restriction which held it "unknightly done to kill a horse wilfully" are preserved, and this "courtesy" is extended to actual battle. When an old knight killed the Black Knight's horse to aid Amphialus the latter cried out "that he had dishonoured him". (p.310) Anaxius, it is true, threatened to kill Pyrocles' horse if he did not dismount, but it is stated expressly that "he observed but few compliments in matters of arms". (p.186)

(5) cf. 72 74 etc. Phebilus, having been "stricken quite from the saddle", "would faine with the sworde have revenged it, but that being contrary to the order set downe Basilius would not suffer." (p.74)

(6) cf. 72, 74 etc.

(7) cf. p. 74

(8) The mediæval mind. Vol. I p. 557

(9) Arcadia ed Sommers p. 196

(10) " " 198

skill; - the Corinthians, "by continual martiall exercises without blood", become "perfect in that bloody art";⁽¹⁾ but on occasions they did not even tilt in earnest. One competitor Lelius for instance was "bound" by his mistress to "run over his adversary's head for so many courses",⁽²⁾ a promise which he faithfully fulfills to the disgust of his opponent. The loss of the interest of a serious purpose was counterbalanced no doubt for the spectators by the increased pomp and pageantry.

The knights indulge in heraldic devices and ornament of the most fantastic nature. The following are perhaps among the most striking although they are by no means exceptional.

One Knight rode into the lists "hidden man and horse in a great figure lively representing the Phoenix", "The fire took so artificially, as it consumed the birde, and left him to rise, as it were, out of the ashes thereof".⁽³⁾ Another, whose device is perhaps still more significant in that it shows the rather incongruous modification of the chivalric ideal by the new vogue of the Pastoral, "came forth, whose manner of entering, was with bagpipes instead of trumpets; a shepherds boy before him for a page, and by him a dozen appparelled like shepherds ... who carried his lances, which were so coloured with hooks near the mourn that they pretily represented sheephooks. His own furniture was drest over with wooll, so enriched with Jewells artificially placed, that one would have thought it a mariage between the lowest and the highest. His impresa was a sheep marked with pitch, with this word "spotted to be knowne".⁽⁴⁾ These extravagances are not confined to these particular jousts. Philantus, who has undertaken "to goe with Artesia thorow all the courts of Greece to give her beauty the principality over all others",⁽⁵⁾ .. enters the lists to maintain her claim against the Arcadian Knights equally fantastically equipped. He "was all in white, having on his bases and caparison imbroidered a waving water: at each side whereof he had nettings cast over, in which were divers fishes naturally made, and so pretily, that as the horse stirred, the fishes seemed to strive and leape in the nette".⁽⁶⁾

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|---------|----|-----|
| (1) | Arcadia ed. | Sommers | p. | 195 |
| (2) | " | " | " | 197 |
| (3) | " | " | " | 197 |
| (4) | " | " | " | 196 |
| (5) | " | " | " | 68 |
| (6) | " | " | " | 72 |

Even the single combats before the besieged castle, between members of the opposing forces, which were necessarily of a more serious nature and often ended fatally, are accompanied also by this fantastic pageantry. Argalus goes to meet his death, "armed in a white armour, which was gilded over with knots of womans haire, which came downe from the crest of his head-peece, and spread it selfe in rich quantitie over his armour". His furniture is equally ornate. "It was cut out into the fashion of an eagle, whereof the beake (made into a rich iewell) was fastened to the saddle, the taile covered the crooper of the horse, and the wings served for trappers; which falling of ech side, as the horse stirred, the bird seemed to flie".⁽¹⁾

Sidney then depicts the chivalric convention of the combat, - of the combat as the final appeal to the might which is right, and as the supreme test of worth and character, - in its decadence, when it had become for the most part a mere show.

In so doing he was not simply re-animating an outworn tradition, or deliberately degrading an ancient custom, for amusement's sake, he was rather representing the actual legacy of the chivalric convention which had come down to his own time. The jousts in the Arcadia, as we have seen, were for the most part mere shows. It is thus that the mediæval "Tourney" had survived into the Elizabethan era. Various records of "justs" at the Tilt, tourneie, and barriers["] performed under Elizabeth's patronage have come down to us. Nicholls' "Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth" preserves a record from which it appears that certain jousts were actually held annually by established custom. Under the heading "of the late actions in Armes since the reign of Elizabeth", we read "Now to conclude the matter of assignation, you are to know that this noble gentleman by her majestie's express commandment is yerely ... personally to present them," and adds that up to the time of writing "these annual actions have been most nobly performed".⁽²⁾ Jousts then were still a court amusement.

It appears moreover that Sidney himself was accustomed to take part in these exercises.

Holinshed comments on his attendance at "justs, tourneis, triumphs and other such roiall pastimes",⁽³⁾ for "at all such

(1) Arcadia. ed Oskar Sommers. 293

(2) The Progresses and public processions of Queen Elizabeth (pub 1823) Vol. III. p. 50

(3) Chronicles. Pub. 1807-8 Vol. IV. p. 883

disports he commonlie made one". He figures at several of the jousts, descriptions of which are in Nicholl's collection. In 1580 we read, "when an honourable challenge was likewise brought before her majestie by the Earle of Arundel, who with Sir William Drurie, challenged all comers," Sir Philip Sidney was among the defendants⁽¹⁾

In 1581, he played a part as one of the four challengers in the "triumph shewed before the Queenes Majestie and the French Ambassadors" on Whitsun Monday or Tuesday.⁽²⁾ There the gallery "where the Queen's person should be placed" was called ("and not without cause") the Castle of Beauty, and was besieged in show by the four challengers "the foster-children of desire". So far pure pageant, but at the close "each defendant ran six courses against the former challengers: who perfoumed their parts so valiantlie on both sides, that their prowesse hath demerited perpetuale memorie, and worthlie won honour both to themselves and their native countrie, as Fame hath the same reported." Here we have the combined attractions of spectacular magnificence and skill displayed, which we traced in the Arcadia.

As there, the armour is magnificent. Sidney for example is described, as proceeding "in verie sumptuous manner, with armour part blew, and the rest gilt, and ingraven, with four spare horses having caparisons and furniture verie rich and costlie, as some of cloth of gold imbrodered with pearle".⁽³⁾ Indeed he seems to have been especially ingenious in inventing elaborate devices. Holinshed notes that at jousts and torneis "he would bring in such a livelie gallant show, so agreeable to everie point which is required for the expressing a perfect devise". "So rich," he continues, was he "in those inventions, as if he surpassed not all, he would equall or at least second the best".⁽⁴⁾

This substitution of pageantry for bloodshed, and in some measure of skill for mere physical endurance, does not represent only the degradation of an outworn ideal, it shows rather the modification of the older ideals by the broader outlook which was the product of New thought. "The Arcadia" it has been said

(1) Progresses II. 334

(2) "The Progresses" etc. Vol. II. p. 312 seq.

(3) The Progresses etc. Vol. II. p. 318

(4) The Chronicles

Holinshed (pub. 1807-8) Vol. IV. p. 883

"represents Sidney's noble ideals of mediæval chivalry".⁽¹⁾
 It does in fact present the chivalric conventions coloured by the imagination of the young man, who was essentially a child of his time, who was a friend of Spenser, a nephew of Leicester, and at once the godson of Philip II, and the friend of the Huguenot leader Languet, who had contemplated a voyage of discovery with Drake, and died in the cause dear to every Elizabethan Englishman, - fighting against the dominance of Spain.

The very modification in the nature of the joust, by which the danger to life and limb is avoided, is in itself characteristic of the new conception of the value of human life. Jousts had been held for a court pastime in the chivalric romances,⁽²⁾ but these, although not fought to a mortal issue, were attended by grave risks of injury to the combatants. The least ill which befell the vanquished was a fall in his weighty armour, and fatal accidents were liable to occur, even when the tournament was not, as sometimes happened, made the means of paying off an old score.⁽³⁾ The jousts in the *Arcadia*, for the most part, as has been seen, were of a very different order. The combats before Amphialus' castle occasionally ended mortally, but the influence of the new thought is to be traced equally clearly in the writer's treatment of these fatal issues. The combat between Amphialus and Argalus, "the cruellest that any present eye had seen",⁽⁴⁾ is as rigorous as a combat of early romance. Their swords "like canons battering downe the walls of their armour" made "breaches in almost everie place for troupes of wounds to enter."⁽⁵⁾ But the newer thought is revealed in the close where "Amphialus is so moved with pittie" - at the sight of Parthenia's grief, - that "he honoured his adversaries death with tears".⁽⁶⁾ There is a sympathy with the vanquished which is not so distinguishable in the earlier romances, and which may perhaps

(1) Cambridge History of English Literature Vol. III. chap.16 p.

(2) cf. *Morte Darthur* Bk. VII. Chap. XXVII: Bk.X Chap. XL Bk. XVIII Chap. X.

cf. also "Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight" pub.O.E.Text Society 142 "justed ful jolile thise gentyle knigtes".

(3) cf. the death of Percival the elder, who is slain by the Red Knight at the jousts held in honour of the birth of his son. See *The Romance of Sir Perceval of Galles* ed.J.O.Halliwell

1.121 seq.

(4) *Arcadia*. ed. O. Sommers 293

(5) " " " 293

(6) " " " 296

be regarded as paralleled by the new sympathy with the unhappy lovers, which has been commented on already. Argalus, refusing "life by request"⁽¹⁾ and dying in the arms of his agonised wife, is the central figure of the picture, rather than the victor, who is left regretting his success. After the death of Parthenia, who has challenged and fought with him as "the Knight of the Tombs," Amphialus once more is "astonished with griefe compassion and shame, detesting his fortune that made him unfortunate in victory".⁽²⁾ This regret for life spilt intrudes also into the description of battle.

At the death of Ismenus by his hand, Philanax, it is said, "could have wished the blow ungiven," when "he saw him fall like a faire apple, which some uncourteous bodie (breaking his bowe) should throwe down before it was ripe".⁽³⁾ Indeed, largely as the war-motive figures in the romance, and highly as Sidney himself appears to have regarded the profession of arms, there is a slight suggestion of the new condemnation of "War" expressed in the Utopia.⁽⁴⁾ The ugly side of war is recognised. Of the engagement between the "Basilians and the Amphialans we read" at first, though it were terrible, yet terror was decked so bravelie with rich furniture, guilt swords, shining armours, pleasant pensils, that the eye with delight had scarce leasure to be afraide",⁽⁵⁾ But a little later, "all universally defiled with dust, blood, broken armours, mangled bodies, tooke away the maske, and sett forth Horror in his owne horrible manner".⁽⁵⁾ Of the same battle, we are told, that "the clashing of armour etc. was the first part of that ill-agreeing musicke, which was beautified, with the griselinesse of wounds, the rising of dust, the hideous falls and grones of the dying".⁽⁶⁾ "The very horses ran scattered .. abashed with the madnesse of mankind."⁽⁶⁾ There is also a suggestion of the thought that military glory is not the highest form of ambition. Speaking of martial achievements, Zelmane (Pyrocles) suggests the reason, why women do not participate, may be "because the sweetness of their dispositions makes them see the vainesse of these things which we account glorious".⁽⁷⁾

(1) Arcadia ed. O. Sommers p. 295

(2) " " " 310

(3) " " " 271

(4) cf. Utopia

"Warre is a thing very beastly they do detest and abhorre.

Cambridge University Press p. 131

(5) Arcadia ed. O. Sommers p. 271

(6) " " " 268

(7) " " " 53

Perhaps a parallel to Sidney's attitude towards this question may be drawn from Shakespeare's "Prince Hal", without giving ground for a charge of wanton fantasy. "Harry" has amused his youth with other than martial sports, and is ready to jeer at Hotspur, "who kills some six or seven dozen^{of} Scots at a breakfast", and cries "fie upon this quiet life"⁽¹⁾ Yet when the necessity comes, he plays the hero of Agincourt.

A suggestion of the new position is even to be traced in the wandering of the young princes, which have before been cited as recalling the errantry of mediæval knights. Musidorus and Pyrocles do indeed as Amadis and his friends "follow the honorable cause of arms to gain praise for prowess, and to redress wrongs". But the wrongs they would redress are of a different nature and a wider import. Their actions are once described as of "a princely and as it were governing virtue"⁽²⁾ and they are directed not so much to restore his rights to the individual - although occasionally as in the case of Leonatus⁽³⁾ this motive prevails, - but rather to relieve communities from a common fear, such as the "monsters and monstrous men"⁽⁴⁾ already alluded to, and redeem nations from tyrannical government. This latter ideal of preserving a people from oppression is apparent in the action of Musidorus when - after their resistance to the blood-thirsty King of Pontus has been the means of raising a successful revolt - the crown of Pontus is offered to him. He - "thinking it a greater goodness to give a kingdom than get a kingdome"⁽⁵⁾ relinquishes the sceptre in favour of a cousin of the late king, an aged gentleman of approved goodness. But first he secures "with conditions and cautions of the conditions .. that not onely that gouvernour - but the nature of the gouvernement should be no way apt to decline to tyranny".⁽⁵⁾

This feeling against tyrants was typical of the Renaissance which opened up once more the study of the advocates of the "old republican tradition". Mr Fisher in "Republican tradition in Europe" speaks of the preoccupation of "Italian writers of the early sixteenth century with the question of tyrannicide"; "it

- (1) Henry IV. Pt. 1 Act II Sc. 4.
(2) Arcadia. ed. Sommers p. 141
(3) " " " 146
(4) " " " 141
(5) " " " 139

was natural," he continues, "that the evils of tyranny should become a standard theme with the moralist and the preacher ... Brutus and Cassius whom Dante the imperialist, living in an age which had lost the knowledge of Plutarch's lives consigned with Judas Iscariot to the lowest abyss of the inferno, were heroes to the contemporaries of the Visconti and the Borgia"⁽¹⁾ The lawfulness of deposing tyrants was also urged by the Huguenot writers, and it was by these no doubt that Sidney was most influenced. "The "Vindiciae contra tyrannos" deals in part with the questions, to what extent it is lawful to resist a Prince either oppressing or ruining the commonwealth, and whether neighbouring Princes may lawfully succour the subjects of other princes, who are persecuted for religion, or suffer under flagrant tyranny," and this, if not actual work of Languet, Sidney's friend and correspondent, was produced by a member of the Huguenot group with which Sidney would have consorted while in Paris, and expressed views so similar to Languet's own that he was for a long while credited with its authorship.

The latter question it may be added had a direct application to the revolt of the United Provinces, a cause to further which Sidney gave his life.

This recognition of the rights of the subject as against the ruler, did not, as Mr Fisher points out, rest with these writers on democratic theories, and might even be combined with anti-democratic views.

The Rev. Figgis in the Cambridge History emphasises this point in connection with the "Vindiciae." He says, "The permission of insurrection is severely limited:" No right of the individual to rebel is recognised. "The right of resistance and deposition inheres in those whom the author, developing a phrase of Calvin, describes as "ephors", that is to the assembly of estates and to those great officers who are not royal servants but public functionaries".⁽²⁾ Mr Fisher, too, speaking of Johannes Althusius (whose *Politicae Methodicae Digesta* published 1610, belongs to the same school of thought) says that "while allowing in the most distinct terms the sovereignty of the general will, the German burgher has nothing but contempt for the people through whom the will is made manifest."⁽³⁾

(1) The Republican tradition in Europe by H.A. Fisher p.17

(2) Cambridge History. Vol. III p. 761

(3) The Republican tradition in Europe p.38

So Sidney has scant sympathy with anything of the nature of a popular rising.

The rebels in the Arcadia are severely handled. His treatment of the fight with the excited mob is extraordinarily brutal.

"A butcher lifting up a great leaver, calls Zelmane all the vile names of a butcherly eloquence. But she ...hitte him so severely on the side of his face that she left nothing but the nether jawe, where the tongue still wagged, as willing to say more; if his masters remembrance had served".

Dorus pierces a miller, (who offers "two milch kine, and four fatte hogs for his life") "quite through from one eare to the other, which toke it very unkindlie to feele such news before they heard of them, instead of hearing to be put to such feeling", and, "leaving the miller to vomit out his soul in wine and bloud, with his two-hand sword strake of another quite by the waste, who the night before had dreamed he was grown a couple and .. had braged of his dreame .. among his neighbours." This blow so "amazed" a young painter who had come thither in search of copy, that he "stood still, while Dorus with a turne of his sword strake off both his hands. And so the painter returned, well skilled in wounds, but with never a hand to perfourme his skill".⁽¹⁾

The description is, of course, of a desperate encounter, and as such it is bound to partake of the hideousness of war, but the note of jeering laughter to be detected in Sidney's account of the rustics' discomfiture, betrays his entire want of sympathy with the malcontents. Yet their grievances were in fact not altogether imaginary. They had to complain of their "absentee" sovereign, (having conceived "a direct mislike of (his) living from among them"),⁽²⁾ of the use made of the treasures accumulated, and of their lack of any voice in the government. They may well, in fact, have echoed complaints which Sidney had already heard uttered. "Why" - they demanded - "could none but great men and gentlemen be admitted into counsell"? "The commons, forsooth, were too plain-headed to say their opinions, but yet their blood and sweat must maintain all"⁽²⁾ With such grievances Sidney appears to have had little sympathy. He was certainly guiltless of any leanings towards a republican ideal.

"Popular license is", he says "a many headed tyranny" ⁽³⁾ His

(1) Arcadia. ed. Sommers. p. 216

(2) " " " 222

(3) " " " 138

attitude seems rather that of an aristocratic conservatism - an exaltation of law and order, with a none too high opinion of "the many headed multitude, whom inconstancie onely doth guide to well doing",⁽¹⁾ - which seems to have been general among the young Elizabethans. Such for instance are the political views with which Shakespere is generally credited. Spenser too displayed a harshness foreign to his nature in his recommendations as to the treatment of the troublesome Irish peasantry, and his attitude in general towards popular discontent is reflected in the Fairy Queen in the episode of the Gyant, who boasted he could restore equity and attracted thereby "the rabble rout".⁽²⁾

It must be admitted that he ^{still} even preserves something of the old knightly exclusiveness in the Arcadia. In addition to this harsh treatment of the peasant rising, the rustic character in general is drawn with an unsympathetic hand. Dametas, Miso and Mopsa (the old shepherd, and his wife and daughter) are made particularly unattractive. They are moreover used by their social superiors, (from whom in most cases it must be admitted, they have deserved such treatment), without any consideration for their feelings. Dorus sows the seed of mortal dissention between Miso and her husband to facilitate his flight with Pamela, and he does not hesitate to make love to Mopsa as a cover for his addresses to the real object of his affections. Sidney too retains the old idea of the unquestioned superiority of the knight in an appeal to force. Zelmane makes the rioters "perceive the ods between an Eagle and a Kight."⁽³⁾ He, Basilius and Dorus are a match for the whole "mutinous multitude!" Unscathed they fight "until the verie killing wearying them," they fear "lest they should be conquered with conquering".⁽³⁾

This is the more surprising, since the Arcadia recognises the great change which had revolutionised warfare. Although single combat plays its part, and even the description of the battle is largely concerned with feats of individual prowess, the importance of stratagem and the evolution of troops is also recognised. Amphialus, forgetting his part as commander in the excitement of engaging his immediate assailants, is sharply reprov'd. "You .. stande now like a private souldier, setting your credite upon particular

(1) Arcadia ed. Sommers p. 220

(2) Fairie Queen Bk. V. Canto 2. Stanza 33 onwards

(3) Arcadia ed. Oskar Sommers p. 215

fighting, while you may see Basilius with his host is getting between you and your towne."⁽¹⁾ Musidorus "was acquainted with strategemes,"⁽²⁾ by some experience, but especially by reading histories,⁽²⁾ and he makes use of his knowledge while commanding the Helots. Cardamila is taken by a successful ruse, - Musidorus and his Company gaining entry into the town in guise of Arcadian deserters.⁽²⁾

The common soldier is an important figure on the battlefield. "The Black Knight" is followed by "valiantest" and "vilest" alike,⁽³⁾ and the Helots, who before "had fought" rather with beastlike furie than any soldierly discipline⁽⁴⁾ well trained under Demagoras and his successors, become dangerous enemies.

Thus, in the Arcadia, Sidney represents the knightly ideals of fighting, both as a pastime and as a serious career, modified by new conditions. The one has become hardly more than a form, the other has adopted new causes and methods. It is perhaps more important, in view of the marked nature of these changes, to emphasise again the other aspect of his relation to the earlier chivalry, the debt that he owes, and the living on in his work of the old ideals in different guise. Sidney, as was shown in the opening of the chapter, makes considerable use of the mediæval motives of warfare. The many varieties described can be paralleled from the Amadis, while the motives of the tournament and the quest are of course prominent features of the chivalric romance. But in addition to this use of romance motives as a framework, Sidney himself is animated by the quintessence of the chivalric spirit. To an insistence upon the fundamental principle of the ideal of courtesy in war, - the refusal of any undue advantage over fellow or enemy, - he owed his death itself. Fulke Greville records the incident and explains the sentiment upon which he acted. Sidney "remembring that upon just grounds the ancient sages describe the worthiest persons to be ever best armed - had compleatly put on his", but "meeting the marshall of the camp lightly armed (whose honour in that art would not suffer this unenvious Themistocles to sleep) the unspotted emulation of his heart made him cast off his cuisses, and so, by the secret influence of destinie, to disarm that part, where God (it seems) had resolved to strike him"⁽⁵⁾.

(1) Arcadia. ed. Oskar Sommers p. 272

(2) " " " 26

(3) " " " 271

(4) " " " 25

(5) The life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney by Sir Fulke Grevil pub. 1652 p. 143

Spenser takes him as the embodiment of the most typically chivalric among the virtues, that of courtesy, and he displays those virtues loyalty, courtesy, and honour, which we have regarded as typical of the chivalric ideals, and which we saw set forth in the Amadis. His loyalty like that of most of the Elizabethans had something of the personal character, which distinguished the Feudal relationship. He was courteous with a courtesy which endeared him to the whole nation, and which prompted the gracious action in the battle field⁽¹⁾ which fame ever connects with his name. For the virtue of honour, - he is accepted always as the original of Spenser's perfect courtier, "in whose beauteous thought -

Regard of honour harbours more than aught".

(1) Life. Fulke Greville p. 145

"War" in Le Grand Cyrus

The warfare, depicted in the *Amadis of Gaul* and the *Arcadia*, has been examined with a view to seeing how far it was drawn after the ancient chivalric model, and how far it represented the conditions prevailing at the time.

In the case of *Le Grand Cyrus*, part of the ground has been covered already. M. Victor Coussin⁽¹⁾ has proved conclusively that the allegorical representation of contemporary persons and events is sustained in those parts of the novel which deal with Cyrus' military achievements, as elsewhere. Artamene represents "le general dans Condé" as faithfully as it depicts him as "l'homme et l'amant". Certain of the battles and sieges reproduce the military engagements of the day.

Thus the contemporary key identifies the siege of Cumes with that of Dunkerque (1646), the battle of Thybarra with that of Lens, and the taking of "Le Chateau sur le bord de l'Araxe" with "l'affaire de Charenton pendant le siège de Paris." M. Coussin adds a further identification — "Malgré ce silence étrange, nous établirons que la formidable bataille que Cyrus livre aux Massagètes est certainement celle de Recroy"; and shows how closely Mlle de Scudéri follows her model in the case of this and the other exploits. He shows too that the personal interest in his men, the care for detail, and the positive passion for order and discipline displayed by Cyrus were also the distinguishing features of Condé, from whom they were undoubtedly drawn.

Any new departures in the treatment of warfare may thus be assumed to be the reflection of the times in which Mlle de Scudéri lived and wrote. It remains however to see what these novel characteristics were, to draw some comparison with the warfare of the chivalric tradition, and to trace if possible the living on of the older conventions, although greatly modified.

Such a study as M. Coussin's suggests at once the nature of the main difference which marks off the warfare of *Le Grand Cyrus* from that of the earlier romance. The change already suggested in the *Arcadia* is complete. The common soldiery has superseded the knight, and the skilful evolution of troops, the performance of feats of individual prowess. Hence the stress laid upon Cyrus'

(1) "La Société Française au dix septième siècle, d'après le *Grand Cyrus* de Mlle de Scudéri."

position with his men, - their affection for him,⁽¹⁾ his tact in dealing with them,⁽²⁾ and the inspiring effect of his presence and his harangues⁽³⁾ His care and prudence as a general is also emphasised. "Il savoit non seulement combien il avoit de troupes, de munitions, et de machines, mais il savoit encore précisément quelles estoient les troupes, à qui il se devoit confier en une expédition dangereuse, il savoit la capacité des capitaines, et jusqu'où pouvoit aller la valeur de leurs soldats".⁽⁴⁾ His troops too are well-trained.

We are given an account of their performance at a review.

"Les troupes s'alloient mettre en bataille sous les ordres d'Artamene qui marchoit à leur teste. L'on eust dit que tout ce grand corps estoit attaché a luy par une chaine invisible: plus qu'au moindre signe de la main ou de la voix il le faisoit mouvoir comme il luy plaisoit: tantost a droit, tantost a gauche: tantost en avant, tantost en arriere, tantost en doublant les rangs, tantost en elargissant les files; enfin jamais sergeant de bataille n'a mieux entendu son mestier qu' Artamene l'entendit".⁽⁵⁾

In an attempt to prove the warfare in the Cyrus representative on the whole of the military events and personages of her time, allowance has of course to be made for Mlle de Scudéri's professed historical purpose, and indeed in two instances at least, as will appear, the authoress seems embarrassed by her double aim.⁽⁶⁾

The actual methods of warfare are drawn from her classical original. The engines of war employed, for instance, belong to the earlier civilisation, rather than that which knew the use of gun-powder. Moveable towers are brought against the besieged cities,⁽⁷⁾ battering rams,⁽⁸⁾ and "Les machines destineés a pousser des pierres avec impetuosité sur les ennemis".⁽⁹⁾ In one instance, in the

(1) cf. II. 105 etc.

(2) I. 643. Artamene, having cause to reprove "un vieux capitaine," "voulut luy faire une reprimande qui le corrigeast sans l'irriter..." "Il luy manda qui il le conjuroit de ne forcer pas un jeune soldat d'avoir l'audace de reprendre et de chastier un vieux capitaine"

(3) ~~Le Grand Cyrus~~ cf. M. Cousin's study for emphasis of this point

(4) Le Grand Cyrus, V. 3. (p. 107.)

(5) Le Grand Cyrus II. 573

(6) cf. Pages 133, 134.

(7) Le Grand Cyrus V 1262 cf. also Xenophon, Life of Cyrus Bk 6 Chap 3

(8) " " " cf. Life Bk. 7 Chap. 4

(9) " " " V. 1263 See Life of Cyrus. Bk.6. Chap.1. for "fabrics and engines".

account of the siege of Cumes, as M. Coussin points out, the authoress is somewhat embarrassed by the difficulty of describing the effect of an explosion of a mine, - necessary here to preserve the parallel to the assault of Dunkerque - without being guilty of anachronism. She has to content herself with allowing the Medes to undermine part of the town. The soldiers are armed with "les arcs", "les arbalestes", "les frondes", "les javelots".⁽¹⁾ The Persian gentlemen "portent d'ordinaire un arc, un carquois, une épée et deux javelots,"⁽²⁾ weapons equally distinct from the equipments of mediæval knight or gentleman of the Fronde. They advance into battle, their chariots "armés de faux a l'entour des essieux"⁽³⁾.

The stratagems, too, are often those employed by the original Cyrus. Thus Xenophon describes how the Medes took Babylon by diverting the course of the river Euphrates which flowed through the city⁽⁴⁾. The device by which the river Gindes⁽⁵⁾ is split up into a hundred and sixty streams, and so rendered passable has also historical foundation.

Nevertheless, in spite of this representation of the contemporary warfare, and this use of classical material, certain features can still be distinguished, which are characteristic of the mediæval chivalry. The secret departure of the young hero, attended only by two faithful companions, and his wanderings in search of novelty and interest, and such adventure as civilisation will allow him, is at least reminiscent of the quest of the knight errant although influenced perhaps by the ideas associated with the contemporary "Grand tour". His adoption too of a military career in her father's army, in order to win by conspicuous bravery and prowess, the esteem of his mistress, is also mediæval in conception. It suggests, as has been pointed out, the clause in the "Code of love" "Probitas sola quemcunque dignum facit amore". Like his earlier prototypes he is invincible, "Un homme qui ne combatit guère sans vaincre"⁽⁶⁾. His feats of arms are prodigious. In the

(1) I. 646.

(2) I. 232.

(3) "Le Grand Cyrus" V. 1232. Cf. also Life of Cyrus Bk. 6 Chap. 1

(4) Le Grand Cyrus II. 522 seq.
cf. Life of Cyrus Bk. VII chap. 6

(5) Le Grand Cyrus I. 807

cf. Herodotus Bk. I 188

(6) Le Grand Cyrus I. 56

battle, we are told, "Artamene faisoit des choses, qu'on ne peut plus imaginer que dire".⁽¹⁾ At another, Chrisante declares "je n'oserois presque croire ce que je luy vis faire en cette occasion".⁽¹⁾

Thus, like the lover of chivalric romance, Cyrus wins his mistress' heart partly through his military achievements. Like the mediæval lover, too, he has to fight for the possession of her. Cyrus spends years in a fruitless endeavour to rescue her from her various abductors. To this end, "il gaignit de batailles, assujettit de Provinces, et soumit de Royaumes,"⁽²⁾ and having done all this, he has still to fight for her in single combat with his great rival the King of Assyria.

In "Le Grand Cyrus" the combat lives on as a recognised means of deciding a disputed point. In one instance the issue of a war is actually decided by a combat between a fixed number of picked men from either side, a recognized chivalric device, of which instances have been pointed out in *Amadis* and in the *Arcadia*. In the war between Ciaxare and the King of Phrygia, the latter offers "de terminer leurs differents par un combat de deux cens hommes contre deux cens". The offer is accepted and the combat is fought out to the death. Yet a curious modification of this especially ancient motive appears in the clause, by which the Princes are to choose their champions "sans considerer le rang ny la qualité," for "la seule valeur" is to suffice "pour estre receu en ce combat". The issue of this battle, disputed owing to Artane's treachery in hiding among the dead and then claiming the victory, is decided by a further single combat before witnesses between him and Artamene.

More often however the combat is used to decide personal disputes, after the manner of the duel in the author's own day, and here Mlle de Scudéri seems to be aware of the doubtful propriety of introducing so modern a custom into her historical romance. Some such misgiving appears to underlie her attribution to Chrisante of the statement that Cyrus invented the duel: "en effet", she makes him say "l'on peut dire que mon maistre a esté presque l'inventeur des combats particuliers". Jealous rivals challenge the successful lovers to these duel-like encounters. Artamene and Philadaspe, secretly envious, fight out the question which is the better man, and again as Cyrus

(1) *Le Grand Cyrus* I. 459

(2) *Le Grand Cyrus* (VIII. 3) 1335.

and the King of Assyria meet in mortal combat for the possession of Mandane.

Early in the romance, after the "enlèvement" of Mandane by Prince Mazare, Artamene and the King of Assyria had agreed to bury their difference until together they had effected the rescue of their Princess, and Artamene had entered solemnly into the following engagement. "Je veux luy engager ma parole de ne pretendre jamais à la possession de la princesse, quand mesme elle seroit en ma puissance, quand mesme le Roy des Medes y consentiroit, et quand mesme elle le voudroit, qu'au paravant par un combat particulier, le sort des armes ne m'ait rendu son vainqueur".⁽¹⁾ The pledge is faithfully carried out, and while the world is congratulating Cyrus upon the long delayed attainment of his purpose, he is secretly preparing to meet the King of Assyria in mortal combat. The combat however is interrupted before it can reach a fatal conclusion, by the news that Mandane has again been carried off - this time by an adherent of Thomiris her rival, - and the King of Assyria meets his death in an attempt to rescue her.

Something of the primitive survives in this idea of deciding the claims of rival lovers by an appeal to physical force, instead of abiding by the decision of the mistress, which has been noticed already in the mediaeval attitude towards woman. The combats too, although, as we shall see, closely related to the contemporary "duel", show plainly their descent from the chivalric joust. Thus Artamene and Philadaspe "se battoient à cheval", although with sword and shield only, and without the customary lance of mediaeval tourney. They charge, and both are wounded. Finally Artamene fells Philadaspe from his horse, and the latter, losing his sword in his fall, confesses himself vanquished. The combat too between Artamene and Artane is fought on horseback. This, not being of the nature of a private feud, is fought out publicly, before the rival kings and the appointed judges. Here we have the correct chivalric paraphernalia, "les barrieres qui formoient un quarré," the signal, "donné par les trompettes." The combatants charge, armed with sword and shield, until Artane is thrown, and submits. The final combat however between Cyrus, and the King of Assyria approaches nearer to the contemporary duel. They decide "de se battre à pied, afin que leur combat fust plus court." They fight without either receiving any serious wound, thanks to their common skill in parrying thrusts.

(1) Le Grand Cyrus I. p. 46.

Some of the single combats between minor characters are of unmixed seventeenth century character. The combatants fight on foot armed with swords only. They do not carry shields, and their defence lies entirely in sword play. Honour too is easily satisfied, and to the obvious relief of the victor. Aglatidas describes an encounter "je fus assez heureux pour ne blesser Megabize que legèrement à la main et pour le désarmer". These meetings are arranged with a secrecy, which implies that they were not regarded as altogether legitimate, and a duel ending fatally is attended by serious consequences. The wrath of the King or Prince is provoked, as well as the vengeance of the dead man's relatives, with the result that the offender was generally banished. Mlle de Scudéri may be said here to represent the public opinion, which probably as yet only half heartily supported the severe measures which were being taken to suppress duelling.

Yet while these latter combats represent rather the "duel" of the day, and as such reflect a practise of the times rather than a traditional romantic convention, in itself the duel may be regarded as a legacy of chivalry, and from this point of view, these engagements may claim some consideration with the more definitely "chivalric" combats.

Another feature, of which the origin can be traced back to the chivalric convention, is the quixotically generous conduct displayed by Cyrus during his campaigns. The old ideal of fair play which caused the mediaeval knight to dismount if his opponent was thrown, and to forbear to take advantage of any accidental superiority survives in, for example, the refusal of Cyrus to strike the King of Assyria when the latter has dropped his sword. "Il n'estoit pas capable de vouloir tuer un homme désarmé, et que leur combat ne devoit finir, que par la mort d'un des deux, il prit l'espée de son rival par la pointe, et la luy presenter par la garde." "Après cela, ces deux redoutables ennemis recommençaient un nouveau combat plus violent que le premier".⁽¹⁾

This ideal however is elaborated almost beyond recognition. Noble enemies are spared in battle. When Artamene recognises the King of Pontus, just as Philadaspe "suivy de douze ou quinze l'auroit infailliblement tué," he stops the battle and allows the King to escape. On another occasion, touched by their refusal to yield their shields as token of defeat, he permits some two thousand men, whom he has

(1) Le Grand Cyrus VIII part 3. p. 1342

surprised in a pass, to depart free with their convoy of bullion unconditionally.⁽¹⁾ One of the best examples of the extravagant lengths to which this idea was carried is given in the interchange of courtesies between Artamene and the King of Pontus. Artamene having already spared his life in battle, the latter, discovering the determination on the part of forty of his "chevaliers", to single him out in battle, and rid their cause of so redoubtable an enemy, thinks it necessary to warn him. Artamene, not to be out-done in generosity, ignores the warning, and goes into battle clad in most conspicuous armour. The King of Pontus replies by forbidding any of his men to attack him, except singly and with the sword, whereupon Artamene reverses his policy, and fights disguised, "pour montrer a toute la terre que personne ne le pouvoit vaincre en generosité".⁽²⁾

Of such posturing heroes as these Dryden remarks that "all their wit is in their ceremony".⁽³⁾

These elaborate ideals of courtesy and generosity in war, have obviously little connection with reality and do not imply any very real appreciation of the value of human life. The general attitude towards war is a calm acceptance of it as a convenient background for the courage and prowess of the hero. The other side is just suggested, but it is not stressed. Mandane declares "la guerre est une chose qui choque si fort mon humeur, que je ne puis obtenir de moy d'y contribuer rien que des vœux très passionnez pour la faire cesser".⁽⁴⁾ Cyrus prefers to take prisoners than to shed blood. "Il a mieux aimé", we are told, "s'exposer à estre blessé pour tascher de prendre de vaillants hommes prisonniers, que de les tuer comme il pouvoit aisément faire".⁽⁵⁾

Yet his very clemencies are sometimes the means of prolonging the war, and thus multiplying the death roll. Early, for instance, he allows the King of Pontus to escape in battle, when his capture or death would have saved much bloodshed.

Cyrus evinces no horror at the immense loss of life involved in the pursuit of Mandane, and her captors are equally indifferent to the price paid for their resistance. The author herself seems unconscious of the enormity of their actions. She complacently describes the rivalry between Cyrus and the King of Assyria as "ce grand different

(1) Le Grand Cyrus. I. 656 seq.

(2) Le Grand Cyrus. I. 652.

(3) All for Love. Preface.

(4) Le Grand Cyrus. I. 451.

(5) " " II. 891.

qui avoit mis toute l'Asie en armes".⁽¹⁾

Such an attitude may have been partly characteristic of her age. The early humanist's condemnation of war was not very generally accepted, and war had become rather to be regarded as a necessary adjunct to the cause of religious and political freedom. For Mlle. de Scudéri and her circle, moreover, war was glorified by its connection with such romantic heroes as Condé. This we feel is in part the explanation of Mlle. de Scudéri's attitude. The horrors of war only serve, to her mind, to show up the courage of the hero. It is for this purpose only that she introduces them into her romances. One of his soldiers for example is struck down at the very feet of Cyrus from whom he is taking orders. But the incident, - which it may be remarked is taken from an actual occurrence before Dunkerque - is not regarded from the point of view of the victim but is used solely to illustrate the fortitude and courage of the commander, who stands (in the vicinity) unmoved.

This view may be said to be characteristic of the society of the second quarter of the seventeenth century, in which Mlle. de Scudéri lived, but nevertheless it suggests the older chivalric view. At least it is connected with the old order.

The voice of the age of reason on this romantic convention is heard already in Butler, condemning "the noble trade,

That demi-gods and heroes made,
Slaughter, and knocking on the head
The trade to which they all were bred".⁽²⁾

and the authors, who idealize "the trade",

"For to make some well sounding name
A pattern fit for modern knights
To copy out in frays and fights.

They never care ~~of~~ how many others
They kill, without regard of mothers
Or wives or children so they can
Make up some fierce dead-doing man".⁽³⁾

A century later the same accusation is brought against romance writers by Mrs. Lennox in the Female Quixote. Then the "Doctor" affirms "that these books soften the heart to love", but "harden it to murder";

(1) Le Grand Cyrus. VIII.1336

(2) Hudibras. Part I. Canto II. 1.321 seq.

(3) Ibid. 1.12 seq.

for they are filled "with accounts of battles in which thousands are slaughtered, for no other purpose than to gain a smile from a haughty beauty, who sits a calm spectatress of the ruin and desolation, bloodshed and misery, incited by herself"⁽¹⁾ Before the justice of such a condemnation, even Arabella, "the Female Quixote" yields, convinced. "I now wonder," she cries, "how the blaze of enthusiastic bravery could hinder me from remarking with abhorrence the crime of deliberate unnecessary bloodshed;" and with her conversion, that particular romantic convention, which regarded warfare as the picturesque back ground for the hero, may be said to have been dislodged from its last retreat.

x x x x x

This comparison has brought out points of likeness between these three romances. In each old and new material is mingled, and each may be said to represent a stage in the decadence of the chivalric conventions, as courtesy in war becomes a form, and is then elaborated into extravagant punctilio. The affectations of the code of honour, which are fully developed in Le Grand Cyrus, are foreshadowed in the Arcadia.

But the comparison also brings out strongly the differences between the three, - each adapted to suit its generation, fifteenth century Spain, Elizabethan England, France of le Grand Monarque. Moreover it throws into relief the interest and originality of Sidney's work. The "Amadis" has indeed the advantage of preserving more of the simplicity and charm of the earlier romances. Nothing in the Arcadia, - enhanced though the romance may be by the "sweet attractive" grace of the idyllic setting, - equals the episode of the first love passages between Oriana and the "child of the sea"; yet in neither "Amadis" nor Le Grand Cyrus is the writer stirred, as Sidney is, with fresh currents of ideas, drawing from first hand experience, bringing free eager thought to bear on the old material; giving a picture of the dust and blood of the battlefield as he has seen it, discussing religious and political questions as he has faced them, interpreting the old love conventions by the light of his heart, and of the latest Platonic theories. M. Coussin has shown how "Le Grand Cyrus" reproduces the external features of French seventeenth century society. The Arcadia not only gives some glimpses of the external features of the Elizabethan court life: it gives an insight into the thoughts and feelings which were influencing the young England of the day.

(1) The Female Quixote. Pub.1810. Vol.II. p.266.

Bibliography.

- Addleshaw. Percy. Sir Philip Sidney.
- Ascham. The Scholemaster.
- Baret. Eugene, "De l'Amadis de Gaule et de son influence sur les mœurs et la littérature au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle.
- Boileau. Discours de héros du roman.
- Bourne. H. R. Fox, Sir Philip Sidney.
- Brunhuber. K, Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, und ihre nachläufer.
- Cambridge. History of English Literature.
- Charlante. Louis, L'influence Française en Angleterre.
- Chassung. A. Les romans Grecs.
- Collier. J. P. A catalogue bibliographical and critical of Early English Literature.
- Crossley. James, Sir Philip Sidney and the Arcadia.
- Courthope. History of English Poetry. Vol.II.
- Coussin. Victor. La société française au XVII^e siècle d'après le Grand Cyrus. 1858.
- Davenant, Sir William. Preface to Gondibert.
- Desmarte, Jean de Saint Sorlin. La defense du poëme Heroïque.
- Dunlop. John Colin. History of Prose Fiction.
- Dunning. W. A. Political theories from Luther to Montesquieu.
- Fisher. H. A. L. The republican tradition in England.
- Greg. W. Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama.
- Greville. Fulke. The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney.
- Hallam. Introduction to the Literature of Europe. Vol.IV.
- Hazlitt. Sketches and Essays.
- " Elizabethan Literature.
- Hoby. Sir Thomas, trans. of "The Courtyer" of Count Baldassare Castiglione.
- Holinshed. Chronicles of England Scotland and Ireland.
- Huet. P. D. Traitté de l'origine des Romans.
- Hume. Martin, The year after the Armada.
- " " Spanish influence on English Literature.
- " " Spain, its greatness and decay.
- Jusserand. J. Le Roman Anglais.
- Le Roman au temps de Shakespeare.
- Kelly. James FitzMaurice. History of Spanish Literature.
- Ker. W. P. Epic and Romance.
- Languet. Hubert. The correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Lanquet, collected A. S. Pears.

- Langueti. Epistolæ politicæ et historicæ.
- Le Breton. André. Le Roman au dix-septième siècle.
- Lee. Sidney. Sir Philip Sidney.
National Dictionary of Biography.
- Littleboy. A. L. The relations between French and English literature
in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
- Livet. Charles. Les Précieux et Précieuses.
- Maitland Club Publications. Library of Mary Queen of Scots.
- Meyrick. F. The Church in Spain.
- Morillot. Paul. Le roman en France depuis 1610 jusqu'à nos jours.
- Morley. Edith J. The works of Sir Philip Sidney. (Quain Essay 1901.)
- Nicholls. J. The Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.
- Raleigh. Walter. The English Novel.
- Raynouard. F. J. M. Choix des Poésies originales des troubadeurs.
- Roxborough Club Publications. Sidneiana.
- Scott. Sir Walter. Periodical Criticism.
- Sidney. Sir Philip. Apologie for Poetry.
- Smith. Gregory. Elizabethan critical essays. (Collected, with
introduction).
- Symonds. J. A. Sidney. (English Men of Letters Series).
- Taine. H. D. History of English Literature. (Trans. H. Von Laun).
- Taylor. Henry, Osborn, The Mediaeval Mind.
- Underhill. John Garrett. Spanish Literature in the England of the
Tudors.
- Warton. Thomas, History of English Poetry. Vols. I & II.
- Watts. Spain. (Story of Nations Series).
- Williams. G. S. The Amadis Question.
(Revue Hispanique. Tom. 21. No. 59.)
- Xenophon. Life of Cyrus.

NOTE.

Works containing references to the three romances under consideration, and other romances used for illustration are referred to in the notes.