

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: FEIGNED HISTORIES: PHILIP SIDNEY AND THE
POETICS OF SPANISH CHIVALRIC ROMANCE

Timothy D. Crowley, Doctor of Philosophy, 2009

Dissertation directed by: Professor Donna B. Hamilton
Department of English

This study re-evaluates Sidney's method and purpose for inventing *Arcadia*, through analyzing his fiction in tandem with the Spanish genre of chivalric "feigned history." It introduces the new perspective that *Arcadia* exploits structural and thematic focus on clandestine marriage in Feliciano de Silva's feigned *Chronicle of Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* (1535), as rendered in translation by Jacques Gohory as "Book" Eleven in the French *Amadis* cycle (1554). *Old Arcadia* follows that chivalric paradigm in Books One through Three; then it employs motifs from ancient prose fiction by Apuleius and Heliodorus in Books Four and Five to amplify plot conflict tied to the protagonist lovers' secret marriages. Imitation of Spanish pastoral romances by Montemayor and Gil Polo in *Old Arcadia*'s Eclogues supplements the work's primary narrative plane and also facilitates Protestant aesthetic impressions of marriage and affective individual piety. Shifts in literary source material occur as means to extend and enrich thematic focus and narrative poetics of those first three Books. Sidney's narrative establishes *admiratio* for its protagonist lovers and reader complicity with them, while imposing comic and tragic distance from other main characters.

These observations revise dominant critical assumptions about *Old Arcadia*. Building upon its chivalric source material, Sidney's fiction increases verisimilitude and

invents its own rhetorical focus on dynastic union through clandestine marriage. This study observes for the first time that political tension and legal debate in *Old Arcadia*'s conclusion revolve around that issue. Sidney's fiction figures forth a succession crisis contingent upon legal complications with the issue of clandestine marriage in Arcadia, in a manner congruous with Genevan, French, and Tridentine legal reform on that matter, as well as with England's unique legal situation regarding secret marriage. The story's intellectual focus on justice and equity complements its author's concern with the case of his uncle Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. While Sidney composed *Arcadia*, his own political and economic prospects remained largely contingent upon Leicester's secret marriage. This study opens new avenues for research on continuity in Sidney's oeuvre and on *New Arcadia*'s influence in English prose fiction and drama of the 1590s and the seventeenth century.

FEIGNED HISTORIES:
PHILIP SIDNEY AND THE POETICS OF SPANISH CHIVALRIC ROMANCE

by

Timothy D. Crowley

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
2009

Advisory Committee:

Professor Donna B. Hamilton, Chair
Professor Ralph Bauer
Professor Elizabeth Bearden
Professor Carmen Benito-Vessels
Professor Kent Cartwright
Professor Theodore Leinwand

©Copyright by
Timothy D. Crowley
2009

para Lara,

Oriana mía

Acknowledgements

Special thanks to my dissertation director Donna Hamilton, without whose steady support this project would not have progressed as it has. I am indebted to her encouragement that I take the research where it led me and to her shared passion for the material, which also energized my efforts.

For further attention and helpful comments on this work, I thank my advisory committee: Ralph Bauer, Elizabeth Bearden, Carmen Benito-Vessels, Kent Cartwright, and Theodore Leinwand. Additional thanks to William H. Sherman and Robert C. Evans for professional guidance and support during my graduate studies.

This project's scope would not have been possible without the support of various libraries and fellowships. Interlibrary Loan staff members at the University of Maryland and at Texas Tech University performed heroically in attending to my many requests. Kind librarians at those institutions and at the Folger Shakespeare Library, the Library of Congress, the Bodleian Library, and the British Library also facilitated my research. I thank Arthur Kinney for inviting me to visit the Center for Renaissance Studies in Amherst, fully availing me of its resources, and serving as a gracious host all the while. For funding coursework, conference travel, and unique research opportunities, I am indebted to the University of Maryland's English department and College of Arts and Humanities, to the Dolores Zohrab Leibman fellowship endowment, and to the Folger Institute.

For their love and support, I thank my family. I dedicate this study to Lara, companion *par excellence* in this profession and in life. Marriage to you has been the most delightful plot development in my own romance narrative.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	iii
Table of Contents	v
Notes on the Text	vi
Abbreviations	vii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: <i>Old Arcadia's</i> Topical and Rhetorical Poetics, Reconsidered	18
Chapter 2: Foundations for the Narrative Poetics of Feliciano de Silva and Philip Sidney	53
Chapter 3: Feliciano de Silva's Fiction in French Translation and the Exemplary Poetics of <i>Old Arcadia</i> , Books One to Three	126
Chapter 4: Blending Ancient Prose Fiction with Spanish Chivalric Romance: Poetics of Legal Debate about Clandestine Marriage in <i>Old Arcadia</i> , Books Four and Five	187
Chapter 5: Pastoral Persona and Structural Poetics: Sidney's Use of Spanish Pastoral Romance in <i>Old Arcadia's</i> Eclogues	227
Conclusions	271
Bibliography of Manuscripts Cited	290
Bibliography of Early Printed Sources Cited	291
Bibliography of Modern Editions and Translations Cited for Early Sources	294
Bibliography of Modern Studies Cited	297

Notes on the Text

Translations without attribution are my own. Notes recognize when I have altered attributed English translations. Citation with the year in brackets indicates an unpublished study.

Abbreviations

<i>AG</i>	Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, <i>Amadís de Gaula</i>
<i>AGS</i>	Archivo General de Simancas (Simancas, Spain)
<i>Am.Gr.</i>	Feliciano de Silva, <i>Amadís de Grecia</i>
<i>BHR</i>	<i>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance</i>
<i>BHS</i>	<i>Bulletin of Hispanic Studies</i>
<i>BL</i>	British Library (London, England)
<i>BNM</i>	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (Spain)
<i>BRAE</i>	<i>Boletín de la Real Academia Española</i>
<i>Correspondence</i>	<i>The Correspondence of Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet</i> , trans. William Aspenwall Bradley (Boston: Merrymount Press, 1912)
<i>DP</i>	Philip Sidney, <i>A Defence of Poesie</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>ELH</i>	<i>English Literary History</i>
<i>ELR</i>	<i>English Literary Renaissance</i>
<i>EMS</i>	<i>English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700</i>
<i>FN1-2</i>	Feliciano de Silva, <i>The Chronicle of Florisel de Niquea, Parts 1-2</i>
<i>FN3</i>	Feliciano de Silva, <i>The Chronicle of Florisel de Niquea, Part 3</i>
<i>FN4</i>	Feliciano de Silva, <i>The Chronicle of Florisel de Niquea, Part 4</i>
<i>Folger</i>	Folger Shakespeare Library (Washington, DC, USA)
<i>Fr. Am.</i>	French <i>Amadis</i> cycle
<i>HJ</i>	<i>The Historical Journal</i>

<i>HLQ</i>	<i>Huntington Library Quarterly: A Journal for the History and Interpretation of English and American Civilization</i>
<i>HMC, Report MSS De L'Isle & Dudley</i>	Historical Manuscripts Commission, <i>Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de L'Isle & Dudley preserved at Penshurst Place</i> , ed. C. L. Kingsford, 6 vols. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1925-1966)
<i>JEGP</i>	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
<i>JHI</i>	<i>Journal of the History of Ideas</i>
<i>JMRS</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies</i>
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
<i>Letras</i>	<i>Letras: Revista de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Argentina Santa María de los Buenos Aires</i>
<i>LMS-Sidney</i>	<i>Letters and Memorials of State...By Sir Henry Sydney,...The famous Sir Philip Sydney, and his Brother Sir Robert Sydney,...Philip Lord Viscount Lisle,...and of his Brother Colonel Algernon Sydney,...Together with Letters of the other Ministers of State, with whom they held a Correspondence.</i> , ed. Arthur Collins, 2 vols. (London: T. Osborne, 1746) [facsimile edition (New York: AMS Press, 1973)]
ms.	manuscript
<i>MLR</i>	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
<i>MP</i>	<i>Modern Philology</i>
<i>N&Q</i>	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
<i>NA</i>	Philip Sidney, <i>The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The "New" Arcadia)</i>
n(n).	note(s)
n.s.	new series
<i>OA</i>	Philip Sidney, <i>The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The "Old" Arcadia)</i>

<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, 60 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)
<i>PMLA</i>	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Society of America</i>
<i>PQ</i>	<i>Philological Quarterly</i>
<i>PSWB</i>	<i>Sir Philip Sidney, World Bibliography</i> [1554-2004], ed. Donald V. Stump, C. Stuart Hunter, and Jerome S. Dees (http://bibs.slu.edu/sidney/search.html)
<i>PRO</i>	Public Record Office (The National Archives) (London, England)
<i>RES</i>	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
<i>RFE</i>	<i>Revista de Filología Española</i>
<i>RH</i>	<i>Revue Hispanique</i>
<i>RLM</i>	<i>Revista de Literatura Medieval</i>
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i>
<i>SCJ</i>	<i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i>
<i>SE</i>	Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, <i>Las Sergas de Esplandián</i>
<i>SEL</i>	<i>Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900</i>
<i>SP</i>	State Papers
<i>SP</i>	<i>Studies in Philology</i>
<i>STC</i>	<i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640, first compiled by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, 2nd Edition, 3 vols.</i> (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976-1991)
<i>TBICC</i>	<i>Thesavrvs: Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo</i>
<i>TBS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Bibliographical Society</i> [London]
<i>TLS</i>	<i>Times Literary Supplement</i>

TRHS

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society

VL

Voz y Letra: Revista de Literatura

Introduction

Philip Sidney and the Poetics of Spanish Chivalric Romance

Philip Sidney read, admired, and imitated Spanish chivalric-romance fiction—primarily in French translation—in a manner more intimate and significant than has been recognized. His *Defence of Poesie* refers to the genre as follows:

That imitation whereof poetry is, hath the most conveniency to nature of all other, insomuch that, as Aristotle saith, those things which in themselves are horrible, as cruel battles, unnatural monsters, are made in poetical imitation delightful. Truly, I have known men that even with reading *Amadis de Gaule* (which God knoweth wanteth much of a perfect poesy) have found their hearts moved to the exercise of courtesy, liberality, and especially courage. Who readeth Aeneas carrying old Anchises on his back, that wisheth not it were his fortune to perform so excellent an act? (*DP*, 92)¹

The allusion to “*Amadis de Gaule*” confirms Sidney’s interest in the Spanish genre. This passage also encapsulates Sidney’s own theoretical emphasis on three central issues addressed in this present study. Moving backward from the last sentence in this passage to the first, those three issues may be identified as follows: the affective power of fiction upon readers; the poetic use of fictional plotting and characterization within a narrative to sway readers toward a particular mode of thought or action; and the nature of such fictional poetics as *mimesis* or “imitation” of human nature and contemporary reality. This study investigates Sidney’s critical approach to Spanish chivalric-romance fiction by noting first how his own theoretical argument in defense of such fictional poetics resembles the theoretical foundation for that sixteenth-century Spanish genre. That observation serves as a useful point of entry for analyzing precisely how Sidney exploited

¹ *DP* citation refers to J. A. Van Dorsten’s edition in P. Sidney, *Miscellaneous Prose*, pp. 73-121.

one specific work from that genre in French translation as the dominant creative paradigm he followed for inventing his own fictional narrative, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*. Critical methodology for studying Renaissance English literature in recent decades has focused heavily on theorizing literary sources and literary contexts intertextually as ideological discourse. This study, in contrast, focuses on rhetorical poetics by analyzing the nuts and bolts of Renaissance literary invention through imitation and variation of source models.

Before discussing the theoretical basis and practical methodology of Sidney's imitation, it is important to recognize that the passage from *Defence of Poesie* quoted above also captures the slippery issue of nomenclature for works within the Spanish chivalric-romance genre in French translation. In the late sixteenth century, the French title "*Amadis de Gaule*" used here by Sidney frequently referred either to one specific work, *Amadís de Gaula*, or to an entire cycle of stories about that work's protagonist and his descendants, consisting of various works by various Spanish authors, known as the *Amadís* cycle. Other cycles of separate stories lauding the heroic exploits of different fictional dynasties, such as the *Palmerín* cycle, arose within that Spanish tradition, imitating and varying character types and motifs from *Amadís de Gaula*, which remained a dominant paradigm for the genre throughout the sixteenth century. Specific works relating stories of heroes from the *Amadís* dynasty were commonly known as so-called "Books" of that *Amadís* cycle, published as such but often divided structurally into internal Books or Parts. Sixteenth-century French translations of those Spanish works altered that nomenclature. Certain portions of specific works from the Spanish cycle came to be known as distinct "Books" within the collection of translations known as the

French *Amadis* cycle, and some works from that Spanish cycle were not translated at all. Imprecise reference both to specific works and to that whole cycle as “*Amadis de Gaule*” has created some confusion within Sidney scholarship regarding the degree of Sidney’s indebtedness to works from that genre for the invention of his *Arcadia*. Sidney’s general reference to “*Amadis de Gaule*” here in the *Defence of Poesie* does not alleviate that confusion.

Re-evaluating Sidney’s practical and theoretical investment in works from that chivalric-romance tradition requires recognition that most works in the Spanish *Amadís* cycle were written by the same two authors—Garcí Rodríguez de Montalvo and Feliciano de Silva—between the final two decades of the fifteenth century and the middle of the sixteenth century. Montalvo instituted that cycle by revising and expanding *Amadís de Gaula*, a work born and revised multiple times within the fluid manuscript tradition of Castilian courts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. He self-consciously established his version of *Amadís de Gaula* and his own *Sergas de Esplandián*—respectively “Books” One through Four and “Book” Five of the cycle—together as a single model that should be imitated by future authors. Montalvo’s prologue for Book One of *Amadís de Gaula*, written in the 1490s and probably first printed along with that work in 1496, provides a theoretical foundation for such imitation, defending these two works of heroic fiction in prose as “feigned histories” (“*hystorias fengidas*”) capable of conveying the virtues of recent military conquests and of persuading readers to emulate such *virtus* more effectively than realistic chronicle historiography of the late fifteenth century had done.² Montalvo’s promotion of “feigned history” versus drab chronicle historiography

² G. R. Montalvo 1508, fol. II.r (sig. a.ii.r). See *idem.*, *AG*, ed. J. M. Cacho Blecua, vol. 1, pp. 219-225 (p. 223). On the issue of dating Montalvo’s prologue to Book One of his version of *AG*, as well as his *SE*,

bears remarkable similarity to Sidney's argument in his *Defence of Poesie* for the affective power of fiction versus overly realistic historiography. Feliciano de Silva's works in the *Amadís* cycle imitate Montalvo's narrative and theoretical paradigm for the genre, gradually enhancing the complexity of its form through innovation with certain motifs, establishing within his later works a distinct mode of epic-pastoral chivalric "chronicle" fiction.

For the invention of *Arcadia*, Sidney draws primarily upon the first half of Feliciano de Silva's feigned *Chronicle of Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* as translated by Jacques Gohory as "Book" Eleven in the French *Amadis* cycle. This study emphasizes continuity between Sidney's poetic theory and that underlying Silva's work and the Spanish chivalric-romance genre in general. That critical emphasis—combined with detailed analysis of structural, thematic, and philosophical purpose for the Spanish invention and French translation of certain motifs within that specific literary work which Sidney imitates for his *Arcadia*—sheds new light on Sidney's practice of promoting fictional poetics for English literature.

Sidney invents his original *Arcadia*'s narrative structure and thematic focus through imitating and varying a specific trio of motifs invented by Feliciano de Silva. That device retains its narrative logic when exported from the context of Silva's work. The three motifs Silva had woven together as logically interdependent are, as an interlaced trio, unique to his work before Sidney's imitation. A beautiful princess is

probably first printed shortly after his *Amadís*, see R. Ramos 1994 (cf. E. J. Sales Dasí 1999). On Montalvo's distinctions between fifteenth-century Iberian chronicle historiography, fantastical "feigned histories" like *AG* and *SE*, and poetically-embellished ancient Roman historiography by Sallust and Livy, see J. D. Fogelquist 1982, pp. 9-27. In Castile's historiographical tradition, "*historia*" (meaning "history" or "story") was a fluid term, and there existed no such clear lexical distinctions prior to Montalvo's prologue for *AG* (D. Ynduráin 1999, p. 224). Cf. J. M. Cacho Blecua 2000, pp. 259-261; and R. M. Mérida Jiménez 2001, pp. 67-72.

sequestered because of a prophecy. A young knight then falls in love with that princess through viewing an artistic image of her. This love-by-image motif lends itself to neo-Platonic significance, because the protagonist's experience of falling in love owes more to the Idea of her beauty than to sexual *eros*. The combination of those two motifs creates logical motive for the young knight to disguise himself as an Amazonian female warrior in order to meet the beloved princess, join her secret court, win her affection while disguised, then reveal his true identity and marry her in secret. Such transformation through the disguise motif, in turn, lends itself to a sustained narrative poetics of metamorphosis.

In Sidney's *Arcadia* and in its primary chivalric source material, the reader maintains a privileged perspective of affective complicity with disguised protagonist knights amidst personal and political conflicts arising from their disguised identity and from the means by which their beloved princesses are sequestered.³ While plot complications unfold within the story, its narrative text provides the reader with privileged knowledge that validates the protagonist lovers' actions. That knowledge makes the reader want protagonists to succeed in their endeavors. This aesthetic effect often flies in the face of rational arguments and premises presented within the narrative.

This study analyzes closely the narrative logic, philosophical implications, and poetic effect of that narrative progression in Silva's work, in Gohory's translation, and in Sidney's imitation. In Gohory's mediation and in Sidney's variation of that Frenched paradigm, the narrative logic and poetics of reader engagement remain consistent with Silva's invention. Philosophical underpinnings and hints of metaphysical significance vary mainly in degree of verisimilitude, imitated and varied in Sidney's narrative

³ On this aspect of the disguise motif in Silva's late works, especially *FN3*, see J. Jiménez Ruiz 2002.

primarily for the purposes of character development and reader complicity with the protagonist lovers. With regard to the original version of *Arcadia* (commonly known as *Old Arcadia*), this study's analysis demonstrates, in contrast with dominant critical trends for interpreting Sidney's fictional narrative, that such reader complicity occurs without a negative impression of the protagonists' disguise, for the heroes retain their ethical integrity. In fact, the experience of falling in love and transforming themselves leads to character development, ennobling them in the reader's mind rather than imposing for the reader a negative impression that they have been effeminized or have lapsed morally. *Old Arcadia* sustains this positive impression of the protagonist lovers throughout political crisis and legal indictment in Books Four and Five.

In developing that critical perspective, this study's analysis of Sidney's fiction as close imitation of its dominant chivalric source material reveals several new angles for interpreting *Old Arcadia*. First, neither the theoretical foundations nor the thematic and structural unity of this chivalric source material have been recognized in Sidney scholarship. Also, prior studies of those Spanish stories in French translation as sources for Sidney's *Arcadia* have not addressed the issue of Jacques Gohory's agency in translating Chapters 1-84 of Silva's *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*; thus, such studies have not recognized that he amplifies philosophical registers within that work to complement his own interests as an occult philosopher. Third, and perhaps most important, modern Sidney scholarship has overlooked the fact that Sidney's narrative defines the protagonist lovers' betrothal and secret union in *Old Arcadia* as "marriage," both in the case of Pyrocles and Philoclea and in the case of Musidorus and Pamela. Consequently, previous critical studies have not identified the central issue at stake

amidst political tension and legal debate in that work's final two Books. Political crisis and legal verdict both hinge upon the nature of those two couples' "marriage" as clandestine marriage, due to legal restrictions upon such union in terms of dynastic succession. In the absence of this critical perspective on Books Four and Five, one important context for Sidney's invention of *Old Arcadia* between 1578 and 1581 has remained overlooked. In 1578, Sidney's uncle Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, secretly married Lettice Knollys Devereux. Queen Elizabeth's resentment upon learning of that union jeopardized the Dudley-Sidney family's position at court, as well as their economic and political prospects for the future, in the winter of 1579 and spring of 1580. The critical stakes are high for each of these new observations about *Old Arcadia*, demanding revision of dominant modern assumptions about that work.

Sidney invents his fiction through synthesizing imitation of his main chivalric paradigm (i.e., Silva's *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* in French translation) with imitation of specific motifs and narrative devices from multiple other fictional narratives. Analyzing precisely how he does so provides new perspective for re-evaluating continuity between all five Books of *Old Arcadia*'s primary narrative plane and its Eclogues, as well as for re-assessing continuity between Sidney's *Defence of Poesie* and his fiction, theory and practice. Also, recognizing new correlation between political contexts for *Old Arcadia*'s production and Sidney's choice and use of literary sources between 1578 and 1581—especially with regard to Leicester's secret marriage and the Dudley-Sidney family's circumstances—sheds new light on cultural competition between English aristocrats, between the English and French courts, and (less directly) between Sidney's fiction and a sixteenth-century Spanish form of fictional poetics rooted in the

early fourteenth century with political focus for rhetorical poetics traceable to the Iberian Arabic tradition.

This study analyzes such multi-layered cultural competition in terms of transmission, alteration, and interpretation of texts. It focuses on the use of specific motifs and other literary devices that lend themselves to certain narrative logic and thematic emphasis when employed as foundations for a work's structure. In doing so, this study emphasizes specific historical contexts of production and reception, with regard to rhetorical motives for employing those motifs.⁴ Its analysis tacitly challenges arguments ascribing a nationalist dimension to Sidney's work.⁵ This study also resists the critical impulse to theorize Sidney's fictional text and its relationship to other presumed reading material as a matter of rhetorical equivocation emanating from conflicted psychological relationships with contemporary power structures. Subtle application of such methodology to Sidney's work—in studies by Richard McCoy and Jeffrey Dolven, for instance—has incorporated useful perspectives on sixteenth-century English pedagogy, as well as on chivalric dimensions of English aristocratic culture.⁶ This present study re-directs Dolven's recent observation about thematic structure in *Old Arcadia* toward Arthur Kinney's emphasis on rhetorical *imitatio* as foundational for the narrative poetics of sixteenth-century prose fiction.⁷

⁴ Contrast H. Cooper 2004, a survey of English "romance" motifs (e.g., pp. 258-260 on Sidney's *Arcadia*).

⁵ R. Helgerson 1992, pp. 1-3, 7, 9-10 (cf. pp. 40-59); A. Hadfield 1994, pp. 132-169; C. Shrank 2004, pp. 220-257.

⁶ R. C. McCoy 1979; *idem.* 1989, pp. 1-27, 55-78 (cf. pp. 28-54 on Leicester); J. Dolven 2007, pp. 1-13, 99-133.

⁷ See A. F. Kinney 1986a and 1989 (cf. *idem.* 1983, 1988, 1990, 2004). Also see E. J. Sales Dasí 2003 and 2007 (cf. M. L. Cuesta Torre 1998 and J. J. Martín Romero [forthcoming]); and, on sixteenth-century "vernacular humanism," W. Boucher 1997 and 1999. On Dolven's perspective, see Chapters One and Three below.

Sidney employs compound *imitatio* with multiple literary sources for the purpose of rhetorical mimesis, in the sense of fiction representing contemporary reality with the aim of swaying a specific intended audience toward a certain mode of thought or action. This notion of “rhetorical mimesis” applies to other periods besides the sixteenth century, blending Kinney’s perspective on “humanist poetics” with a traditional idea of literary “mimesis” such as that posited by Erich Auerbach’s classic study *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (1946; translated in 1953).⁸ This emphasis on “rhetorical mimesis” in Sidney’s *Old Arcadia* departs from previous critical approaches to rhetoric in that work, which have remained more formal in their analysis, even when recognizing a mode of competitive *imitatio* which “aims to transform what is admired in various exemplary writers into a unique individual style that learns from them.”⁹ This study also departs from Thomas Greene’s perspective on such critical and transformative *imitatio*: by highlighting the practical utility of imitation rather than any psychological anxiety or ideological tension built into it, as well as by emphasizing compound imitation of multiple literary sources (“eclectic or exploitative” *imitatio* in

⁸ This present study does not theorize the sixteenth-century cultural competition built into Sidney’s fiction in twentieth-century psychological terms as “cultural mimesis,” nor does it theorize the generic flexibility of “romance” fiction as a “mixed mode,” nor as a realm of ideologically-charged literary “strategies.” For such approaches to sixteenth-century fiction, see, respectively, B. Fuchs 2001, S. J. Greenblatt 1973, and B. Fuchs 2004. This study’s focus differs, too, from critical emphasis on sixteenth-century literature and its “sources” in terms of epistemology, pursuing instead the premise that one such study states as a point of departure for its own focus: “the humanist conception of the text as a rhetorical performance argued that it indeed *had* a context, a mesh of contingent human occasions” for both its production and its reception (D. Quint 1983, p. xi; cf. p. 223 n. 13).

⁹ G. Alexander 2006a, p. xxxiii. Cf. G. W. Pigman 1980 on “eristic” imitation (p. 4) and T. M. Greene 1982 on “dialectical” *imitatio* (pp. 43-45). For various formal approaches to rhetoric in *OA*, see P. A. Duhamel 1948; L. Challis 1965; R. A. Lanham 1965; R. Kimbrough 1971, pp. 71-88; J. Carey 1987; S. K. Heninger 1989, pp. 396-462; A. Hager 1991, pp. 7-15, 36-37, 167-175 (cf. pp. 145-166); J. Richards 1995; D. K. Shuger 1998; G. Alexander 2006a, pp. xxxi-27; R. Schneider 2008, pp. 85-128; W. Olmsted 2008, pp. 20-53.

Greene's terminology) as crucial for Sidney's critical invention and rhetorical purpose.¹⁰ Sidney utilizes literary sources as platforms for thematic and intellectual emphasis in his own fiction. His creative method of invention through compound imitation facilitates both mimesis and rhetorical effect. It is precisely through compound imitation, along with divergence in terms of verisimilitude, that Sidney's fictional narrative achieves a degree of competitive edge over its primary chivalric source paradigm.

In ascribing "topical" thematic focus rather than topical allegory to Sidney's *Arcadia*, this study highlights specific historical contexts and rhetorical motives for the production and reception of fictional narrative structures—in sources and imitation alike. Those narrative structures serve as the author's "fore-conceit of the work" and the reader's "imaginative ground-plot for profitable invention," as Sidney puts it in the *Defence of Poesie* (*DP*, 79, 103). That is, the narrative itself, as "an imaginative ground-plot," both delights the reader and provokes mental "images" or impressions that may be retained and "use[d]" for future "profit." "Thereby," explains S. K. Heninger, "the *res* of the poet is revealed in the images of the story produced by the *verba*, and the rhetorical transfer from poet to audience is effected. The poet's narration serves as a ground-plot of his invention, which though fictive carries the authority of probability."¹¹ Studies by

¹⁰ T. M. Greene 1982, p. 39. H. James 1997 also revises Greene's separation of "eclectic" imitation from critical or "dialectical" *imitatio*, though with a distinct emphasis on "literary contamination" (p. 222 n. 2).

¹¹ S. K. Heninger 1989, p. 251. Heninger adds, "What is one of several possibilities in Aristotle—that *ποιητική* is a verbal activity—becomes exclusive in Sidney. He confines making to a verbal system, so that mimesis becomes the use of language to produce imaginative fictions with an immediate impact upon the reader. As an art of discourse, poetry [i.e., fictional poetics] shares in the suaveness of rhetoric. [...] So imitation, as Sidney refines it, involves both induction and deduction. By induction the poet arrives at a universal, abstracting from actuality what is probable and necessary, conceptualizing to the extent of producing a generality. And this generality serves as object of imitation for the fiction. But this generality, which is true for all cases, is then by deduction exemplified in a particular representative instance. The resultant poem [i.e., narrative poetics] is thereby validated by both inductive and deductive logic. Its object of imitation is grounded in the phenomenal world; but that universal is applied deductively to produce a fictive though representative example whose verisimilitude can be confirmed by reference to our own experience" (*ibid.*, pp. 254-255). Cf. J. C. Ulreich 1982; P. Ramsey 1996, pp. 93-94.

Kathy Eden and Arthur Kinney further illuminate philosophical and rhetorical foundations for Sidney's poetic theory and practice, which blend a firmly neo-Aristotelian foundation with aspects of neo-Platonic and neo-Ciceronian thought, including this emphasis on verisimilitude for rhetorical effect.¹² Emphasis by Kathy Eden and Wesley Trimpi on continuity between Sidney's poetic theory and medieval intellectual tradition proves an especially useful launching point for comparison between Sidney's fiction and the Spanish chivalric-romance tradition:

Not only is Sidney's Aristotelian ethical doctrine here [in *Defence of Poesie*] thoroughly Thomistic, but his account of the moral function of the 'image' comes right out of medieval faculty psychology. [...] This 'moralization' of the image becomes most effective in the combined *intentiones* revealed in the manifold motivations and actions of fictional characters in epic and drama. In fact, it is through our recognition of such *intentiones* that the events themselves become *exemplares*.¹³

Such is the theoretical foundation upon which the Spanish form of chivalric-romance fiction was invented in early fourteenth-century Castile, as a genre distinct from even the Post-Vulgate phase of Anglo-French Arthurian tradition. The rhetorical thrust of this genre's fictional poetics owes much to the neo-Aristotelian commentaries of Averröes (Ibn Rushd of Córdoba), produced amidst specific patronage contexts in reaction to distinct philosophical currents within the Iberian Arabic world, then embraced by King Alfonso the Learned of Castile, then revised by Thomas Aquinas at Paris and by Castilian clergy at Toledo who probably produced the earliest version of *Amadís de Gaula*. Castile's long-lasting investment in *Amadís de Gaula*'s secret-marriage theme was established almost certainly because of dynastic politics in the early fourteenth and

¹² See K. Eden 1986 (esp. pp. 3-6, 156-175) and A. F. Kinney 1986a (pp. 230-291). Cf. A. F. Kinney 1986a, pp. xi-38, 119-132; and *idem*. 1989, pp. 3-45.

¹³ W. Trimpi 1999, pp. 197-198. For this perspective, Trimpi's study builds upon *idem*. 1983 and K. Eden 1986, as well as F. A. Yates 1966 (cf. J. A. Van Dorsten 1967) and M. J. Carruthers 1990.

late fifteenth centuries (see Chapter Two). In choosing to imitate Feliciano de Silva's work in French translation between 1578 and 1581, Sidney taps into a rich Castilian tradition of chivalric prose fiction. Sidney's *Arcadia* departs from its primary chivalric source narrative in style of rhetorical mimesis, especially in terms of verisimilitude, but it differs little in form of narrative poetics.

First and foremost, this study sheds new light on structural and thematic unity in Sidney's *Old Arcadia*. Chapter One maps out the narrative trajectory of love, disguise, political conflict, and legal trial, as a matter of thematic and structural unity in *Old Arcadia*. In doing so, it revises various critical assumptions about *Old Arcadia* and re-evaluates Sidney's reasons for composing it as he did between 1578 and 1581. That chapter emphasizes Leicester's secret marriage to Lettice Knollys Devereux in 1578 as Sidney's primary impetus and links the matter to contemporary dynastic and cultural politics. From that new angle of analysis, Queen Elizabeth's prospective marriage to the French Duc d'Anjou appears far less of an issue for Sidney's fiction than has been assumed in modern arguments that *Old Arcadia* conveys political ideology. Two secondary motives for Sidney's poetic invention, both tied to the primary impetus of Leicester's marriage, were the Dudley-Sidney family's concern for aristocratic dynasty and Leicester's patronage campaign in competition with other English aristocrats and with the French court.

Chapter Two revises and re-directs the critical methodology of existing source studies aligning Sidney's fiction with the *Amadis* cycle. Prior analysis and evaluation of that matter has perpetuated certain misleading premises. There has been little or no attention to crucial issues of authorship, narrative structure, and thematic focus for

specific works in that cycle upon which Sidney draws via French translation. Chapter Two emphasizes the neo-Aristotelian commentaries of Averröes as a foundation for continuity between Sidney's poetic theory and that underlying Spanish chivalric fiction. That emphasis helps explain both the generic complexity and the exemplary poetics of Sidney's work and of its Spanish sources. The chapter then analyzes the motifs Sidney imitates as they were invented and varied within Feliciano de Silva's oeuvre, as a means for establishing narrative logic which generates a pair of clandestine marriages and the poetic effect of *admiratio* for the protagonist lovers. Subsequent chapters observe precisely how *Old Arcadia*'s central plot conflicts and thematic focus, from start to finish, revolve around the secret marriage of its four protagonist lovers.

Chapter Three analyzes how, in the first three Books of *Old Arcadia*, Sidney imitates and varies the interlacement of those three motifs in Gohory's translation of Silva's *Chronicle of Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, as a means for generating two secret marriages between the four protagonist lovers. Sidney's invention through imitation and variation of that source establishes the protagonist princes' experience of falling in love and transforming themselves in disguise as a positive one, facilitating character development and philosophical enlightenment. *Old Arcadia*'s version of the sequestered-princess motif as impetus for that experience establishes for the work as a whole its theme of slippery interplay between reason and passion, as a variation of similar thematic focus for that motif in Silva's narrative and Gohory's translation. Readers' ethical impressions of the protagonists' love and of legal judgment in the Arcadian realm hinge upon the matter of the protagonists' secret union in "marriage," as Sidney's narrative defines it. The actions of Pyrocles and Musidorus in courtship and secret betrothal to the

sequestered Arcadian princesses while disguised in Books One through Three of *Old Arcadia* do not convey moral descent from reason toward unbridled passion, nor do they legally implicate the princes as guilty of charges levied against them in Book Five: that is, rape and abduction.¹⁴

From that main chivalric source Sidney's *Arcadia* also draws its exemplary poetics of character contrast. That is, Sidney's narrative establishes reader complicity with the protagonist lovers while imposing comic or tragic distance from other main characters such as Basilius, Gynecia, Philanax, and Euarchus. The primary narrative plane of Sidney's fiction provides exemplary poetics without allegorical narrative and thus represents something fundamentally different from Edmund Spenser's allegorical chivalric fiction in *The Faerie Queene*.

Sidney's use of motifs, themes, narrative devices, and pastoral persona from other source material—including Feliciano de Silva's *Amadís de Grecia*, ancient prose romances by Heliodorus and Apuleius, and Spanish pastoral romances by Jorge de Montemayor and Gaspar Gil Polo—supplements the dominant chivalric paradigm for his invention of *Arcadia*. Recognizing this hierarchy of literary source material facilitates analysis of why Sidney chose those motifs and devices to complement his imitation of the main chivalric model for Books One through Three of *Old Arcadia*. Chapter Four of this

¹⁴ Such moralized reading of the protagonist princes' actions in *OA* was posited by M. Rose 1964, F. Marengo 1968 (cf. *idem.* 1966 and 1969), and A. D. Weiner 1978. Although subsequent studies have revised the argument for Calvinist ideology in *OA* presented in Marengo's and Weiner's work, the notion that the protagonist princes' actions in Books One through Three constitute either moral lapse or legal guilt has persisted, even in studies such as R. S. White 1996 on *OA* and Natural Law (pp. 137-148). J. Dolven 2007, amidst useful perspective on thematic structure in *OA*, resists defining the protagonist lovers' union as marriage (pp. 99-133). See Chapters One and Three below. This study's approach to the disguise motif as narrative poetics achieved through imitation and variation of literary sources diverges from other approaches rooted in twentieth-century psychology, gender theory, anthropology, cultural materialism, or speech-act theory: e.g., W. Schleiner 1988; M. M. Sullivan 1991; L. Celovsky 1994; M. E. Lamb 1997 (cf. *idem.* 1990, pp. 72-114); H. Hackett 2000, pp. 111-115; K. Schwarz 2000, pp. 175-201; S. R. Mentz 2004b; C. Bates 2008, pp. 89-135; J. C. Vaught 2008, pp. 117-135. It complements P. E. Rockwell [1980] in emphasizing the affective dimension of Amazonian disguise in the "high-comic main plot" of *OA*.

study emphasizes continuity in narrative poetics of exemplary character contrast between those first three Books and the final two Books. Nowhere in *Old Arcadia* does the narrator or any character dispute that the protagonist lovers are indeed married. Political controversy in Books Four and Five stems from variant impressions of how the protagonists' clandestine marriages should be interpreted in terms of dynastic succession according to Arcadian law. Analysis of that fact complements and enriches existing critical emphasis on the Dudley-Sidney family's interest in contemporary legal theory. In order to figure forth variant interpretations of Arcadian law regarding clandestine marriage, Sidney's narrative exploits specific motifs from ancient prose fiction, especially from Apuleius's *The Golden Ass (Metamorphoses)* and from Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*. Sidney combines and varies those motifs as a poetic means to sway readers toward the viewpoint of its protagonists and their supporters within the story, thus swaying readers toward thinking accordingly with regard to contemporary law in cases such as Leicester's clandestine marriage. This manner of narrative poetics supports neither direct topical allegory nor moralistic allegory of the sort employed in the sixteenth century for reading the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid and Apuleius.

Chapter Five emphasizes that *Old Arcadia*'s Eclogues supplement the work's main narrative rather than moralize it or illuminate it philosophically. In doing so, that chapter re-directs persistent critical debate about Sidney's use of quasi-autobiographical pastoral persona in the Eclogues. The situation of Philisides, a melancholy aristocrat-turned-shepherd in Arcadia, reflects to a significant degree that of the author himself amidst his family's predicament revolving around Leicester's secret marriage. Sidney imitates Montemayor's *Diana* for that device of pastoral persona, employing it as a poetic

complement to the main narrative in Books One through Five, rather than using pastoral persona as an allegorical key for the whole *Arcadia*. Juxtaposing that imitation of the *Diana* with variation of a pastoral epithalamion in Gil Polo's *Diana Enamorada*, *Old Arcadia* exploits the quasi-religious narrative poetics of Montemayor's fiction to figure forth generally Protestant impressions of marriage and affective individual piety.

The Conclusion for this study notes briefly that Sidney's revision of the *Arcadia*'s plot structure toward the mid-1580s, like his original invention of the work, imports and refines the narrative poetics of its primary chivalric source material. Both versions of Sidney's fiction rely on poetics of reader engagement and exemplary character contrast, and both versions maintain thematic emphasis on secret marriage, though with distinct narrative focus for that theme and with distinct effect as a matter of rhetorical mimesis.

Sidney scholarship frequently emphasizes the gist of what we call here mimesis: fictional representation of contemporary reality. Recognizing the relationship between poetics of rhetorical mimesis in Sidney's *Arcadia* and that of its primary chivalric source material, however, proves difficult to theorize. Through detailed and broadly ranging philological and historical study, one may perceive the uniqueness and complexity of Spain's chivalric-romance genre in prose advanced by Montalvo and Silva, appropriated by translators such as Gohory, then imitated by Sidney. Continuity and change typify Castilian chivalric fiction, including Feliciano de Silva's own invention and re-invention of interlaced motifs that Gohory amplifies philosophically and Sidney exploits aesthetically. Only by synthesizing and supplementing a wide array of research can one begin to comprehend and appreciate the impact of Montalvo's and Silva's work upon European letters in the sixteenth century—not least, as we shall see, in Sidney's invention

of his *Arcadia*, which, along with his *Defence of Poesie* and lyric poems, helped shape the renaissance of English literature in the 1590s and early seventeenth century.

I.

Old Arcadia's Topical and Rhetorical Poetics, Reconsidered

Philip Sidney's entire literary oeuvre, produced between 1577 and his death in 1586, was emphatically topical and rhetorical in focus. His *Discourse on Irish Affairs* defends land taxes imposed in the Irish Pale by his father Henry Sidney. His pastoral drama *The Lady of May* was an entertainment produced for an occasion in which Queen Elizabeth visited the estate of Sidney's uncle Robert Dudley at Wanstead, focused on the matter of her sustained decision to remain unmarried. In 1579, Sidney composed a letter of advice to Queen Elizabeth addressing the issue of whether or not she would marry Hercule-François, the French Duke of Anjou and former Duke of Alençon. In 1581, Sidney contributed to the design of a chivalric entertainment in which he participated, known as *The Four Foster Children of Desire*, also addressing that matter of the queen's potential marriage and performed for her in the company of French ambassadors. His *Defence of Poesie*, composed some time between 1579 and 1582, promotes the ethical and rhetorical virtues of fictional poetics. Sidney's *Arcadia*—which he originally wrote between 1578 and 1581, then revised substantially in plot structure between c.1582 and c.1584—puts that poetic theory into practice as prose fiction interspersed with pastoral verse. His sequence of sonnets and lyric songs, *Astrophil and Stella*, expresses personal and conflicted sentiment in the mode of sixteenth-century neo-Petrarchan tradition, presumably autobiographical in focus (at least loosely so in inspiration), unlike some other examples of that literary mode. And Sidney's *Defence of the Earl of Leicester* rebuts slander against his uncle Robert Dudley that circulated widely in the early 1580s.

This study re-evaluates the issues of rhetoric and topicality in Sidney's original *Arcadia* (*Old Arcadia*) by analyzing precisely *how* he invents his fiction through imitation and variation of literary sources, inferring from that analysis *why* he would have chosen to imitate and combine those particular works when he did and in the manner that he did. This opening chapter emphasizes the latter issue—motives for inventing *Arcadia*—with regard to the global structure of *Old Arcadia*'s primary narrative plane.

Sidney's literary activity, even at a glance such as the summary provided above, reflects investment in political and legal matters pertaining to his family. On multiple occasions his works address the topic of marriage with regard to Queen Elizabeth and the English succession. Critical attention to that political context with regard to his invention of *Old Arcadia* poses unanswered questions. Evidence in the form of extant manuscripts and allusions suggests quite clearly that he began writing the story around 1578 and composed the majority of it while away from court at the family estate of Wilton in 1580, primarily for his sister Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, though allowing manuscript copies of his work to be made while he composed it.¹⁵ Both this matter of manuscript circulation and the heavily rhetorical thrust of Sidney's poetic theory, as well as the topical focus of his other literary works, demand attention to the issues of audience and rhetorical purpose for his invention of *Arcadia*. Various veins of discourse within

¹⁵ On circumstantial evidence for dating Sidney's composition of *Old Arcadia*, see J. Robertson, ed. P. Sidney, *OA*, pp. xv-xix. Detailed study of extant manuscripts reveals that, "When he had completed the *Old Arcadia*, while apparently asserting that it was exclusively for his sister—'done only for you, only to you' [*OA*, 3]—he saw the possibility of its reaching a wider audience through letting others transcribe his working copy. [...] The textual evidence shows that he allowed at least eight copies of the *Old Arcadia* to be made in the space of as little as two years" (H. R. Woudhuysen 1996, pp. 385, 8; see pp. 8-9, 89, 203, 299-355). Here Woudhuysen quotes Sidney's prefatory epistle for *OA*, "To My Dear Lady and Sister the Countess of Pembroke." K. O. Myrick 1935 characterizes Sidney's reference to *OA* in this epistle as "idle work..., being but a trifle, and that triflingly handled"—like his reference to *DP* as "this ink-wasting toy of mine" (*DP*, 120-121)—as *sprezzatura* (pp. 40-43; cf. pp. 27, 298-315). Cf. R. E. Stillman 1986, pp. 39, 43-44. *OA* citation refers to Robertson's edition.

Old Arcadia have been aligned with various aspects of political and intellectual contexts in which Sidney composed it; yet, existing studies have not identified the logical trajectory by which the story itself links love and disguise, as well as political and legal conflicts, with marriage.

Central plot conflicts and narrative focus in *Old Arcadia*, from start to finish, revolve around the secret marriages of its four protagonist lovers, which occur in Book Three. Book One focuses on Pyrocles and Musidorus falling in love with the sequestered princesses Philoclea and Pamela, and vice-versa, within a pastoral courtly *locus amoenus* to which the princes have gained and maintained access only through disguise as, respectively, an Amazonian female warrior and a shepherd. Book Two focuses on the lovers' covert courtship amidst restrictions within that Arcadian setting. In Book Three, the protagonist princes reveal their true identities to their beloved princesses, and the two couples are betrothed in a manner that constitutes "marriage," as defined by Sidney's narrative, although such union remains a secret throughout Book Three due to restrictions imposed by the princesses' parents. In Book Four, their father the Arcadian regent Duke Basilius drinks a potion that seems to cause his death—from the reader's perspective as well as from that of all characters in the story—and a temporary succession crisis occurs in Arcadia due to debate about the clandestine nature of Pamela's marriage to Musidorus as dubious validation of her legal right to succeed her father as his eldest daughter and heir-apparent. To avoid political faction and civil war, Arcadian officials recruit the just King Euarchus of Macedonia, who happens to be Pyrocles's father and Musidorus's uncle, to determine the protagonist lovers' fate as judge for the legal trial held in Book Five of Sidney's narrative. Euarchus, upon hearing trumped-up allegations of rape and

abduction against the young princes, even after learning their true identities as his son and nephew, rules in favor of arguments that they should be held to the letter of Arcadian law and thus sentences them to death. A last-minute twist of plot—the sudden revelation that Duke Basilius was not in fact dead but instead had fallen into a comatose sleep—allows for the restoration of political stability through Basilius’s clemency toward Pyrocles and Musidorus and his public validation of their clandestine marriages to his two daughters.

Because this focus on clandestine marriage in *Old Arcadia* has not been recognized in modern Sidney scholarship, there has been no critical attention to one revealing historical context for Sidney’s invention of that fiction between 1578 and 1581: his uncle the Earl of Leicester’s secret marriage and its ramifications for the Sidney family. This chapter examines that context as an impetus for why Sidney chose to imitate Feliciano de Silva’s chivalric fiction in French translation between 1578 and 1581. Although it has been recognized for over a century that the central plot elements of love and disguise in Sidney’s story imitate motifs from “Book” Eleven of the French *Amadis* cycle, no prior study has examined *why* Sidney would have chosen that source material as the dominant foundation for his own fiction, beyond brief and general emphasis on the pleasure such tropes might provide for readers.¹⁶ It is this matter of readers, in terms of Sidney’s primary intended audience for *Old Arcadia* within the immediate context of its production, that requires more precise attention, especially in regard to the secret-marriage theme characteristic of Spanish chivalric romance.

Reader knowledge of the material Sidney imitates for inventing his fiction enhances the rhetorical effectiveness of *Old Arcadia*’s narrative poetics. In this regard, it

¹⁶ E.g., W. V. Moody [1894], pp. 34-47; J. J. O’Connor 1970, pp. 183-201.

is essential that we begin by re-assessing the matter of Sidney's primary intended audience for *Old Arcadia* in tandem with the issue of rhetorical mimesis: that is, poetic imitation of contemporary reality designed to sway a specific audience toward a particular mode of thought or action. Traditionally, it has been assumed that Sidney wrote *Old Arcadia* primarily for his sister, based on the dedicatory epistle, "To My Dear Lady and Sister the Countess of Pembroke" (*OA*, 3). Yet, critical interpretation of the work emphasizing political and intellectual contexts for its production almost invariably has gravitated away from any precise focus on her and her court as immediate intended audience, despite the narrator's overt references to his readers as "fair ladies" throughout Book One and in Book Three. Rather than analyze those narrative cues through the lens of twentieth-century gender theory,¹⁷ the matter may be addressed more fruitfully through re-considering political and biographical contexts for Sidney's fiction with regard to the Dudley-Sidney family and Leicester's secret marriage. Such re-consideration helps explain both the impetus and the stakes for Sidney's choice to imitate "Book" Eleven of the French *Amadis* cycle.

Both Sidney and his sister held significant personal stakes in their uncle's secret marriage. Queen Elizabeth's resentment toward Leicester for that marriage jeopardized the Dudley-Sidney family's fortunes during the winter of 1579 and the spring months of 1580. The marriage itself also potentially threatened Sidney's own right of inheritance to Dudley titles and estates. Analysis of these matters suggests that Sidney would have maintained an informed and conflicted personal perspective on sixteenth-century legal reform pertaining to clandestine marriage. Further, Sidney chose to focus his fictional narrative on clandestine marriage because of his own personal and family situation

¹⁷ M. E. Lamb 1990, pp. 72-89. Cf. H. Hackett 2000, pp. 101-104.

between 1578 and 1581. Cultural competition with the French court levied by Leicester within that context helps explain the stakes for Sidney's investment in French versions of Spanish chivalric romance.

These new viewpoints also shed new light on probable motive for why Sidney's fiction exploits its different literary sources neatly within a five-Act structure, as a means to figure forth legal debate about clandestine marriage in Arcadia. Sidney's blending of Spanish chivalric-romance motifs with motifs from ancient prose fiction achieves an effect of dramatic tragicomedy enclosed within the codex, generally conforming with humanist approaches to classical comedy while imposing enhanced emphasis on *admiratio* for the protagonist lovers.¹⁸ The narrative itself generates reader complicity and rhetorical effect through its poetics of exemplary character contrast and its thematic focus on dynastic union via secret marriage.

* * *

Sidney produced *Old Arcadia* primarily while away from court at Wilton, a family estate where he could spend quality time with his sister, amidst their uncle's patronage campaign between the years 1578 and 1581. Leicester mustered that campaign in tandem with Anjou's courtship for Queen Elizabeth's hand in marriage, as a means to cultivate an impression of himself as an important European lord, in competition with

¹⁸ Cf. V. Kahn & L. Hutson 2001: "Sixteenth-century dramatists brought up on humanist editions of classical comedy and on Erasmus' adaptation of classical discussions of 'artificial proof' would have been familiar with the notion of a relationship between the dilatory plea of equity as a corrective to the letter of the law, and the dilatory temporal space occupied by the hypotheses and 'errors' generated by the dramatic text" (p. 5; see pp. 4-5, 23 n. 21). Also see K. Eden 1986, pp. 7-157; B. J. Shapiro 2001; R. F. Hardin 2007. For previous critical approaches to *OA*'s five-act dramatic structure, see R. H. Perkinson 1946; W. A. Ringler, ed. P. Sidney, *Poems*, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii; R. W. Parker 1972; C. L. Chalifour 1976; P. E. Rockwell [1980]; D. V. Stump 1982; S. K. Heninger 1989, pp. 415-418, 425-429—although see note 68 below on Parker's argument regarding the *Arcadia*'s chivalric-romance sources. Compare this chapter's perspective with Sidney's comments on poetic form and theater in *DP* (94-99, 112-116), K. Eden 1986 on Sidney's *DP* (pp. 3-6, 156-175), and Chapter Two below. In methodology and in critical focus, this perspective on Sidney's poetic invention departs from E. B. Bearden's recent theory about how Sidney's *NA* represents a "narrative version of tragicomedy" ([forthcoming], p. 3).

French court culture, especially Anjou's patronage of the arts. In studying that cultural context, Henry Woudhuysen uses extant records to analyze closely Sidney's movements upon returning from his 1577 diplomatic embassy in eastern Europe, emphasizing that Sidney produced and circulated nearly all of his literary works in this period of Leicester's patronage campaign during the Anjou courtship, associating the "occasional writing and forensic rhetoric" of Sidney's works with family interests, including contemporary legal theory pertaining both to England and to continental Europe.¹⁹ Sidney and his sister, as author and primary intended audience for *Old Arcadia*, also would have been aware of differences between England and Europe in terms of mid-sixteenth-century legal reform pertaining to clandestine marriage.

That matter of sixteenth-century legal reform with regard to earlier Christian policy on clandestine marriage proves crucial for this present study. From Justinian's reformation of ancient Roman law in the sixth century through the fifteenth century, Christian perspectives on marriage developed in Europe as an ongoing negotiation of social demands, canon law, and religious practice. Persistent social concerns included abduction (*raptus*), parental consent, property rights, kinship, and royal and aristocratic "blood law." Such issues provoked emphasis on the religious practice of having an ecclesiastical witness preside over Christian union in marriage, and canon law developed for defining more precisely the Church's sacramental perspective on marriage. In those debates, the ultimate criterion for valid Christian marriage remained consistent. The

¹⁹ H. R. Woudhuysen [1980], p. 233 (see pp. 70-74, 232-304). Here Woudhuysen emphasizes that Sidney "was not shy about displaying himself and his ideas at court. Leicester encouraged him to do this, and Sidney intends the reader to recognize his world in what he wrote" (p. 304). Woudhuysen's study revises E. Rosenberg 1955 with broader perspective including Leicester's competition with French patronage during that period of 1578-1581. On two portraits of Anjou owned by Leicester and moved from London to his Wanstead estate between 1580 and 1582, see E. Goldring 2004. On Philip Sidney's image in portraiture between 1575 and 1579 as emulation of Leicester's, see E. I. Berry 1998, pp. 49-62.

formation of Christian marriage required mutual vows and consent between a man and a woman, consummated either by sexual union or by continued mutual intention to marry following betrothal. Thus, clandestine marriage remained theologically valid amidst social controversy and legal debate over the matter from the thirteenth century through the fifteenth century.²⁰ Protestant reformations of the early sixteenth century in continental Europe, as well as a decree from the Council of Trent in 1563, imposed various degrees of legal reform invalidating secret unions conducted without ecclesiastical sanction or official approval by the couple's parents or community.²¹ Tridentine reform required that a priest be present, as well as multiple witnesses; otherwise, union by mutual consent alone remained invalid theologically and socially. In France, a royal decree in 1556-1557, designed as a strategic maneuver tied to the espousal of King Henri II's daughter Diane, prohibited any legal right to goods and titles in cases of betrothal without physical consummation (a form of union which could still constitute clandestine marriage according to Roman canon law at that point).²² England, on the other hand, remained a unique case in the sixteenth century, maintaining pre-Tridentine Roman canon law—thus recognizing the theological validity of clandestine marriage—and yet, under the Elizabethan Protestant settlement, denying marriage its

²⁰ For broad and detailed perspective on these issues from the sixth century through the fifteenth century, see G. H. Joyce 1933 (esp. pp. 102-122 on the validity of clandestine marriage); J. A. Brundage 1987, pp. xx, 1-9, 87-89, 113-114, 135-143, 187-199, 209-210, 223, 235-239, 249-250, 260-278, 311-313, 331-341, 346-364 (esp. pp. 361-364), 396-398, 430-447, 469-472, 479-485, 494-503, 530-533, 540-546, 606-607; and P. L. Reynolds 2007. Cf. H. A. Kelly 1975, pp. 161-176; G. Duby 1983 (including "Introduction" by Natalie Zemon Davis, esp. pp. vii-x); P. L. Reynolds 1994; G. W. Olsen 2001b; T. O. Pierre 2001; and P. L. Reynolds & J. Witte 2007.

²¹ On this dimension of Protestant and Tridentine legal reform and attempts at regulation in Europe, see G. H. Joyce 1933, pp. 115-130 (cf. pp. 176-183, 190-197); J. Casey 1985; J. A. Brundage 1987, pp. 551-575 (esp. pp. 563-565, 571-574); H. Kamen 1993, pp. 275-339; J.-M. Pelorson 2004; R. M. Kingdon & J. Witte 2005; and J. Witte 1997 (pp. 42-193), 2002 (pp. 177-256), and 2007. Cf. J. Ruiz de Conde 1948, pp. 5-6, 9-10; E. J. Carlson 1994, pp. 3-9; M. E. Wiesner-Hanks 2000, pp. 74, 106-107, 121; R. V. Young 2001, pp. 279-280; D. MacCulloch 2004, pp. 294, 612-615. Also see A. Dyer 2003 on spin-off legislation to mitigate matters of honor in seventeenth-century Spain.

²² M. Rothstein 1994, pp. 878-886.

former sacramental status and allowing for legal prosecution (and even excommunication) of ordained ministers and laymen bearing witness to secret marriage.²³

These latter observations regarding England and France deserve attention in relief with Leicester's marriage and its significance for Sidney and his sister. The detail regarding liability of ministers and witnesses under English law applies directly, for extant evidence confirms that both were present at Leicester's secret wedding on 21 September 1578.²⁴ Sidney probably would have known that dimension of English law well, combined with the fact that England maintained theological validity for clandestine marriage, in contrast with France under Tridentine reform. Indeed, recognizing differences between English and European law was an active concern pursued by both Leicester and Sidney.

Leicester's aim to provide military support for the Protestant cause in Flanders served as a motive for both Leicester and Sidney to support the endeavors of contemporary legal theorists interested in both civil law and Roman imperial law: not only Englishmen such as John Hammond and Gabriel Harvey but also, significantly, continental scholars such as Jean Hotman and Alberico Gentili, a pioneer in early modern

²³ See A. P. Moore 1909; G. H. Joyce 1933, pp. 137-138; R. A. Houlbrooke 1979 (pp. 55-67, 83-85) and 1985; M. Ingram 1987, pp. 131-136, 189-192, 210-218; R. H. Hemholz 1990, pp. 69-73; E. J. Carlson 1994, pp. 8, 67-180 (esp. pp. 105-141); R. B. Outhwaite 1995, pp. 1-73; and S. Mukherji 2006, pp. 17-25.

²⁴ Based on the witnesses' comments in a gathering two and a half years later, some scholars have conjectured that there was also a prior secret marriage between Leicester and this same new wife, at Kenilworth in the spring of 1578, motivated by a pregnancy that must have failed. The "evidence" consists of an unreliable claim in a slanderous tract against Leicester circulated in England around 1584-1585, known as *Leicester's Commonwealth*, combined with the presiding clergyman's recollection in March 1580/81 that on 21 September 1578 the bride was "attired as he now remembereth in a loose gown" (PRO ms. SP 12, vol. 148, fol. 83r). S. A. Adams 2004b cites these references and, in response to one theory on that matter (D. A. Wilson 1981, pp. 223-231), emphasizes that "the latest occasion Leicester and the countess could have been at Kenilworth together was in summer 1577, and the actual date of Denbigh's birth was unknown until it was discovered in 1992 in a document at Longleat House, Wiltshire. A failed pregnancy in 1578 cannot be ruled out entirely, but no reference to one survives" (p. 88a). M. G. Brennan & N. J. Kinnamon 2003 errs in claiming that on 21 September 1578 Leicester's new wife "was probably already pregnant with their only son Lord Denbigh" (p. 69). See notes 44-45 below.

international law.²⁵ Arthur Kinney and David Norbrook have followed Woudhuysen's lead in recognizing the Dudley-Sidney family's investment in legal theory as a crucial context for legal debate in Book Five of Sidney's *Old Arcadia*. Adding the issue of Leicester's clandestine marriage to their perspectives takes the premise a step further: this consideration complements Woudhuysen's emphasis on domestic law versus international law in *Old Arcadia*, Kinney's emphasis on the contrast between common law's focus on legal precedent and chancery's focus on legal equity, as well as Norbrook's emphasis on the issue of a monarch's prerogative to protect the aristocracy from legal verdict such as that imposed upon the protagonist princes in *Old Arcadia*.²⁶ Sidney would have been aware of those legal issues along with the fact that French legal reform denied succession of wealth and titles in cases of clandestine marriage.

Old Arcadia's conclusion figures forth a combination of those four issues. This present study re-assesses how Sidney uses literary source material to establish the overall rhetorical effect of *Old Arcadia*'s conclusion with regard to those legal issues. Before analyzing the matters of literary sources and narrative poetics, though, current critical perspectives on political contexts for *Old Arcadia*'s production, especially regarding Queen Elizabeth and the English aristocracy, must be revised in order to recognize the

²⁵ H. R. Woudhuysen [1980], pp. 70-74 (cf. pp. 285-293 on *OA*). Woudhuysen emphasizes, "From the point of view of the chief legal interest of Leicester's circle, international relations, a knowledge of civil law was essential—it would be pointless discussing the problems raised by the Netherlands on the basis of the common English law. It is not surprising then to witness the Earl, encouraging and patronising continental civilians, such as Alberico Gentili and Jean Hotman, or to see men like Pierre Pithon and Julius Caesar successfully gaining a B. C. L. and a D. C. L. respectively during his Chancellorship" (p. 72). S. P. Kerr 1955 observes that by the age of thirteen Sidney enrolled not only at Christ Church College, Oxford, but also at Gray's Inn, London; he was admitted 2 February 1567/68; his father had joined that society in 1563, and his younger brother Robert would do so in 1617 (p. 48). Cf. R. S. White 1996, p. 95. Also see D. Norbrook 2002 on Sidney and Harvey (p. 315).

²⁶ H. R. Woudhuysen [1980], pp. 290-293; A. F. Kinney 1988 (pp. 307-309) and 1990 (pp. 50-52); D. Norbrook 2002, pp. 90-91. R. C. McCoy 1979 reads Euarchus's judgment of the princes in *OA* as "ruthlessly impersonal" in its legalism but suggests instead some degree of psychological projection regarding Sidney's relationship with his father Henry Sidney (p. 130; cf. A. C. Hamilton 1977, p. 41).

stakes of this thematic focus for *Arcadia*'s conclusion: love, law, and clandestine marriage.

Sidney began writing *Old Arcadia* around the time of Leicester's secret marriage in 1578. Queen Elizabeth's anger toward Leicester for his marriage jeopardized the Dudley-Sidney family's economic and political future. The gravest immediate consequences of the queen's resentment toward Leicester over that matter occurred in between two distinct phases of the Anjou marriage negotiations, and by 1580, when Sidney wrote most of the *Old Arcadia*, Leicester's political concern over his queen's prospective marriage had been largely assuaged.²⁷ In that context, *Old Arcadia*'s narrative focus on dynastic union through clandestine marriage pertains more directly to the context of Leicester's secret marriage than to Queen Elizabeth's prospective marriage.

Recognizing the political significance of Leicester's secret marriage within that context of international dynastic policy challenges Blair Worden's view that *Old Arcadia* constitutes a political treatise veiled in topical allegory. Worden's study emphasizes how the prospects that Queen Elizabeth wanted to marry the Duc d'Anjou and that she might indeed do so stirred up much emotion and created division among the queen's councilors at particular moments during those years, in terms of political policy. Some time in the winter of 1579, Sidney wrote a letter to the queen adamantly warning of political and religious dangers involved with such dynastic union, and the letter circulated widely in manuscript, thus becoming a tool of propaganda for his uncle the Earl of Leicester's

²⁷ S. A. Adams 2004a, pp. 105a-107a.

policy at that specific point in time.²⁸ Worden's study of *Old Arcadia* in tandem with those contexts highlights its general themes of reason and counsel, virtue and vice, to argue that Sidney's fiction espouses a singular political ideology that England must "stand alone" rather than join itself in dynastic union with "Catholic" France (that is, the French monarchy and Guise contingent).²⁹ Worden's approach, however, focuses mostly on official talk of the Anjou marriage in 1579 and therefore builds literary interpretation upon the premise that Sidney's *Old Arcadia*, from start to finish, espouses and seeks to promote the same perspective on foreign policy voiced in his "Letter to Queen Elizabeth" written toward the end of 1579.

It should be recognized, though, that the stakes of that policy changed for Leicester (and thus for Sidney, too) in 1580 and 1581, while Sidney wrote much of his fiction. Leicester's clandestine marriage, on the other hand, remained a matter of paramount importance from 1578 through 1581, personally and politically, both for Sidney and for his primary intended audience while he composed *Old Arcadia*. Existing

²⁸ See "A Letter Written by Sir Philip Sidney to Queen Elizabeth, Touching Her Marriage with Monsieur," ed. K. Duncan-Jones, in P. Sidney, *Miscellaneous Prose*, pp. 33-57; and, on thirty-nine identifiable manuscript versions, all scribal copies with significant textual variation, see P. Beal 1998 (pp. 109-146, 274-280) and *idem*. 2002. S. P. Kerr 1955 suggests that Sidney might have written the letter in Francis Walsingham's chambers at Gray's Inn (p. 50). Sidney, in contrast with one John Stubbs, seems to have received no official censure for writing this letter. In September 1579, an inflammatory tract written by Stubbs blazed forth in print, disseminating into the public sphere arguments against the prospective royal marriage, and Elizabeth reacted firmly by sentencing that the bookseller William Page and the ironically named author Stubbs have their right hands chopped off in public, 4 November 1579. See J. Stubbs 1579 (cf. *idem*, *Gaping Gulf*, ed. L. E. Berry); C. S. Clegg 1997, pp. 123-137; and, on the matter of "public sphere" in this context, see P. Lake & M. C. Questier 2000 and N. Mears 2001a.

²⁹ B. Worden 1996. Cf. *idem*. 2007; and Chapter Five below, note 285. C. Martin 1988, which Worden's studies do not cite, provides a distinct reading of actions by Arcadia's rulers (Basilius and Gynecia) and their ramifications in *OA*, based on the same critical approach of associating Sidney's fiction directly with his "Letter to Queen Elizabeth," combined with the premise that these characters' "anxiety" regarding their "royal estate" revolves around the question of Basilius's "virility" (p. 370; see pp. 369-385 on *OA*). For comparison of Philanax's advice to Basilius in Book One with that of Sidney's "Letter to Queen Elizabeth," see J. Robertson, ed. P. Sidney, *OA*, p. 419; and D. Connell 1977, pp. 105-110. Also compare W. G. Zeeveld 1933; H. R. Woudhuysen [1980], pp. 285-293; and J. E. Keenan [1994]. Cf. S. Doran 1996, pp. 154-184, 210; A. L. Harkness [2005], pp. 9-13. Woudhuysen's study provides useful emphasis that in composing *OA* Sidney was "thinking as most Protestants would as much of the Low Countries as of Alençon [Anjou] and England" (p. 286).

arguments against Worden's perspective on topical allegory, like this present study, privilege narrative poetics of reader engagement over allegorical interpretation.³⁰ Yet, Worden's research provides a useful platform for stepping further toward attention to the Dudley-Sidney family's concern for building their own aristocratic dynasty, rather than just to their policy regarding the queen's potential marriage to Anjou.

Critical attention to the Dudley-Sidney family's expanded aristocratic dynasty between 1578 and 1581 helps bring Mary Sidney Herbert into the picture more clearly. Her marriage in 1577 to Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, had forged dynastic alliance between the Dudley, Sidney, and Herbert families. All three aristocratic families had risen to prominence only in the sixteenth century, and the figureheads for this new alliance, Leicester and Pembroke, like their respective nephew and brother-in-law Philip Sidney, both supported the Protestant cause in Europe. The young Countess of Pembroke, during these years in which her brother wrote the *Arcadia* for her, remained aware of her family's political situation: both their investment in supporting that international cause and the political ramifications of Queen Elizabeth's anger toward her uncle for his secret marriage to Lettice Knollys Devereux.³¹

It was Leicester's close personal relationship with the queen which both motivated him to keep his second marriage to a member of her court secret and also

³⁰ In revising Worden's premise and argument for topical allegory in *OA*, this study takes an approach distinct from that of Robert Stillman (see bibliography in Chapter Five below, note 285). G. Alexander 2006a embraces Stillman's perspective on Sidney's *DP* (R. E. Stillman 2002a; cf. *idem*. 2008), usefully claiming about *OA*, "Basilius is very barely a study in pacific government and isolationism, and far more a great comic creation whose retreat allows a superbly plotted pastoral drama to unfold" (p. xxx). Also see L. Tennenhouse 1990, pp. 207-208, 210-211.

³¹ See M. P. Hannay 1990, pp. 35-58 (esp. pp. 35-51). Hannay emphasizes that "[Leicester's] efforts to continue his favor with the queen—which meant, essentially, his flirtation—were undermined by his bride" (p. 45). K. T. Rowe 1947 mentions Leicester's marriage to distinguish between such cases with the queen's personal favorites versus similar situations with other courtiers (pp. 50-52). J. Drinkwater notes it as one probable reason for Sidney's retirement from court in 1579 (ed. P. Sidney, *Poems*, p. 34).

caused its discovery to become a political liability for the Dudley-Sidney family. The Countess of Pembroke's new husband had served as an official witness for that clandestine marriage; thus, according to English law, those witnesses could potentially be subjected to legal prosecution and punishment. The Sidneys probably would have been aware of that fact. Also, because Leicester had remained Queen Elizabeth's personal favorite courtier throughout her reign, his new wife never escaped the queen's resentment after this second marriage, which remained "half concealed" even after the queen learned of it in 1579.³² Indeed, the matter became politicized when Jean de Simier, the Duc d'Anjou's diplomatic agent visiting London, exposed Leicester's marriage to Queen Elizabeth, some time in the late months of 1579, not long after the French duke himself first arrived in England on 17 August 1579 to woo the queen in person. Simier informed the queen of Leicester's marriage probably just before leaving England, and Elizabeth's resulting anger toward Leicester put him, and hence Sidney's whole family, in dire political and economic straits between November 1579 and March 1580.³³

Momentous changes in continental politics in early 1580, though, caused Anjou's nominally Catholic religion to become a less inflammatory political issue for Leicester and also affected Leicester's fortunes favorably while renewing Anjou's interest in pursuing the prospect of marriage to Elizabeth, which Leicester and Sidney had opposed at the end of the previous year. In January 1580 (1579/80 by the Elizabethan English calendar), the King of Portugal died without an indisputable heir, having named Felipe II

³² S. A. Adams 2004a, pp. 106b-107a; also see *idem.* 2004b, pp. 88a-89b. At least partially due to the queen's resentment, Leicester's debts to the crown later fell largely upon his new wife (S. A. Adams 1996, pp. 5-6).

³³ S. A. Adams 2004a, pp. 105a-107a. Cf. *idem.* 2004b: "What can be said with assurance is that Leicester's marriage did not become an issue until December 1579, and that the immediate crisis—so far as he was concerned—was over in spring 1580" (p. 88a). On later financial ramifications for others, including the Countess of Leicester and Philip Sidney's younger brother Robert, see S. A. Adams 1996, pp. 2-6.

of Spain as his successor, at which point Felipe II levied a quick and adamant campaign to annex Portugal and its overseas empire for Spain.³⁴ In response to that unimaginable threat, William of Orange newly renounced Dutch allegiance to Felipe II, nominally granting it instead to Anjou, as an attempt to spark new activist energy for the Protestant cause in the Low Countries. Anjou responded in April 1580 by blaming Simier and other counselors for conspiring against Leicester, with the aim of “mend[ing] relations,” for “good relations with England and with Leicester in particular—given the respect in which he was held in the Netherlands—were now essential.”³⁵ As a result, in the final wave of negotiations over whether or not Anjou would indeed marry Queen Elizabeth, Leicester participated fully in Privy Council debate, and Sidney resumed active life at court in 1581. Thus, after that turn of international affairs in 1580 ensuing from the Portuguese succession question, the matter of Queen Elizabeth’s potential marriage to Anjou became somewhat less of an urgent concern for Leicester and Sidney in 1580-1581. The issue of remaining in their queen’s good graces following Leicester’s clandestine marriage, on the other hand, became even more important than in 1579 when Sidney had written the letter of advice to her, for now the prospect that Leicester might receive a charge to lead military forces for the Protestant cause in Flanders (as he did, eventually, in 1585) suddenly had increased exponentially, Anjou marriage or no Anjou marriage. In this context, Philip Sidney and his sister the Countess of Pembroke both would have born in mind the fact that legal equity or monarchal pardon could release Leicester and Pembroke

³⁴ On Felipe II’s campaign for acquisition of Portugal *c.*1580, see A. Danvila 1956; and, on mixed impressions of the same within Spain, A. I. Watson 1990.

³⁵ S. A. Adams 2004a, p. 106a. Hubert Languet warns Sidney about England, Anjou, and European politics in a letter dated 30 January 1579/80 (*Correspondence*, p. 188). On military contexts and Queen Elizabeth’s involvement, see M. P. Holt 1986, pp. 146-158. S. A. Adams 2004c explains why Queen Elizabeth had declined a formal offer of sovereignty over the rebel provinces of Holland and Zeeland in 1576, based on her own “moral dilemma: how to reconcile her acceptance of the legitimacy of the Dutch cause with her conscientious objection to territorial expansion” (p. 309).

from any potential legal restrictions upon his clandestine marriage, based on mitigating circumstances, and thus greatly enhance the family's future prospects, politically and economically.

This revised approach to political contexts for *Old Arcadia* sheds new light on Sidney's choice and use of dominant literary source material, especially when put in relief with Woudhuysen's perspective on Leicester's literary patronage as a matter of competition with French court culture. Leicester's campaign culminated, in fact, with innovative chivalric pageantry designed mostly by Sidney in 1581, known as *Four Foster Children of Desire*: a tournament performed at court for the queen and French diplomats, which "attempts astonishingly to create an entertainment in the French style of Henri III's court."³⁶ That mode of cultural competition seems to complement Sidney's invention of *Old Arcadia* as English pastoral-chivalric fiction along the lines of the Spanish *Amadís*

³⁶ H. R. Woudhuysen [1980], p. 11. On the tournament pageantry, see *ibid.*, pp. 305-350. H. R. Woudhuysen 2004 provides a very brief summary (p. 562a). For published accounts of the *Four Foster Children of Desire* pageantry, which Woudhuysen labels "the most magnificent and ambitious show put on during the Queen's reign" ([1980], p. 11), see H. Goldwell 1581 (cf. ed. K. Duncan-Jones, in P. Sidney, *Sidney*, pp. 299-311, 402-405); N. Council 1976; A. R. Young 1987, pp. 147b-149b (cf. pp. 33b-34a, 93b-95a, 213 n. 58, 202b-203a); R. C. McCoy 1989, pp. 58-62; K. Duncan-Jones 1991, pp. 204-212 (cf. pp. 8-9, 16); A. C. Hamilton 1996; and N. Mears 2001b, p. 453. K. Duncan-Jones 1991, drawing upon Woudhuysen's research, also discusses the "Callophisus" challenge (pp. 201-204) and other tournaments in which Sidney participated. Cf. A. H. Nelson 2003, pp. 261-265. On the pageantry Henri III designed to celebrate the Duc de Joyeuse's marriage to the French queen's half-sister Marie de Lorraine in 1581, see F. A. Yates 1975, pp. 149-172. For an illustrated account of elaborate French pageantry for the triumphal entries of Charles IX and his new queen Elizabeth of Austria into Paris in 1571, celebrating "the union of two great royal lines, both claiming descent from Charlemagne, in the marriage of a *Rex Christianissimus* of France with a daughter and granddaughter of emperors" (F. A. Yates 1975, p. 127), see S. Bouquet 1572 and F. A. Yates's introduction to the 1973 facsimile edition (pp. 6-41) (cf. F. A. Yates 1975, pp. 127-148). Also see F. A. Yates 1975 on "The Idea of the French Monarchy" (pp. 121-126). Philip Sidney almost certainly witnessed similar French festivities in Paris celebrating the marriage of Henri de Navarre (figurehead for French Protestants) to Marguerite de Valois, sister of King Charles IX and daughter of Catherine d'Medici, which took place on 18 August 1572. Preparation for those festivities began the week after King Charles IX personally granted young Philip Sidney the baronial title "*gentilhomme ordinaire de notre chambre*" on 9 August 1572. Certain entertainments for the occasion allegorically presented triumph of the Catholic Valois and Guise party over the Protestant party of Henri de Navarre. Political hopes for peace through that dynastic union were dashed by a failed attempt to assassinate the Protestant Admiral Coligny and ensuing political tension which resulted in the murder of Coligny and the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre of Protestants in Paris. See J. M. Osborn 1972, pp. 54-73. On the question of Philip Sidney's exact whereabouts at the time the massacre began on 24-25 August 1572, M. Hunt 1992 (p. 25), in contrast with Osborn's study, speculates that Sidney already had left Paris.

tradition, which pervaded late-sixteenth-century French court culture. Sidney, and almost certainly his sister as well, knew that Spanish literary tradition primarily through French translation: probably from the series of new editions produced in the early 1570s, although quite possibly also in earlier folio editions.³⁷ These data help lay a firm foundation for close analysis of precisely *how* Sidney uses a French version of Silva's fiction (in Chapter Three below). One may safely assume that, to some degree, Sidney imitates continental chivalric fiction with a competitive edge.

With the *Arcadia*—in contrast with court spectacle such as *Four Foster Children of Desire*—Sidney resists allegorical narrative, imitating instead the dynamic exemplary poetics of European chivalric romance in prose. In *Arcadia*, Sidney channels two general family concerns into his fiction, thematically and intellectually: the legal issue of dynastic succession through clandestine marriage, on the one hand, and on the other, a notion that virtue validates aristocratic pedigree rather than pedigree lending itself to virtue. Both issues had remained matters of thematic focus throughout Spain's chivalric-romance tradition. Arguments for virtue taking precedence over pedigree had emerged recently as a matter of French discourse in the 1570s.³⁸ *Old Arcadia's* author almost

³⁷ J. J. O'Connor 1970 (pp. 183-201) assumes that Sidney encountered the *Amadís* cycle exclusively in French translation. Chapter Three here below confirms that Sidney drew upon Fr. *Am.* XI (i.e., Silva's *FN3*, Ch. 1-84, trans. Gohory) as his primary source for inventing *OA*. Ringler (ed. P. Sidney, *Poems*, p. xxiv) and Hannay (1990, pp. 47-48) also emphasize shared interest in such source material between Sidney and his sister (cf. M. P. Hannay 2002, p. 26). An extant manuscript cataloguing contents of the Sidney family's library at Penshurst c.1655-1665 includes the following entries: "Amadis de Gaule fol." (7r12), "Amadis de Gaule Germanicé 8° 3^{us} volumen" (7r13), and "Amadis de Gaule 8°" (7r14) (*Library*, ed. G. Warkentin *et al*). I am indebted to Professor Joseph Black for sharing that information with me. A note from Robert Sidney's secretary Rowland White in 1599 claims, "My Lord, I Haue wrytten this Morning to my Lord *Harbert* [William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke], for that *Spannish Amadis de Gaul*, you speake of, and very earnestly desire hym to haue yt sought out" (*LMS-Sidney*, vol. 2, p. 150). G. Warkentin 1990 (pp. 84-86) does not list any of these items as definitely owned during Philip Sidney's lifetime. Of course, availability of texts does not depend upon ownership. For bibliographic reference on Spanish, French, German, and Italian editions of works from the *Amadís* cycle, see Chapter Two below, note 92 (cf. note 67 there).

³⁸ See E. Schalk 1986, pp. 65-77.

certainly knew about recent legal reform regarding clandestine marriage and, through direct exposure to French court culture, would have had at least some familiarity with such arguments about virtue versus pedigree. Indeed, the latter issue was a matter of immediate personal concern for Sidney, who in August 1579 quarreled with Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, and challenged him to a duel to defend his own honor. Queen Elizabeth forbade the duel, ruling in Oxford's favor based on his superior aristocratic rank.³⁹ Self-conscious and defensive of his own virtue against Oxford's pedigree, while also concerned about future prospects for himself and his family due to Leicester's marriage, Sidney contributed his significant literary talent toward his uncle's cultural campaign aiming to present Leicester as a significant European patron of letters. Sidney's imitation of Spanish chivalric romance in French translation within that cultural context facilitates both mimesis and rhetorical effect.

Isolating Sidney's primary rhetorical motive for exploiting Feliciano de Silva's work in French translation requires pointed attention to his own personal investment in

³⁹ On the altercation between Oxford and Sidney, provoked by Oxford's snub in calling Sidney a "puppy," see D. C. Peck 1978. Cf. F. Greville, *Dedication to Sidney*, in *Prose Works*, ed. J. Gouws, pp. 37-41 (cf. pp. xiii-xxiv); M. W. Wallace 1915, pp. 213-216; K. Duncan-Jones 1991, pp. 163-167; A. H. Nelson 2003, pp. 195-203. The matter of Oxford's conversion to Catholicism and collusion with the French ambassador in London between 1577 and 1580 (see J. A. Bossy 1960) should be balanced with Woudhuysen's emphasis: "The clash at Greenwich in front of the French commissioners was not simply between supporters and opponents of the marriage, or Roman Catholics and Protestants, but between the ancient and ennobled and the comparatively new and undistinguished—the nobility against the gentry. Queen Elizabeth's resolution of the quarrel makes this clear" ([1980], p. 260). For assessing the importance of this incident, it should be remembered that in 1571 it was Oxford, rather than Sidney, whom William Cecil chose as husband for his daughter Anne, precisely for this same reason of ancient aristocratic lineage and title (and corresponding wealth). The queen's ruling against Sidney in this August 1579 incident would have added salt to that wound, which had been exacerbated in the late 1570s, we must assume, by Oxford's arrogant attitude of social privilege and his disrespectfully blasé attitude toward his wife, Sidney's former bride-to-be. On Oxford's antics upon returning from Italy, see A. H. Nelson 2003, pp. 137-154. Cf. S. Alford 2008: "In the early years of the marriage, it must have seemed to Burghley a wonderful dynastic match between the Cecils and the de Veres. The painful fact by the early summer of 1576 was that Anne's marriage to Oxford had almost completely unravelled and that it was fast becoming a court scandal" (p. 219). The young couple remained estranged while Oxford found himself arrested in the Tower in 1580 and then again in 1581, when Burghley (Cecil) wrote letters supposedly from his daughter Anne on her husband's behalf (S. Alford 2008, pp. 238-239). On those incidents, see J. A. Bossy 1960 and A. H. Nelson 2003 (pp. 164-236, 249-275).

Leicester's marriage. As Philip Sidney's maternal uncle, Leicester remained "the barometer by which the Sidney fortunes were ever measured," primarily because "Philip was heir presumptive to the vast wealth of Leicester (not to speak of the estates of his maternal uncle the Earl of Warwick and of his father), *except for the period between 1581 and 1584* when Leicester's only legitimate child, Robert Lord Denbigh, lived."⁴⁰ When Sidney began *Old Arcadia* and while he wrote most of it between 1578 and 1581, he remained Leicester's heir. It was not until the latter months of 1580, at which point Sidney already had written much of his fiction, that Leicester's new wife became pregnant. If the child were male (as was indeed the case) and if the clandestine marriage were validated, the Leicester inheritance would go to him rather than to Sidney. On the other hand, if Leicester were to lose favor with Queen Elizabeth, and especially if she had decided to hold him immediately accountable for his substantial debts, the Dudley-Sidney family would face political and financial ruin. Thus, it makes sense that Sidney would have chosen Spanish chivalric romance as a narrative paradigm for poetic validation of clandestine marriage.

Old Arcadia's overall poetic effect relies upon reader engagement: that is, the narrative itself establishing for its reader a delightful experience of complicity with the protagonist princes amidst their amorous adventure in Arcadia. Reader familiarity with Sidney's chivalric source material enhances the aesthetic effects of complicity and tacit validation of the protagonist lovers' secret union in Books One through Three. Mary

⁴⁰ D. E. Baughan 1938, p. 507 and n. 4 (emphasis added). Here I have altered Baughan's sentence to read "1581" instead of "1579," because the exact date of young Denbigh's birth, 6 June 1581, recently has been uncovered (S. A. Adams 1996, p. 3 and n. 11). Cf. note 45 below. S. A. Adams 2004a adds further emphasis: "Overall, [Leicester's] estate policy appears to have been one of consolidation and the creation of an estate of inheritance. In the absence of an heir of his own, his nephew Philip Sidney (1554-1586), to whom he was more than the usual benevolent uncle, was the potential beneficiary" (p. 102b).

Sidney Herbert and ladies in waiting at her aristocratic court—the primary intended audience of *Old Arcadia* whom Sidney’s narrative directly addresses collectively as “fair ladies” throughout Books One through Three—probably were familiar with works from the French *Amadis* cycle which this first half of Sidney’s narrative exploits as its dominant source paradigm for invention.⁴¹

Recognizing both Sidney’s and his sister’s personal interest in their uncle’s clandestine marriage helps explain Sidney’s investment in Spanish chivalric romance from the outset in writing the five prose “Books or Acts” of *Old Arcadia*. Specific correlation between phases of composition and phases of family affairs, of course, must remain speculative, but such guesswork helps approximate Sidney’s creative imagination. Circumstantial evidence suggests that Sidney’s uncle had begun courting his new Countess of Leicester in years prior to their secret marriage.⁴² While conceiving *Arcadia*, Sidney almost certainly knew of this matter, at least through his sister and brother-in-law Pembroke, if not firsthand. The fact that this amorous relationship ended in secret marriage rather than just an illegitimate child, as did Leicester’s affair with Lady Howard Sheffield in the early 1570s,⁴³ perhaps helped stir Sidney’s literary imagination toward imitation of Spanish chivalric-romance motifs. The narrative logic of employing a sequestered-princess motif such as those invented by Feliciano de Silva (analyzed in Chapter Two below) might have seemed appropriate for the *Arcadia*’s secret-marriage theme, which Sidney would have developed in nascent form amidst Leicester’s courtship

⁴¹ Cf. note 37 above. This perspective challenges skepticism about the Countess of Pembroke as Sidney’s primary intended audience, such as that voiced by S. K. Heninger 1989 (p. 438), J. R. Brink 1999 (p. 25), and B. Worden 1996 (p. 20; cf. *idem.* 2007, pp. 85-86).

⁴² S. A. Adams 2004b, pp. 86b-87b. It was later rumored that he had done so before the death of her first husband, Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex.

⁴³ S. A. Adams 2004a, pp. 101b-102a. Also see J. Rickmann 2008, pp. 49-53, 60, 63-64.

during the mandatory two-year mourning period following the death of her first husband Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex.

Among the Sidney family's most immediate dynastic concerns in 1581, the year in which Philip Sidney completed *Old Arcadia*, was his sudden loss of prospective Dudley inheritance. As noted above, Leicester's new wife Lettice Knollys Devereux, whom he had married covertly in 1578, gave birth to a son, the young Baron of Denbigh, who became heir to Leicester's fortune and titles. She already had two sons and two daughters by her previous marriage to Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, but they held no right to the Leicester inheritance. Leicester had married her on 21 September 1578, in precise accordance with the mandatory two-year mourning period following her former husband's death (22 September 1576). The exact date of their new child's birth, 6 June 1581, remained obscure in historiographical records until recently.⁴⁴ In the early months of 1581, Leicester gathered those officially involved with the clandestine union—the presiding clergyman Humphrey Tyndall and the witnesses, who were Sidney's other maternal uncle Ambrose Dudley (Earl of Warwick), Sidney's brother-in-law Henry Herbert (second Earl of Pembroke), Roger North (second Baron North), the bride's father Francis Knollys, and her brother Richard Knollys—to validate documents designed to secure the legitimacy of Leicester's new son.⁴⁵ The birth of this young Baron Denbigh

⁴⁴ S. A. Adams 1996, p. 3 and n. 11. Cf. notes 24 and 40 above; also note 45 below.

⁴⁵ S. A. Adams 2004a: "In March 1581 Tyndall and the witnesses all made notarized depositions confirming the marriage [PRO ms. SP 12, vol. 148, fol. 75-85]. The purpose of the depositions was to assure the legitimacy of the child the countess of Leicester was then carrying, their son Robert Dudley, Baron Denbigh (1581-1584), who was born at Wanstead on 6 June 1581. The witnesses gave slightly different accounts of the background to the marriage, but it is clear that with North and Warwick at least Leicester had previously discussed his desire to marry the countess and raise a family. He had also mentioned his worries about Elizabeth's reaction, and North on his own admission had encouraged him to persevere. The most obvious significance in the timing is that it fulfilled the customary two years' mourning for Essex almost to the day. If this was the case then it was devoid of any wider political import" (p. 105b). S. A. Adams 1996 explains the terms of "a settlement agreed on 20 June 1579, a year after his

has been emphasized with regard to Philip Sidney's motto "SPERAVI" (suggesting "dashed hopes") in a tournament at court (perhaps the Accession Day tilts, 17 November 1581) and with regard to the marriage of Penelope Devereux to Robert Rich rather than to Philip Sidney, who was her prospective spouse as desired by Robert's father the second Lord Rich before he died and before Penelope became Sidney's step-cousin through Leicester's secret marriage to Lettice Knollys Devereux.⁴⁶ The matter would have proven significant for *Old Arcadia's* conclusion, too, since Sidney completed that work while Leicester's new wife was pregnant and perhaps even shortly after Denbigh's birth.

Sidney's personal stakes in Leicester's marriage and reputation prior to Denbigh's birth probably motivated his investment in motifs from Feliciano de Silva's chivalric fiction as a means to generate clandestine marriage as *Old Arcadia's* central theme; and even afterward, the issue of legal equity regarding Leicester's clandestine marriage, especially in terms of monarchical clemency, remained essential for the Dudley-Sidney family's economic and political future. Realistically, Leicester was in no immediate danger of legal prosecution, but if he did not remain in Queen Elizabeth's good graces, he and Sidney would have little chance for future military action in the Low Countries, and Sidney's prospects for elevation in aristocratic status would remain slim.

marriage to the countess (28 September 1578), but two years before the birth of their son, Robert, Baron of Denbigh (6 June 1581)": "This left his estate to any sons lawfully begotten, failing them to his brother Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, and his heirs, and then to his elder sister Mary, Lady Sidney [Philip Sidney's mother], for life, with the remainder to her sons, the apparent purpose being to assure to his immediate family a share of his estate. Denbigh's birth being anticipated by the terms of this settlement, the January 1582 will assumed the descent of the estate to him; its main concern appears to have been to settle on the Countess a life interest in a number of manors as a jointure" (p. 3). H. R. Woudhuysen 2004 emphasizes that Philip Sidney, therefore, "was largely written out of the new will" (p. 562a). Cf. notes 24 and 40 above.

⁴⁶ K. Duncan-Jones 1991, pp. 194-196. Cf. D. E. Baughan 1938, pp. 511-514; H. R. Woudhuysen [1980], pp. 258-259. Baughan (p. 517) and Woudhuysen (p. 259) also associate Philip Sidney's altered social status after Leicester's marriage and child with the arrangement of his marriage to Frances Walsingham. All three studies work from knowledge of a likely date range for young Denbigh's birth.

The whole family knew that Leicester had gained his estates and titles through Queen Elizabeth's favor and that he could lose them just as easily through her disfavor. Ultimately, only her personal clemency could ensure that she not insist more firmly than she already had upon collecting his substantial debts and thus ensure financial ruin for the Dudley-Sidney family. Both Philip Sidney and his sister would have longed for such mercy from the monarch—equity such as that shown by Basilius in Book Five, in contrast with Euarchus's unyielding resolution to uphold the letter of the law. Reprieve and return to favor would bring a happy ending to the family's dire straits in winter 1579 and spring 1579/80, even if it meant that the *Arcadia's* author may lose his prospective Leicester inheritance to a new heir. While Sidney wrote most of *Old Arcadia* for his sister at Wilton in 1580, she was pregnant and gave birth to a son and Pembroke heir William, for whom the whole family held great political hope, and she bore her husband a daughter eighteen months later in October 1581.⁴⁷ Possibly, these two children inspired Philip Sidney to emphasize a new generation of fictional heroes (also a boy and a girl) in the final paragraph of *Old Arcadia* (OA, 417).

Re-approaching one lively and pivotal example of affective reader engagement in *Old Arcadia* from this perspective helps clarify the poetic purpose with which Sidney's narrative relates sexual union between Pyrocles and Philoclea, bearing in mind his sister and her court as intended audience for Books One through Three. When Pyrocles has duped Philoclea's parents with a diversion and approaches her bedchamber, readers already have witnessed this couple's betrothal, which Sidney's narrator defines as "promise of marriage" (OA, 122). Now Pyrocles anxiously awaits physical consummation of that secret union, and the narration relies on its reader's memory that

⁴⁷ M. P. Hannay 1990, pp. 48-51.

the couple's betrothal occurred through mutual vows of consent. That context allows for purely innocent aesthetic titillation in his first glimpse of her lying "upon the top of her bed, having her beauties eclipsed with nothing but with a fair smock," in a position such that the "delightful proportion" of her left thigh remains "to the full view" in soft lamplight (*OA*, 231).

Given this poetics of reader engagement, the narrator's comment on Pyrocles's reaction to this initial sight of Philoclea (before she has noticed his arrival) proves both humorous and philosophically suggestive: "Pyrocles, I say, was stopped with the violence of so many darts cast by Cupid altogether upon him that, quite forgetting himself, and thinking therein already he was in the best degree of felicity, I think he would have lost much of his time, and with too much love omitted great fruit of his love, had not Philoclea's pitiful accusing of him forced him to bring his spirits again to a new bias" (*OA*, 231). That is, hearing her private song ("The love which is imprinted in my soul")⁴⁸ returns him to his senses. Here readers witness a powerful moment of ecstatic "felicity" in which the hero momentarily "forget[s] himself"—his bodily self, that is—in rapture, it seems, with the Idea of true female beauty evoked by this candid glimpse at his beloved Philoclea's physical beauty. That experience of ecstasy almost prevents him from experiencing physically "the great fruit of his love" for his wife! Sidney's narrative employs philosophically-loaded language primarily to keep its reader on the young lovers' side, in this case making us want them to enjoy that "great fruit" of their mutual love.

This aesthetic effect of genuine delight would have been enhanced further for *Old Arcadia's* primary audience, Sidney's sister the Countess of Pembroke. At the moment

⁴⁸ For this sonnet (*OA*, 231-232), also see P. Sidney, *Poems*, ed. W. A. Ringler, p. 85.

of sexual union, after Pyrocles has picked up his beloved Philoclea and laid her on the bed with him, the narrative suddenly provides a long poem that supposedly comes to the protagonist's mind, its length and content suggesting the skill and endurance with which he attends to each part of her body in making love (*OA*, 238-242). Immediately after reciting this poem, the narrator addresses his audience of "fair ladies" directly to explain its aesthetic function with regard to the actions of these two loyal lovers, in case readers have not perceived it already.⁴⁹ The poem—which begins "What tongue can her perfections tell / In whose each part all pens may dwell?"—exists in thirteen extant manuscript and printed forms with significant textual variation suggesting wide circulation and multiple phases of revision, as well as early composition, given the narrator's frame for it here in the original *Arcadia*.⁵⁰ Mary Sidney Herbert almost certainly knew the poem already by the time she first read this episode in *Old Arcadia*. Philip Sidney's narrative overtly provokes his sister to reinterpret the song as Pyrocles does in this moment, thus drawing its primary intended audience further into a complicit sense of delight in these two lovers' union.

⁴⁹ "But do not think, fair ladies, his thoughts had such leisure as to run over so long a ditty; the only general fancy of it came into his mind, fixed upon the sense of that sweet subject. Where, using the benefit of the time, and fortifying himself with the confessing her late fault (to make her now the sooner yield to penance), turning the passed griefs and unkindness to the excess of all kind joys (as passion is apt to slide into his contrary), beginning now to envy Argus's thousand eyes, and Briareus's hundred hands, fighting against a weak resistance, which did strive to be overcome, he gives me occasion to leave him in so happy a plight, lest my pen might seem to grudge at the due bliss of these poor lovers whose loyalty had but small respite of their fiery agonies" (*OA*, 242-243).

⁵⁰ P. Sidney, *Poems*, ed. W. A. Ringler, pp. 85-90, 409-411 (cf. pp. 212-215, 484-485). Cf. J. Robertson, ed. P. Sidney, *OA*, pp. 238-242 (textual glosses), 458-461 (commentary); and K. Duncan-Jones, ed. P. Sidney, *OA*, p. 378 n. 207. For description of manuscripts containing Sidney's *OA* and early poetry, see W. A. Ringler, ed. P. Sidney, *Poems*, pp. 525-529, 552-561; P. Beal 1980, Part II, pp. 466, 470b-484a; and H. R. Woudhuysen 1996, pp. 393-406. As a preamble to reciting this poem here in *OA*, the narrator reminds readers of the hero's candid view of his lover's body and attributes the poem to Philip Sidney's own fictional alter-ego Philisides (on whose other presence in *OA* see Chapter Five below): "he laid her on her bed again, having so free scope of his serviceable sight that there came into his mind a song the shepherd Philisides had in his hearing sung of the beauties of his unkind mistress, which in Pyrocles's judgement was fully accomplished in Philoclea" (*OA*, 238). On Sidney's Philisides-Mira poems, see K. Duncan-Jones 1991, pp. 144-145; S. W. May 1991, pp. 76-80; also Chapter Five below, note 302.

While writing *Old Arcadia*, though, Sidney's audience for the work seems to have expanded. Books Four and Five no longer address readers directly as "fair ladies." Presumably, this narrative shift self-consciously corresponds with Sidney's circulation of *Old Arcadia* to a broader audience as he began to allow manuscript copies of the work-in-progress to be made. Modern analysis of extant texts suggests such circulation (see note 15 above). In these final Books, Sidney's narrative expands and enriches its critical perspective on clandestine marriage, complicating the matter by imagining severe legal and political ramifications, yet doing so without compromising the virtue of its protagonist lovers.

Old Arcadia maintains a tacit perspective on Natural Law similar to that of its primary chivalric source material, in the sense that Natural Law validates clandestine marriage inspired by genuine love and desire for sexual union.⁵¹ Yet, Books Four and Five create disjunction between that natural validation of the protagonists' secret union and posited human law within the Arcadian realm. Sidney's narrative, in contrast with its chivalric source material, imposes a *legal* distinction between secret "act of marriage" and public "solemnity of marriage" (*OA*, 290): that is, between theologically legitimate clandestine marriage and socially legitimate ceremony of marriage conducted with public parental or ecclesiastical approval. *Old Arcadia* figures forth the logic underlying European legal reform contemporary to its own context of production, combined with tacit acceptance of theological validity for clandestine marriage voiced within the text, as demonstrated by Chapter Four below. In framing that fiction here with critical emphasis on its nature as rhetorical mimesis, methodologically, it is more fruitful to maintain

⁵¹ Cf. G. H. Joyce 1933 (esp. pp. 1-10) on Natural Law as the foundation for Christian theology of marriage.

critical focus on the text's poetic affect and aesthetic effect than to theorize those distinct registers within the text as competing ideological discourse reflecting psychological anxiety about contemporary laws and power structures.

Sidney's fictional world figures forth ethical and political controversy akin to that of the author's real world through its own internal logic. That internal logic includes ethical impressions of characters—that is, their intentions as well as their words and actions and the consequences of those actions—impressions which Sidney's narrative firmly establishes in the protagonist lovers' favor. Analyzing this issue requires critical distinction between aesthetic impressions of these primary characters and circumstances of plot in Books Four and Five. Existing studies of *Old Arcadia* have not made such distinction. Sidney's shift in literary sources there constitutes not a change in poetics but rather a new practical means of amplifying and complicating the secret-marriage theme generated in Books One through Three through imitation of Spanish chivalric romance in French translation. That is, Sidney's narrative in Books One through Three establishes a dynamic effect of reader complicity with the protagonist lovers in their pursuit and consummation of secret marriage with the Arcadian princesses. Books Four and Five maintain that same degree of reader complicity, keeping us on the four protagonist lovers' side amidst unjust allegations and legal verdict against Pyrocles and Musidorus.

Keenly aware of contemporary English and European law between 1578 and 1581, Sidney exploits his primary chivalric source material mainly in Books One through Three of *Old Arcadia* as a means to establish thematic focus, generating a pair of secret marriages and firmly placing the reader on the protagonist lovers' side amidst personal and political conflict within Arcadia. Then Sidney's narrative shifts creative paradigms

in Books Four and Five, exploiting specific motifs from ancient prose romance as a means to develop more fully the thematic focuses on metamorphosis through disguise and clandestine marriage drawn from the chivalric-romance source. In doing so, *Old Arcadia* keeps its reader on the protagonist princes' side despite the legal verdict of their trial in Book Five. Secret marriage leads to dynastic succession and political stability in the end, but strict adherence to Arcadian laws pertaining to clandestine marriage temporarily inhibits succession and condemns the protagonist princes to death, a tragic sentence averted only through a last-minute twist of plot allowing for ducal pardon equivalent in essence to legal equity or monarchal clemency. Sidney's narrative firmly imparts upon its reader the poetic impression that such pardon constitutes justice in this particular instance, as it would, too, the reader is left to presume, in Leicester's case. Sidney's creative method of invention through compound imitation here in Books Four and Five facilitates both mimesis and rhetorical effect.

Because no prior critical study of *Old Arcadia* has taken seriously the fact that Sidney's narrative defines its protagonist lovers' union as "marriage," the work's structural and thematic unity has remained opaque, despite useful recent intervention on the matter. In Books Four and Five, the protagonist knights are captured, put on trial, and condemned to death for their love, based on trumped-up charges of rape and abduction. This tragic situation occurs amidst a political crisis precipitated by the potentially destructive effect of Basilius's and Gynecia's *eros*: that is, the duke's presumed death through poison, occurring by accident amidst Pyrocles's ruse to trick his wife's parents and thereby win the time alone in which the young couple consummates its union physically. Various critical studies address a shift in narrative perspective in these two

final Books, frequently accepting as moral justice the legal sentence of guilt imposed upon the protagonist lovers.⁵² Jeffrey Dolven’s recent study, arguing for an overall effect of rhetorical impasse in Book Five, locates *Old Arcadia*’s structural “pivot” in Book Three, when “each prince reaches the point of his desire”: “From this moment of satisfaction or near-satisfaction, the storytelling begins all over again, now in the mode of justification, rationalization, and finally legal argument.”⁵³ And yet, this critical viewpoint, like others which it revises, characterizes the consummation of these princes’ “desire” purely in terms of sexual *eros*, as “Pyrocles in Philoclea’s bedchamber and Musidorus with his near-kiss, or near-rape, or whatever it is, of Pamela in the forest” (*ibid.*).⁵⁴

Old Arcadia’s narrative logic for why Pyrocles and Musidorus must disguise themselves and why they marry the Arcadian princesses covertly, established for the

⁵² R. Helgerson 1976, for instance, characterizes Book Four as a narrative “trap” for the reader: “the narrator manipulates his readers into sharing the guilt and the awareness of guilt that characterizes Pyrocles, Musidorus, and Sidney himself” (p. 136; see pp. 133-141). A. C. Hamilton 1972 claims that Sidney’s narrative “shows the steady descent of his heroes until there comes a final, violent reversal” (p. 42). A. C. Hamilton 1977, in contrasting the princes in *OA* with the shepherds in Sidney’s *Lady of May*, claims, “Unlike the shepherds, it is not possible for them to be good: subject to love’s law, which drives them to satisfy desire, they commit to actions for which they are justly condemned to death” (p. 34). R. C. McCoy 1979 argues for further ambiguity, ascribing “fundamental inconsistency” to *OA*’s conclusion, which exhibits “blatant favoritism...with all the rewards going to the disobedient sons” (pp. 136-137; see pp. 132-137). R. S. White 1996 reads a shift from destructive passion to genuine “repentance” by the princes in Book Four, concluding that *OA* emphasizes, “on the one hand, that sexuality is beyond legal control, and on the other that it is validly subject to positive law” (pp. 136, 141-143). S. K. Heninger 1989 also assigns the princes “redemptive virtue as well as guilt,” emphasizing Christian underpinnings for the poetics of reader engagement in Books Four and Five but denying that *OA* figures forth “a harsh Calvinistic universe” (p. 461). Cf. M. E. Dana 1977; A. W. Astell 1984; Å. Bergvall 1989, pp. 72, 79-80; K. Saupe 1993, pp. 22-25. Such an approach tempers the religious readings of Marengo, Weiner, and Sinfield (see Chapter Three below, note 154). Cf. Chapter Four below, note 244, on E. Dipple 1970 and other studies.

⁵³ J. Dolven 2007, p. 128, which provides a simple bow-tie-shaped diagram to represent this narrative structure (cf. alternate diagram, p. 130, incorporating poetics of reader engagement and response). Cf. R. C. McCoy 1979, p. 124.

⁵⁴ Dolven does recognize that Pyrocles and Philoclea have made “honorable promises of marriage” and defines “the lovers’ consummation” as “the moral crux of the book”; but his assumption that consummation after legitimate betrothal undoubtedly constitutes a moral “lapse” conditions his reading of *OA* and *NA* alike (pp. 121, 196; see pp. 195-197). Cf. R. C. McCoy 1979 on the betrothal of Pyrocles and Philoclea as a fleeting moment of joy (p. 114); also compare *ibid.* (pp. 36-68) with J. Haber 1994 (pp. 53-97) on rhetorical impasse in *OA*. Even subtle analysis of rhetoric and honorable emotion in *OA* (D. K. Shuger 1998; W. Olmsted 2008, pp. 20-53) must be revised with analysis of the work’s secret-marriage theme.

reader in Books One through Three, determines both the tragic conflict and the comic resolution of Books Four and Five. Underlying this overarching logic resides a consistent narrative poetics of exemplary character contrast. *Old Arcadia* presents both the protagonist lovers' desire for each other and those two couples' distinct ways of consummating that desire as a form of *eros* more noble and transcendent than the sexual desire felt by Basilius and Gynecia, for the aesthetic purpose of establishing reader complicity with the protagonists while creating distance from the duke and duchess. Books Four and Five provide similar character contrast, though more complex, between the protagonist lovers and their supporters, on the one hand, and, on the other, Philanax (in Books Four and Five) and Euarchus (during the trial in Book Five).

The political crisis of succession to the Arcadian throne in *Old Arcadia*'s final two Books results from the fact that different characters define the four protagonist lovers' secret betrothals as "marriage" in different ways. Neither the narrator nor any character in the story questions that the lovers' unions qualify as "marriage." The trial scene in Book Five, in true humanist fashion, provides argument on both sides of the issue: that is, the matter of what exactly the protagonists' secret marriages *mean* morally, legally, and hence politically in terms of the Arcadian succession crisis. Sidney's narrative by no means forces its readers to overturn their favorable aesthetic impression of the young heroes. Rather, its structure amplifies the theme of secret marriage drawn from its primary chivalric source material in Books One through Three. That source, Jacques Gohory's partial French translation of Feliciano de Silva's feigned *Chronicle of Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, ends with the ecstatic consummation of Arlanges's and Cleofila's love for each other, eliminating the dilation of that matter amidst other action

found in Silva's Spanish narrative—just as Sidney's imitation of that paradigm ends with Pyrocles's and Philoclea's consummation in Book Three. Understanding Sidney's poetics of imitation and variation in those early Books of *Old Arcadia* proves essential for interpreting the political tension and legal debate figured forth in Books Four and Five.

Re-assessing the similarities and divergences between Sidney's narrative and its sources sheds light on social contexts pertinent to courtship, betrothal, and law in *Old Arcadia*. Catherine Bates's perspective on complications involved with the protagonist lovers' secret betrothal, despite important emphasis on marriage as tied to courtship in *Old Arcadia* and *New Arcadia*, attributes poetic effect in Book Five to Sidney "departing from Heliodorus in making sex the central issue of the trial scene," concluding that *Old Arcadia* exploits "ambiguities and ambivalences of the courtship-situation" in order to "confirm the impossibility of successfully interpreting and judging what can only ever be external signs of inner intention." Thus, according to Bates, *Old Arcadia* leaves its central "questions of legitimacy or illegitimacy, sex or sin, innocence or guilt" hanging in limbo as "impossibly confused and tangled."⁵⁵ Assuming rhetorical equivocation in this manner diverts critical attention from the primary issue at stake in Books Four and Five of *Old Arcadia*: different characters' varying stances on the legal ramifications of clandestine marriage in this particular case of profound political consequence. David

⁵⁵ C. Bates 1992, pp. 120, 124 (see pp. 115-121). Compare Bates's interpretation here regarding "the ultimate uncertainty of our 'mortal judgements' [*OA*, 416]" (p. 120) with E. Dipple 1970 (see Chapter Four below, note 244). Bates recognizes the protagonist lovers' union as a matter of dynastic politics and observes in passing, "Private betrothal of this kind, followed by sexual consummation, was still considered legally binding in Sidney's day, and was certainly a convention of chivalric literature" (p. 118); but her study highlights only "ambivalence" in the scene with Musidorus's attempted consummation with Pamela (p. 117) and claims that Pyrocles and Philoclea "(especially the latter) seem surprisingly uncertain about the legitimate or illegitimate status of their sexual intercourse" (p. 119). Cf. R. C. McCoy 1979, p. 40; P. Lindenbaum 1986, p. 52; R. E. Stillman 1986, pp. 134-136; J. Catty 1999, pp. 43, 49.

Norbrook's emphasis on Sidney as an aristocrat writing primarily for an aristocratic audience diverts attention from that matter in a different way. Highlighting "the keen interest of Sidney and his circle in legal issues," Norbrook grants that, if we judge Pyrocles and Musidorus by "standards" of conduct in love upheld by heroes in the Spanish chivalric-romance tradition, "their behavior has not been particularly heinous," while, in the same breath, he accepts outright the common premise that Pyrocles and Musidorus in this original version of Sidney's *Arcadia* "are undoubtedly guilty" as charged in Book Five.⁵⁶ Norbrook's split perspective here seems a product of the fact that useful studies such as Debora Shuger's rhetorical analysis and R. S. White's perspective on *Old Arcadia* and Natural Law, both of which Norbrook cites, ascribe moral culpability to the protagonist princes' actions in Book Three, for which they are wrongly accused and convicted in Book Five (see notes 52 and 54 above). Both their noble form of *eros* and its consummation, however, are in fact validated by Natural Law. All four protagonist lovers in *Old Arcadia* remain aware of their own virtue and legitimacy in secret marriage amidst political and legal crisis, and readers share that impression.

⁵⁶ D. Norbrook 2002: "Though Sidney later revised the *Old Arcadia* to mitigate their guilt in abducting the princesses, in the original version they are undoubtedly guilty of this offence and the sentence of death is, though harsh, definitely legal. By the standards of the conduct of the heroes in many sixteenth-century romances, however, their behaviour has not been particularly heinous. The aristocratic 'double standard' tolerated strong sexuality in young noblemen if not young women" (p. 90). For the second sentence quoted here, Norbrook cites J. J. O'Connor 1970, pp. 204-205, which comments generally that "aside from the *Arcadia*, which is something more than a chivalric romance, few writers in England show an enduring devotion to the genre [of Spanish chivalric romance in French translation]. [...] Most English writers purged their romances of magic, curtailed the sexual license of knights and ladies, and abbreviated the descriptions of chivalric tournaments and spectacles. They often provided a strong dose of moral teaching by stressing Protestant virtue and the importance of trusting in God, and they tried to decorate the narrative with the somewhat tattered remnants of euphuism [i.e., rhetorical flourish characteristic of John Lyly's *Euphues*]." O'Connor's exception of Sidney's *Arcadia* here proves significant, as does Norbrook's qualification with regard to the particular "sixteenth-century romances" that O'Connor's study and this present study emphasize as Sidney's dominant source material.

The model of secret marriage as an integral theme in the Spanish chivalric-romance tradition would have served as a familiar schema for a savvy reader such as Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, throughout Books One through Three. Sidney selected the motifs he imitated based on his overall rhetorical purpose for *Old Arcadia*. His method of invention remains consistent amidst shift in direct use of source material. Having used Feliciano de Silva's chivalric-romance narratives in French translation to engage readers' delight in and sympathy for the disguised princes' courtship and secret marriages to Duke Basilius's daughters in Books One through Three, Sidney's narrative switches to the use of ancient prose fiction in Books Four and Five in a manner which perpetuates that same overall poetics of reader engagement and exemplary character contrast.

Internal narrative logic and character development remain the primary criteria for Sidney's choice and use of literary motifs. His attention gravitated to a story in Book Ten of Apuleius's *The Golden Ass (Metamorphoses)*, it seems, because it links the tragicomic motif of a sleeping potion thought to be poison with accusation of an innocent person who is legally condemned to death, the unjust sentence averted by the supposedly poisoned person awaking at the trial.⁵⁷ For the trial scene itself in Book Five of *Old Arcadia*, Sidney imitates more closely the tragicomic paradigm of Theagenes and Chariclea being tried by Chariclea's father Hydaspes in Book Ten of Heliodorus's *Historia Aethiopica* ("An Ethiopian Story").⁵⁸ *Old Arcadia*, like Heliodorus's work, concludes with the trial scene. As with Theagenes and Chariclea, the legal trial of

⁵⁷ J. Robertson, ed. P. Sidney, *OA*, p. xxiii (cf. W. A. Ringler, ed. P. Sidney, *Poems*, p. xxiv).

⁵⁸ A. C. Hamilton 1972 emphasizes this plot parallel (pp. 42-47). Also see S. L. Wolff 1912, p. 309. Cf. *ibid.* (p. 317) on an additional register for that paradigm perhaps drawn from *Clitophon and Leucippe* by Achilles Tatius.

protagonist couples in Arcadia hinges upon the precise nature of their union in love. In the case of Pyrocles and Philoclea, the union consists of fully consummated clandestine marriage, lacking only the social and political solemnities of public ceremony, as with the union of Montalvo's and Silva's protagonist lovers, including Agesilao and Diana in the feigned *Chronicle of Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*. In the case of Musidorus and Pamela, wherein lie the highest political stakes for the Arcadian succession, the union consists of mutual marriage vows and deferral of physical consummation, as in the case of Theagenes and Chariclea.

Sidney's compound imitation exploits this similarity in thematic emphasis between the narratives of Silva and Heliodorus, in order to stage debate over the issue of clandestine marriage in a manner that pits *logos* against combined *ethos* and *pathos*: that is, rational judgment regarding the potential dangers of clandestine marriage in society and politics, on the one hand, versus ethical and emotional investment in the pursuit of noble virtue and true love. The *logos* of Philanax and Euarchus in Book Five "wins" the trial in terms of legal sentence; but, aesthetically, it contributes an impression of tragic bias and inflexibility, whereas the *ethos* and *pathos* Sidney's narrative establishes for the protagonist lovers win our hearts as readers. Hence occurs a temporary dramatic impasse resolved only (and only just in time) by revelation of the fact that Basilius is not in fact dead. A happy ending ensues from the duke's mercy toward the protagonist princes, overturning their death sentences and publicly validating their marriages to his two daughters.

This combined effect of poetic impasse on the legal matter and sudden resolution through Basilius's mercy tacitly would suggest (to a savvy reader such as the Countess of

Pembroke) that the Dudley-Sidney family's financial and political predicament in the immediate wake of Queen Elizabeth's resentment over Leicester's secret marriage could end well, too, if he were granted mercy rather than be held to the letter of late-sixteenth-century law. In England, that law could mean prosecution and punishment of Pembroke as a witness to Leicester's marriage. In France, that law restricted succession of wealth and titles in cases of clandestine marriage. *Old Arcadia* figures forth both the logic and the limitations of such laws pertaining to clandestine marriage, amplifying the severity of such legislation within Arcadia and conveying to its reader the need for equity which takes into account mitigating circumstances and the personal virtue of individuals involved.

* * *

This chapter has provided a roadmap for the structural framework within which *Old Arcadia* organizes its use of literary sources. Various points of emphasis here will be developed in detail by subsequent chapters which analyze closely Sidney's precise pattern of literary invention through imitation and variation and synthesis of sources. Fully appreciating the significant degree of mimesis built into Sidney's imitation of Spanish chivalric romance in French translation, as well as the degree of cultural competition also built into Sidney's choice of that Frenched chivalric source, requires detailed analysis of how Sidney uses that material and synthesizes it with aspects of similar motifs within other works by Feliciano de Silva. Literary invention and rhetorical focus alike emerge from continuity in poetic theory underlying the exemplary poetics of Sidney's *Arcadia* and its chivalric source material.

II.

Foundations for the Narrative Poetics of

Feliciano de Silva and Philip Sidney

Sidney's fiction embraces the generic flexibility of Feliciano de Silva's work, as well as its central thematic focus and its dynamic poetics of reader engagement and exemplary character contrast. Those characteristics arise from Sidney's imitation and variation of specific motifs within Silva's work, as preserved in French translation. Silva's use of those motifs builds upon a creative foundation laid for the Spanish chivalric-romance genre in the late fifteenth century, rooted in literary production of the early fourteenth century. Recognizing this trajectory for the Spanish tradition helps identify continuity between Sidney's fiction and its chivalric sources.

This chapter emphasizes the general poetic theory and the specific narrative logic underlying the particular motifs from Silva's fiction that Sidney imitates via French translation. This critical approach requires balanced attention to invention and transmission, to continuity and change with regard to use of literary motifs for philosophical implication and for poetic effect. Sidney builds *Old Arcadia's* narrative structure and thematic focus upon three logically-interrelated motifs unique (as an interlaced trio) to Silva's work prior to Sidney's imitation. The specific manner by which a beautiful princess is sequestered from society by a parent provokes a virtuous knight to fall in love with her by means of an artistic image and then disguise himself as an Amazonian female warrior as a means to woo her covertly and win her hand in secret marriage amidst her seclusion.

Silva employs this trio of motifs differently for distinct poetic effect in two separate works: *Amadís de Gaula* (1530) and the feigned *Chronicle of Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* (1535). The latter work re-invents that trio of motifs as a basis for its overall structural and thematic focus. Jacques Gohory's translation of Chapters 1-84 from *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, as "Book" Eleven of the French *Amadis* cycle (1554), isolates the development of those motifs in the first half of that work by Silva and provides embellishments which amplify philosophical implication and metaphysical symbolism tied to the love stories of its two protagonist couples: Agesilao and Diana and Arlanges and Cleofila.

Analysis of the narrative logic built into the interlaced motifs which Sidney imitates for *Arcadia*—as well as the structural and thematic unity they establish both for Silva's *Chronicle of Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* and for Gohory's partial translation—demands revision of existing critical approaches to Sidney's use of literary sources, which without exception have assumed a lack of structural unity in this chivalric source material and have not identified continuity in theoretical foundation.

Existing studies which align Sidney's *Arcadia* with its chivalric source material from the *Amadís* cycle have presumed a separation of those three interlaced motifs in works of the *Amadís* cycle from authorial invention and from that cycle's narrative and thematic structures. The fact that Sidney borrowed those specific motifs from the Eleventh "Book" of the French *Amadis* cycle has been recognized since 1894, when William Vaughan Moody observed them as plot parallels in an unpublished study available in manuscript at Harvard.⁵⁹ A subsequent study by Mary Patchell supports Moody's emphasis on Spanish chivalric-romance sources but redirects his focus from

⁵⁹ W. V. Moody [1894], pp. 34-47.

interlaced motifs in that specific narrative source toward attention to the presence of similar motifs presented separately elsewhere in the genre, including versions of the love-by-image motif in *Palmerín de Olivia* (1511) and in *Primaleón* (1512), upon which Silva presumably drew for his own invention.⁶⁰ John J. O'Connor's attention to the entire *Amadis* cycle in French translation reaffirms Moody's emphasis on the interlacement of motifs, identifying that same characteristic, as well as other plot elements in the main storyline of Sidney's *Arcadia*, within both the Eleventh and the Eighth "Books" of the Spanish *Amadís* cycle as rendered in French translation.⁶¹

Neither Moody's nor O'Connor's studies observe, however, that the Spanish originals for those narrative sources—the first half of *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* and the second half of *Amadís de Grecia*, respectively—were written by the same author, Feliciano de Silva. Neither analyzes Gohory's hand in the translation of French "Book" Eleven with regard to *Arcadia*, nor the issues of why and how Sidney imitates those sources, nor to what poetic effect. Rather, O'Connor's study characterizes Sidney's synthesis of motifs from the *Amadis* cycle as innovative while characterizing the whole cycle as merely rambling and episodic in structure.⁶² In doing so, it compromises its own

⁶⁰ M. Patchell 1947, p. 120 (see pp. 115-127; cf. p. 99). Patchell's approach and conclusion seem to have been motivated by a comment in W. W. Greg 1906 (p. 150). Her study, like Moody's, recognizes neither Silva's authorship of *FN3* nor Gohory's agency in translating it as *Fr. Am. XI*. E. J. Sales Dasí 2003 complements my observation here about Silva and the *Palmerín* cycle, noting the disguise motif with Don Duardos in *Primaleón* as a precursor to Silva's innovations with that motif in *Am.Gr.*, *FN3*, and *FN4* (p. 94).

⁶¹ J. J. O'Connor 1970, pp. 183-201. Perhaps O'Connor found impetus for such further investigation in Robert Southey's brief comment, "In *Amadis of Greece* may be found the *Zelmene* of the *Arcadia*" ("Introduction," trans. *Palmerin of England*, pp. xlv-xlv). O'Connor's study counteracts skepticism about Moody's argument for *Fr. Am. XI* as Sidney's primary narrative source (e.g., S. L. Wolff 1912, pp. 318-320, 328; T. P. Harrison 1926, pp. 53, 64-68; A. W. Osborn 1932, pp. 53-61; M. S. Goldman 1934, pp. 14, 192, 197 n. 37, 205, 215). Other early studies affirm Moody's perspective (K. Brunhuber 1903, pp. 16-18; A. H. Upham 1908, p. 50; H. W. Hill 1908, pp. 9-12; R. V. Zandvoort 1929, pp. 189, 194-195, 197; P. J. Cooke [1939]). Cf. D. Hannay 1898, pp. 269-270; M. Valency 1958, p. 51.

⁶² J. J. O'Connor 1970 emphasizes, "In basing his central narrative upon *Amadis* [i.e., the *Amadís* cycle], Sidney did not so much follow as blend and transform. [...] Sidney's was an art of combining" (p. 186).

seminal contribution to Sidney studies by positing a separation of motif from narrative poetics.

Such a premise also has pervaded studies of how Sidney's fiction uses other literary source material. It constitutes the backbone of Samuel Wolff's argument for ancient Greek romance as Sidney's dominant source material, designed as revision of Moody's observation, although Wolff knew neither Moody's work nor the Spanish chivalric-romance material firsthand.⁶³ Wolff's argument affected Richard Lanham's rhetorical analysis of *Old Arcadia* and his emphasis on studying "genres" and "source areas," this latter point conditioning, in turn, A. C. Hamilton's influential and generally useful survey of narrative sources for Sidney's *Arcadia* in terms of "imitative patterns."⁶⁴ Robert Parker's important revision of Wolff's premise, emphasizing structural difference with oracular prophecy between *Old Arcadia* and Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*, also dismisses any structural impact of "Book" Eleven from the French *Amadis* cycle upon *Old*

But failure to distinguish consistently the separate "Books" of the French cycle as specific works by specific authors in the Spanish cycle leads to a generalized impression of the cycle's nature in French translation, and hence overstated contrast with Sidney's *Arcadia*: "Whereas the structure of *Amadis* is so loose that it often makes the characters appear inconsequential, in the more purposeful framework of the *Arcadia* the characters become more purposeful, for whatever they do affects the artificial world the structure encompasses" (p. 192). Cf. M. Patchell 1947, pp. 73 n. 1, 124, 127.

⁶³ S. L. Wolff 1912, p. 328. Wolff argues that "Sidney has conceived his story in the frame of Greek Romance—the Romance of Heliodorus; and that, whencesoever he derives his material, he keeps it within that frame by including it in the oracle,—the announcement of the intentions of Providence regarding his personages" (p. 320). The argument notes certain parallels with *FN3*, claiming that the *Arcadia*'s "material – motif, situation, incident, episode – comes chiefly from the 'Amadis' [i.e. *FN3*; Fr. *Am.* XI] and the Greek Romances; the material it gets from the former being fitted into the frame of the latter" (p. 328; cf. pp. 318-319). Wolff admits, however, that he has read neither *FN3* nor W. V. Moody [1894], relying instead on K. Brunhuber 1903, pp. 16-18 (S. L. Wolff 1912, p. 318 n. 7); and his access to the text of Sidney's *OA* was limited (*ibid.*, p. 345). Hence, perhaps, the overstatement: "The Old Arcadia consisted of material largely derived from Heliodorus and wholly kept within a Heliodorean frame" (*ibid.*, p. 353). A. J. Tiejé 1914 critiques Wolff's critical methodology and suggests that Spanish sources demand further attention (pp. 485-486). Cf. T. L. Steinberg 1998, pp. 30-31, 35.

⁶⁴ R. A. Lanham 1965, p. 385; A. C. Hamilton 1972, p. 29 n. 2. Lanham's study draws upon S. L. Wolff 1912 for exaggerated embellishment: "On the smallest scale and on the largest, from sententiae to the trial scene, Sidney has moralized Heliodorus" (p. 386).

Arcadia.⁶⁵ Those collective perspectives have conditioned misleading argument for distinct poetic re-invention regarding Sidney's protagonists between *Old Arcadia* and *New Arcadia*, and Wolff's argument for ancient Greek fiction as Sidney's primary source material has been revived in one recent study of Sidney's impact on English prose fiction.⁶⁶ Source studies prove important for modern interpretation of Sidney's *Arcadia*, but critical methodology for approaching sources and source studies alike needs revision.

O'Connor's thorough attention to French versions of the sequence of Spanish stories known as the *Amadís* cycle, remarkable in its scope since forty years later those sixteenth-century works have only just begun to be reproduced in modern editions, remains limited by nomenclature of the whole cycle as "*Amadis de Gaule*." That blanket title produces misleading generalizations about the genre as a whole and tacit dismissal of specific works by specific authors, especially Feliciano de Silva, who wrote five of the twelve so-called "Books" in the Spanish *Amadís* cycle—entitled *Lisuarte de Grecia* ("Book" Seven), *Amadís de Grecia* ("Book" Nine), *Florisel de Niquea, Parts One and Two* ("Book" Ten), *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* ("Book" Eleven, "Part" One), and *Florisel de Niquea, Part Four* ("Book" Eleven, "Part" Two)—rendered distinctly in French translation of the *Amadis* cycle as, respectively, "Book" Six, "Books" Seven and Eight, and "Books" Eleven and Twelve, with *Florisel de Niquea, Part Four* remaining un-translated into French. By burying such distinction in an endnote separate from attribution of authorship and by mentioning Silva only briefly with regard to Sidney's

⁶⁵ R. W. Parker 1972, pp. 71-75. See note 68 below.

⁶⁶ M. McCanles 1989 builds upon Wolff's premise, Parker's argument, and Hamilton's perspective on sources for its interpretation of *OA* in light of *NA* rhetoric (see pp. 7-12, 125-134, 164, 185-187 nn. 17-18 and 26, 203-204 n. 10, 212 n. 48). S. R. Mentz 2006 leans heavily upon Wolff's premise, combined with A. K. Forcione 1970 (pp. 11-87), for its own premise that the late sixteenth century represents a "Heliodoran vogue" for English and European prose fiction (pp. 11-15 [p. 15], 47-71). Cf. notes 95 and 98 below.

stylized language in *Arcadia*, O'Connor's study has left Sidney scholarship a knot that needs unraveling through revised critical methodology for approaching literary sources.⁶⁷ Its conclusion that Sidney synthesizes scattered plot material from the *Amadis* cycle for enhanced thematic and structural unity proves revealing and yet also misleading with regard to that source material.⁶⁸

The first section of this chapter evaluates common theoretical foundations underlying Sidney's fiction and the Spanish chivalric-romance tradition. In doing so, it emphasizes the impact of neo-Aristotelian commentaries by Averröes. This emphasis helps explain the generic flexibility Sidney admired in Spanish chivalric romance, as well as that genre's basic narrative poetics focused on *admiratio* for protagonist characters.

The following section of this chapter analyzes narrative interlacement of the sequestered-princess, love-by-image, and Amazonian-disguise motifs in Silva's work. In the case of Silva's *Amadís de Grecia*, that trio of motifs facilitates character development and serves as a literary vehicle for establishing narrative poetics of reader engagement tied to the protagonist's secret marriage. In the feigned *Chronicle of Florisel*

⁶⁷ See J. J. O'Connor 1970, pp. 252-253 n. 24 (cf. p. 6), 198-201. Cf. H. Thomas 1912, Appendix V: "Table Showing the Correspondence of the Different Original Books and Their Translations" (pp. 292-297), collating French, Italian, and German translations and continuations of the Spanish *Amadís* cycle. With the attention to style in those latter pages, O'Connor's study builds upon H. Thomas 1920 (p. 77) and R. W. Zandvoort 1929 (p. 188). On that matter, also see D. Hannay 1898, pp. 270-272; here below, and Chapter Three below.

⁶⁸ Subsequent attention to "*Amadis de Gaule*" as source material for Sidney's *Arcadia*, addressed from important critical angles, has remained limited by O'Connor's approach (e.g., J. Robertson, ed. P. Sidney, *OA*, pp. xxi-xxiv; A. F. Kinney 1986a, pp. 245-246; D. Norbrook 2002, p. 90). R. W. Parker 1972, amidst an influential argument for *OA* as heroic fiction with "Terentian" five-Act dramatic structure, re-approaches the issue of how Sidney imitates Fr. *Am. XI*. In doing so, Parker arrives independently at a conclusion similar to that of O'Connor's study, characterizing the source material as "rambling and diffuse" with "virtually total discontinuity of cause and effect" (pp. 72-73; see pp. 71-74). The nomenclature "*Amadis de Gaule*" creates confusion in A. C. Hamilton 1972, otherwise a useful survey of Sidney's narrative sources. Hamilton's study recognizes Fr. *Am. XI* as the source of interlaced motifs which Sidney imitated but follows that claim with analysis only of the first four "Books" of the French *Amadis* cycle, Montalvo's *Amadís de Gaula* in Herberay's translation rather than Silva's *FN3* in Gohory's translation (pp. 38-42; cf. A. C. Hamilton 1977, pp. 45-47).

de Niquea, Part Three, which Sidney imitates most closely via French translation, Silva's narrative adds to those same effects a further degree of exemplary character contrast and generates a scenario of two clandestine marriages in which the reader remains delightfully complicit with protagonist lovers amidst external and internal conflicts inhibiting their union.

* * *

The thematic focus Sidney's narrative draws from Silva's work—dynastic union through secret marriage—represents a distinctive feature of Spanish chivalric romance, from the genre's inception in the early fourteenth century through Silva's final works in the mid-sixteenth century. In formative phases of that genre's development, as well as in the case of Sidney's imitation, narrative focus on dynastic union through clandestine marriage represents rhetorical mimesis: that is, poetic representation of delightful alternate-reality worlds which mirror contemporary reality enough to sway readers toward certain modes of thought or action in their own real world. Certain narrative devices characteristic of Spanish chivalric romance—especially the genre's exploitation of unknown-parentage and secret-marriage motifs—privilege readers with perspectives that characters within the story (sometimes the protagonists themselves, as with the unknown-parentage scheme) do not share. Such narrative poetics establishes for the reader a significant degree of affective complicity with protagonist heroes while witnessing fictional events in the text. That is, while plot complications unfold within the story, we as readers want protagonists to succeed, for we hold privileged knowledge which validates their actions. Amidst misunderstandings within the story based on that knowledge gap between characters and reader, the reader *feels* the sense of conflict

experienced by the protagonists and understands why they act the way they do based on what they know (often distinct from what the reader knows). The specific trio of logically-interrelated motifs invented by Feliciano de Silva and imitated by Sidney—that is, variations of a sequestered-princess motif directly interlaced with a love-by-image motif and an Amazonian-disguise motif—lends itself to such an aesthetic experience.

Intended rhetorical effect for that aesthetic experience within a given narrative, however, always relies upon common assumptions between author and reader regarding human nature and its relationship to contemporary reality. It is largely for this reason that modern and post-modern literary criticism, for the most part, has not taken fondly to sixteenth-century Spanish chivalric romance, despite a resurgence of scholarship in the past two decades.⁶⁹ In fact, critical reception of that Spanish genre shifted in the late sixteenth century largely as a result of Tridentine legal reform invalidating secret marriage conducted without ecclesiastical and secular witnesses.⁷⁰ In the case of Sidney's *Arcadia*, the operative premises underlying source material and imitation alike pertain to Natural Law and positive law with regard to clandestine marriage.

This emphasis on logical premises built into fictional narratives serves as the present study's governing premise. Most of this study focuses on sixteenth-century texts, but important theoretical foundations for those texts' mode of narrative poetics derive from intellectual developments in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, tied to European reception of Arabic commentaries on the works of Aristotle. Already by the

⁶⁹ The explosion of work on this genre within the Spanish academy has remained unrecognized by scholars of English literature and also by many hispanists within the English and American academies. For the state of that scholarship on the genre through 2004, see D. Eisenberg & M. C. Marín Pina 2000; J. M. Lucía Megías 2004-2005; and C. Alvar 2007.

⁷⁰ See J. Ruiz de Conde 1948 and M. Rothstein 1994. Compare M. Simonin 1984 on a shift in French reception from the 1560s onward (and note 98 below on sixteenth-century reception).

mid-twelfth century, certain Latin commentaries attribute to “*poesis*” (the ideas or meaning underlying poetic fiction) an ethical function and categorize “*poëtica*” (analytical methods for interpreting poetic fiction) as a logical “science” (“*scientia*”) alongside rhetoric, thus incorporating two basic premises of Arabic-Aristotelian philosophy and synthesizing them with existing Ciceronian and Horatian doctrines, including the grammatical distinction between “*fabulam*” (“fable”), “*historiam*” (“history” or “story”), and “*argumentum*” (“argument”).⁷¹ Recognizing these premises about logic, rhetoric, and fictional poetics proves essential for evaluating thirteenth-century reception of Aristotle’s works via commentaries written by Averröes (Ibn Rushd of Córdoba) in the twelfth century for the Iberian Arabic world, which were steadily translated into Latin in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries under the aegis of Castilian bishops at Toledo.

Around the turn of the fourteenth century, clerics of the cathedral school at Toledo produced Castile’s earliest native chivalric romance, *The Book of the Knight Zifar, or the Knight of God*, and in early decades of that century, it was almost certainly that same group of intellectuals who translated thirteenth-century Arthurian literature and produced the earliest version of *Amadís de Gaula*.⁷² *Amadís de Gaula*, in a revised and expanded form developed by Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo in the late fifteenth century, became the definitive paradigm for invention of Spain’s sixteenth-century chivalric-romance genre, and it was Feliciano de Silva who extended Montalvo’s work into a full cycle of feigned chivalric historiography chronicling exploits in love and in battle by

⁷¹ P. Mehtonen 1996, pp. 38-48. Cf. P. Von Moos 2003 on twelfth-century logical and rhetorical roots for literary aesthetics. On grammatically-based literary theory in Europe prior to the twelfth century, see M. Irvine 1994.

⁷² F. Gómez Redondo 1999, pp. 1225-1226, 1371-1577 (cf. *idem*. 1998, pp. 19-62, 853-1080; and G. Orduna 1996).

descendants of Montalvo's protagonist heroes. Recognizing continuity between Sidney's poetic theory and that underlying Spanish chivalric romance requires pointed attention to crucial developments which occurred in Averröes's twelfth-century commentaries on Aristotle's works.

Both the ethical and the rhetorical dimensions of resulting fictional poetics arose from specific transformations Aristotle's *Poetics* underwent in Averröes's commentaries. The rhetorical component comes into focus through the general perspective that rhetoric, especially at that time, "does not have as its subject an art confined by fixed form, content, or terminology. Rhetoric is an art that lacks a unique subject matter but can only be understood in the context of specific uses and ends."⁷³ Bearing that general tenet in mind, it is important to recognize that even revised Christian neo-Aristotelian thought in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—such as that developed by Thomas Aquinas at Paris in reaction to certain pro-Averroists, as well as that upheld by Castilian clergy at Toledo in reaction to Iberian neo-Averroism—remained conditioned by that Arabic philosopher's use of Aristotle's work to revise prior approaches to logic, rhetoric, and law within his own Islamic Iberian culture.⁷⁴ Averröes's commentaries on Aristotle's *Poetics* supplement his commentaries on Aristotle's *Topics* and *Rhetoric*—all of which complement the purpose of his commentaries on Aristotle's other works (excluding the *Politics*), his neo-Aristotelian commentary on Plato's *Republic*, and his treatise on philosophy and law. His oeuvre aims to unite rational philosophy (including the practical

⁷³ M. Backman, "Introduction" to R. McKeon 1987, pp. xii-xiii. On this issue, see M. Camargo 2003.

⁷⁴ M. Fakhry 1997 emphasizes that both Averröes and Aquinas "drew a sharp line of demarcation between the truths of reason and the truths of faith, but did not regard the latter, though indemonstrable, as being incompatible with reason" (p. 6). On Iberian neo-Averroism, Alfonso X, and the cathedral school at Toledo, see Á. Martínez Casado 1984; C. Heusch 1990-1991; F. Márquez Villanueva 1994a (esp. pp. 203-209), 1994b, 1998; and G. Orduna 1996. Cf. C. Heusch 1988.

“sciences” of rhetoric and poetics) with exegetical practices applied to divine law, as a revision of the reigning dialectical Islamic theology of his day.⁷⁵ Averröes defines fictional poetics as a branch of logic, emphasizing the syllogism, or “example,” as the primary aim of poetic art. His medium-length or “middle” commentary on Aristotle’s *Poetics* attributes a rhetorical thrust to that logical principle, through repeated emphasis that fictional poetics should serve the moral purpose of figuring forth virtue and vice in order to encourage the former and discourage the latter among readers.

This theory of fictional poetics promoted by Averröes in Iberia, then widely disseminated in Europe via the 1256 Toledo translation by Hermannus Alemannus, informs the underlying logic of exemplary poetics put into practice by fourteenth-century authors.⁷⁶ Aquinas’s neo-Aristotelian philosophy and other scholastic thought, drawing largely upon Latinized Arabic commentaries on both Aristotle’s *Poetics* and his treatise *On the Soul*, upholds the psychological premise that human cognition occurs through mental images, with amplified emphasis on the ethical function of exemplary fictional images. Exemplary narrative poetics hinges upon exemplary character contrast. The author exercises both inductive and deductive reasoning to capture general ideals or principles of virtue and vice within certain characters: not only in characters’ actions and

⁷⁵ See C. E. Butterworth, “Biographical Sketch of Averröes (1126-1198)” and “Introduction[s],” trans. Averröes, *Decisive Treatise, Determining the Connection Between the Law and Wisdom*, pp. xiii-xlii; *idem.*, “Preface” and “Introduction,” trans. Averröes, *Short Commentaries on Aristotle’s “Topics,” “Rhetoric,” and “Poetics,”* pp. vii-41; *idem.*, “Preface” and “Introduction,” trans. Averröes, *Middle Commentary on Aristotle’s “Poetics,”* pp. ix-49 (see esp. commentary on “*Poetics*” 1450b.7-12, *ibid.*, p. 78, paragraph 28; cf. “Introduction,” p. 22); and C. E. Butterworth 1986 (cf. Averröes, *Commentary on Plato’s “Republic,”* trans. R. Lerner). For a useful survey of Averröes’s philosophy within its Iberian intellectual context, see M. Fakhry 2004, pp. 280-302. On his theology, see Averröes, *On the Harmony of Religions and Philosophy*, trans. G. F. Hourani (cf. *idem.*, *Long Commentary on the De Anima of Aristotle*, trans. R. C. Taylor); M. Alonso Alonso 1947; and M. Fakhry 1968.

⁷⁶ On the process of production for such translations at Toledo, see J. Perona 1989. On the dissemination of Alemannus’s translation in fourteenth-century Europe, see W. F. Boggess 1970. On its critical reception and neo-Aristotelian literary theory from the fourteenth century to the sixteenth century, see O. B. Hardison 1970; J. B. Allen 1976 and 1982; H. A. Kelly 1979 and 1993 (esp. pp. 111-125, 194-217); and K. Eden 1986, pp. 141-156. Cf. B. Weinberg 1961 (vol. 1).

consequences of those actions but also in their intentions. These fictional images and impressions captivate the reader's imagination through delight, and that experience provokes the reader to apply inductive reasoning to contemplate how those exemplary figures represent universal moral virtues and vices, as well as deductive reasoning to recognize how those principles apply to contemporary circumstances in the real world, including legal justice. Thus fictional characters become *exemplares*. If the reader and the author hold in common foundational premises upon which the fictional narrative's internal logic was built, the reader's experiences of delight and logical reasoning can lend themselves to rhetorical effects intended by the author. Sidney's *Defence of Poesie*, written in the late sixteenth century, reflects this theory of fictional poetics, combined with humanistic logical emphasis on probable argument.⁷⁷

For analyzing continuity in literary theory and practice between Sidney's *Arcadia* and the Spanish chivalric-romance tradition, certain aspects of this neo-Aristotelian literary tradition prove especially revealing. Both Sidney's poetic theory and the basic theology of Christian marriage hinge upon the philosophy of Natural Law (that is, universal moral principles fundamental to human nature) as distinct from positive human law.⁷⁸ It is crucial to recognize that when Montalvo and Silva composed their chivalric romances, and when Herberay and Gohory translated them into French, clandestine marriage remained valid theologically and fully licit legally. As noted in Chapter One above, when Sidney imitated Silva's work for inventing his *Arcadia*, such was the case in

⁷⁷ See K. Eden 1986 (esp. pp. 3-6, 156-175) and W. Trimpi 1999 (esp. pp. 197-198). Compare this present study's Introduction (notes 11-13); note 117 here below; Chapter Three below (note 230); and L. Jardine 1988.

⁷⁸ On Sidney's *DP* in this regard, see R. S. White 1996, pp. 92-101 (esp. p. 95). Also see Chapter Three below on *OA* (esp. notes 166-167, 185, 187). G. H. Joyce 1933 emphasizes Natural Law, primarily as articulated by Aquinas, as the foundation for Christian theology of marriage (pp. 1-10). Cf. T. Aquinas, *Treatise on Law*.

England theologically, and legally in a qualified manner, and he certainly knew about legal reform on the continent. The poetics of clandestine marriage in Spanish chivalric-romance tradition and in Sidney's *Arcadia* hinges upon a fictional narrative generating a positive aesthetic impression of protagonist lovers' covert amorous union: an impression which tacitly validates clandestine marriage in accordance with Natural Law and Christian theology.

The theoretical foundation for inventing such poetic effect with protagonist lovers can be traced back to Averröes's interpretation of "tragedy" in his middle commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics*. Averröes was not familiar with ancient Greek poetry or drama, and his commentary on the *Poetics* aims to enhance the manner by which Arabic poetry served as a means of moral instruction. Aristotle's claim in *Poetics* Chapter Four that Greek poetry originated with encomiastic and satirical verse becomes a premise for Averröes to define fictional poetics in rhetorical terms as an art of praise and blame rooted in the syllogistic principle of comparison and contrast—its "epic" and "tragic" veins constituting praise for noble protagonists, its "comic" or satirical veins achieved through lively dramatic foils. Aristotle's *Poetics* roots its notion of mimesis in the actions (*praxis*) of fictional characters who serve as representative agents (*prattontas*) to whom spectators may compare or contrast their own actions and social station. Averröes's commentary, in contrast, roots poetic representation more firmly in character rather than in characters' actions, interpreting the Aristotelian concepts of probability and necessity in moral terms and emphasizing virtue and vice as character traits to be identified and either emulated or avoided by readers.

Hermannus Alemannus's Latin translation of Averröes's middle commentary on the *Poetics* employs the terminology “*sermo imaginativus*,” “*assimilatio*,” and “*representatio*” (instead of “*imitatio*”) for its neo-Aristotelian notion of fictional mimesis, and it defines “*admiratio*” as an effect of “tragedy” in the sense of “positive emotion aroused by the moral excellence of those being praised.”⁷⁹ Thus, general impressions of virtue and vice approximate universal truth through fictional representation, and those ethical poetic images etch themselves into a reader's imagination through affective delight. Such poetic images remain available to the mind's eye through memory and may inspire virtuous action in the future. Sidney's *Defence of Poesie* embraces this theory of fictional poetics, and his *Arcadia*, like its dominant source material drawn from the Spanish chivalric-romance tradition (via French translation), employs it for rhetorical effect pertaining to the matter of dynastic union through clandestine marriage.

Emphasizing how Averröes conceives of “epic” and “tragedy” in terms of exemplary narrative poetics, rather than in terms of verse form or even in terms of thematic emphasis, brings into focus a significant degree of continuity between Sidney's fiction and the generic flexibility of Spanish chivalric romance. Neo-Aristotelian literary theory from the early fourteenth century through the early sixteenth century frequently remained rooted in that Averroean perspective, which makes no formal distinction

⁷⁹ O. B. Hardison 1970, p. 71 (see pp. 64-72; rpt. in *idem*. 1997, pp. 25-32). Here Hardison's study distinguishes Philip Sidney's poetic theory regarding “tragedy” as more neoclassical than this Averroean perspective (p. 71; rpt. 1997, p. 31). That brief claim emerges from Hardison's reading of *DP* in terms of two distinct sections: “the main body of the *Apology*,” which he characterizes in terms of “humanist poetics,” and “the section on the English poets,” which he deems “incipient neo-classicism” (O. B. Hardison 1972, p. 97). Hardison reads those two sections as contradictory. S. K. Heninger 1989 (pp. 552-553 n. 36) and R. E. Stillman 2008 (p. 111) revise that assessment without attending to O. B. Hardison 1970. Cf. S. Mukherji & R. Lyne 2007 (“Introduction,” pp. 1-14) on tragicomedy and mimesis (esp. pp. 10-11 on Sidney's *DP*; cf. S. Dewar-Watson 2007, p. 17). K. Eden 1986 notes that Sidney's *DP* does not preoccupy itself with Italian debate about catharsis or the roles of pity and fear in neo-Aristotelian literary theory (pp. 156-157), citing Hardison's emphasis on *admiratio* and highlighting continuity between *DP* and scholastic neo-Aristotelian thought inspired by Averröes's works.

between prose narrative and drama. Largely as a result, generic form remained highly flexible in the Spanish tradition of prose fiction. Famous examples of hybrid prose form include *The Book of the Knight Zifar* (early fourteenth century), Fernando de Rojas's *Celestina, or The Tragicomedy of Calisto and Melibea* (late fifteenth century), and Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (early seventeenth century). Less well known by modern scholars but equally innovative and influential for Spanish literary tradition, Feliciano de Silva's chivalric romances served as a creative bridge between those three works.

Silva invented a continuation of Rojas's *Celestina* as well as continuations of the *Amadís* cycle begun by Montalvo, and he introduced pastoral elements into both genres. He began to do so during his most intense period of literary production between 1530 and 1535, which included his *Segunda Celestina* (1534). For the pastoral characters and settings Silva added to the courtly and urbane modes of the chivalric-romance tradition and the *Celestina*, he drew upon the courtly trope of pastoral disguise emerging in Spanish theater (especially in works by Juan del Encina) and upon both Spain's *cancionero* tradition of lyric poetry and the classical tradition of pastoral poetry beginning to see a renaissance in Spain.⁸⁰ His chivalric romances preserve that genre's characteristic poetics of exemplary character contrast with enlivened emphasis on character development and comical elements, frequently incorporating touches of chivalric parody, which is also evident in his *Segunda Celestina*.⁸¹ Silva's innovative generic blending and narrative poetics of exemplary character contrast proved foundational for the narrative structure and the types of characters developed in Jorge de

⁸⁰ See S. P. Cravens 1976; C. Baranda 1987; and A. Río Noguerras 2002.

⁸¹ See M. C. Daniels 1992 (esp. pp. 137-282 on Silva's works). Cf. S. P. Cravens 2000 and E. J. Sales Dasí 2001.

Montemayor's *Diana* (c.1558-1559), in Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* (1578-1581, revised c.1582-c.1584), and in Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (1605, 1615).

Recognizing that neo-Aristotelian poetic theory in the Averroean tradition justifies such generic blending also helps explain sixteenth-century perspectives on Spanish chivalric romance as "epic" romance in prose. The most conspicuous definitions of that genre as "epic" literature occur in commendatory poems prefacing editions of works from the *Amadís* and *Palmerín* cycles in French translation. This fact proves significant for the present study, given that Sidney encountered the genre primarily in such French editions (cf. Chapter One above, note 37). The first edition of Book One from Montalvo's *Amadís de Gaula* in Nicolas de Herberay's French translation (Paris, 1540) initiated a nationalistic cultural project of translation and appropriation, presumably sponsored by King François I, who apparently encountered the *Amadís* while a prisoner of war in Madrid (1525-1526). French renditions of Spanish chivalric-romance cycles and of classical epic poetry by Homer and Virgil appeared afterward in folio editions with numerous and elaborate woodcut illustrations commissioned specifically for these works and resembling each other, thus capturing an aesthetic impression of continuity in genre.⁸² Prefatory verses laud the French language as

⁸² On this "paradigm shift" in French print history and perception of the French language, see M. Rothstein 2006b (cf. *idem.* 1999, pp. 17-60; *idem.* 2006c). Cf. H. Thomas 1920 on Herberay and François I (pp. 199-200). P. Luteran 2005 analyzes Herberay's theory and practice of translation, including emphasis on "desire to promote the national tongue" (p. 41; see pp. 38-46). N. Cazauran 2000 suggests that the 1540 French *Amadis* (Book One) imposes an altered generic register upon the Spanish tradition. For bibliographical analysis of it and other early folio editions of the French *Amadis* cycle, see H. Vaganay 1906 and S. Rawles 1981. On the woodcut illustrations and their function in these texts (as used initially and as re-used in subsequent editions of the same and different works), as well as in Hugues Salel's translation of Homer (Paris, 1545), see M. Rothstein 1998; *idem.* 1999, pp. 85-94; J.-M. Chatelain 2000; and M. Rothstein 2006c, pp. 751-763. Compare the reproductions in Vaganay's study (*op cit.*) with reproduction of images from the Salel translation of Homer (M. Rothstein 2006c, pp. 753, 756-757, 760-761) and images from the 1552 and 1560 Lyons editions of Virgil's *Aeneid* (R. Mortimer 1986, pp. 174-181). J. M. Lucía Megías 2000 emphasizes that the artistry of woodcut illustrations in French editions of the *Amadis* cycle far outshines that of illustrations in any Spanish edition (pp. 470, 496-497).

developed in these works, frequently characterizing Herberay or some other translator as a French “Homer” or “Virgil,” and some also compare protagonists of those works to the likes of Achilles and Aeneas.⁸³ Joachim Du Bellay composed poetic tributes to Herberay and to Gohory as translators. The “*Ode*” to Herberay dubs him a “French Homer” (“*Homere François*”) and the protagonist knight Amadís of Gaul a “Gallic Achilles” (“*l’Achille Gaullois*”); the ode emphasizes *Amadis de Gaule*’s “feigned argument” (“*argument feint*”) as a matter of exemplary poetics figuring forth virtue and vice (in peace and in war), then compares it to “the marvelous discourse of the immortal *Aeneid*” (“*le discours merveilleux / De l’immortelle Eneïde*”).⁸⁴ That poem and the commendatory verse accompanying French editions of the Spanish *Amadis* cycle promote “epic patriotism” along the same lines as sixteenth-century French historiography, especially *Les Illustrations de Gaule et Singularitez de Troye* (1509-1513) by Jean Lemaire de Belges.⁸⁵

Such commendation of the French *Amadis* cycle as “epic” literature builds upon the Spanish genre’s narrative poetics as “feigned history,” defined and defended by Montalvo (as noted in the Introduction to this study), in terms strikingly similar to Sidney’s argument in the *Defence of Poesie* that fictional poetics and poetically inspired

⁸³ H. Vaganay 1906 edits the French commendatory verse (but not the Latin poems) accompanying printed editions of “Books” One through Twelve in the French *Amadis* cycle. On sixteenth-century emphasis regarding the “epic” nature of this Spanish genre, within those poems and elsewhere, see M. Rothstein 1996 and *idem*. 1999 (pp. 17-31).

⁸⁴ J. Du Bellay, “Ode Av Seignevr Des Essars svr le discovrs de son Amadis,” lines 290, 287, 275-280, 193-194, in *Œuvres de L’Invention de L’Avthevr* (1552), ed. Henri Chamard, in *Œuvres Poétiques*, vol. 4, pp. 177, 173 (see pp. 163-178). Significantly for this ode’s emphasis, Du Bellay translated both Book IV of Virgil’s *Aeneid* and Dido’s epistle to Aeneas from Ovid’s *Heroides* VII, as noted in the “Privilege” for this 1552 edition of *Œuvres* (ed. Chamard, vol. 4, p. 201). Those translations appeared later (in 1560 and 1561) as a separate edition. On legal privileges for printed books in France, see E. Armstrong 1990. For Du Bellay’s “*Ode*” to Gohory, see *Œuvres Poétiques*, ed. Chamard, vol. 5, pp. 253-261.

⁸⁵ M. Rothstein 1999, p. 42 (see pp. 42-45; also *idem*. 1990b). Cf. *idem*. 1986 and 1990a; also C. J. Brown 1985 on Jean Lemaire de Belges within the context of Rhétoriqueur poetry during the period of French expansion into Italy, 1494-1515.

historiography can surpass antiquarian or literal-minded historiography. Rather than remain bound to “the particular truth of things,...to what is,” fictional poetics can figure forth more effectively for readers “the general reason of things” and “what should be” (*DP*, 85). Sidney’s argument builds upon a strand of humanist thought emphasizing wisdom in moral terms as a matter of prudential and active virtue, compatible with chivalric *ethos* and with the neo-Averroean theoretical foundation for exemplary fictional poetics.⁸⁶ Indeed, ideas of poetry and “epic” in Sidney’s *Defence* and in the Italian Renaissance (from Francesco Petrarca in the fourteenth century through the early sixteenth century) remained rooted in epideictic rhetorical theory of praising virtue and condemning vice.⁸⁷ Sidney’s *Defence* tacitly confirms an “epic” status for Spanish chivalric romances from the *Amadís* cycle—as “heroical poem[s]...in prose,” like Heliodorus’s *Aethiopica* and Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia*—through comparison with the *Aeneid* in a passage quoted at the outset of this study (*DP*, 81, 92).

Sidney’s perspective on epic romance, or rather “heroical” narrative, stems from his theoretical emphasis on exemplary poetics of reader engagement. Highlighting this dimension of his poetic theory helps explain his use of literary sources and thus fills a conspicuous gap in critical narratives aligning sixteenth-century English chivalric fiction with continental tradition. Colin Burrow’s admirable study entitled *Epic Romance* provides a convenient critical frame in which to paint this picture. It emphasizes the

⁸⁶ Cf. E. F. Rice 1958, pp. 1-29, 149-177; F. J. Levy 1964; and notes 76-77 above. G. Richardson 2002 emphasizes such humanist philosophy as an important aspect of Renaissance ideals for monarchy in the early sixteenth century.

⁸⁷ See O. B. Hardison 1962; H. Gray 1963; J. E. Seigel 1968, pp. 3-169; B. Vickers 1982-1983; and C. Kallendorf 1983 and 1989. P. Mack 1995 addresses Sidney’s comments on the *Aeneid* in *DP*, noting, “Sidney is less idealizing than most, because of his doubts about Aeneas’s treatment of Dido, but like his contemporaries he expects literature to provide him with moral examples” (p. 20; see pp. 19-21). Cf. S. K. Heninger 1989 on Sidney’s *DP* and its reference to Turnus in the *Aeneid*’s conclusion in terms of mental imaging and rhetorical effect (pp. 261-262).

generic complexity of Homeric and Virgilian epic poetry in order to highlight the philological premise that “[t]he form of romance, the wild, enfolding, unstoppable flow of stories, substantially derives from a revision of the *Aeneid*’s central motive.”⁸⁸

Burrow’s critical narrative, like other recent studies situating sixteenth-century English heroic romance within larger European traditions, defines “epic” literature as heroic narratives in verse that self-consciously engage the Virgilian notion of “*pietas*” (that is, piety, conceived mainly in terms of duty and patriotism) with regard to the *Aeneid*’s Roman imperial theme. This line of thought leads Burrow to the premise that it is not until “the later stages” of Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso* (apparent in the 1532 edition) that “writers begin to try to work their way back into the mental structures of Virgilian *pietas*,” by reigning narrative digressions created by a hero’s love motive (comparable to Aeneas’s stay in Carthage with Dido) or by his pity (which Aeneas must suppress in his duel with Turnus, in order to secure his dynastic seat in Latium via marriage to Lavinia): “epic romance,” that is, begins focusing such plotlines on “whatever imperial or dynastic goals [the heroes] are set.”⁸⁹

This English phrase “epic romance,” used by Burrow to describe sixteenth-century chivalric romances in verse, also captures the nature of Spain’s chivalric romances in prose, given their development and prominence as a distinct genre from the

⁸⁸ C. Burrow 1993, p. 62. S. J. Harrison 2007 also emphasizes generic complexity in Virgil’s poetry. Cf. S. Dewar-Watson 2007 on Aristotle, ancient Greek drama, and Homer’s epic poetry.

⁸⁹ C. Burrow 1993, p. 4. Burrow suggests that Ariosto’s revision of *Orlando Furioso*, Tasso’s *Gerusalemme Liberata*, and Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene* each convey “a perplexed sense that their language will not quite permit the coalescences of pity and piety, sympathy and combat, which shape classical epic” (p. 5). Cf. D. Quint 1993, which advocates awareness of Lucan’s *De Bello Civili* (*Pharsalia*) within sixteenth-century perspectives on the Virgilian imperial theme, addressing relationships between politics and epic form in Italian, Portuguese, and English poetry. Quint emphasizes a more strained tension between *eros* and imperial duty/destiny in the heroic verse of Ariosto and Tasso (cf. *idem*. 1985, p. 179). B. Fuchs 2004 revises Quint’s perspective only slightly with emphasis on “romance” as a realm of ideologically-charged narrative “strategies,” still positing a sweeping generalization of “romance” as “skeptical” of “compatibility between erotic and military pursuits” (p. 40).

late fifteenth century through the early seventeenth century. Burrow's philological lens must be widened and re-focused. Subsequent study of the Latin commentary tradition and reception of Virgil's *Aeneid* in the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries reveals retention of its imperial theme and significant development with Lavinia's character in the twelfth-century French *Roman d'Eneas*.⁹⁰ The presence of a quasi-Virgilian imperial theme in Dante's *Divine Comedy* and in Italian thought of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries also should be taken into account in critical narratives assessing epic-romance traditions.⁹¹ Extension to sixteenth-century chivalric romance must include the Spanish tradition—which remained the most prolific and widely circulated mode of heroic fiction throughout Europe in the sixteenth century⁹²—and that emphasis allows for Sidney's *Arcadia* to enter the picture as well.

Sixteenth-century Italian debate regarding verisimilitude and epic romance has remained a stumbling block for establishing such critical perspective with regard to the Spanish chivalric-romance tradition. The neo-Ciceronian bent of Italian humanism and rediscovery of Aristotle's *Poetics* in Greek led to ongoing critical debate in the late sixteenth century regarding the merits and demerits of fantastical elements in “epic” or “historical” poetry, including that of Dante Alighieri, Ludovico Ariosto, and Torquato

⁹⁰ C. Baswell 1995, pp. 168-219.

⁹¹ On that Italian vein of thought, see C. Kallendorf 1988.

⁹² Bibliographical studies by Henry Thomas (1912, 1914, 1920) and Hugues Vaganay (1906, 1928, 1929; cf. 1923) remain foundations for recognizing this genre's prominence throughout Europe in the sixteenth century. J. M. Lucía Megías 2000 provides important emphasis on Spanish chivalric romance as an editorial genre in sixteenth-century Spain. A. Pettegree 2007 provides a survey of the *Amadis* cycle in translation throughout Europe with updated statistics regarding French editions. For useful (copy-specific) catalogues of extant editions in Spanish and French, see, respectively, D. Eisenberg & M. C. Marín Pina 2000 and A. Pettegree *et al* 2007 (esp. vol. 1, pp. 18b-31b [#s 651-1053], for French editions of the *Amadis* cycle). H. Thomas 1920 (pp. 221-225; cf. pp. 225-234) and S. J. Barber 1984 comment on German translations of French editions of the *Amadis* cycle. On anonymous Dutch translation of Books from Montalvo's *Amadis de Gaula* (via Herberay's French translation) in the 1570s, see H. Thomas 1920, pp. 235-236 (cf. p. 238). A. Bognolo 1984 analyzes the first edition of Book One from Montalvo's *Amadis de Gaula* in Italian translation (Venice, 1546), and F. Fiumara [2005] analyzes Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano's production of the many Italian editions and continuations of Spanish chivalric romance which ensued.

Tasso.⁹³ Tasso drew poetic inspiration from his father Bernardo Tasso, whose inspiration for epic poetry came from Montalvo's *Amadís*.⁹⁴ Miguel de Cervantes self-consciously inscribes debate about verisimilitude within his *Don Quixote*, Part One, Chapter 47. Studies comparing ancient and medieval romance traditions and their influence in the sixteenth century have assessed those two matters of Italian debate and Cervantine self-consciousness in various ways which tacitly dismiss the literary merits of Castile's chivalric-romance genre modeled upon *Amadís de Gaula*. Some claim a shift in European literary taste toward the verisimilitude and narrative structure of ancient prose fiction, especially Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*.⁹⁵ Others look to the *Zifar* or to the Catalan chivalric romance *Tirant lo Blanc* (1490), which did not meet success in Europe as did the *Amadís* and its kin, as precursors for the verisimilitude and humor with which *Don Quixote* parodies its own Castilian genre.⁹⁶ Recent theory on "romance" fiction with regard to verisimilitude and mimesis also glosses over Castile's *Amadís* stock prior to *Don Quixote*.⁹⁷ The artistry of Cervantes's work and its critical perspective on its own genre, however, may be identified with greater accuracy by looking forward *through* Spain's sixteenth-century chivalric-romance genre rather than backward *past* it.

The dialectic about verisimilitude and the *Amadís* genre within *Don Quixote* I.47, for instance, reaffirms, through purported critique, the theoretical foundation for that genre's narrative poetics of rhetorical mimesis. The local priest Pero Pérez from *Don Quixote*'s home town ("*el cura*"), who in Chapter Six burned many of the protagonist's

⁹³ See B. Weinberg 1961 (esp. vol. 2).

⁹⁴ On the impetus and process by which Bernardo Tasso adapted Montalvo's *Amadís de Gaula* into Italian verse and carefully prepared it for publication as *L'Amadigi* (1560), see E. Williamson 1951, pp. 99-136.

⁹⁵ See, for instance, A. K. Forcione 1970, M. Fumaroli 1985, and S. R. Mentz 2006. Cf. E. B. Bearden [2006] with regard to Forcione's study and B. Fuchs 2004.

⁹⁶ E.g., A. Torres 1979; M. S. Brownlee 2000. Cf. M. Nerlich 1987, vol. 1, pp. 18, 20-27.

⁹⁷ B. Fuchs 2004, pp. 13-97. Cf. note 89 above; also B. Fuchs 2001, which nominally addresses the Spanish chivalric-romance genre in theoretical terms but then analyzes only Italian fiction (pp. 13-34).

books in a mock *auto de fé*, has the last word on the literary matter of verisimilitude in Chapter 47. In emphasizing that chivalric romances should be more realistic, after cataloguing political and moral virtues which may be figured forth in such fiction, he concludes with the theoretical credo upon which the genre was built, claiming that such feigned history can indeed “achieve the highest goal any writing can aim for, namely, to teach and delight at the same time, as I’ve already said. For the loose literary style [*escritura desatada*] of these books allows the author to work in epic modes, as well as lyric, tragic, and comic, with all the accompanying possibilities of poetry and rhetoric’s sweetness and persuasiveness, for one can just as well write epics in prose as in verse.”⁹⁸ Philip Sidney approaches Feliciano de Silva’s work from a similar perspective.

Both the enhanced verisimilitude of Sidney’s chivalric fiction and Sidney’s critique in the *Defence of Poesie* that Spanish chivalric romance “wanteth much of a perfect poesy” (*DP*, 92) arise from degrees of removal from Averroean commentary on fictional poetics, rather than from fundamental difference in literary theory. Analyzing the roots of that sixteenth-century Spanish genre which Sidney imitates for *Arcadia* helps clarify that the theoretical foundation for its rhetorical mimesis need not be associated with neo-Ciceronian humanist educational reform. Sidney, as a product of such reform in

⁹⁸ M. Cervantes Saavedra, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, ed. M. Riquer, p. 504; trans. B. Raffel, *Don Quijote*, pp. 327-328. Here I have modified only very slightly Raffel’s English translation. Alonso López Pinciano’s *Philosophia Antigua Poética* (1596) defines “epic” (“*la épica*”) as narrative “imitation” (“*imitación*”) of “serious action” (“*acción grave*”) and characterizes the Spanish chivalric-romance genre, generally speaking, as lacking “*verisimilitud*,” “*doctrina*,” and “*estilo grave*” (“serious style”), with the important exception of Montalvo’s *Amadís de Gaula*, Silva’s *Amadís de Grecia*, “and a few others” (“*y otros pocos*”) (ed. A. Carballo Picazo, vol. 3, pp. 177-178). This qualified critique should not be over-emphasized as indicative of a trend in general critical reception. Already by the mid-fifteenth century, lack of verisimilitude had been levied against *Amadís de Gaula* by the scholarly bishop Alonso de Cartagena (J. N. Lawrance 1979, p. 54; J. M. Cacho Bleuca 2002, p. 193). E. Sarmati 1996 provides the most thorough study for sixteenth-century critical reception of the Spanish chivalric-romance genre; but also see J. M. Lucía Megías 1995 and 2002. S. Gil-Albarellos 1997 compares Italian and Spanish debate about verisimilitude and chivalric fiction, demonstrating how the latter maintains a more heavily moral focus (cf. *idem*. 1999, pp. 94-102, 162-201). Cf. note 70 above. Also see K. Kohut 2002 and A. Davis 2003 (pp. 13-24).

England, eliminates magical and fantastical elements from his chivalric-romance source material in order to follow the Ciceronian tenet that verisimilitude facilitates rhetorical effect. Yet, the narrative poetics by which his *Arcadia* establishes exemplary character contrast and *admiratio* for its protagonist lovers follows closely the model provided by Gohory's French translation of Silva's *Chronicle of Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*. Although the specific interlacement of motifs Sidney imports from that work in order to achieve that poetic effect was invented by Silva in the early sixteenth century, both the work's underlying poetics of exemplary character contrast and its secret-marriage theme follow the model of *Amadís de Gaula* and *Sergas de Esplandián* designed by Montalvo in the late fifteenth century, and those poetic aspects of Montalvo's work were established in the early fourteenth century by Castilian clerics at Toledo who first composed the *Zifar* and (probably) the *Amadís*. The narrative poetics of both Sidney's fiction and its primary source material emanate ultimately from direct contact with Averröes's commentaries on Aristotle's work.

By the turn of the fourteenth century, the cathedral library at Toledo had amassed Averröes's works in Latin translation as well as various neo-Averroean scholastic texts, and that cathedral school worked under the patronage of Castile's queen-regent María de Molina, who aimed to secure dynastic succession for the lineage of her late husband King Sancho IV through papal validation of their marriage. Recent scholarship has emphasized that the rise of Castilian prose fiction occurred through a combination of that political motive and the Castilian high clergy's aim to revise unorthodox strands of neo-

Arabic and neo-Aristotelian thought built into the works of Sancho IV's father King Alfonso X the Learned.⁹⁹

The political thrust of rhetorical mimesis in Castile's earliest chivalric romances finds its theoretical foundation in a combination of general Ciceronian tenet with Averroean emphasis on the political efficacy of fictional poetics employed for the rhetorical purpose of figuring forth virtue and vice.¹⁰⁰ Alemannus's prefatory comments for his 1256 Latin translation of Averröes's middle commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics*, produced in Toledo, help confirm that confluence of literary and rhetorical theory. The preface emphasizes that this work supplements translations of Averröes's commentaries on Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Rhetoric*, citing Ciceronian emphasis on rhetoric as a matter of "civic philosophy" and explicitly distinguishing Averröes's perspective on poetry from Horace's association of poetry with grammar (i.e., meter), while tacitly preserving the general Horatian tenet that poetry should both teach and delight.¹⁰¹ Because this early neo-Aristotelian poetic theory bears only general relation to early neo-Ciceronian thought, in contrast with late-sixteenth-century humanism, it places less premium on verisimilitude as a rhetorical tenet. In fact, fantastical poetic images suit this literary theory well, for they captivate readers' imaginations with delight and thus facilitate retention in memory, a crucial aspect of the logical and rhetorical poetics achieved

⁹⁹ See G. Orduna 1996 and F. Gómez Redondo 1998 and 1999. Cf. note 72 above; J. F. O'Callaghan 2005, pp. 30-31; and, for biographies of María de Molina, M. Gaibrois de Ballesteros 1936 and A. Arteaga del Alcázar 2004.

¹⁰⁰ Averröes emphasizes the political efficacy of fictional poetics even more heavily in his short commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics* than in his medium-length commentary (C. E. Butterworth, trans. Averröes, *Short Commentaries on Aristotle's "Topics," "Rhetoric," and "Poetics,"* pp. 34-39).

¹⁰¹ O. B. Hardison 1970, p. 65 (rpt. in *idem* 1997, p. 27). On subsequent blending of Horatian and neo-Aristotelian poetic theory, see J. B. Allen 1982, pp. 3-66; and, on Italian Renaissance theory, M. T. Herrick 1946 and B. Weinberg 1961 (vol. 1).

through exemplary character contrast.¹⁰² The *Zifar*'s prefatory material, preserved in extant manuscripts, highlights this issue of “*memoria*” alongside that of “*seso natural*” (“natural wisdom”) with regard to the work’s poetics.¹⁰³ Such emphasis on mnemonic retention motivates the episodic structure characteristic of Spanish chivalric-romance narration.

Analyzing Sidney’s poetic theory in tandem with that underlying Spain’s entire tradition of *Amadís* stories helps clarify how and why Sidney imitates and varies Feliciano de Silva’s work (via French translation) in the way that he does for inventing the original version of *Arcadia* between 1578 and 1581 as a mode of rhetorical mimesis. Upon initial glance at the chivalric source material, one’s attention may easily gravitate to Sidney’s parenthetical reference in his *Defence of Poesie* that chivalric-romance fiction from the *Amadís* cycle “wanteth much of a perfect poesy” (*DP*, 92), especially given the fact that magical and fantastical elements pervade Silva’s stories within the *Amadís* cycle. Indeed, Silva’s works amplify the use of magical and fantastical tropes within their genre, quelling the brief resistance offered to that aspect of Montalvo’s work in Paez de Ribera’s sixth “Book” of the cycle.¹⁰⁴ That brief aside in Sidney’s treatise must be balanced, though, with its context in Sidney’s argument about fictional poetics.

¹⁰² See F. A. Yates 1966 and M. J. Carruthers 1990 on the art of memory; also Introduction here above, note 13.

¹⁰³ *El Libro del Cauallero Zifar (El Libro del Cauallero de Dios)*, ed. C. P. Wagner, pp. 6-8. Cf. trans. C. L. Nelson, *The Book of the Knight Zifar*, pp. 5-6. On the *Zifar*'s prefatory material, the cathedral school at Toledo, and distinct phases of the work’s production almost certainly tied directly to dynastic politics in Castile, see F. Gómez Redondo 1981 and 1999 (pp. 1371-1459). Gómez Redondo, like J. M. Cacho Blecua 1993 and G. Orduna 1996 (pp. 58, 60), associates the *Zifar*'s production with the whole cathedral school rather than with one specific member, Ferrán Martínez. F. J. Hernández 1978 (which provides important archival documentation) and P. Linehan 1993 (pp. 533-548) assume authorship by Ferrán Martínez. On the 1512 printed version of *Zifar* as a text transformed to resemble more closely the *Amadís* paradigm, see J. M. Cacho Blecua 1999 (cf. J. M. Lucía Megías 2005).

¹⁰⁴ See E. J. Sales Dasí 1998b and 2002 (cf. *idem*. 1996, 1997, 1999b; P. E. Erlés 2007). J. Martín Lalanda 1999a provides a survey of fantastical elements in Silva’s *FN3*. Cf. R. M. Mérida Jiménez 2001 on that aspect of *AG*.

Sidney's *Defence of Poesie* argues above all that fictional poetics—that is, narrative embellishment aiming to engage and delight readers, whether built into a purely fictional narrative, into historiography, or into a philosophical treatise (as per Plato's dialogues)—can prove a compelling impetus that moves readers not only toward contemplation of virtue but also toward virtuous action in the world around them. His language in making this argument leans on semantics of “figuring forth” and “feigning”: most conspicuously in defining “Poesie” in Aristotelian terms as “*mimesis*” or “imitation” of human nature and contemporary reality, and in characterizing the poet's task as “that feigning notable images of virtues, vices, or what else, with that delightful teaching, which must be the right describing note to know a poet by” (*DP*, 81-82).¹⁰⁵ The “right poet,” according to Sidney, should allow his own “wit” free range, “only reined with learned discretion, into the divine consideration of what may be and should be” (*DP*, 80-81). Poetic invention should not transgress the limits of human nature, Sidney emphasizes, and his perspective also upholds the Ciceronian credo that verisimilitude lends itself to cogent rhetorical effect.

Neo-Ciceronian humanism paying such attention to Aristotle's *Poetics* tended to uphold Virgil's *Aeneid* as an apex of poetic artistry, “the sole, timeless model for imitation”; yet, Sidney, in contrast with Giulio Cesare Scaligero, whose *Poetices* he cites multiple times in the *Defence of Poesie*, does not argue along those lines.¹⁰⁶ Instead,

¹⁰⁵ Sidney, in much the same vein as Giulio Cesare Scaligero's *Poetices* I.i-ii, defines “Poesy” in terms of Aristotelian “*μιμησις*” as “an art of imitation” through “representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth” poetic images “metaphorically,” to convey for readers “a speaking picture” of virtue and vice, “with this end, to teach and delight” (*DP*, 79-80). For an argument on punctuation and interpretation of this passage in *DP* distinct from the punctuation practice adopted by most modern editors, see S. K. Heninger 1982, pp. 120-149; and *idem*. 1989, pp. 286-291. On Sidney's diction of “feigning” (derived from the Latin root *fingere*) and “counterfeiting,” see S. K. Heninger 1989, pp. 256, 556-557 nn. 64-66.

¹⁰⁶ Quotation from D. Quint 1983, p. 6. On Sidney's *DP* and Scaligero's *Poetices Libri Septem*, see S. K. Heninger 1989, pp. 200-222. Cf. K. O. Myrick 1935, pp. 119-125; A. Stewart 2000 on Sidney's reaction to

Sidney encourages emulation of fictional poetics more generally. He emphasizes that compelling fictional models for heroic virtue in love and in war—whether they be characterization of historical figures as in the historiography of Plutarch and Xenophon, or rather imagined characters such as Virgil’s Aeneas or the chaste and devoted protagonist lovers in Heliodorus’s *Aethiopica*—grip a reader’s imagination and remain in one’s memory as images or “speaking pictures” accessible to the mind’s eye for later contemplation and emulation.¹⁰⁷ Those poetic images lend themselves to wisdom and virtuous action better than abstract logic or painstakingly accurate historiography, because such poetic invention does not limit itself to rigid precepts or to historical facts and is thus free to figure forth with words human nature in action, rather than use words to represent only human thoughts or past human behavior. For the rhetorical purposes of “readily direct[ing] a prince” and of representing “a virtuous man in all fortunes,” for instance, Sidney recommends “the feigned Cyrus in Xenophon” and “the feigned Aeneas in Virgil” in contrast with “the true Cyrus in Justin” and “the right Aeneas in Dares Phrygius” (*DP*, 86, 88).

When Sidney mentions “*Amadis de Gaule*,” its juxtaposition with Virgil’s *Aeneid* conveys the esteem in which Sidney holds that Spanish genre as a sixteenth-century model for narrative fiction. The allusion tacitly suggests that he would define that form of prose narrative, like Heliodorus’s *Aethiopica* and Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia*, as

“Ciceronianism” at Oxford University (pp. 54-55); also B. Weinberg 1942 and K. L. Haugen 2007 on Scaligero and Aristotle.

¹⁰⁷ On philosophical foundations for this perspective in Sidney’s *DP*, see F. G. Robinson 1972, pp. 1-136; K. Eden 1986, pp. 62-175; S. K. Heninger 1989, pp. 223-306; and W. Trimpi 1999. R. E. Stillman 2008 argues further that “the *notitiae* of Melanchthon’s philosophical works find their reflection in the *notable* images of virtue and vice of Sidneian poetics—as an explanation for the origin and inherent power of poetic images” (p. ix; cf. *idem*. 2002a; W. Olmsted 2008, pp. 54-75). J. A. Devereux 1982 emphasizes that the delightful effect of such poetics relies on narrative “action” rather than “static” mental images or verbal ornamentation (p. 92). Cf. J. Richards 1995, p. 11.

constituting “an absolute heroical poem...in prose” (*DP*, 81). Sidney has witnessed among contemporaries that reading feigned histories which chronicle exploits in love and in war by Amadís and his descendants can inspire “the exercise of courtesy, liberality, and especially courage” (*DP*, 92). These references convey that Sidney defines genre loosely, based on exemplary poetics rather than on technical form.

In penning this allusion in the *Defence of Poesie*, Sidney might have born in mind Feliciano de Silva’s work from the *Amadís* cycle (in French translation), or perhaps Montalvo’s *Amadís de Gaula* in Herberay’s translation. Either way, with the parenthetical aside that such fiction “wanteth much of a perfect poesy,” Sidney probably conveys an opinion that magical and fantastical elements in that chivalric-romance tradition detract from its rhetorical effect upon readers. Despite that bit of critique, though, such works from the *Amadís* cycle clearly fit his main criterion for good “poesy.” Sidney’s main purpose for including this allusion is to emphasize that such exemplary fiction does inspire virtuous action, despite what he deems poetic flaws in its mode of rhetorical mimesis. Montalvo’s and Silva’s works in the *Amadís* cycle figure forth poetic impressions of contemporary reality with far more emphasis on enchantments and magical creatures than does Virgil’s *Aeneid*. The *Aeneid* allusion provided in tandem with this “*Amadis*” reference—“Who readeth Aeneas carrying old Anchises on his back, that wisheth not it were his fortune to perform so excellent an act?” (*DP*, 92)—emphasizes the affective power of *admiratio* achieved in Virgil’s epic narrative.

Using this terminology in making this observation about Sidney’s poetic theory proves useful for analyzing Sidney’s invention of *Old Arcadia* in subsequent chapters. What Sidney draws from his primary creative paradigm—Silva’s *Chronicle of Florisel de*

Niquea, Part Three, in Gohory's French translation—replicates that source narrative's effects of *admiratio*, exemplary character contrast, and thematic focus on dynastic union through clandestine marriage, while revising perhaps the most conspicuous aspect of that genre's distinct style of rhetorical mimesis: magical and fantastical poetic imagery.

Comparing Montalvo's and Silva's chivalric romances with Virgil's *Aeneid* helps elucidate the narrative poetics of clandestine marriage characteristic of this Spanish genre. In Montalvo's *Amadís de Gaula* and *Sergas de Esplandián*, which together became the genre's foundational paradigm for imitation and variation, as well as in sequels by Feliciano de Silva, especially the feigned *Chronicle of Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, which Sidney's *Arcadia* imitates most closely via French translation—as in Virgil's epic narrative, protagonist warrior heroes build European empire through dynastic union with princesses for whose hand they must contend with opposing suitors and various other adversities. In contrast with Virgil's Aeneas, though, these protagonist knights establish imperial dynasty through clandestine marriage to princesses whom they have wedded in secret amidst political obstacles for the sake of true love. Political conflict and happy resolution within these narratives both arise from that love story, to which the reader remains privy in a manner that tacitly validates the union as natural and morally legitimate, thus fostering affective complicity with the protagonist lovers amidst their struggles. In that regard, this Spanish tradition effectively conflates the role of Dido with that of Lavinia in Virgil's *Aeneid*, while adhering to medieval codes of honor and courtly love. *Eros* inspires honorable conduct and facilitates glorious empire rather than hinder those ideals, as it does in Virgil's narrative paradigm. The genuine love interest becomes the publicly validated bride and queen in the end, and sexual union in secret

prior to that political achievement of dynastic union constitutes valid consummation of clandestine marriage, rather than a secret affair defined by one lover as “marriage” but not recognized as such by the other lover or by the reader, as in the case of Dido and Aeneas. Sidney’s *Arcadia* resembles its chivalric source material in this regard.

This distinction regarding the poetics of clandestine marriage in chivalric fiction by Montalvo and Silva also marks an important difference between that Spanish genre and Anglo-French Arthurian tradition. Arthurian fiction by Chrétien de Troyes highlights romantic love and marriage, emphasizing adultery, though not in a flattering manner, and also reflecting various perspectives on kinship and marriage in the late twelfth century, a context of political and ecclesiastical negotiation regarding religious rites of marriage and aristocratic rights of dynastic succession in the Angevin empire.¹⁰⁸ Those stories produced by Chrétien, along with distinct stories about Tristan and Isolde, gradually were revised and moralized and arranged into narrative cycles, through distinct phases of production known as the Boronian, the Vulgate, and the Post-Vulgate (or Pseudo-Boronian) phases. The latter phase provides interlaced prose narratives less moralistic than the Boronian version of the stories and more focused on characters as *exemplares* for certain virtues; and it was this Post-Vulgate version of Arthurian tradition which was translated in the Iberian peninsula around the turn of the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁹ All textual states of that Anglo-French literary tradition, to varying degrees, retain ideological tension within the stories between ideal romantic love and marriage.

¹⁰⁸ See P. S. Noble 1982 and J. J. Duggan 2001 (pp. 47-92). Cf. G. Duby 1983 on that historical context (also Chapter One above, note 20); D. Kelly 1985 on the interplay of text and mixed audience in that context; and *idem.* 2005 on narrative poetics of reader engagement in Chrétien’s work.

¹⁰⁹ P. Gracia 1996 provides a concise and useful account of these phases in Arthurian literary tradition, with balanced attention to distinct critical interpretations. Also, on the creative process of *translatio studii* at work in French permutations of Arthurian legend, see D. Kelly 1978 (esp. pp. 293-306). Cf. E. Vinaver 1971 (pp. 68-98) and R. Copeland 1991.

Admirable courtly love tends to gravitate away from consummation in marriage, although Castilian versions of the material diminish that tendency. *Amadís de Gaula*, on the other hand, first produced in the early fourteenth century as one of the earliest native Castilian chivalric romances, channels courtly love toward consummation in secret marriage. In that distinctly Spanish paradigm, the chivalric ideals of honor gained through martial *virtus* and perfect devotion in romantic love need not be at odds with each other, nor with perfect fealty to political oaths of vassalage; and, in Montalvo's redaction and continuation of that story in the late fifteenth century, clandestine marriage leads to dynastic union and political unification of a fictional pre-Arthurian Europe.

Recent scholarship has confirmed the essential role that Spanish translation and adaptation of Post-Vulgate Arthurian material played for the invention and revision of *Amadís de Gaula* within a fluid manuscript tradition, as well as for Montalvo's expansion of that work into what became the foundational paradigm upon which Silva's later installments of the *Amadís* cycle, like most of Spain's sixteenth-century chivalric-romance genre, were built.¹¹⁰ *Amadís de Gaula*'s secret-marriage theme distinguishes it from even that late phase of Arthurian literature in Spanish translation. Many imitations of Montalvo's version of the *Amadís* story preserve that characteristic focus: often as an organizing theme for the work as a whole, as in Silva's feigned *Chronicle of Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*. This distinct aspect of Spanish chivalric romance has been delineated in a pioneering study from the mid-twentieth century, and subsequent studies

¹¹⁰ See especially M. L. Cuesta Torre 1997 and F. Gómez Redondo 1999, pp. 1540-1576 (cf. *idem*. 1994, pp. 189-218). Cf. M. R. Lida de Malkiel 1959 (esp. pp. 414-415); J. M. Cacho Blecua, ed. G. R. Montalvo, *Amadís de Gaula*, vol. 1, pp. 19-81; and J. Rodríguez Velasco 1991. On Castilian translations of the Arthurian material specifically, see F. Gómez Redondo 1999, pp. 1459-1540.

have supplemented its critical emphasis.¹¹¹ The matter should be highlighted even more conspicuously than it has been in tandem with Fernando Gómez Redondo's recent emphasis on dynastic politics as a crucial impetus for Castilian literary production throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹¹²

Gómez Redondo's work provides the most thorough and convincing philological argument regarding the original *Amadís* story's development, given the limited evidence which has survived in the form of extant allusions from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and a badly damaged fifteenth-century manuscript fragment. He associates phases of the work's production and revision in Castile's manuscript tradition with motives for revision tied to dynastic politics in the early fourteenth century under María de Molina, in the fifteenth century under Castile's Trastámara dynasty, and then in the late fifteenth century with Montalvo in the recently unified Spain under Fernando II of Aragon and Isabel of Castile.¹¹³ That critical approach lends further credence to the

¹¹¹ J. Ruiz de Conde 1948 remains the foundational study for approaching this issue (see pp. 173-227 on *AG*). Also see P. Le Gentil 1966; S. Roubaud 1985; M. Rothstein 1994 (cf. *idem.* 1999, pp. 125-138); M. P. Harney 2001, pp. 105-227; and J. Martín Lalandá, ed. F. Silva, *FN3*, pp. xxxi-xxxii. E. J. Sales Dasí 2004 notes the matter briefly and emphasizes that the secret-marriage motif lends itself to a wide array of plot complications in Spanish chivalric-romance narratives (pp. 52-54). Cf. M. Patchell 1947: "the courtesy inherent in an aristocratic society survives in the Spanish romances. In them adultery is not glorified; it is deprecated. Marriage is consistently conceived as a romantic ideal, and the compatibility between love and marriage is insisted upon" (p. 70).

¹¹² See his four monumental and magisterial volumes on medieval Castilian prose (1998, 1999, 2002, and 2007).

¹¹³ Cf. citation of Gómez Redondo's work in notes 72, 99, 103, 110. Montalvo's opening prologue for *AG* notes his own labor in "correcting these three Books of *Amadís*, which through the fault of poor scribes or compilers were read in corrupt and defective versions" ("*corregiendo estos tres libros de Amadís: que por falta de los malos escritores: o componedores: muy corruptos y viciosos se leyán*"). G. R. Montalvo 1508, fol. II.r (sig. a.ii.r). A. Rodríguez Moñino 1956 provides a full transcription of the only surviving manuscript fragment, with critical commentary, printed in tandem with complementary paleographical and linguistic studies (A. Millares Carlo 1956 and R. Lapesa 1956). J. M. Lucía Megías includes the fragmentary text in his *Antología* (2001), pp. 487-496. The artifact is currently held at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. For a critical survey of early *Amadís* allusions, see M. Riquer 1987, pp. 8-35 (cf. J. M. Cacho Bleuca 2002, pp. 192-193). Also see C. Guardiola 1988 (esp. p. 343; cf. B. Palacios Martín 1995 and F. Gómez Redondo 1999, pp. 1696-1725) and V. Beltrán 1992 (esp. p. 124). Cf. E. B. Place 1956, pp. 522-524; *idem.*, ed. *AG*, vol. 3, pp. 921-937; also M. R. Lida de Malkiel 1953 (cf. F. Gómez Redondo 1999, pp. 1632-1649); J. M. Cacho Bleuca, ed. *AG*, vol. 1, pp. 68-72 (cf. P. Gracia 1999);

premise that Books One and Two of Montalvo's *Amadís de Gaula* largely preserve the original version of that story from the early fourteenth century.

This premise proves crucial for recognizing thematic continuity between the *Amadís* story's original production and its expansion by Montalvo—and hence continuity with Silva's and Sidney's work in that regard. Those opening Books of the story establish the foundations for dynastic union through secret marriage which Montalvo's version develops for more epic ends: that is, the hero Amadís of Gaul's birth as a result of his parents consummating legitimate clandestine marriage (Bk. I, Ch. 1), his love affair with Oriana, which they consummate physically in the form of clandestine marriage (Bk. I, Ch. 4, Ch. 35), and the birth of Esplandián as a result of that consummation (Bk. II, Ch. 64). As emphasized above, the early-fourteenth-century *Amadís*, like the Castilian translations of Post-Vulgate Arthurian legends, almost certainly was composed by Castilian clerics at Toledo who wrote *The Book of the Knight Zifar, or the Knight of God*, while working under the patronage of Castilian queen-regent María de Molina, who aimed to secure dynastic succession for her son and grandson during their minority as kings, through papal validation of her marriage to the late King Sancho IV. That marriage was disputed based on the issue of aristocratic blood law and allowable degrees of kinship relation between spouses. Clerics at Toledo working under her patronage were keenly aware of Roman canon law on the formation of valid Christian marriage. Clandestine marriage was theologically valid at that point and could be defined with precision according to canon law, but it remained a serious issue of social controversy and was discouraged by the Church in most areas of Europe between the thirteenth and

and E. J. Sales Dasí 1993. For distinct approaches to the *Amadís* question emphasizing general schemes in European folklore, see J. B. Avallé-Arce 1990 (pp. 101-132; cf. pp. 64-100) and P. Gracia 1991.

fifteenth centuries.¹¹⁴ It makes sense that clerics at Toledo working under the patronage of María de Molina would channel the exemplary poetics of their own *Zifar* and of Castilianized Post-Vulgate Arthurian legend toward fictional emphasis on the potential virtue of clandestine marriage, inventing a narrative which figures forth a grand scenario of virtuous lovers who unite in such a manner due to political circumstances. It also makes sense that such a story caught Montalvo's attention in the late fifteenth century, because he was a staunch supporter of the Catholic Monarchs Fernando and Isabel and, to some degree, played a partisan role in their successful campaign to unite Castile and Aragon through their secret marriage in October 1469.¹¹⁵

Such emphasis on dynastic politics pertains more directly to Montalvo's work than to Silva's, in terms of defining the fiction as rhetorical mimesis. Amidst critical attention to Montalvo's praise for the Catholic Monarchs' personal virtues and for the virtue of Fernando's crusade campaigns, it is surprising that no study has analyzed the secret-marriage theme of his *Amadís* as a matter of rhetorical mimesis pertinent to the momentous union of those monarchs. Numerous studies have emphasized that Montalvo—through definition of his own “feigned history” in prologues for his version of *Amadís de Gaula* and for his own sequel *Sergas de Esplandián*, as well as through metanarrative commentary in Chapter 99 of the latter work—self-consciously promotes the crusading spirit of his own epic historical moment. Indeed, his exemplary fiction in these first five Books of the *Amadís* cycle pushes mimesis to the point of political

¹¹⁴ On this issue, see G. H. Joyce 1933, pp. 107-115; J. A. Brundage 1987, pp. 361-364; and P. L. Reynolds 2007, pp. 10-15. Cf. T. O. Pierre 2001 and Chapter One above (note 20).

¹¹⁵ On that marriage as the foundation for “imperial Spain,” see J. H. Elliott 1963, pp. 15-44. A. Blanco Sánchez 1998 identifies Montalvo as a scribe in the service of Queen Isabel—personally appointed as such by Gutierre de Cárdenas, who helped broker her marriage to Fernando of Aragon—before Montalvo attained his position as alderman (*regidor*) in Medina del Campo, which he held from at least 1476 onward; and that study also situates Montalvo and his brother Diego at her court in Ocaña until April 1469 (pp. 79-92; cf. pp. 15-29).

propaganda, overtly endorsing in no uncertain moral terms his king Fernando of Aragon's effort in the 1490s to channel their nation's bellicose energy from recent conquest in the Iberian peninsula toward a campaign for military conquest in northern Africa.¹¹⁶ Early works in this Spanish genre imitating Montalvo's literary model also engage its emphases on crusade and conversion of virtuous "infidels" to Christianity.¹¹⁷ Silva's experimentation with the motifs which Sidney imitates, on the other hand, constitutes a distinct artistry within the *Amadís* cycle that begins to depart from (or at least dilute) the earnestly rhetorical and mimetic brand of chivalric romance with which Montalvo begins that cycle. Silva's primary innovations within the genre, although presumably less rhetorically driven in terms of contemporary politics, emerge within the *Amadís* cycle's characteristic focus on clandestine marriage.

The secret-marriage theme thus comes into focus as a definitive characteristic of the Spanish *Amadís* cycle, a matter of continuity from the earliest version of *Amadís de Gaula* (no longer extant) through Montalvo's version of that story and onward into Feliciano de Silva's works. Analyzing more precisely how Silva invents and develops the logical interlacement of sequestered-princess, love-by-image, and Amazonian-disguise motifs reveals significant ingenuity in narrative perspective and philosophical

¹¹⁶ See E. R. González & J. T. Roberts 1978; J. D. Fogelquist 1982, pp. 171-187; E. J. Sales Dasí 1992 and 1995; F. Gómez Redondo 1999, pp. 1570-1577; and C. Sainz de la Maza, ed. G. R. Montalvo, *Sergas de Esplandián*, pp. 7-26, 61-67. For detailed attention to the context of King Fernando's crusade campaign regarding Chapter 99 of *SE*, see R. Ramos 1994 and E. J. Sales Dasí 1999a. S. Giráldez 2003 characterizes *SE* as propaganda for the Spanish Catholic Monarchs' cause, but this monograph is a doctoral thesis from 1992 that does not update its sources. On unified narrative structure within and between Montalvo's *AG* and *SE*, see J. M. Cacho Blecua 1986 and E. J. Sales Dasí 1998a. On these matters, also see E. R. González Argüelles 2001.

¹¹⁷ See J. A. Whitenack 1988 and A. Taufer 1991 (cf. I. A. Corfis 2007); M. C. Marín Pina 1995 and 1996; A. C. García Rojas 2001 (cf. J. Perdomo García 1942; S. C. Lastra Paz 1994); A. Río Noguerras 2000 (cf. C. Sainz de la Maza 1991-1992, pp. 290-291); and M. L. Cuesta Torre 1996 and 2002a (cf. *idem.* 2001 and 2002b; G. Eisele 1980).

potential for his invention. Those aspects of Silva's narrative innovations motivated Gohory and Sidney to join the *Amadís* legacy through translation and imitation.

* * *

Among Silva's works, the feigned *Chronicle of Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, which Sidney imitates most closely for his *Arcadia* via French translation, adopts the theme of dynastic union through clandestine marriage most conspicuously as a conceit for thematic and structural unity. This eleventh "Book" of the Spanish *Amadís* cycle, first printed in 1535, establishes its structural and thematic focus quickly and efficiently for the reader, through its own unique combination of three motifs interlaced together as logically interdependent: a sequestered princess, a knight falling in love with her by means of an artistic image, and that knight undertaking Amazonian disguise as a necessary means to woo and marry that princess in secret. It is this manner of interlacing those motifs—as a foundational structure for the work's thematic focus on ironic interplay between reason and passion which results in felicitous dynastic union through clandestine marriage—that Sidney imitates closely in Books One through Three of his *Arcadia*.

That application of those three motifs' logical trajectory emerges from patterns of imitation and variation within the *Amadís* cycle, and its significance for Sidney's imitation comes into focus through analyzing *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* in tandem with how Feliciano de Silva first invents this trio of interlaced plot motifs in the second half of his *Amadís de Grecia*. This new combination of motifs in Book Two of *Amadís de Grecia* marks a bridge between Silva's early work and his later works: between Silva's imitation of Montalvo's model for the Spanish chivalric-romance genre (prevalent

in *Lisuarte de Grecia* and in Book One of *Amadís de Grecia*) and Silva's subsequent imitation and variation of his own invention (in the feigned *Chronicles of Florisel de Niquea*). Recognizing this transition in Silva's own imitative patterns proves significant for analyzing Sidney's imitation of those motifs as a creative foundation for the original *Arcadia*. Both Silva's innovation in composing *Amadís de Grecia* and his re-invention of that innovation in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* employ magical elements built into the interlaced motifs as a means to achieve the poetic effects of character development, philosophical implication, and reader complicity. These are precisely the effects which Sidney's imitation of Silva's motifs (via Gohory's translation) retains, while eliminating the magical components Silva had used to achieve them.

In Book Two of *Amadís de Grecia*, the motif of a hero falling in love with a secluded princess by means of an image serves to complicate the hero's love interest as established in Book One, which up to this point generally has followed along the lines of Montalvo's paradigm for Amadís of Gaul and his beloved Oriana. This current hero's background, too, resembles that of his great-grandfather and namesake. Of royal birth by secret marriage and thus entrusted as an infant to the care of a maidservant, Amadís of Greece was raised in a foreign court, showing great promise from a young age and, until his born identity is revealed later, bearing a nickname based on his unique birthmark of a flaming sword on his chest (*Am.Gr.*, Ch. 1-4; cf. *Fr. Am.* VII, Ch. 1-3). In the first Book of *Amadís de Grecia*, a love story has developed between the young protagonist and Luscela, Princess of Sicily. It arises amidst the vicissitudes of political conflict between the usurping French monarch and Italian territories allied to the British-Greek empire led by Amadís of Gaul, King of Britain, and his son Esplandián, emperor of Constantinople.

The young lovers meet when he rescues her and her mother Miraminia (heiress to the French throne) from the Cyclops Fradalón; they became enamored with each other at first sight, and shortly afterward they are able to share a kiss (*Am.Gr.*, Bk. I, Ch. 24-26). This first love interest remains an issue for Amadís of Greece. He finds ample opportunity to impress Luscela with further feats of arms; she spends much time at court in London and Constantinople with important members of the Amadís-Oriana dynasty; and he aids her family in slaying the usurping claimant to the French throne. Indeed, he never forgets Luscela throughout the entire *Florisel de Niquea* cycle written by Silva after *Amadís de Grecia*. Yet, from the moment this Amadís character first hears Niquea's beauty and virtue described by her servant dwarf Busendo in *Amadís de Grecia*, Book Two, Chapter 24, his affection for Luscela becomes conflicted, and ultimately he subordinates it to his feelings for Niquea, whom he later pursues and marries. Although he had exchanged vows of love with Luscela, his union with Niquea trumps that with fully consummated clandestine marriage (*Am.Gr.*, Bk. II, Ch. 95-96; *Fr. Am.* VIII, Ch. 72). Silva employs the motif of love by means of an image to establish and justify this internal character conflict, which he maintains throughout his subsequent works with many female characters accosting Amadís of Greece for his beauty, with him sleeping with other women while enchanted against his will, and with impressions of this hero's guilty conscience even after marriage.¹¹⁸ This trajectory engages the reader affectively with the hero's internal struggle.

¹¹⁸ M. C. Daniels 1992: "The comic effect of these episodes does not adequately explain their relative frequency and length within the cycle. As a consequence of these amorous struggles, Amadís de Grecia emerges as the most fully developed character in all of Silva's romances. Unlike the other knights of the Amadís clan, he is neither a perfect lover nor a libertine. Instead, Amadís is a man torn by his divided loyalty, endeavoring to do right but fated to err against both his loves. He suffers the indignity of unsolicited declarations of love from eager *donzellas* both as a punishment for his disloyalty to Lucela and

Silva's interlacement of the love-by-image motif with the sequestered-princess motif in Book Two of *Amadís de Grecia* invents new enchantments within the story to create a unique synthesis of love-by-sight and love-by-fame with subtly neo-Platonic implication. The narrator tells readers that the sultan of Niquea has quarantined his twelve-year-old daughter named Niquea after receiving a prophetic letter from his sister the enchantress Zirfea, Queen of Árgenes, who advises him to keep Niquea secluded until she is married, "because her beauty would be such that she [Zirfea] thought that no man could view it without dying or going insane," and Zirfea believes that none but Jupiter himself descended from heaven could deserve her (*Am.Gr.*, Bk. II, Ch. 23 [trans. p. 295a]; cf. Fr. *Am.* VIII, Ch. 18).¹¹⁹ Yet, Zirfea's magic "arts" ("artes"), combined with Busendo's loyal devotion to Niquea, serve as the means by which Niquea in her seclusion learns about Amadís of Greece and sends him a letter about herself, then later an image of herself, both of which serve as catalysts for him to fall in love with her and eventually disguise himself as an Amazonian woman to be near her. The letter tells of her seclusion from male society and emphasizes to Amadís that "the fame of your great beauty, prowess, and high deeds has so conquered my heart that I would grant you my own prohibited love, by the charge of matrimony allowed honest maidens" (*Am.Gr.*, Bk. II, Ch. 22 [trans. p. 294a-b]; cf. Fr. *Am.* VIII, Ch. 18). It follows this confession with recognition of Amadís's love for Luscela, emphasis that Luscela is unworthy of his love and that Niquea's own prohibited beauty will serve well only for him, and petition that Amadís come see Niquea to judge for himself. Silva's reader, not yet informed of the

as a confirmation of his fundamental virtue" (pp. 173-174; see pp. 152-153, 164-174). Cf. E. J. Sales Dasí 2004-2005 (pp. 281-282) and *idem.* 2007 (pp. 407-410).

¹¹⁹ Parenthetical page citation for *Am.Gr.* refers to F. Silva, *Amadís de Grecia* [1530], ed. A. C. Bueno Serrano & C. Laspuertas Sarvisé. Cf. E. J. Sales Dasí 2003 on this passage (pp. 86-87).

story behind this letter, experiences a degree of wonder akin to that of Amadís, who feels “marveled” (“*maravillado*”), not knowing what to say or do (*Am.Gr.*, Bk. II, Ch. 22 [p. 294b]). The narrator then explains for the reader Niquea’s story in Chapter 23, interlacing it with the love story of Amadís and Luscela in Book One. Just after Amadís and Luscela fell in love, on their way to France with her parents they were diverted by a storm to the island of Árgenes, where Amadís of Greece confronted the Castle of the Seven Towers, each tower guarded by a knight appointed for the position by Niquea’s aunt Zirfea, who held three prominent monarchs there under her enchantments¹²⁰ (*Am.Gr.*, Bk. I, Ch. 25-30; cf. Fr. *Am.* VII, Ch. 20-25). After Amadís defeated those guards in combat (establishing thereafter a friendship with the sixth one, named Gradamarte) and freed the enchanted kings, Zirfea created a magical parchment to capture the events vividly and showed it to her brother the sultan of Niquea. When he as doting father showed it to his daughter Niquea, who already had caught word of this young Amadís’s handsomeness and famed exploits, she fell in love with Amadís, blushing and unable to shake his image from her memory, struck jealous by the image of Luscela with Amadís on the parchment (*Am.Gr.*, Bk. II, Ch. 23 [pp. 296b-297b]; cf. Fr. *Am.* VIII, Ch. 18). Upon asking her companion princesses to compare her with Luscela, Niquea regained confidence in her own superior beauty, and, keenly concerned with her own honor (“*honra*”) in loving Amadís, she gave Busendo the mission of delivering her letter. Niquea’s reaction to Zirfea’s image of Amadís was facilitated by prior rumor of his fame, and the narrative’s emphasis on her own honesty qualifies her jealousy. The magic parchment allows her to witness other characters’ deeds and beauty, as if firsthand.

¹²⁰ I.e., the Emperor of Trapisonda, young Amadís’s father Lisuarte of Greece, and his great-great-grandfather Perión of Gaul (these family ties still unbeknownst to the characters).

Silva's narrative thus qualifies personal emotion with a quasi-objective comparison of personal qualities, an assessment of truth in terms of degrees of removal from an ideal of perfect beauty. This aspect of the narrative provokes an educated sixteenth-century reader to think in terms of Truth and Ideals, thus subtly granting the love story neo-Platonic undertones.

Such philosophical implication built into these interlaced motifs supplements their purpose of reader engagement through character development and ironic logic in the story's plot. The synthesis of love-by-fame and love-by-sight which occurs with Niquea complements that same effect in Amadís's ensuing affection for Niquea, also tied to Zirfea's magical artistic imagery. When Busendo, who loves Niquea, passionately vouches for her beauty, her virtue, and her love for Amadís, the narrator emphasizes that the young protagonist "did not lack a feeling of anguish in his heart; [...] his heart was altered" ("*no dexó de sentir congoxa en su corazón; [...] su corazón estava alterado*") (*Am.Gr.*, Bk. II, Ch. 24 [p. 300b]; cf. *Fr. Am.* VIII, Ch. 19). Amadís allows Busendo to remain with him while he deliberates the matter further, and that night he experiences the first of multiple dream visions that convey to the reader his internal love conflict. Niquea and Luscela both appear to him and speak to him: Luscela emphasizes her "service" ("*servicio*") to him in love and asks what could cause him to throw aside his "faith" ("*fe*") in her; Niquea emphasizes the "advantage of [her] beauty over that of this maiden [Luscela]," a superior beauty which will win him over eventually, so he might as well come willingly. Upon waking, Amadís expresses via dramatic monologue how he feels torn, unable to shake the memory of those dream images and the distinct impression that Niquea's beauty excels that of Luscela, yet longing for a "rule" or "law" ("*ley*") by which

he may serve both women without offense and wondering how he may judge the veracity of Niquea's claims (*Am.Gr.*, Bk. II, Ch. 24 [pp. 300b-301b]). Amadís calls for Busendo, who reminds him of Niquea's strict seclusion from male company, and sends a letter with the dwarf back to Niquea, in which he laments the damage her sequestered beauty has wrought upon his heart, and he asks how he would believe her claims, "since I have seen Luscela, and until I may see Niquea, it would be impossible for me to hold another as more beautiful" ("*porque yo he visto a Luscela y hasta que viesse a Niquea imposible me sería aver otra más hermosa*") (*Am.Gr.*, p. 301b). Niquea, upon receiving Amadís's letter (at which point we read its text), hears Busendo vouch for Amadís's handsomeness and noble character, and, following the dwarf's advice, she sends him to her aunt Zirfea to commission a new magic parchment (the Parchment of the Images) which vividly depicts Niquea's beauty alongside that of Luscela, Onoria (princess of Apolonia), and Axiana (princess of Árgenes) (*Am.Gr.*, Bk. II, Ch. 28; cf. Fr. *Am.* VIII, Ch. 22). This Parchment of the Images eventually confirms for the hero the objective superiority of Niquea's beauty; but before that happens, it is stolen from Busendo as he aims to deliver it to Amadís of Greece (*Am.Gr.*, Bk. II, Ch. 37; cf. Fr. *Am.* VIII, Ch. 29), and Niquea is enchanted to remain spellbound in front of a mirror in which she sees young Amadís's image (this enchantment known as the Glory of Niquea) (*Am.Gr.*, Bk. II, Ch. 28-30; cf. Fr. *Am.* VIII, Ch. 22-24)—both incidents providing narrative dilation of the matter during which Amadís returns his affection to Luscela. But the protagonist does not forget about Niquea entirely. Incidents such as hearing her name mentioned by an Alexandrian queen who wants to marry him (while our hero bears the pseudonym "*Caballero Sin Descanso*," "The Restless Knight") (*Am.Gr.*, Bk. II, Ch. 40; cf. Fr. *Am.* VIII, Ch. 31) and catching a

chance glimpse at the Parchment of the Images (*Am.Gr.*, Bk. II, Ch. 46; cf. *Fr. Am.* VIII, Ch. 37) keep his feelings for her alive. For Amadís, as for Niquea, love arises and resides in living memory, through a combination of seeing the beloved's beauty and hearing of his/her worldly renown for beauty and virtue.¹²¹ As the love stories unfold in a suspenseful manner, the reader alone witnesses how Zirfea's magical "arts" ironically provide both the impetus for Niquea's confinement and the means by which the sequestered princess and the protagonist knight fall in love and desire marriage.

Feliciano de Silva re-invents such ironic logical interrelation between a sequestered-princess motif and a love-by-image motif as the foundational premise for his *Chronicle of Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, upon which Sidney draws more heavily for these particular matters via French translation. Whereas Silva does not introduce these motifs in *Amadís de Grecia* until the twenty-second chapter of its second half, ninety-four chapters into the work as a whole—in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, the narrative addresses the princess Diana's birth and seclusion (a variation of that paradigm with Niquea) in Chapter Two, immediately after an opening chapter on the hero Agesilao's birth and early upbringing. Chapter Three addresses the birth and condition of a parallel protagonist, Rogel of Greece, a noble warrior prince whose character in this work serves as a direct foil for that of Agesilao in terms of love. The first two chapters provide prophecies pertaining to Agesilao and Diana respectively. These prophetic texts address Diana and the Amadís-Oriana dynasty ("*la casa de Grecia*" or "house of Greece") to which both she and Agesilao pertain (*FN3*, pp. 9a, 10b-11a): she as granddaughter to Amadís of Greece and Niquea by means of their son Florisel's union with Queen Sidonia

¹²¹ E. J. Sales Dasí 2003 also briefly notes Silva's "invention" of this "curious and fantastic synthesis of love *de visu* and love *de lonh*" here in *Am.Gr.*, Bk. II ([trans.] pp. 91-92).

of Guindaya, and he as both maternal grandson and paternal great-grandson to Amadís of Greece, by means of that hero's union with the Amazonian queen Zahara (while they both were enchanted in the Valley of Love), which produced Agesilao's mother Alastraxerea, and by means of Florisel's affair with Arlanda of Tracia, which produced Agesilao's father Falanges.¹²² These prophecies, as with the Delphic oracle in Sidney's *Old Arcadia*, serve as cues for the reader to bear in mind throughout the story, anticipating some unexpected fulfillment at the end. Readers are given no prophecy pertaining to Rogel of Greece, Diana's cousin also descended from Amadís of Greece and Niquea. The love story of prince Agesilao and the sequestered princess Diana, with whom he falls in love by means of a portrait, frames the entire work.¹²³ Sidney's *Old Arcadia* imitates that basic structural focus for *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* and, like both *Amadís de Grecia* and *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, employs the combination of sequestered-princess and love-by-image motifs as a logical premise for its metamorphosis-by-disguise motif and its secret-marriage theme.

The interlaced narrative structure of Feliciano de Silva's oeuvre—both within specific works and between his different “Books” of the *Amadís* cycle—produces varied motivations and effects for repeated motifs. In *Amadís de Grecia*, Niquea's extreme beauty motivates the enchantress Zirfea's recommendation that she be removed from

¹²² Parenthetical page citation for *FN3* refers to F. Silva, *Florisel de Niquea (Tercera Parte)*, ed. J. Martín Lalanda. These pages provide the prophetic texts. For the genealogy of Agesilao and Diana with regard to Amadís of Greece, see the chart in J. J. O'Connor 1970, p. 232 (cf. P. Gayangos, ed. *Libros de Caballerías*, p. xxxviii). The incident with Amadís of Greece and Zahara occurs in *Am.Gr.*, Bk. II, Ch. 116 (cf. *Fr. Am.* VIII, Ch. 85) (see E. J. Sales Dasí 2007, pp. 409-410). Arlanda tricks Florisel into his liaison with her (*FN1*, Ch. 13; cf. *Fr. Am.* IX, Ch. 16), disguised as the pastoral princess Silvia, whom Florisel loves and desires before learning that she is his long-lost aunt.

¹²³ Thus, the alternate title for *FN3*, “*Rogel de Grecia, Part One*”—used by Don Quixote and his companions, for instance—proves misleading. It seems to have arisen due to the facts that Rogel becomes the protagonist of *FN4* and that *FN3* and *FN4* were marketed as “Parts” One and Two of the eleventh “Book” in the Spanish *Amadís* cycle.

society; her seclusion is at home, maintained by human vigilance without any enchantments. In *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, Diana is likewise sequestered due to her beauty, but Silva invents magical enchantments to amplify the means of her seclusion, while attributing its motivation entirely to human emotion emanating from events in *Florisel de Niquea, Parts One and Two*. In that immediate precursor, Silva had employed the sequestered-princess motif for Helena, who becomes the primary love interest for Florisel of Niquea, and their elopement serves as a catalyst for warfare as per Helena's classical precursor. The act of her seclusion, as with Niquea in *Amadís de Grecia*, is motivated by a prophecy: one which, like those of classical tradition and Sidney's *Arcadia*, is fulfilled in spite of and largely because of efforts to avoid it.¹²⁴ By the time Silva composed *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* (1535)—first published only three years after *Parts One and Two* (1532) and only five years after *Amadís de Grecia* (1530)—his faithful readers were familiar with his motifs of female seclusion and disguise, anticipating effects ranging from the internal conflict felt by Amadís of Greece as lover, to the external conflict of warfare incited by Florisel's elopement with Helena, to the vengeance against Florisel persistently sought by Diana's mother Queen Sidonia, whom he has impregnated then abandoned.¹²⁵ The immediate political ramifications of

¹²⁴ In *FNI*, Ch. 27, the narrator informs readers that Helena is raised in a convent because “*al rey aguelo de la linda Helena dixerón grandes sabios al tiempo de su nacimiento que por esta infanta se derramaría más sangre que se derramó por aquella de que Troya perdió, y pensando el rey que esto ha de ser por su hermosura, la tiene apartada de la corte, porque de menos vista sea, y está con ella la otra infanta Timbria, porque se aman mucho ambas*” (“great sages at the time of her birth told the king, grandfather of the lovely Helena, that because of this princess more blood would be spilled than was spilled over that Helen for whom Troy was lost; and the king, thinking that this [prognostication] must pertain to her beauty, has taken her away from court, so that she will be seldom seen, and with her [he took] the other princess Timbria, because these two loved each other very much”) (F. Silva 1532, fol. XLV.r). Cf. J. Martín Lalandá 2002 (esp. pp. 154, 158); E. J. Sales Dasí 2004-2005, pp. 279-280, 282, 285-286; and M. C. Daniels 1992, p. 153.

¹²⁵ Florisel's union with Sidonia, which produces Diana, proves a matter of expediency rather than love. In *FN2*, Ch. 38-43, he and Falanges of Astra (Florisel's lost son by Arlanda of Tracia, who later becomes Falanges of Colchos and Agesilao's father) venture forth to find Amadís of Greece, who has been

Florisel's elopement with Helena are resolved in *Parts One and Two*, when Helena's vengeful former-fiancée Lucidor (brother to Amadís of Greece's former love Luscela) marries a member of the Amadís-Oriana dynasty. The matter of Sidonia's vengeful grudge, however, is left hanging for Silva to develop as an overarching premise for external and internal character conflict in *Part Three*. Both Queen Sidonia's mixed feelings about her own lost love and a perceived danger in her daughter's unsurpassed beauty (likened to that of the goddess Diana, from whom the child's name derives) motivate her decision to sequester Diana (FN3, Ch. 2 [p. 9a-b], Ch. 13 [p. 38b]). The prophecy about Diana occurs later in Chapter Two, as a result of the parent's decision to sequester a daughter rather than vice-versa.

In presenting this new motivation for the sequestered-princess motif in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, Silva establishes a distinct thematic focus and conceptual density for this work. Chapter Two begins with emphasis on Sidonia's new sense of consolation in bearing a daughter, as well as on the mixture of love and anger she feels toward Florisel (laced with jealousy of Helena). Puns in her dramatic monologue create a sense of paradox which helps establish tone and theme for the work as a whole. Amidst rhetorical questions posed to Florisel and Helena, she laments,

¡O, amor, y para qué me queixo yo de tus sinrazones, pues más fuerça en ti la sinrazón tiene que la razón! Por do no es justo queixarse de ti el que conoce, en ti, que no saliendo de tu natural usas de tu oficio. [...] ¡Ó, que quiero dar fin a mis razones por la sinrazón que hago de queixarme de aquel que no la guarda en sus leyes! (FN3, p. 10a)

enchanted, and they are diverted to the Isle of Guindaya. Queen Sidonia wants to marry Falanges and condemns him to death upon his refusal. Florisel disguises himself as an oriental prince, adopting the name Moraizel of Trapobana, and woos Sidonia, feigning marriage vows and consummating the feigned union. Under this guise, he manages to save Falanges and flee Guindaya, leaving Sidonia jilted and pregnant in the process.

Oh, love! Why do I complain about your injustices [also means “irrationalities”], for injustice [“irrationality”] holds more sway in you than justice [“reason”]? For surely it is not just that those of us who know you complain about you, in you [i.e., in your presence], that without escaping your nature you exercise your office. [...] Oh, how I wish to end my arguments for injustice [“reasons for irrationality”], which I make in complaining about that which does not uphold the laws of justice [“reason”].¹²⁶

Feliciano de Silva revels in such rhetorical and conceptual acrobatics, particularly fond of such amplified conceptual puns with the words “razón” and “sinrazón,” a penchant for which he incurred the famous criticism of Cervantes’s literary persona seventy years later.¹²⁷ Here in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, Silva employs these pyrotechnics of style to help establish a sense of Sidonia’s internal conflict and also to convey this particular work’s new conceptual density. Sidonia wants to avenge the “injustice” done to her by Florisel while still loving him and cherishing the child she has gained by him. She wants to nurture Diana and protect her from unfaithful suitors like Florisel but also use the enchantments designed to protect her daughter’s beauty and chastity as a means to exact revenge upon Diana’s father Florisel. The conceptual puns with “razón” and “sinrazón” as “justice/reason” and “injustice/irrationality” prove apt. Immediately after Sidonia’s dramatic monologue cited above, readers are told that she raises Diana secretly

¹²⁶ The pronoun “la” in this final line refers back to “la razón” (“reason” or “justice”) in the preceding sentence, omitted here, in which Sidonia asks what “reason” or “justice” could have allowed Helena to enjoy Florisel’s love other than the fact that love involves little “reason” or “justice.”

¹²⁷ In *Don Quixote*, Part One (1605), Chapter One, the narrator laments Don Quixote’s fondness for such virtuoso rhetoric in Feliciano de Silva’s works, quoting the following sentence as indicative of Silva’s style: “La razón de la sinrazón que a mi razón se hace, de tal manera mi razón enflaquece, que con razón me quejo de la vuestra fermosura” (“The ability to reason the un-reason which has afflicted my reason saps my ability to reason, so that I complain with good reason of your infinite loveliness”) (M. Cervantes Saavedra, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, ed. M. Riquer, p. 34; trans. B. Raffel, p. 13). That passage has been compared with Silva’s *Segunda Celestina* (1534), published the year before *FN3* (F. Márquez Villanueva 1973, pp. 27 n. 17, 56 n. 56) and with the shepherd Darinel’s language in Silva’s chivalric romances (S. P. Cravens 1978a, esp. pp. 31-32). J. Martín Lalanda 1999b notes similarities in language and allusion between *Segunda Celestina* and *FN3*, suggesting that Silva wrote them both virtually at the same time (p. 10). Surprisingly, this important passage from *FN3* quoted above has not been cited with regard to the *Segunda Celestina* or the *Quixote*.

for six years, then obtains the advice and aid of a mage named Cinistides to create two magical towers dubbed the Tower of Phoebus (“*Febo*”) and the Tower of Diana: the latter tower designed to provide Diana a pleasant court setting while keeping her secluded from any male company, the former tower designed to ensure that the only means by which she may be met and married is for a knight to decapitate Diana’s father and bring his head here to Queen Sidonia on the Isle of Guindaya (*FN3*, Ch. 2; cf. *Fr. Am.* XI, Ch. 1-2).

Florisel de Niquea, Part Three interlaces this new premise for the sequestered-princess motif swiftly and seamlessly with the love-by-image and Amazonian-disguise motifs. To promote her vengeful challenge, Sidonia sends messengers throughout the world carrying parchments describing it, each one signed by the queen with her official seal, with the text accompanied by a vivid portrait of Diana to motivate potential champions. In witnessing this extreme scenario, readers cannot dismiss Sidonia’s actions as purely “unjust” or “irrational” because we are privy to her fully human motives (especially if, like most of Silva’s eager intended audience, we have read *Florisel de Niquea, Parts One and Two*). Moreover, it is in creating the Tower of Diana that Cinistides provides a prophecy about young Diana that complements a prophecy provided by the enchanter Alquife simultaneously with two other prophecies by the enchantresses Urganda and Zirfea at the end of that preceding work by Silva (*FN2*, Ch. 64).¹²⁸ As noted above, this new prophecy about princess Diana complements the one readers have just seen regarding prince Agesilao in the opening chapter of *Part Three*, both in reference to “the house of Greece.” Silva’s interlaced prophecies cue his readers

¹²⁸ On these interlaced prophecies and their relationship to events in *FN3*, see J. Martín Lalanda 1999a, pp. 219-224.

to anticipate that in this new “Book” of his feigned “chronicles,” division within the Amadís-Oriana dynasty will be mended through the marriage of Agesilao and Diana. Yet, at the same time, Sidonia’s challenge with the Towers of Phoebus and Diana suggests that the only means by which that end may be accomplished involve slaying a prominent member of that same dynasty. Thus, from the beginning, *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, like Sidney’s *Arcadia*, “becomes on one level a vast acknowledgment of the slippery, endless permutations of the conflict between passion and reason.”¹²⁹ Based on the manner in which Silva’s narrative establishes this new combination of the sequestered-princess and love-by-image motifs, savvy readers of his feigned histories would eagerly anticipate that Agesilao will fall in love with Diana by way of a circulated portrait of her, probably also awaiting the motif of disguise to be employed thereafter, as in *Amadís de Grecia*. The interlacement of these motifs occurs more rapidly and more obviously for the reader than in *Amadís de Grecia*: only a dozen episodes later, Agesilao sees a portrait of Diana, instantly falls in love with her, and dons Amazonian disguise along with his cousin Arlanges, as a necessary means for gaining access to Diana’s secret court in her tower at Guindaya (*FN3*, Ch. 14; cf. *Fr. Am.* XI, Ch. 15).

The distinct narrative interlacement of these three motifs in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* establishes both continuity and divergence from the manner in which they were implemented earlier in the *Amadís* cycle. Analyzing this variation within Silva’s oeuvre proves crucial for revising O’Connor’s observation that Sidney’s *Arcadia* employs dimensions of those motifs resembling both “Book” Eleven in the French *Amadis* cycle (*Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, Ch. 1-84, trans. Gohory) and “Book”

¹²⁹ K. Cartwright 1999: “a humanist romance, such as Sidney’s *Arcadia*, becomes on one level a vast acknowledgment of the slippery, endless permutations of the conflict between passion and reason” (p. 16).

Eight (*Amadís de Grecia*, Book Two, trans. Herberay). Here in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, the love-by-image motif introduces character development and philosophical implication in a manner distinct from that of *Amadís de Grecia*. As a result, the Amazonian-disguise motif not only establishes reader complicity with the protagonist lovers, as with the disguised hero and his beloved Niquea in *Amadís de Grecia*; the protagonist knight's metamorphosis also complements an enhanced degree of *admiratio* established for the reader with regard to his personal virtue. Fantastical elements built into the sequestered-princess motif in this later work provide its central love story with philosophical and metaphysical implication less subtle than that underlying the use of Zirfea's magical artistry with Amadís and Niquea in *Amadís de Grecia*.

It is precisely that variation in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* that Gohory exploits with embellishments in translation which amplify those philosophical and metaphysical registers. Sidney's imitation of Gohory's work for inventing *Arcadia* retains certain embellishments in that French rendition of the love story, amplifying the degree of character development and philosophical implication built into Silva's love-by-image motif while also eliminating magical and fantastical elements in the story for the sake of verisimilitude. Sidney's innovation cultivates the poetic effects of *admiratio* and reader complicity for which Silva designed the logical interrelation of sequestered-princess, love-by-image, and Amazonian-disguise motifs in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*. Recognizing these aspects of Sidney's invention in *Old Arcadia*, analyzed in Chapter Three below, requires detailed analysis of those variations in Silva's poetic invention between *Amadís de Grecia* and *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*.

The poetics of metamorphosis achieved by this interlacement of motifs invented by Silva hinges primarily upon the disguise motif. Silva first employs the Amazonian disguise motif in *Amadís de Grecia*, Book Two, Chapter 87, when Amadís of Greece and his companion Gradamarte (whom the protagonist defeated in the Castle of Seven Towers and befriended thereafter) arrive in the kingdom of Niquea to find that the Glory of Niquea enchantment already has been ended by Amadís of Gaul. The young protagonist feels insecure that it was not he who freed Princess Niquea from her enchantment and distraught that her father the sultan of Niquea once again has secluded his daughter from society. Gradamarte encourages and counsels Amadís of Greece with a plan of disguise: Amadís, whose face is not yet bearded, should disguise himself as an Amazonian slave woman, and Gradamarte will disguise himself as a slave merchant, aiming to sell his disguised companion to the sultan. They dress young Amadís in Amazonian garb like that of the maidens in Queen Zahara’s train, at which point both Gradamarte and Amadís himself stand amazed at his beauty in disguise:

quedó tan hermoso qu’el rey Gradamarte quedó espantado de lo ver diziendo:

—Por cierto, no ay nadie que no sepa que lo sois, que no muera de ver vuestra hermosura.

Él, tomando un espejo para se mirar, de la cual vista no fue poco no le acontecer lo que a Narciso, porque la su hermosura era tanta que, si aquella no por quien se hazía, no viera otra que en aquel hábito le pudiera igualar. (Am.Gr., pp. 444b-445a)

he [Amadís] appeared so beautiful that the king Gradamarte was astonished upon seeing him, saying, “Certainly there is no one who, not knowing who you are, would not die upon seeing your beauty.”

He [Amadís] taking up a mirror to look at himself, upon that sight it was no small feat that the same did not occur for him as for Narcissus, because his beauty was such that, if it weren’t for that of she [i.e., Niquea] for whom he created it [i.e., his own beauty in disguise], he would never see another in such manner [of dress] who could equal it.

Silva's allusion to the classical myth of Narcissus here, while noting this powerful impression of young Amadís's beauty upon both characters, establishes the hero's gender transformation in the reader's mind as a quasi-Ovidian metamorphosis. To solidify that impression of transformation, Silva's narrative introduces a grammatical shift in gender usage at precisely this point. The passage quoted above refers to Amadís with usual masculine fare—the pronoun “Él” and the masculine adjective “hermoso”—but immediately following this moment in which the hero sees himself in a mirror, the narrator's transition between that contemplation and the enactment of their plan refers to the disguised hero with a feminine adjective: “Y, *ansí adornada*,...” (“And, thus adorned,...”). From this point onward, the narrative employs such feminine usage with adjectives and pronouns alike, and the text (including chapter titles) refers to the hero by his new female name while disguised. Amadís of Greece becomes Nereida. Disguise becomes new identity.

The sultan is smitten with Nereida's beauty, purchases “her,” and brings “her” into his household, thus providing the disguised hero access to his beloved Niquea. As the sultan woos Nereida, and as romantic feelings grow between Niquea and Nereida before the princess learns that Nereida is not biologically a woman, Silva's narrative exploits the disguise motif for lively poetic effect to supplement effects generated by the traditional motif of a hero's unknown parentage. Having privileged the reader with an understanding of the hero's true identity exceeding that of other characters (and often that of the protagonist himself), the narrative creates humorous and dramatic effects contingent upon the reader's memory of who the character really is.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ Cf. E. J. Sales Dasí 2003, p. 95; also M. Rothstein 1999 on such poetics with the unknown-parentage motif in Montalvo's *Amadís de Gaula* as translated into French by Herberay (pp. 78-85).

Silva's new structural and thematic focus in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* provides distinct emphasis and poetic effect for the disguise motif as interlaced with the sequestered-princess and love-by-image motifs. Agesilao's unique experience in love and disguise complements the overarching theme of intertwined "reason"/"irrationality" and "justice"/"injustice" ("razón"/"sinrazón"). The work as a whole revolves around his love story with Diana while in disguise, resulting in an amplified poetics of metamorphosis that was later imitated by Silva himself in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Four*, by Cervantes in *Persiles y Sigismunda*, and by Sidney in the *Arcadia*.¹³¹

The distinct poetics of reader engagement in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* emerges partially from the fact that it, unlike *Amadís de Grecia* and Montalvo's fiction, does not employ an unknown-parentage trope with its protagonist. Agesilao's personal background at the point of falling in love, as characterized in the opening chapter, defines him as an ideal Renaissance prince fully aware of his parentage, and that condition facilitates both *admiratio* and logical interrelation of motifs in this work. Agesilao is the son of Falanges of Astra (a Greek prince, later king of Colchos, born from Florisel's affair with Arlanda of Tracia) and Alastraxerea (Amazonian princess born from the union of Amadís of Greece with Zahara); he is named after an ancient king of Sparta, and the moment of his birth is prodigious: a lightning bolt strikes an ancient tower in Colchos built by Medea, etching upon that tower the prophecy about Agesilao provided in Chapter One. He is baptized Christian, and by his mother's request so are all the inhabitants of Colchos (where his parents have moved to raise him, as the narrator reminds us with

¹³¹ On the "poetics of metamorphosis" in Silva's works, especially *FN3*, see J. Jiménez Ruiz 2002. Also on Silva's uses of the disguise motif, see E. J. Sales Dasí 2003 and M. C. Daniels 1992 (pp. 199-235; esp. pp. 202-207 on *Am.Gr.*, 211-226 on *FN3*). These studies prove useful for comparison with Sidney's poetics in the *Arcadia*. On such metamorphosis through disguise in Cervantes's *Persiles*, see J. Jiménez Ruiz 2002, pp. 122-127.

explicit reference to *Part Two*),¹³² except for the feigned pagan “chronicler” Galersis, who supposedly recorded Agesilao’s story, “translated” here as *Part Three* in the *Chronicles of Florisel de Niquea*.¹³³ In Silva’s opening description of Agesilao’s character, the narrator compares his “love” and “expressions” with those of his great-great-great-grandfather Amadís of Gaul, thus providing readers with an explicit key for interpreting his love story with Diana, especially in contrast with Rogel’s promiscuity in *Part Three*, which serves as a lively foil for Agesilao’s devotion. This new young hero, though, represents an ideal courtly lover of a newer generation. He grows up with his cousin Arlanges of Spain,¹³⁴ both studying at Athens, both ten years old at the beginning of the story and twelve years old at the time of their metamorphosis into Amazonian women. Both princes have been trained formally in arms¹³⁵ and in the arts of oratory, philosophy, and music. Agesilao, like his beloved Diana, who by the age of eight has been dubbed “*Alma de Orfeo*” (“Soul of Orpheus”), excels in singing and playing courtly instruments. In fact, he excels in all areas of study, with an adult-like predisposition for such arts during childhood that his parents and teachers have noted and nurtured as rare talent (*FN3*, Ch. 1 [p. 8b]; cf. *Fr. Am.* XI, Ch. 4). This description of Silva’s hero might even have struck a personal chord for Philip Sidney, whom personal friends and family associates describe similarly with regard to his childhood.¹³⁶ The opening chapter of *Part*

¹³² In *FN2*, Ch. 54-55, important pagan allies of the Amadís-Oriana dynasty—Zahara, Anaxartes, Alastraxerea, and Falanges—are baptized in Constantinople during the feast of Corpus Christi, and Falanges is betrothed to Alastraxerea. See A. Taufer 1991 (cf. J. A. Whitenack 1988).

¹³³ On this trope of feigned philological origins and translation in the Spanish chivalric-romance genre, see D. Eisenberg 1974-1975; M. C. Marín Pina 1994; and E. J. Sales Dasí 2004, pp. 147-155.

¹³⁴ Arlanges’ parents are Agesilao’s maternal uncle Anaxartes (son of Amadís of Greece and Zahara) and the Greek princess Oriana, a niece of Lisuarte of Greece named after the famous Oriana of Great Britain.

¹³⁵ P. M. Cátedra 2002 emphasizes this aspect of Agesilao’s education in *FN3* (pp. 77-78).

¹³⁶ Compare that passage in *FN3* and *Fr. Am.* XI with comments on Sidney’s childhood recorded by Fulke Greville and Thomas Moffett (J. M. Osborn 1972, pp. 10-11; K. Duncan-Jones 1991, pp. 28-30; cf. A. Stewart 2000, pp. 5, 20-21, 40-41, 48).

Three further claims that Agesilao, a lover of philosophy, values eloquence and the study of languages even more highly than the noble qualities of lordship and dominion (FN3, pp. 7b-8a; cf. Fr. *Am.* XI, Ch. 4). Silva's new hero embodies the Renaissance ideal of a virtuous prince equipped with a humanist education which he values highly. Agesilao's education in philosophy and music, combined with knowledge of his own illustrious lineage, allows him new degrees of confidence and self-awareness in embracing the transformative power of his experience in falling in love with Diana through her portrait. His experience in love does not include internal conflict such as that readers witness with Amadís of Greece, and, also unlike that other hero, he gains access to his beloved through skill in music.

This narrative presentation of Agesilao as protagonist for *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* prepares the reader for his rapid metamorphosis in love and desire for marital union with Diana. Certain details in the opening chapter foreshadow the disguise motif, which occurs immediately after the love-by-image motif and gains new prominence for the poetics of this particular work. His physical features, which (according to the feigned historian Galersis) derive primarily from his mother, lend themselves to successful metamorphosis into a female by disguise: white skin, large green eyes, a slightly-but-attractively-hunched nose, a nice mouth with beautiful teeth, curly blonde hair, a raised chest (“*pechos*” or “breasts”), a slender waist, and long proportional legs (FN3, Ch. 1 [p. 7a-b]; cf. Fr. *Am.* XI, Ch. 4). Moreover, this opening chapter of *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* invokes the name of Hercules in association with Agesilao, just before calling upon Demosthenes's eloquence and Homer's excellence in “verse” (“*verso*”) to convey properly Agesilao's unparalleled virtues. Such emphasis on Hercules immediately

preceding the description of Agesilao's appearance and virtues may also trigger within a savvy reader's mind some anticipation that this young hero may transform himself into a female guise as did both Hercules (at the court of Queen Omphale)¹³⁷ and Amadís of Greece, his grandfather by that half-Amazonian maternal lineage from which Agesilao inherits his features.

The narrative frame for Agesilao's experience in love emphasizes his innocent virtue as well as that of Diana. He, unlike Amadís of Greece, knows his true parentage from the time of his youth, and when he encounters the portrait of Diana he has not yet sallied forth into the world as a knight, nor experienced love before. At the beginning of Chapter 14, the narrator informs readers that Agesilao and Arlanges have spent the past six years studying in Athens, and Agesilao views the portrait of Diana accompanying Sidonia's challenge when one of the messengers takes a copy to Athens so that the "orators" ("*oradores*") there may compete for a prize granted to he who could compose the best verses in praise of her beauty. The visual image of Diana stimulates Agesilao's love, not the prospect of facing Sidonia's challenge and thus winning the beautiful princess in marriage as a prize for martial prowess. The preceding chapter has equipped readers with a description of Diana's beauty as rendered vividly in the portrait, and the narrator frames this lengthy catalogue of her physical features with emphasis that this artistic image also captures the greatness of her "lineage" ("*linage*"), which he defines in terms of "glorious and divine bloodlines" ("*gloriosa e divina sangre*") because they descend from the illustrious Amadís-Oriana line on her father's side and from the line of Jupiter on her mother's side. The narrator claims that this image of Diana harmonizes her

¹³⁷ Jacques Gohory notes this parallel in a prefatory epistle to the readers of his translation (F. Silva 1559 [Fr. *Am.* XI], sig. ã.iiij.v).

features with more force and with no less wisdom than that exhibited by the words of Demosthenes, and that it conveys her “honesty” (“*honestidad*”) through the “reverence” and “gravity” of her beauty (“*un acatamiento y gravedad en su hermosura*”) so as to capture her own fear of its power to incapacitate male admirers potentially to the point of death (*FN3*, Ch. 13 [p. 38a-b]; cf. *Fr. Am.* XI, Ch. 14). This description of Diana’s physical beauty as a reflection of her virtue and lineage parallels that of Agesilao in Chapter One.

Such narrative emphasis on verbal description and explanation of physical beauty attains more precise meaning when read in tandem with a complementary passage toward the end of Feliciano de Silva’s dedicatory epistle to Don Francisco de Zúñiga de Sotomayor, Duke of Béjar. The epistle concludes with praise for this Spanish duke as an exemplary model of military virtue, piety, and munificence. In between that praise and the epistle’s final emphasis that *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* reflects certain features of Zúñiga’s virtues alongside the dramatic foil of delightful jests, Silva refers to his own protagonist (“the excellent king Agesilao”), claiming that this fictional hero refused to commission a painted image of himself, allowing instead this written history of his virtues by Galersis, because “glory resides more in beauty of the soul than in that of the body” (“*la gloria más consiste en la hermosura del alma que en la del cuerpo*”) (*FN3*, p. 6). Although a painted image of Diana serves as catalyst for Agesilao’s love, the narrative descriptions of him and Diana in Chapter One and Chapter 13, both of which the narrator attributes to the feigned historian Galersis, suggest that the two young lovers are kindred souls.

The love-by-image motif in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three, Chapter 14*, establishes a connection between the lovers wherein Diana's beauty becomes the sole "spirit" guiding Agesilao's body and mind. To describe the hero's initial impression, the narrator claims,

como Agesilao viesse la su tan estremada hermosura, assí su imagen fue esculpida en su corazón que ni la terneza de su edad y la sabiduría natural ni la de sus estudios fueron parte para no darle del todo el señorío de sí mismo, pareciéndole desde el punto que la vio que otra ánima no gobernava su cuerpo ni que su cuerpo no conocía otra ánima (FN3, p. 39a)

as Agesilao happened to view such extreme beauty, thus its image was engraved in his heart such that neither the tenderness of his age nor natural wisdom nor that gained from his studies were sufficient to gain him full lordship of himself, it seeming to him from the moment he viewed it [i.e., "such extreme beauty"] that no other spirit governed his body nor that his body even knew another spirit.

Upon this initial reaction, Agesilao resorts to private reflection on this new experience of love. The young protagonist exclaims that his heart and entrails feel enflamed with love, then analyzes and laments his own situation in love using paradoxical language. His monologue, like that of Sidonia in Chapter Two, addresses the theme of "razón" and "sinrazón" in love (FN3, p. 39a). It also establishes the metaphor of princess Diana as the moon, the goddess Diana, whose power over the sea resembles that of Diana's spirit over Agesilao's thoughts, while her distance from the earth resembles that of the secluded princess from her new lover (FN3, 39a-b).

Agesilao's monologue concludes with a sense of frustrated yet faithful devotion, coupled with awareness of his own family history:

Mas ya que en vuestra presencia no puedo mostraros lo que siento con veros, a vuestra imagen lo quiero notificar con el sacrificio de mi corazón, como el príncipe don Falanges, mi señor, los de los brutos a la mi soberana madre ofrecía (FN3, p. 39b)

Moreover, I cannot show you [Diana] what I feel in your presence, while seeing you before me; I want to demonstrate it [i.e., “what I feel”] to your image with the sacrifice of my heart, as the prince Falanges, my lord and father, offered bestial sacrifices to my sovereign mother.¹³⁸

This quasi-religious expression of devotion in love exceeds anything his grandfather Amadís of Greece ever claims regarding Niquea or any other love interest. Although later on in this same chapter of *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* Agesilao does recall and emulate his maternal grandfather’s exploits in love with Niquea, his own words here firmly establish him as a different type of lover. As the narrator has emphasized in Chapter One, this young hero, in his nature as a lover, is more like his great-great-great grandfather Amadís of Gaul. Agesilao’s action immediately following this passage further distinguishes him as a Renaissance lover: he composes a poem, purportedly in Greek and translated into Castilian by the narrator, not to compete among Athenians for the prize but rather for his own contemplation as lover. These verses in three stanzas extend the conceit of his beloved Diana as the moon, whose beauty becomes apparent through reflection of the sun-god’s rays (“*rayos de Apolo*”) but remains her own; the lover asks her to illuminate the “nighttime” (“*noche*”) he experiences in her “absence” (“*ausencia*”) so that such “presence” (“*presencia*”) may guide him toward the glory of seeing her in person (“*verte presente*”) (*FN3*, p. 39b).

The hero’s experience of falling in love thus lends itself to neo-Platonic interpretation, and this conceit of Agesilao’s monologue and poem complements

¹³⁸ Here Silva alludes to *FNI*, Ch. 55, when Falanges takes Alastraxerea for a goddess and offers her pagan sacrifices, before either of them has yet converted to Christianity (cf. note 132 above). A. Taufer [1988] reads that incident as “a satiric comment upon the courtly tradition” (p. 252). M. C. Daniels 1992 adds, “If Taufer is correct, something of the same sort of satire may be present in the worship of Alastraxerea’s infatuated subjects [in *FNI*], but Silva does not exploit this comic situation as he does in *Amadís de Grecia*, or in *Florisel III*. [...] Feliciano de Silva’s son, Diego de Silva, was a soldier in Perú. The Inca Garcilaso mentions Diego de Silva in his commentaries, and it is probable that Diego would have reported to his father accounts of the barbarian rites of pre-Incan and Incan communities” (p. 233 n. 19; cf. p. 208).

metaphysical symbolism built into the manner of princess Diana's seclusion within the Tower of Diana, where she will remain until Sidonia's challenge in the enchanted Tower of Phoebus (Apollo) is fulfilled. In Chapters One and Two, where readers learn of this crux for the plot of *Part Three* in the *Chronicles of Florisel de Niquea*, the prophecies etched into the ancient tower of Medea in Colchos and the Towers of Diana and Phoebus in Guindaya foreshadow the love story of Agesilao and Diana, around which the work revolves, using imagery of sun and moon to suggest obliquely that the two young protagonists will be united in marriage. For readers familiar with Aristophanes's account of the androgyne in Plato's *Symposium* and with neo-Platonic Christian ideas of the spiritual androgyne combined with exegesis of the *Book of Genesis*, these early chapters of *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* might have suggested that Agesilao and Diana represent two halves of a single soul seeking their original unity.¹³⁹ Given the symbolic structure of magical towers that demand the beheading of a king in order to serve as the only vessel in which solar and lunar elements may be mixed and transformed in union, one may wonder also whether Silva might have meant to play upon the Hermetic notion of metaphysical sublimation through chemical wedding.¹⁴⁰ It has been noted once in passing that careful study of "double language" in Feliciano de Silva's later works would reveal that "the romances of chivalry become an esoteric vehicle for the secrets of

¹³⁹ For a concise and useful account of these sources, see M. Rothstein 2003, pp. 409-412.

¹⁴⁰ See L. Abraham 1998: "Hermes Trismegistus" (pp. 100-101), "chemical wedding" (pp. 35-39), "distillation and sublimation" (pp. 55-56), "tower" (pp. 203-204), "peace and strife" (p. 141), "beheading" (pp. 20-22), "Apollo" (p. 8), and "Diana" (pp. 54-55). Given Agesilao's and Diana's kinship through distinct branches of the Amadís-Oriana dynasty, one might also consider an alchemical notion of "incest": "The fact that the two participants in the wedding are personified as coming from the same family emphasizes the essential similarity of the substances being joined even though they appear to be opposites of unlike nature" (*ibid.*, p. 106). The disguise motif so central to *FN3* might be read in terms of a "perfect integration of male and female energies" with the protagonist lovers' marriage as "complete, undivided unity" ("hermaphrodite," p. 98). Also see "elements" (pp. 68-69) and, given the lovers' geographic origins, "east and west" (p. 65).

alchemy.”¹⁴¹ The study positing this claim, however, asserts it without any supporting evidence from Silva’s works.

For the purpose of gauging Philip Sidney’s imitative patterns in the original *Arcadia*, this question of potential metaphysical symbolism in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* deserves attention, although we will not belabor the issue with detailed speculation. Whatever might or might not have been the case with Silva’s work, its French translator Jacques Gohory amplified those symbols with astrological significance, establishing within Silva’s narrative a more intricate network of occult symbolism and neo-Platonic meaning embedded in the interlacement of motifs which Sidney imitated. Thus, this question flows into the issue of mediation.

Jacques Gohory (1520-1576)—translator of “Books” Ten, Eleven, and Thirteen of the French *Amadis* cycle¹⁴²—was first and foremost an occult philosopher. He proved an influential French disciple of Marsilio Ficino’s neo-Platonic principles, of the medical and alchemical theories of Paracelsus, and of other contemporary theories regarding chemical healing and music. Recent scholarship has begun to bring these philosophical and musical interests to bear on Gohory’s project of translating select portions of Silva’s *Amadis* cycle, particularly his translation of roughly the first half of *Florisel de Niquea, Part Thee* (Chapters 1-84) as “Book” Eleven of the French *Amadis* cycle.¹⁴³ This translation covers Silva’s foundational interlacement of motifs for the work’s trajectory, without bothering to proceed beyond the two disguised princes’ courtship of the secluded

¹⁴¹ [trans.] F. Arrabal 1993, p. 112. Cf. *idem*. 2001, pp. 182-183.

¹⁴² The French “Book” Ten translates Silva’s *FN2*; French “Book” Eleven translates Chapters 1-84 of Silva’s *FN3*; French “Book” Thirteen translates the first half of Pedro de Luján’s *Silves de la Selva*.

¹⁴³ See R. Gorris 1996, 2000, and 2002; and J. Brooks 2007. W. H. Bowen [1936] provides the foundational study of Gohory’s life and works as a whole (see pp. 237-252 on his alterations and additions in translating *FN3*).

princess Diana and the visiting Queen Cleofila. Gohory's most conspicuous amplification of the material he translated involves far more detailed attention to architectural locales, especially the enchanted towers of Diana and Phoebus in Guindaya, newly imbued with intricate astrological and alchemical symbolism as an imitation and variation of Queen Eleutherilide's palace described in Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*.¹⁴⁴ It was Silva's premise of the two towers and interlacement of motifs regarding the young lovers' courtship that interested Gohory as a means for fictional projection of his philosophical interests.

Gohory seems to have become involved with Spanish chivalric romances through knowing Nicolas de Herberay des Essarts,¹⁴⁵ the prominent soldier of François I who translated Montalvo's work (*Amadís de Gaula* and *Sergas de Esplandián*) and Silva's early works (*Lisuarte de Grecia* and *Amadís de Grecia*). Gohory provided a prefatory poem in Latin for Herberay's translation of Montalvo's *Amadís*, Book Four,¹⁴⁶ then began his own translation of Silva's work nearly ten years later. His French version of *Florisel de Niquea, Part Two* was first printed in 1552 and dedicated to Marguerite de France (1523-1574), Duchess of Berry and daughter of King François I. His translation of the first half of *Part Three* first appeared in 1554, dedicated to Diane de Poitiers

¹⁴⁴ On this matter, see R. Gorris 2000 and J. Brooks 2007 (pp. 1229-1235). Brooks emphasizes, "Alchemy, music, and the therapeutic use of plants—elements that would later occupy Gohory's Lycium Philosophical [i.e., his botanical garden in Paris, established for the purpose of biological research]—are united under the sign of Apollo. Gohory aligns himself with the solar emphasis of Ficino's astrological thinking as well as with Apollo's association with music and medicine in ancient myth" (p. 1231). A new woodcut illustration was created for Gohory's translation of Chapter Two on the two towers (image reproduced in H. Vaganay 1906, p. 128; and, without caption, as J. J. O'Connor 1970, p. 143). An elaborate full-page folio-sized woodcut illustration first produced for Herberay's translation of Silva's *Lisuarte de Grecia* (as "Book" Six of the French *Amadis* cycle) was re-used for editions of this eleventh "Book" of the French cycle, to complement Gohory's amplified emphasis on these towers' architectural layout and grounds (e.g., F. Silva 1559 [Fr. *Am.* XI], fol. V.v [mis-numbered as fol. II in Folger copy PQ 6275 F21 V.4]) (sig. A.v.v) (image reproduced in H. Vaganay 1906, p. 55; also, without caption, as J. J. O'Connor 1970, p. 84).

¹⁴⁵ Cf. J. Brooks 2007, p. 1212 and n. 18.

¹⁴⁶ G. R. Montalvo, *Amadis de Gaule, Livre IV*, trans. N. Herberay des Essarts, ed. L. Guillerm, p. 73. H. Vaganay 1906 reproduces only the prefatory poems in French (pp. 27-32).

(1499-1566), Duchess of Valentinois and notorious favorite of King Henri II from the time of his childhood. Then a decade and a half later he translated the first half of Pedro de Luján's *Silves de la Selva* by request of Catherine de Clermont (c.1543/5-1603), Countess of Retz, to whom it is dedicated. These endeavors in translation mark pointed efforts to gain court preferment in a manner that would make his philosophical interests amenable to these powerful women of letters.¹⁴⁷ He aptly chose Silva's *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* for Diane de Poitiers, amplifying its symbolism and philosophical undercurrents regarding the sequestered princess "Diane" and her disguised suitor "Agesilan."

As a foundation for analyzing Sidney's creative investment in that love story via Gohory's translation, it is essential to recognize that Gohory's version isolates those operative motifs in Silva's work and retains their narrative logic, which fuels an overarching poetics of exemplary character contrast distinguishing the virtuous protagonist lovers' desire for marital union from other characters' sexual desire. Silva's narrative develops its dominant theme of the paradoxical relationship between reason and passion in love through a quick transition from Agesilao's personal contemplation upon falling in love to his metamorphosis in disguise. Immediately after Agesilao's monologue and poem in Chapter 14, his companion Arlanges arrives, asking him what is

¹⁴⁷ J. Brooks 2007, upon noting the dates and dedicatees of these translations, explains, "Gohory's involvement with the romance thus corresponds to two moments in his life when he was moving in court circles and trying to garner patronage from powerful courtiers. He no doubt hoped for the kind of potentially lucrative appointments sometimes enjoyed by alchemists and occult philosophers: he must certainly have been aware that Agrippa, a writer he particularly admired, had held such a post at the French court in the 1520s. Although by his own account Gohory was never successful—laments over his failure to receive recognition at court regularly punctuate his later writing—he believed that using a popular novel to diffuse his ideas would increase his work's appeal for his target audience, particularly for its female members. [...] These women were all celebrated by contemporaries for their own intelligence and learning as well as for their active support of men of letters, so that the dedicatees figure as feminized icons of knowledge as well as consumers of fashionable recreation and likely sponsors at court" (pp. 1212-1213). On Gohory's return to translation c.1571 as a matter of commission, see J. Brooks 2005, pp. 68-69. Cf. S. Kettering 1989 on the "patronage power" of female French aristocrats.

wrong. He answers with paradoxical language characterizing his condition in love, then explains that he has seen Diana's image (*FN3*, pp. 39b-40a). Arlanges characterizes Agesilao's condition as "love's folly" ("*sandez de sentimiento de amor*"), his language here thus recalling a theme introduced quite differently in Chapter Five of this same work. In that previous chapter, the knight Florarlán, another illegitimate son of Florisel (also by Arlanda, princess of Tracia) who has dedicated himself in love to Queen Cleofila of Lemos after viewing her portrait, is accused of "folly" ("*sandez*") for remaining faithful in that single affection. He grants a boon to the maiden Galarça, who asks him to sleep with her, and when they ask an elderly woman named Palarça to arbitrate the matter, Palarça also determines to sleep with him, and the two women attack each other, at which point Florarlán leaves, put-off by their violence and scorn for his chastity. That episode has been read in tandem with an episode in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Four, Book Two, Chapter 84*, to emphasize the dominant exemplary contrast Silva establishes in these later works of his *Amadís* cycle: the model of chaste love embodied by Amadís of Gaul and Oriana, as well as by Agesilao and Diana, versus the model of promiscuous love embodied by Galaor and Rogel of Greece, as well as by various female characters.¹⁴⁸ Such emphasis through Silva's extensive and humorous use of non-exemplary characters in his later chivalric romances probably owed much to Silva's literary investment in the

¹⁴⁸ M. C. Daniels 1992, pp. 160-164. Daniels explains that "for Amadís [i.e. Amadís of Gaul] *sandez de amor* means sexual promiscuity; ironically, for his [great-great-]great-grandson, Rogel de Grecia, *sandez* means just the opposite: his family's absurd tradition of sexual fidelity. [...] One of the clearest articulations of the definition of *sandez* as loyalty in love appears in *Florisel de Niquea* III. [...] Chapter 5 [*FN3*] introduces a new and aggressively amorous heroine in romance. Not content to languish for love, these women actively pursue, seduce or trick their lovers to bed, often with comic consequences. *Honestidad*, or at least the outward projection of chastity, constitutes the principal virtue of the Christian *princesas de Grecia*, who only give up their maidenhood in private. Such modesty is remarkably absent in the many pagan heroines and plebeian maidens who chase the later generations of the Amadís dynasty. While there are certainly reckless or overly compliant maidens in other romances of chivalry, Silva's outspoken *donzellas* openly defend their un-maidenlike conduct with the same philosophy of *sandez de amor* espoused by don Rogel" (pp. 161, 163).

urbane world of the *Celestina*, which he commenced shortly before composing *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*.¹⁴⁹ By Chapter 14, Silva already has posited the notion of “sandez” or “folly” in love memorably enough that, when readers hear Arlanges and Agesilao addressing the matter, their discussion serves as a more noble contrast. Agesilao, amidst the torment of his new love for the sequestered princess Diana, maintains enough “reason” (“razón”) both to recognize the glorious nature of suffering in love for such a woman (“*la gloria de recibirla* [i.e. “*la pena*”] *por quien la siento*”) and to ask Arlanges for advice (“*consejo*” or “counsel”) about how he may either end his life, thus ending the “death” (“*muerte*”) he feels in her absence, or sustain his life by achieving the glory of access to her presence (*FN3*, p. 40a). Arlanges advises that they go to see her, proposing the plan to disguise themselves as Amazonian maidens. Agesilao replies enthusiastically, recognizing his own need for good counsel (“*consejo*”) in his current lovelorn state (*FN3*, p. 40b). The young hero proves modest and devoted in love. Thus, the experience of falling in love, aided by timely advice, leads him directly to personal transformation through disguise. Sidney’s imitation and variation of Gohory’s embellishment in translating this sequence, as we will see below, proves essential for character development in *Old Arcadia*.

This general manner in which the princes aim to infiltrate the confines of Diana’s seclusion in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* recalls that of Amadís of Greece in gaining access to Niquea, and Silva inscribes within this latter work a new aesthetic for the disguise motif through self-referential allusion to the poetics of imitation and variation developing within his own oeuvre. In response to Arlanges’s idea of disguise, Agesilao,

¹⁴⁹ Cf. M. C. Daniels 1992 (pp. 137-147) and E. J. Sales Dasí 2001 (esp. pp. 406-407).

as in private monologue just beforehand, shows keen awareness of his own family history. He alludes to his grandfather's use of disguise to gain access to Niquea:

Muy bien me parece—dixo Agesilao—, y no se dilate, que ya me semeja que me veo hecha otra Nereida en presencia de mi señora, aunque al presente me falte la grandeza del emperador mi señor. (FN3, p. 40b)

“That seems good to me,” said Agesilao, “and expound no more, for already I see myself made into another Nereida in the presence of my lady, although at present I lack the greatness of my lord the emperor.”

Later—in Chapter 18, when he and Arlanges, known by their female identities as (respectively) Daraida and Garaya, arrive at the Tower of Diana—the two princes exchange their original Grecian female clothing for Sarmatan female garb, and Daraida (Agesilao), standing before the walls of that enchanted tower, prays silently to God and to his grandfather:

¡Ay, soberano Dios, a vós plega que en servizío vuestro y honra mía en el disfrace d'estas armas que agora traigo pueda con ellas ganar la gloria de aquella aventura aparejada para mi desventura, si la victoria d'ella no se me otorga con la gloria de mi señora Diana! ¡Ó, mi soberano señor Amadís de Grecia, extremo de los estremados de mi linage, tú da al tu disfraçado hijo la ventura con que te fue otorgado la hermosura sin igual de mi señora e deessa Niquea con las gloriosas armas en el disfrace de la disfraçada Nereida! (FN3, pp. 50b-51a)

Ah, sovereign God, yield that, in your service and in my own honor, I, now bearing this disguise in arms, may win the glory of that adventure designed for my ill venture, if victory therein may grant me the glory of my lady Diana. Oh, my sovereign lord Amadís of Greece, most illustrious among those of my illustrious lineage, grant your disguised offspring the fortune with which you gained the unparalleled beauty of that divine lady Niquea through the guise of your glorious disguise in arms as Nereida.

Agesilao conveys awareness and emulation of his grandfather while understanding that the unique challenge he faces in winning Diana entails the “ill venture” of slaying that same grandfather's legitimate son Florisel of Niquea, who is also Diana's father and Agesilao's own paternal grandfather (since his father Falanges was conceived through

Florisel's liaison with Arlanda of Tracia). Thematic conceit of "*razón*"/"*sinrazón*" and character development rely on the reader's memory of fictional characters' lineage.

Florisel de Niquea, Part Three effects *admiratio* for its protagonist hero through multi-layered poetics of memory. Here Silva's narrative provokes its readers to remember not only Agesilao's complex lineage but also the fact that Sidonia's challenge with the enchanted towers would have accompanied the portrait of Diana that Agesilao saw in Athens, as well as the fact that in Chapter 15, when the disguised princes first arrived here on the Isle of Guindaya, an old woman told them about "the court of our queen and its follies" ("*la corte de nuestra reina y sus sandezes*"), thus providing the reader a narrative reminder of Sidonia's vengeful challenge. Agesilao, aware of that "folly" ("*sandez*") built into the challenge of the towers, aims to face it nonetheless for the sake of his true love, praying for the grace to do so while still upholding "[God's] service" and his own "honor." This moment of silent prayer before the Tower of Diana serves a multivalent aesthetic function. Like the earlier allusion to his grandfather's disguise as Nereida, it conveys to the reader that a significant portion of Agesilao's identity as protagonist resides in awareness and emulation of his own heroic lineage. In fact, aesthetically, this narrative moment may even create an effect similar to that of Virgil's Aeneas famously ruminating upon the Carthaginian murals which depict battles at Troy (*Aeneid* I.441-493). Literary allusion to a preceding work enhances readers' impression of the hero's character through his memory of predecessors stimulating his own resolution to persist in the new task he faces. Whereas Virgil's narrative alludes to that of Homer, Silva's alludes to his own prior work. Thus, Silva's narrative flaunts for the savvy reader a heightened self-consciousness regarding his own poetics of imitation

and variation with the disguise motif, which in this work has become a dominant matter of structural and thematic focus. Even the detail of Sarmatan female clothing subtly parallels Silva's prior story of the Greek Amadís transforming himself into Nereida.¹⁵⁰ Presumably such subtleties delighted Silva's attentive literary aficionados.

Silva thus invents an aesthetic pattern of self-referential imitation and variation involving the disguise motif. One particular matter of variation in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* regarding the two princes' musical talent proves significant for Silva's enhanced poetics of metamorphosis established through the disguise motif, here in *Part Three* and likewise for Rogel in *Part Four*. These Renaissance heroes' skill in music and lyric poetry provides the specific means by which they gain access to the restricted courtly *locus amoenus*, as well as the means by which they win the affection of the women they woo there. This variation proves highly significant for Gohory's French translation and for Sidney's imitation.

In *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, Arlanges's plan for his and Agesilao's Amazonian disguise hinges upon their skill as musicians. When Agesilao asks who they should be in disguise and how they should execute the plan, Arlanges emphasizes that they should claim to be sisters, using their kinship and musical talents to gain access to Diana as female servants in her secret court (*FN3*, Ch. 14 [p. 40b]; cf. *Fr. Am.* XI, Ch. 15). This proves precisely the means by which they gain access to that restricted court and by which they win the affection of their respective beloveds there while in female disguise, as with Pyrocles and Musidorus in the Arcadian courtly *locus amoenus*.

¹⁵⁰ E. J. Sales Dasí 2003 notes this specific parallel (p. 95), as well as the latter of the two allusions to *Am.Gr.* quoted above, emphasizing, "Agesilao's words are a clear symptom of the self-assurance with which Silva approaches the literature and vindicates his own fictions. [...] Silva continues respecting Montalvo's old heroes, but, above all, he distinguishes the singularity of his own creations" ([trans.] pp. 95-96). Cf. D. Eisenberg 1982, pp. 80-83.

Sidney's variation of this paradigm—imitating Gohory's enhanced philosophical emphasis on the princes' music but also granting Pyrocles the idea of Amazonian disguise—serves an amplified function of character development, analyzed below in Chapter Three. Detailed analysis of this pivotal narrative function for the protagonist lovers' musical talent in Silva's work helps elucidate its importance for the overarching poetics of reader complicity and exemplary character contrast in Gohory's translation and Sidney's imitation.

Daraida (Agesilao) and Garaya (Arlanges) gain access to Diana's secret court through the impression Daraida's music and physical appearance make upon Queen Sidonia when they meet her alone by the seaside in Guindaya, and the ironic manner of their entry by this means encapsulates the sophisticated interdependence of motif and theme built into Silva's narrative poetics of character contrast and reader engagement. Agesilao's inheritance of his Greek ancestors' physical beauty plays into his favor with Queen Sidonia, for she is struck by Daraida's (Agesilao's) beauty and by the "air" ("aire") of resemblance her/his face shares with that of Moraizel: that is, Florisel, legitimate son of Amadís and Niquea, as well as Agesilao's paternal grandfather, but also Diana's father who jilted Sidonia while in disguise (*FN3*, Ch. 18 [p. 52a]; cf. *Fr. Am.* XI, Ch. 19) (see note 125 above). Sidonia reveals clearly that she favors them because this beauty similar to the beauty of Moraizel (Florisel) dulls the sharp edge of her desire to see him again (*FN3*, p. 52b). Through this interlacement with that prior storyline, Silva's narrative challenges readers to remember that Agesilao's mother Alastraxerea and his paternal grandfather Florisel are half-siblings and look almost identical.¹⁵¹ Also, this emphasis on the queen's own "memory" ("*memoria*") of love for the disguised knight

¹⁵¹ On resulting episodes of identity confusion in *FN1*, see M. C. Daniels 1992, pp. 208-209.

who jilted her pervades her conversation the next day with the disguised prince and her daughter in the Tower of Diana (*FN3*, Ch. 19; cf. *Fr. Am.* XI, Ch. 20), after she has taken her new Amazonian musicians there through the entrance connected to her own royal palace, a small doorway enchanted such that it can be opened only through her personal consent (*FN3*, pp. 11a, 53a). Chapter 19, where the disguised princes meet princess Diana in person, establishes a playful sense of court culture in which everyone there takes Daraida (Agesilao) and Garaya (Arlanges) for the females they appear to be.¹⁵² Sidonia, for instance, dubs Daraida (Agesilao) “Diana’s Conquest,” likening her/him to a knight-errant in love (“we may now call you Conquest of Diana, like the knights who sally forth in petition”) (“*te podemos ya llamar la Vencida de Diana, como a los cavalleros que en la demanda andan*”) and provoking a playfully honest exchange of affection between Daraida and Diana (*FN3*, p. 56a). The situational irony of these comments and reactions enhances both the aesthetic effect of disguise in this episode and the work’s overall thematic emphasis on ironic interplay between reason and passion.

Readers, who know Daraida’s true identity as Agesilao, perceive her/his words as a disguised male knight’s profession of love and devotion to the female princess for whom he has transformed himself; thus, we perceive the situational irony of these female characters’ jokes about how closely Daraida’s behavior resembles that of a knight professing loyalty to his lady. Moreover, we readers have witnessed Agesilao’s experience of falling in love with Diana upon seeing her portrait. Silva’s narrative

¹⁵² M. C. Daniels 1992 emphasizes the humorous aesthetic effect of such interaction in *FN3*: “despite the lightness with which Diana receives Darayda’s adoration, the lesbian overtones of these episodes are unmistakable and quite deliberate” (p. 217; see pp. 216-217). Queen Sidonia, staring intently at Daraida (Agesilao) when she/he voices her/his devotion to the princess Diana, admits newly discovered empathy for such affection between females, based on her own experience with Daraida’s beauty the night before (*FN3*, Ch. 19 [p. 55b]; cf. *Fr. Am.* XI, Ch. 20).

already has confirmed for us that Agesilao's (Daraida's) love for Diana and devotion to her are genuine, and a ballad sung by Daraida here in Chapter 19 both reiterates that fact and stimulates further commentary by Queen Sidonia and Diana. That dialogue conveys to the savvy reader an intimate and ironic connection between the disguise motif and character development in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, with regard to the matter of Sidonia's vengeance, as well as to the anticipated relationship between Agesilao and Diana. In Chapter 19 of *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, Silva's narrative employs a threefold poetics of memory. Analysis of this narrative moment in Silva's work helps convey the multiple layers of thematic emphasis and reader engagement evoked by the disguise motif—here as in Gohory's translation and in Sidney's imitation of that paradigm.

Daraida (Agesilao) sings in *romance* verse (a ballad form with lines of eight syllables) about Amadís of Gaul and his beloved Oriana in Book Two of Montalvo's *Amadís de Gaula*, wherein the hero's devotion is proven for the reader through his success at the Arch of Loyal Lovers but then is questioned by Oriana in a letter based on false hearsay, and that letter causes the hero to retire from society in penance at the Peña Pobre. Daraida (Agesilao) recalls the story of her/his great-great-great grandfather as an analogue for her/his own honest devotion to Diana. The disguised hero sings about Amadís and Oriana with her/his eyes fixed upon Diana, concluding the ballad with emphasis that Amadís of Gaul was “pardoned / of that ill which he never committed / nor ever could have been found in him” (“*perdonado / de aquel mal que nunca hizo / ni en él pudo ser hallado*”) (FN3, p. 56b). That ballad and its singer provoke a distinct vein of “memory” (“*memoria*”) from Queen Sidonia, who responds with lamentation that her

devotion in love, too, was wrongly abused by Moraizel (Florisel), and she emphasizes that the “power” of her disaffected love (“*desamor*”) may still bring her the “satisfaction” of seeing his severed head. The narrator informs readers that this comment by Sidonia “weighed heavily” upon Diana, “because in the secret recesses of her heart she loved her father very much” (“*A la princesa le pesó mucho de oír estas palabras a su madre, porque en lo secreto de su corazón a su padre mucho amava*”) (FN3, p. 57a). The princess calls her mother’s sentiment “*razón en la sinrazón*” (“justice in injustice” or “reason in irrationality”). The queen defends the “*sinrazón*” of her own suffering in love, while emphasizing that the beauty of this new “maiden” in the secret court resembles that of Diana’s father more than any other, and the princess interprets that comment as all the more “reason” for her to love Daraida (“*se acreciente la razón que de amar tengo a Daraida*”) (*ibid.*).

For the reader, this narrative episode of reciting the ballad and emphasizing characters’ responses stimulates memory of Montalvo’s *Amadís de Gaula* and Silva’s *Florisel de Niquea, Part Two*, while reinforcing the structural and conceptual ironies of the central plot conflict established here in *Part Three* through Diana’s seclusion and Sidonia’s challenge in the two towers at Guindaya. The queen had those enchanted towers built in order to keep Diana away from male company, to protect her but also to provide for the death of her father Florisel; yet, intrigued by Agesilao’s skill in music and his physical features in female disguise, which in her mind resemble those of his grandfather Florisel in male disguise, she grants a male suitor access to Diana’s secret court and leaves him there with the princess. All the while, her comments about Daraida (Agesilao) ironically associate her/him with what the queen fears most for her own

daughter, and those statements by Sidonia embolden Diana to embrace openly her affection for this new “maiden” Daraida. Diana’s response to her mother’s final comments about Moraizel (Florisel) reveals to Agesilao, as well as to the reader, that Diana would not want a heroic suitor to win her hand by beheading her father. Silva’s narrative exploits the matter of its protagonist lovers’ royal bloodlines and their talents in courtly entertainment to establish a tight interlacement between the disguise motif, the anticipated secret-marriage theme, and the theme of slippery interplay between reason and passion in love.

* * *

This detailed analysis of Silva’s invention and re-invention of logical interrelation between sequestered-princess, love-by-image, and Amazonian-disguise motifs provides an essential foundation for re-evaluating Sidney’s creative variation of *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, based upon Gohory’s translation. In Sidney’s fiction, those same interlaced motifs generate similar thematic emphases, similar character development with amplified philosophical underpinnings, and, most importantly, similar aesthetic effects of *admiratio* and of reader engagement and complicity with protagonist lovers who join in secret marriage.

III.

Feliciano de Silva's Fiction in French Translation and the Exemplary Poetics of Sidney's *Old Arcadia*, Books One to Three

Philip Sidney establishes narrative structure and thematic focus for *Old Arcadia* through imitating closely the interlacement of sequestered-princess, love-by-image, and Amazonian-disguise motifs invented by Feliciano de Silva, as preserved in Jacques Gohory's translation of the first half of Silva's feigned *Chronicle of Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* (Chapters 1-84). This chapter analyzes Sidney's imitation and variation of that French source. Subsequent chapters extend this chapter's critical emphasis, observing how Sidney uses other literary source models in Books Four and Five and in *Old Arcadia's* Eclogues to complement the foundation laid here.

Sidney's creative imitation in Books One through Three consists of synthesizing three paradigms found in Silva's *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*: that of the three interlaced motifs tied to a pair of protagonist couples who marry in secret, that of the lustful married couple King Galinides and Queen Salderna, and that of a protagonist knight rhetorically averting the danger of popular rebellion. Sidney blends those three models together with the paradigm of a sequestered princess's father humorously pursuing her disguised paramour in lust, found in Silva's *Amadís de Grecia*. The facts that Gohory's partial translation of *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* covers nearly all of this material (plus additional chapters on Arlanges and Cleofila to which Sidney seemingly attends), and that the scene of popular uprising which his French "Book" Eleven does not cover occurs just after Galinides and Salderna reappear briefly in Silva's

narrative, might have facilitated Sidney's thoughts for this distinct pattern of compound imitation and variation.¹⁵³ Sidney's fiction interlaces those other paradigms, especially that of the lustful married couple, more tightly with the matter of young protagonist lovers' secret marriage.

Sidney draws *Old Arcadia's* overarching poetics of *admiratio* for protagonist lovers and exemplary character contrast quite clearly from Gohory's partial rendition of *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* as "Book" Eleven in the French *Amadis* cycle. Gohory's version exploits Silva's foundational interlacement of motifs and themes in order to amplify the notion that the protagonist lovers' desire for each other—in contrast with the purely sexual desire of a lustful husband and wife who both pursue the disguised protagonist knight—represents a noble and sublime neo-Platonic love. Sidney's narrative, in following this paradigm for its protagonist lovers and for Basilius and Gynecia both pursuing Pyrocles in disguise, closely imitates the exemplary poetics of character contrast provided by that chivalric source material, modifying the neo-Platonic bent of Gohory's rendition. Sidney's invention exploits Gohory's philosophically loaded language and amplifies philosophical discourse within the protagonist princes' dialogue in Book One. Yet, in doing so, Sidney filters out metaphysical symbolism built into the sequestered-princess scenario with magical towers in that chivalric source. *Old Arcadia*

¹⁵³ In *FN3*, Ch. 122—when a storm has diverted Florisel and Daraida (Agesilao) to the Isle of Artadefa and they have heard about the usurping giant Gadalote's "tyranny" ("*tirannía*"), as well as of the Pleasantview Castle ("*Castillo de Belvista*") which contains the lovers Danistea and Garianter (i.e., respectively, Florisel's cousin and the *infanta* of Artadefa, daughter to the rightful king) magically entrapped within a crystal urn and exploited by the usurping giant as a lucrative spectacle for lovesick pilgrims—as the heroes proceed toward these new adventures on the island, they run into the king and queen of Galdapa (Galinides and Salderna). Galinides recognizes Daraida and hails her/him as "*diosa Venus*" and "*la gloriosa Daraida*" ("goddess Venus" and "the glorious Daraida"), but the disguised hero passes by without reply, explaining who they are to Florisel just afterward (ed. J. Martín Lalanda, pp. 373b, 374b). Aubert de Poitiers translates closely in *Fr. Am.* XII, Ch. 38, and, because the French rendition of *FN3* was published in two separate parts, he adds an explicit reminder to the reader about Galinides and Salderna: "*comme il vous a esté deduit sur la fin du precedent volume de ceste grand histoire*" ("as is to be deduced by you from the end of the preceding volume of this lengthy history") (F. Silva 1556 [*Fr. Am.* XII], fol. CI.v [sig. R.v.v]).

employs philosophical language and dialectic primarily for the poetic effects of character development, reader complicity with the protagonists, and exemplary character contrast. Neither Gohory nor Sidney attends to the further narrative dilation and resolution of Silva's story. Rather, they both focus their narratives on the love interests and political conflicts tied to Silva's patented trio of motifs that produces within the narrative a pair of clandestine marriages.

Analyzing this creative pattern of literary invention confirms Sidney's foundational source for *Old Arcadia* and demands revision of various critical assumptions about this work. Most obviously, Sidney scholarship has not addressed the fact that Sidney's narrative defines the lovers' secret union in Book Three as "marriage," both in the case of Pyrocles and Philoclea and in the case of Musidorus and Pamela. *Old Arcadia* must be re-evaluated with regard to its source material's narrative logic of love, disguise, and secret marriage. Revising distinct approaches to discourse of "constancy" within *Old Arcadia*, for instance, facilitates awareness of just how pervasively Sidney determines the scope of his fiction through imitation of Spanish chivalric romance in French translation.

Modern critical assumptions about moralizing discourse of "constancy" within the primary narrative plane of *Old Arcadia* stem from a legacy of reading Sidney's interlaced love-by-image and Amazonian-disguise motifs alongside sixteenth-century educational literature and emblem traditions, without recognition that Sidney draws those motifs directly from Silva's work in French translation. An influential study by Mark Rose has promoted for decades the premise that Sidney's narrative moralizes its protagonist princes' experience of falling in love and disguising themselves, as a descent from reason

and active virtue toward passion and pastoral retreat.¹⁵⁴ That assumption has led, in part, to neglect of Sidney's primary source material for the motif. In the four decades since O'Connor's attention to Sidney's use of Spanish chivalric romance in French translation, only Winfried Schleiner has examined the *Arcadia* in tandem with those sources, accepting and revising the aforementioned critical premise to propose a hypothesis that sixteenth-century romances use the transvestite disguise motif "as a vehicle of talking about the unsayable," employing artificial "differences" to suggest a "convergence of genders" which complements twentieth-century psychological perspectives on gender and sexuality.¹⁵⁵ In other words, Schleiner briefly addresses this

¹⁵⁴ M. Rose 1964 (cf. *idem.* 1968, pp. 37-38, 49-56). Among studies that have accepted Rose's premise, see especially A. C. Hamilton 1977 (pp. 36-37), A. D. Weiner 1978 (pp. 70, 205 n. 48), and M. McCandles 1989 (pp. 111-125, 199 n. 2, 202 n. 8). E. Dipple 1971 claims that *OA* moralizes the disguise motif in a slightly more positive way, reading the princes' "idealized choice of metamorphosis as a way to respond to the forces of love in them" but interpreting their actions in disguise as merely comic and conducive to "temporary lapse" and ultimate "failure" representing "the incapacity of man's aspiring will, and the 'utmost work of changeable fortune'" (p. 55; cf. p. 54 on Gynecia and the disguise motif) (rpt. in A. F. Kinney 1986b, p. 335; cf. p. 334). Compare E. Dipple 1968 (p. 318) and J. A. Roberts 1978 (pp. 44-48); contrast M. E. Dana 1973, p. 316. Also compare R. A. Lanham 1965, p. 207; F. G. Robinson 1972, pp. 167-173; J. S. Lawry 1972, pp. 40-59; L. Woodbridge 1984, pp. 158-159; J. Rees 1991, pp. 119-120; K. J. Roberts 1993, pp. 29-48; H. Hackett 2000, p. 112; and B. Worden 2007, pp. 83-84. Diverse readings of *OA* either positing, modifying, or rejecting the idea of religious poetics have maintained to various degrees the premise that its protagonist princes' actions in Books One through Three constitute moral lapse or legal culpability, or both (cf. Introduction above, note 14; Chapter One above, note 52). F. Marengo 1968 (cf. *idem.* 1966 and 1969) and A. D. Weiner 1978 argue for *OA* as Calvinist poetics. Cf. A. Sinfield 1983, pp. 20-48 (also *idem.* 1979 and 1984); and, for comparison of *OA* narration to Francis Walsingham's political rhetoric, B. Worden 2007, pp. 73-74 (cf. *idem.* 1996, pp. 72-73). E. Z. Cohen 1968 provides the same premise about Pyrocles and Musidorus found in Rose's, Marengo's, and Weiner's studies but deems *OA*'s perspective on moral law more moderate. Á. Bergvall 1989 (pp. 60-61, 65-80; cf. pp. 96-100) and 1992 revise the notion of Protestant poetics proposed by Marengo, Weiner, and Sinfield, to similar effect regarding the protagonist princes in *OA*. S. K. Heninger 1989, presenting a distinct perspective on the *OA* narrator without committing to such argument about religious ideology, assumes "Calvinist" underpinnings and provides a similar reading of the protagonist lovers (pp. 445-447; cf. pp. 447-455, 459-462, on Basilius and Euarchus in *OA*). R. Kuin 1997 and R. E. Stillman 2008 provide broader perspective on Sidney's Protestant intellectual milieu: see Chapter Five below, note 285. M. M. Sullivan 1991, in contrast with critical emphasis on moral interpretation, draws upon J. J. O'Connor 1970 to claim that, "as in *Amadis* [i.e., the French *Amadis* cycle], the use of [Amazonian] disguise in the *Old Arcadia* is primarily comic, involving the hero in various sexual contretemps with his beloved, her mother, and her father" (p. 70)—though without further attention to the narrative logic of that source material, nor to clandestine marriage as a matter of structural and thematic emphasis in *OA* (cf. Chapter Four below, note 243).

¹⁵⁵ W. Schleiner 1988, pp. 614, 615 (cf. p. 607). Schleiner concludes, "Although my evidence is slim, I suggest a surmise, that in periods when definitions of gender roles become questionable, forms of popular art and culture will exploit the border realm between maleness and femaleness and be able to make it

motif in Sidney's *Arcadia* alongside its sources but not in relation to them as a matter of poetics, as a paradigm for imitation and variation. This latter relationship is our concern in the present chapter. Sidney's imitation, like its primary source, hinges upon a poetics of love and disguise as quasi-Ovidian metamorphosis, without moral degradation of the protagonist lovers.

One valuable recent study theorizes this notion of "metamorphosis" as a matter of competing discourse with that of "constancy" in *Old Arcadia*. Jeffrey Dolven associates the work with quasi-Stoic discourse of moral constancy within sixteenth-century English pedagogical literature, providing a subtle argument that Sidney's main narrative in *Old Arcadia* opposes "constancy" with "metamorphosis," suspending those two matters rhetorically in a way Dolven interprets as a challenge to the assumption that didactic intention should be built into dialectical method.¹⁵⁶

Dolven's theory about thematic structure in *Old Arcadia*, rooted primarily in analysis of the dialogue between Pyrocles and Musidorus in Book One, becomes more concrete when put in relief with the fact that Sidney invents that dialogue through imitation and variation of Gohory's embellishment in translating Silva's feigned

erotically stimulating" (p. 619). On Schleiner's study, M. C. Daniels 1992 observes, "Because she is dealing with the French translation, she does not consider the development of the transvestite motif as the conscious creation of Feliciano de Silva. Schleiner is more interested in the theme of transvestism itself than in how it reflects a change in the character of the Amadisean knight from generation to generation. Like O'Connor, Schleiner tends to see the entire French *Amadis* cycle as one work, rather than the product of a number of authors with very different personalities and artistic priorities" (p. 227 n. 1). See Chapter Two above on J. J. O'Connor 1970 and on the importance of comparing Silva's own heroes "from generation to generation" and of comparing his own use of motifs from one distinct literary work to another.

¹⁵⁶ J. Dolven 2007, pp. 99-133. Dolven's chapter on Sidney's *OA* complements his book's overall thesis on sixteenth-century English pedagogy with regard to certain English authors' representation of educational moments within their fiction: "I take the very possibility of literary didacticism in these poems to be emptied out: their writers lose faith in the idea that literature can teach, because they cannot free their books—their teaching books—from a culture of teaching that they take to be compromised, even bankrupt. Such an argument flies in the face of hundreds of years of reading *Arcadia* and *The Faerie Queene* as though they were written to instruct us" (pp. 10-11).

Chronicle of Florisel de Niquea, Part Three. In fact, aspects or “impulses” throughout *Old Arcadia* which Dolven theorizes as “metamorphosis”—that is, “the energy of its disguises, its playful experiments with sexual identity, and the dazzling ingenuity of its plot”¹⁵⁷—all come from its chivalric source material. The specific interlacement of motifs through which *Old Arcadia* delights its reader with love and disguise and mistaken identity and secret marriage, as in the original chivalric source by Silva and in Gohory’s French rendition imitated by Sidney, posits a narrative logic which facilitates both *admiratio* for the protagonist lovers and aesthetic distance from antagonists. Sidney’s imitation imposes verisimilitude to enhance these poetic effects. In Books One through Three, *Old Arcadia*’s narrative exploits its French source to establish reader complicity with the two young couples, tragic distance from the princesses’ mother Gynecia, and comic distance from their father Basilius. Through these aesthetic effects, *Old Arcadia*, like its chivalric-romance source, assumes that Natural Law validates its protagonists’ secret marriage.

* * *

In delineating the structural and thematic narrative patterns that Sidney draws from Feliciano de Silva’s fiction via French translation, one must begin with *Old Arcadia*’s foundational premise of oracular prophecy. With Duke Basilius’s action of secluding his daughters because of a prophecy, Sidney’s narrative follows the basic pattern of Silva’s sequestered-princess motif. For the sake of verisimilitude, Sidney alters the paradigm of two magical towers in Silva’s *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* and in Gohory’s translation. The duke “retire[s]” himself and his family to “a solitary place” within his Arcadian realm, where he has “two lodges built of purpose” to guard his two

¹⁵⁷ J. Dolven 2007, p. 115.

daughters (*OA*, 6). Their “younger jewel, Philoclea,” of whose future “uncouth love” the Delphic oracle has warned, lodges with Basilius and his wife Gynecia (*OA*, 6, 5; cf. 9).¹⁵⁸ In the other lodge, Basilius entrusts the care of their elder daughter Pamela, whom the oracle predicts will be “stolen and yet not lost,” to his “principal herdman” (i.e., shepherd) Dametas, Dametas’s wife Miso, and their daughter Mopsa (*OA*, 5, 6).¹⁵⁹

The narrator deems this rustic family “unfit company for so excellent a creature [as Pamela]” (*OA*, 9). Other shepherds, some foreign and some native to Arcadia, gain access to this royal *locus amoenus* for the purpose of musical entertainment. Dametas and his family, amidst the privileged social position of upward mobility they enjoy in this courtly setting, serve a rather clownish function within the narrative. Their juxtaposition with the other shepherds, as well as their interaction with the noble protagonists, accentuates this comic role. In establishing this setting and structural frame for *Old Arcadia*, Sidney’s version of the sequestered-princess motif helps his narrative synthesize various aspects of Feliciano de Silva’s fiction in concentrated form. Most importantly, the sequestered-princess motif establishes for *Old Arcadia* both its courtly *locus amoenus* (with amplified pastoral focus) and a theme of unwise reasoning similar to that built into the sequestered-princess motif in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*. Also, Basilius’s ironic choice of Dametas as guardian for Pamela allows for social comedy of manners such as that apparent within Silva’s chivalric romances.

Old Arcadia’s social contrast of humorous pastoral rusticity versus courtly eloquence in some ways reflects the shepherd Darinel’s function in Silva’s *Florisel de*

¹⁵⁸ The oracle tells Basilius with regard to Philoclea, “Thy younger shall with nature’s bliss embrace / An uncouth love, which nature hateth most” (*OA*, 5). See note 167 here below.

¹⁵⁹ The oracle tells Basilius with regard to Pamela, “Thy elder care shall from thy careful face / By princely mean be stolen and yet not lost” (*OA*, 5).

Niquea, Part Three. Silva first introduces the pastoral mode into his chivalric fiction with Darinel's appearance in the final four chapters of *Amadís de Grecia* (Bk. II, Ch. 131-134). Darinel, a true shepherd, has devoted himself to an honest yet realistically impossible love for Silvia, who has grown up as a shepherdess, not knowing her true identity as daughter to Lisuarte of Greece and "Peerless" Onoloria of Trapisonda. Young Florisel, upon meeting Darinel and hearing of Silvia, disguises himself as a shepherd for the purpose of meeting her,¹⁶⁰ and thereafter Darinel becomes a recurrent pastoral character in *Florisel de Niquea, Parts One and Two* and in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*. In this matter of Florisel and Darinel, Feliciano de Silva's works serve as a bridge between Juan del Encina's theatrical use of the pastoral disguise motif and Jorge de Montemayor's use of protagonist shepherds in the *Diana*.¹⁶¹ Although Darinel's contemplative devotion in love often seems admirable, as a shepherd in the courtly and military world of chivalric romance he represents a fish out of water,¹⁶² and that impression often serves the purpose of humor. This comic function for Darinel has been compared to that of Dametas in Sidney's *Arcadia*, with regard to *Florisel de Niquea, Parts One and Two* (in French translation).¹⁶³ The parallel also applies to Sidney's primary source, *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* (in French translation).¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ J. J. O'Connor 1970 claims, "It is very likely that Sidney got the idea for Musidorus' disguise as a shepherd from Book IX of *Amadis* [i.e., *FNI* trans. Fr. Am. IX]" (p. 263 n. 10).

¹⁶¹ S. P. Cravens 1976, pp. 39-74 (cf. pp. 119-121). Cf. F. López Estrada 1973 (esp. pp. 165-169); A. C. Bueno Serrano 2004. On Montemayor's *Diana* and Sidney's Eclogues in *OA*, see Chapter Five below.

¹⁶² See S. P. Cravens 1976, pp. 48-54, 69-74 (cf. pp. 31-32). Cf. A. Río Noguerras 2001, pp. 1092-1097.

¹⁶³ J. J. O'Connor 1970 emphasizes Darinel's comic function in *FNI-2* as rendered in French translation (pp. 101, 168, 235) and claims, "The character of Dametas probably owes something to the remarkable coward Darinel. Like Dametas, Darinel has illusions of grandeur, even though he is the butt of much chivalric humor. When danger threatens, Darinel looks for a place to hide, and like Dametas, he is very fond of playing on the pipes" (p. 190). Cf. S. Chaudhuri 1989, pp. 282, 288. Also see C. Bates 1992 on Dametas in *OA* (p. 111) and P. E. Rockwell [1980] on Dametas and "low-comic sub-plot" in *OA*.

¹⁶⁴ J. Martín Lalanda claims that in *FN3* Darinel—who appears in Chapters 7, 30, 47, 48, 67, 68, 87, 95, 112, and 114—plays the role of a social "clown" or "buffoon" ("*bufón*") more than that of a literary

Sidney's synthesis of that comic function with the sequestered-princess motif provides enhanced humor amidst the two disguised princes' courtship of Pamela and Philoclea, and it also helps establish for *Old Arcadia* an overarching thematic focus akin to that of Silva's *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, preserved with regard to the sequestered-princess motif in Gohory's partial translation. Basilius chooses Dametas as guardian for Pamela in her seclusion at the same time that he ignores wise warnings provided by his loyal counselor Philanax about the political dangers of his pastoral retreat (*OA*, 5-9). The narrator emphasizes to readers that Basilius rejects Philanax's counsel "having used thus much his dukely sophistry to deceive himself, and making his will wisdom," such that "resolutely he stood upon his own determination," appointing Philanax to provide active "government of the state" in his stead, with the mandate "especially to keep narrow watch of the frontiers," because of the oracle's prediction that "in thy throne a foreign state shall sit" (*OA*, 9, 5). This narrative emphasis on Basilius's self-deceptive "sophistry" in dialogue with his trusted political counselor provides the sequestered-princess motif a humanist flavor while retaining the narrative logic it bears in Sidney's source.

The duke's reasoning in secluding himself and his family, as a means supposedly to thwart the oracular warnings about his daughters, seems from the beginning (and later proves) unwise politically, as well as unwise and inappropriate on the procedural level of sequestering his daughters with Dametas as Pamela's guardian. That choice facilitates Musidorus's courtship of Pamela in disguise, and in the end, Musidorus ironically does become heir-apparent to the Arcadian "throne," through secret marriage to Pamela. *Old*

"shepherd" ("*pastor*") (ed. F. Silva, *FN3*, p. xxi). All but the last two of these episodes occur in *Fr. Am.* XI, those others in *Fr. Am.* XII.

Arcadia, like Silva's *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* (and French *Amadis* "Book" Eleven) lays the foundation both for its plot conflicts and for their resolution with an emphasis on irrational reasoning. Basilius seeks out the Delphic oracle, "not so much stirred with the care for his country and children as with the vanity which possesseth many who, making a perpetual mansion of this poor baiting place of man's life, are desirous to know the certainty of things to come, wherein there is nothing so certain as our continual uncertainty" (*OA*, 5). His unwise pursuit of such knowledge and his unwise reaction to it ironically set the stage for its predictions to come true. *Old Arcadia*'s version of the sequestered-princess motif, as in its source paradigm, introduces a privileged position for the reader, providing the oracle's text and thus tempting us to interpret correctly how it will unfold throughout the story.

Sidney's narrative provokes its reader to engage its text in critical discernment about character and political consequence with regard to Basilius. Most conspicuously, immediately after Cleophila (Pyrocles in disguise) averts the political danger of armed rebellion by the Arcadian commoners, the narrator explains to the reader how Basilius privately bears in mind the Delphic oracle, interpreting the preceding course of events as fulfillment of its prophecies. At this point, Basilius has fallen in love with the disguised protagonist. Before moving onward with the story, the narrator specifies, "Thus the fawning humour of false hope made him take everything to his own best; and such is the selfness of affection that, because his mind ran wholly upon Cleophila, he thought the gods in their oracles did mind nothing but her" (*OA*, 133-134). Sidney's narrative thus uses the incident to help stimulate readers' memory of the oracle quoted at the beginning of Book One, and this comment by the narrator cues the reader to keep in mind the

oracle's specific text and wonder what it will really mean. Clearly, a seeming crisis in the Arcadian state will be linked to the duke's self-deception and to the disguised prince's courtship of his daughters. The narrative moment further engages our attention to the question of consequences for Basilius's actions, while distancing us further from his judgment on the matter.¹⁶⁵ Here, as often occurs in the poetics of Silva's *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* and elsewhere in the *Arcadia*, Sidney's narrative relies on its reader's acumen to perpetuate the work's overarching theme of Basilius's irrational reason.

Understanding Sidney's method in these early Books of *Old Arcadia* proves essential for interpreting the political tension and legal debate figured forth in Books Four and Five. Analysis in this chapter and in Chapter Four below builds upon the premise that Sidney's *Old Arcadia* "exploit[s] and relishe[s] the problems, internal contradictions, and even absurdities that ensue when positive law seeks to judge or suppress 'natural' sexuality," such that "the actual terms and subtleties of Natural Law are less significant than acknowledgment of its existence as something which licences the possibility that positive laws may be challenged."¹⁶⁶ Sidney's narrative frames this issue as central to the

¹⁶⁵ Cf. M. McCanles 1983: "If for Basilius what is at issue is how to conduct his own life, for the reader it is how to conduct his reading of Sidney's text. And Sidney's remarkable ingenuity becomes apparent when we realize that the solutions of both conundrums are radically interdependent. For Basilius is as much a reader and interpreter as is Sidney's intended audience, and the focus of the main plot is specifically on Basilius' failure as an interpreter of texts" (p. 238; rpt. in A. F. Kinney 1986b, pp. 382-383). To complement this impression, in dialogue with Cleophila (Pyrocles) in Book Three, as the disguised prince tricks the duke with the idea of their supposed rendezvous and suggests that he keep his marital bed chaste in the meantime, Basilius provides the reader an ironic hint of foreshadowing, a cue for us to recall the oracle: "'What,' said he, 'shall my wife become my mistress?'" (*OA*, 220).

¹⁶⁶ R. S. White 1996, pp. 135, 136 (see pp. 134-148 on *OA*; cf. pp. 92-102 on Sidney's *DP* and English arguments about poetic fiction c.1579). Cf. Chapter Two above; also notes 185 and 187 here below. B. C. Lockey 2006, in contrast, conjectures that Sidney was familiar with Spanish Natural-Law debate provoked by Bartolomé de las Casas with regard to transatlantic conquest and legal rights of indigenous subjects, thus arguing, with regard to Euarchus's involvement as judge in *OA* Book Five, that "Sidney's narrative depends on applying the ethical regime of natural law to acts of foreign intervention" (p. 64). Lockey's discussion associates the Spanish chivalric-romance genre with notions of "transnational justice" in a tenuous manner (though with good intuition) but neither mentions Feliciano de Silva nor addresses the matter of *OA*'s literary sources (see pp. 47-79). R. E. Stillman 2008 defines Natural-Law arguments in Sidney's *DP* as a legacy of Melanchthon's tracts of the 1530s written in response to the Wars of the

entire work through ironic wording of the Delphic oracle's prophecy in Book One: Philoclea "shall with nature's [i.e., Nature's] bliss embrace / An uncouth love, which nature [i.e., Basilius's parental instinct and societal custom] hateth most" (*OA*, 5).¹⁶⁷ Analyzing Sidney's methodology of imitating and varying Silva's work in Gohory's translation reveals the narrative logic built into Books One through Three of *Old Arcadia* and therefore helps explain more precisely the overarching narrative logic by which this prophecy comes true in Sidney's fiction.¹⁶⁸ Given critical engagement with this oracular text and with the language of Sidney's narration, the reader alone may perceive further irony which proceeds in Book Five when both young princes are condemned to death for "ravishment" of the two Arcadian princesses: that is, in response to allegations that Pyrocles has raped Philoclea and that Musidorus has intended to abduct Pamela (*OA*, 406). Readers alone, especially if we know Sidney's sources, can appreciate that irony, given our impression of how they have indeed "ravished" their lovers, though in a virtuous sense of neo-Platonic enrapture.¹⁶⁹

Language suggestive of philosophical enrapture applied to the protagonist lovers in Books One through Three of *Old Arcadia* resembles Gohory's embellishments in translating Silva's work. Analysis of such language, however, must come in stride with its context in the narrative trajectory of Sidney's imitation, because Sidney's fiction does

Schmalkaldan League, filtered through later works by John Ponet, George Buchanan, and Sidney's friend Philippe Duplessis-Mornay (pp. xii-xiii, 169-216).

¹⁶⁷ W. A. Ringler edits this ironic diction in the oracle as "Nature" and "Nature" (ed. P. Sidney, *Poems*, p. 11). Variant capitalization in extant sixteenth-century manuscripts would result from each individual scribe's prerogative, determined either by following a prior scribe's choice or by his own interpretation of the prophecy. Surprisingly, R. S. White 1996 does not address this language in the *Arcadia's* oracular prediction.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. M. McCanles 1983 on narrative logic of this prophetic "fore-conceit" for *Arcadia* (*DP*, 79), but see note 154 above.

¹⁶⁹ Contrast J. Catty 1999 (pp. 42-49) and C. S. Ross 2003 (pp. 56-62) on "ravishment" as ambiguous in *OA*.

not invest the philosophical meaning of words in metaphysical symbolism, as Gohory does through his embellishment with the magical towers. Sidney's more verisimilar fiction creates meaning through words as used in a particular narrative moment within a specific context. Words impress themselves upon a reader and are to be remembered as used with regard to a character's personal *ethos* and intentions. In other words, specific words presented within specific contexts build *character* within Sidney's fiction. When *Old Arcadia* applies philosophical language, it does so for an immediate purpose of character development.

This emphasis helps explain how the Delphic oracle in *Old Arcadia* occurs as a matter inseparable from other plot motifs drawn from Feliciano de Silva's fiction via Gohory's translation. What Sidney's imitation retains is the precise logic underlying his paradigm's narrative trajectory, a logic that affords variation in detail and verisimilitude. Indeed, with regard to Basilius, it is in order to enhance the aesthetic effects of character development and contrast that Sidney eliminates magical or fantastical elements from this primary source material. According to Sidney's poetic theory, it is not the exact descriptions and words which captivate the mind's eye and lend themselves to memory; it is the affective delight of narrative moments that stimulates memory. For that reason, precise word choice in provocative fictional scenarios matters tremendously.

So does a reader's schema of memorable poetic images from delightful reading in the past. Bearing in mind the poetics of imitation and variation at play in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* and in Silva's other works within the *Amadís* cycle, analyzed in Chapter Two above, one may speculate that Sidney's primary original audience for *Old Arcadia*—his sister, the Countess of Pembroke—probably was familiar with Feliciano de

Silva's stories (probably in French translation). Thus we may speculate that young Mary Sidney Herbert, upon reading how Duke Basilius removes his family from society due to the Delphic oracle, a pastoral retreat which constitutes Sidney's version of a sequestered-princess motif as in Silva's work from the *Amadís* cycle, might even have anticipated that a love-by-image motif and a disguise motif would follow.

In *Old Arcadia*, as in Silva's *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* (and hence in "Book" Eleven of the French *Amadis* cycle), the interlacement of these three motifs occurs rapidly and thus more obviously for the reader than in Silva's *Amadís de Grecia*. Moreover, in these two works—in contrast with Silva's *Amadís de Grecia* and Sidney's revised "New" *Arcadia*—the young prince who falls in love with a secluded princess by means of an artistic image has no prior experience in love: neither a mutual love (as with Amadís and Luscela in *Amadís de Grecia*, Bk. I) nor tender memory of one who has loved him and died (as with Pyrocles and Zelmane in *New Arcadia*). Pyrocles, like Agesilao with Diana in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* (and thus Agesilan with Diane in Gohory's translation), becomes stricken with Philoclea's image while young and instantly resolves to transform himself through Amazonian disguise in order to woo her. In *Old Arcadia*, as in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* and in Gohory's partial translation, the work as a whole revolves around this personal metamorphosis and its relevance to internal and external character conflicts. In translating only the first half of that work by Silva as "Book" Eleven of the French *Amadis* cycle, Gohory's rendition of the love story achieves amplified structural focus on this particular trio of interlaced motifs. The structural unity of Books One through Three in *Old Arcadia* mirrors that of Gohory's translation.

Certain aspects of Sidney's narrative, such as Musidorus's disguise as a shepherd rather than as an Amazonian female like Pyrocles, correspond with aspects of similar motifs employed elsewhere in Silva's oeuvre (mostly preserved in French translations),¹⁷⁰ but the central source model for *Old Arcadia* remains Gohory's "Book" Eleven for the French *Amadis* cycle. Pyrocles's specific experience of falling in love with Philoclea and transforming himself into an Amazonian woman closely resembles that of Agesilao falling in love with Diana and embracing the same metamorphosis in order to woo the secluded princess. In that episode and in the dialogue between Pyrocles and Musidorus immediately following it, Sidney's narrative capitalizes upon certain embellishments added to Silva's narrative by Gohory. Sidney invents variation in the source model involving two disguised princes for the purposes of verisimilitude, plot conflict, character development, and reader complicity with both protagonist princes.

A distinct matter of international politics mentioned in Book One of *Old Arcadia*, for instance, fuels its imitation of Silva's interlaced motifs with regard to the protagonist princes' background. Sidney's heroes, Pyrocles and Musidorus, like Silva's Agesilao and Arlanges, grow up together as well educated cousins. *Old Arcadia* associates these young princes' upbringing together and their arrival in Arcadia indirectly with a period of political aggression by monarchs surrounding the realm of Macedonia ("Macedon"),

¹⁷⁰ J. J. O'Connor 1970 (pp. 188, 263 n. 10) associates Musidorus's shepherd disguise with Florisel of Niquea's pastoral guise employed for gaining access to the lovely Silvia in Silva's *FN1* [Fr. *Am.* IX]: a subplot developed as an extension from the concluding chapters of Silva's *Am.Gr.* Sidney might also have imitated Silva's new focus for his Rogel character as protagonist in *FN4*, which was not translated into French. There Silva employs his sequestered-princess and disguise motifs together in a new way to emphasize a hero's social transformation into a shepherd to win the heart of his beloved through prowess and poetic talent exercised within her unique pastoral court, the Lumberque Valley. E. J. Sales Dasí 2003 emphasizes this combination of motifs within *FN4*, and J. Jiménez Ruiz 2002 provides lengthy footnotes on its "poetics of metamorphosis" in comparison with that of *FN3*. On Rogel's new central love interest in *FN4* with regard to his carefree love affairs in *FN3*, see M. C. Daniels 1992, pp. 174-187. On the enhanced pastoral setting and proliferation of bucolic poetry in *FN4*, see S. P. Cravens 1976, pp. 75-90 (cf. pp. 34, 91-108, 123-127); and A. Río Noguera 2002.

ruled by Pyrocles's father Euarchus, an exemplary king renowned for his justice. Euarchus's reputation incites the envy and fear of neighboring rulers in Thrace (to the northeast), Pannonia (to the northwest), and Epirus (to the southwest), who speculate that "his virtues, joined now to the fame and force of the Macedonians, might in time both conquer the bodies and win the minds of their subjects" (*OA*, 10). Their allied invasions begin a ten-year period of warfare with Macedonia and prompt Euarchus to send his six-year-old son Pyrocles to grow up with his seven-year-old nephew Musidorus, "cousin german" to Pyrocles and "duke of Thessalia," where Euarchus's sister, who serves as "dowager and regent of Thessalia" during Musidorus's minority, educates the young princes together (*OA*, 10).

As in *Old Arcadia*'s chivalric source material, these protagonists' companionship helps them thrive in learning and virtue. The narrator emphasizes, with regard to Euarchus's choice for his son's education,

though it proceeded of necessity, yet was not the counsel in itself unwise, the sweet emulation that grew being an excellent nurse of the good parts in these two princes, two princes indeed born to the exercise of virtue. For they, accompanying the increase of their years with the increase of all good inward and outward qualities, and taking very timely into their minds that the divine part of man was not enclosed in this body for nothing, gave themselves wholly over to those knowledges which might in the course of their life be ministers to well doing. (*OA*, 10)¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ Jean Robertson notes, "The description of the upbringing and education of Pyrocles and Musidorus would seem to owe something to Xenophon's account of the early training of Cyrus; and it is possible that the idea of introducing a political theme into his romance derived from his early reading of Xenophon. [...] The *Cyropaedia* was the principal Greek text in the school curriculum at Shrewsbury. Sidney refers to it in his letter to Languet of 15 April 1574, and in his letter to his brother Robert of 18 October 1580, and mentions it no less than eight times in the *Defence of Poesy*" (ed. P. Sidney, *OA*, p. xxv and n. 1) (for texts of the letters, see P. Sidney, *Complete Works*, ed. A. Feuillerat, vol. 3, pp. 87-90, 130-133). Another recommendation of Xenophon by Sidney occurs in a letter to Edward Denny dated 22 May 1580, written from Wilton, where Sidney completed his *OA* (letter discovered in 1971; see J. M. Osborn 1972, pp. 535-540; cf. J. Buxton 1972). Cf. K. Duncan-Jones 1991, pp. 26-27, 172-174; A. Stewart 2000, p. 45; J. M. Osborn 1972, p. 369; and J. Considine 2002. On the *Cyropaedia* and Sidney's *DP*, see S. K. Heninger 1989, pp. 278-280; M. J. Doherty 1991, pp. 12-28; and R. E. Stillman 2008, pp. 217-238.

Thus, as in Silva's feigned *Chronicle of Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* (and French *Amadis* "Book" Eleven), we meet a pair of young princes remarkable for their friendship and education. As noted above, in this original *Arcadia*, Pyrocles, like Agesilao, has no prior experience in love. Yet, Sidney's imitation varies that paradigm somewhat in terms of these young heroes' experience as knights errant preceding that of love. By the time Pyrocles and Musidorus have reached the ages of seventeen and eighteen, Euarchus has conquered Thrace and has made the other two invading realms his "tributaries"; now residing in "the principal city of Thrace called at that time Byzantium," he invites his son and nephew to join him there and "enjoy the fruits of his victories" (*OA*, 10). When they embark for Byzantium, though, a "terrible tempest" diverts their course, leading to a sequence of adventures in foreign lands, where they spend a year winning fame through prowess in arms before returning to Greece, passing through Arcadia on their way northward (*OA*, 11). Here, as in varying the sequestered-princess motif, Sidney's invention aims for enhanced verisimilitude, addressing historical regions that sixteenth-century readers could locate on Mercator's maps.¹⁷² While in Arcadia, Pyrocles views a portrait of Philoclea, and hence occur in rapid succession the love-by-image and disguise motifs.

Sidney's imitation establishes for *Old Arcadia* an overall structure focused more tightly upon this interlacement of motifs than that of either *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* or Gohory's partial translation as French *Amadis* "Book" Eleven. Sidney's narrative clearly defines its protagonist princes as chivalric heroes but self-consciously

¹⁷² Robertson's edition reproduces "Mercator's Map X of Europe" (p. [515]), which includes Macedonia, Thessalia, Thrace, Epirus, and Arcadia. Ancient Pannonia occupied territory in Austria and Hungary around the Save valley, south of the Danube river. Contrast C. C. Relihan 1995 and R. W. Maslen 2002 on geography's function in *OA*.

restricts its realm of action to the courtly Arcadian *locus amoenus*. Their chivalric adventures abroad occur only as anecdotes related by the narrator or characters within the story. In Book One, that matter serves as a quick transition between the narrator's brief account of their background and his introduction of the love-by-image motif. That narrative transition confirms for the reader that these young princes fit the mold of protagonists in the source material from which their basic story is drawn. They both come from illustrious royal stock, from a dynasty that, through virtuous action, has acquired a position of just rule at Byzantium (Constantinople). Within Spain's chivalric-romance tradition (including French translations), Constantinople represents a symbolic hub of Christian empire, established and maintained as such by the Amadís-Oriana dynasty within Montalvo's and Silva's fiction. Pyrocles and Musidorus, son and nephew of a monarch ruling that city, have sallied forth in arms to foreign lands defending damsels in distress and battling injustice, and in doing so they have won fame in Greece. Sidney's narrative attributes the impetus for their adventures to a storm at sea, that most common *topos* for a providential change of course in Spanish chivalric-romance fiction: "so pleased it God, who reserved them to greater traverses, both of good and evil fortune, that the sea, to which they committed themselves, stirred with terrible tempest, forced them to fall far from their course" (*OA*, 10-11). Yet, in this cursory initial summary of their accomplishments abroad, the narrator employs a combination of rhetorical *topoi*—that of *praeteritio* and that of authorial humility—to suggest that relating those feats would require a "higher" style than his own: the providential "tempest" at sea

forced them to fall far from their course upon the coast of Lydia where, what befell unto them, what valiant acts they did, passing in one year's space through the lesser Asia, Syria, and Egypt, how many ladies they defended from wrongs, and disinherited persons restored to their rights, it

is a work for a higher style than mine. This only shall suffice: that their fame returned so fast before them into Greece that the king of Macedon received that as the comfort of their absence, although accompanied with so much more longing as he found the manifestation of their worthiness greater. But they, desirous more and more to exercise their virtues and increase their experience, took their journey from Egypt towards Greece. (OA, 11)

This passage simultaneously captures a general impression of chivalric daring for the story's protagonists and emphasizes that this particular narrative will *not* focus on such action. It places the heroes back in Greece, and two sentences later they have arrived in the realm of Arcadia and have heard word of Duke Basilius's "strange solitariness" there (OA, 11). The next sentence takes these heroes to the house of Kerxenus in Mantinea, near the *locus amoenus* where Basilius keeps his family, and it is there in Kerxenus's art gallery that Pyrocles sees a portrait of Philoclea and falls in love. Like Agesilao (rather than Amadís of Greece), he feels no reservations in this new love, and, given his proximity to the sequestered princess, he need not even travel to reach her secluded court as does Agesilao (FN3, Ch. 15-17). Unlike Agesilao, Pyrocles already has proven his prowess in arms and has acquired a name for himself as knight errant. Thus, in contrast with the love story of Agesilao and Diana in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* (and in Gohory's partial translation), that of Pyrocles and Philoclea in *Old Arcadia* occurs entirely within the courtly pastoral setting of her seclusion. Also, rather than present an expansive array of parallel stories and dramatic foils for exemplary contrast, the five narrative Books of Sidney's *Old Arcadia* focus entirely on plotlines established through the interlaced motifs drawn from Silva's work in Gohory's translation, regarding the two princes and Basilius's two daughters within the fixed *locus amoenus*.

Sidney's imitation of the love-by-image motif—which, interlaced tightly with the Amazonian disguise motif, provides a logical narrative bridge taking the young heroes quickly to that courtly pastoral setting—facilitates structural and thematic emphasis important for *Old Arcadia* as a whole. In the gallery of Kerxenus's house, Pyrocles sees a portrait of Basilius, Gynecia, and their younger daughter Philoclea, recently painted “by an excellent artificer” (*OA*, 11). He falls in love through an expert human representation of Philoclea's beauty, as with Agesilao in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* (and Agesilao in Gohory's translation), rather than through an enchanted image as with Amadís and Niquea in *Amadís de Grecia*.¹⁷³ Whereas the portrait of Diana in Sidney's source circulates widely with Sidonia's challenge attached, informing Agesilao of his new beloved's seclusion and family situation,¹⁷⁴ Sidney's hero views a portrait of the sequestered princess alongside her parents that prompts him to ask Kerxenus about her current situation and learn immediately about “her strange captivity” and that “there was a general opinion grown the duke would grant his daughters in marriage to nobody” (*OA*, 11). Structurally and thematically, this narrative moment serves a function in *Old Arcadia* similar to that of Agesilao receiving Sidonia's challenge in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*. Sidonia aims to exact her desired revenge against Florisel, as well as protect Diana's virtue, by imposing restrictions upon her daughter's availability for marriage and publicizing them throughout the world; yet, in doing so, the queen's devotion to her own

¹⁷³ The portrait itself captures an impression of Philoclea's virtues to complement Pyrocles's reaction to it: “therein, besides the show of her beauties, a man might judge even the nature of her countenance, full of bashfulness, love, and reverence—and all by the cast of her eye,—mixed with a sweet grief to find her virtue suspected” (*OA*, 11). This emphasis closely follows that of Silva's narrator (noted in Chapter Two above) in describing how the portrait of Diana conveys her “honesty” through the “reverence” and “gravity” of her beauty (*FN3*, Ch. 13; cf. *Fr. Am.* XI, Ch. 14).

¹⁷⁴ Gohory's translation of *FN3*, Ch. 14 (*Fr. Am.* XI, Ch. 15) amplifies this emphasis with an overt reminder to the reader about Sidonia's challenge and some embellishment regarding the Athenian context in which Agesilao views it (*F. Silva* 1559 [*Fr. Am.* XI], fol. XXVII.r-v [sig. E.iiii.r-v]).

impassioned reasoning provides a catalyst that leads to Diana's secret marriage within the confines of her seclusion. Basilius, on the other hand, sequesters his daughters in fearful reaction to oracular prediction that Pamela will "be stolen and yet not lost" and that Philoclea will "embrace / An uncouth love"; he wants to protect them from noble suitors, the "princely means" by which the prophecy may come true (*OA*, 5). According to extant manuscripts of Sidney's *Old Arcadia*, the Delphic oracle in this original version of the narrative does not overtly mention marriage.¹⁷⁵ Yet, the duke's action generates a popular impression within his realm that he aims to deny his daughters the right to marriage. That impression moves Pyrocles's heart further toward Philoclea in "pity" because "the most noble heart is most subject unto it" (*OA*, 11). Thus, Basilius's reasoning defeats itself. His own actions lead to the princes' secret courtship of his daughters in Books One and Two and hence to the young lovers' secret marriages in Book Three.

Sidney's combination of the love-by-image and Amazonian disguise motifs imposes a variation significant for character development and thematic emphasis. Young Pyrocles, like young Agesilao, possesses a "noble heart" conducive to the feelings of "pity" and "love" provoked by his experience with the portrait of Diana:

when with pity once his heart was made tender, according to the aptness of the humour [i.e., that of pity to pierce a "noble heart"], it received straight a cruel impression of that wonderful passion which to be defined is impossible, by reason no words reach near to the strange nature of it. They only know it which inwardly feel it. It is called love. (*OA*, 11-12)

This emphasis on "love" possessing a "strange nature" beyond "reason," understandable only through experience, proves crucial for interpreting the structural and thematic focus

¹⁷⁵ Sidney's revised version of the oracle's text, first printed in 1590, adds a line emphasizing marriage: "Both they themselves unto such two shall wed" (J. Robertson, ed. P. Sidney, *OA*, p. 5 [textual gloss]).

of Sidney's original *Arcadia* with regard to character development. Pyrocles falls in love and seeks the counsel of his cousin Musidorus, as Agesilao does with his cousin Arlanges. Yet, in contrast with that source material (in Silva's work and in Gohory's translation), Sidney's young hero does not receive a plan of action from his companion but rather concocts the scheme of Amazonian disguise for himself. Sidney's narrative emphasizes that "love, the refiner of invention, put[s] in his head a way how to come to the sight of his Philoclea," and that he prepares the disguise himself "with great speed and secrecy," conversing with Musidorus afterward as a matter of "reverence" for his elder cousin, "both to perform the true laws of friendship and withal to have his counsel and allowance" (*OA*, 12).

Sidney's variation here alters the function of this lovelorn prince's dialogue with his cousin. Musidorus, like Arlanges, has not yet fallen in love. The portrait that Pyrocles has seen in his Arcadian host's gallery includes Philoclea but not Pamela, and Musidorus will not meet Pamela until he and Pyrocles enter the sequestered princesses' pastoral court, as Arlanges does not meet Queen Cleofila until he and Agesilao have infiltrated Diana's secret court. Yet, Musidorus, unlike Arlanges, supports his cousin's plan only reluctantly, after much debate in which he argues against the idea, and afterward he does not undertake the Amazonian metamorphosis with Pyrocles.

This variation of the paradigm in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* (as well as Gohory's translation) allows for Musidorus's distinct social metamorphosis into a shepherd after he has covertly followed his cousin into the *locus amoenus* and seen Pamela. In addition to the aesthetic delight of variation itself within the motif, this innovation provides an enhanced sense of character development rooted in the maxim

quoted above, regarding love's "strange nature" as a "wonderful passion" transcending "reason" and comprehensible to Musidorus only when he "inwardly feel[s]" its transforming power. Prior to the dialogue between Pyrocles and Musidorus—which, as in Sidney's source material, serves as a direct conduit between the love-by-image motif and the Amazonian disguise motif—readers already have a clear impression of the heroes as noble characters, without yet having heard them speak. Characterization and character development in *Old Arcadia* occur through rhetoric, most conspicuously through this opening dialogue between the two princes in Book One.¹⁷⁶ Sidney invents character by altering Gohory's variation of dialogue between Agesilao and Arlanges in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*. Sidney's version of the episode posits for *Old Arcadia* a recurrent notion that love fuels mental "invention," including schemes such as disguise, as well as characters' invention of lyric poetry.¹⁷⁷

Because no previous study has recognized Gohory's work as the source from which Sidney invents this dialogue between Pyrocles and Musidorus, the matter demands detailed analysis here. Gohory's translation revises the dialogue between Agesilao and

¹⁷⁶ S. K. Heninger 1989 notes that their debate in Book One "may be fruitfully analyzed as two intersecting prosopoeias, what the rhetoricians called *dialogismos*. In such an exchange each speaker is defined not only positively by what he says, but also in contradistinction by the statement of his adversary. [...] Speech whenever it occurs in the *Arcadia*—from the mouth of Basilius or Dametas, from Gynecia or Miso, from Pamela or Mopsa—is always carefully crafted to expose the character who speaks. Speech, the language he or she uses, *is* character, the image of the action this character performs in the plot [as it exists at that narrative moment]" (pp. 412-413; cf. p. 580 nn. 23-24). Cf. G. Alexander 2007, pp. 97-98, 103-105.

¹⁷⁷ Pyrocles echoes this emphasis by the narrator shortly afterward in debate with Musidorus (*OA*, 18). In Book Two, when Cleophila (Pyrocles in disguise) thinks she/he is alone and begins singing while Basilius eavesdrops, the narrator emphasizes that "as love, though it be a passion, hath in itself a very active manner of working, so had she in her brain all sorts of invention by which she might come to some satisfaction of it" (*OA*, 113). In Book Three, when Cleophila (Pyrocles) leads on Gynecia in her sexual advances according to the scheme she/he has concocted to trick Gynecia and Basilius so as to spend a night alone with Philoclea, the narrator comments on the "skill" she/he has developed in such "invention": "Cleophila (who had now to play her prize), seeing no way things could long remain in that state, and now finding her promise had tied her trial to a small compass of time, began to throw her thoughts into each corner of her invention, how she might achieve her life's enterprise. For well she knew deceit cannot otherwise be maintained but by deceit. And how to deceive such heedful eyes, and how to satisfy, and yet not satisfy, such hopeful desires, it was no small skill" (*OA*, 206-207).

Arlanges to take on the form of a medical consultation regarding Agesilao's sudden onset of lovesickness in the love-by-image episode. In Sidney's love-by-image episode, the narrator, like Silva's in Chapter 14 of *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, emphasizes the young hero's confusion and mental transformation amidst this powerful first experience in love; yet, in doing so, he uses language distinct from that of Silva's Spanish text but resonant with that of Gohory's translation—which emphasizes Agesilao's "vehement imagination" in experiencing this new emotion of love, characterized as "strange passion" which causes "sudden change in him" resembling the "sickness in plain health" and "hope in fear" called "Love" by "the wise" (or rather "those who know") ("*les sages*") (Fr. *Am.* XI, Ch. 15).¹⁷⁸ In the princes' debate which follows immediately afterward, Gohory's French Arlanges, unlike Silva's character, suggests various "medicines" ("*medecins*") and "remed[ies]" ("*remede*") for Agesilao's "malady" ("*maladie*") of "melancholy" ("*melancolie*") before recognizing the severity of his cousin's condition and proposing the plan of Amazonian disguise (Fr. *Am.* XI, Ch. 15).¹⁷⁹ Sidney's narrator characterizes Pyrocles's new "love" as a "disease" which at first he cannot properly diagnose, a "wound" that he initially underestimates, a progression of "uncertain wishes" and "unquiet longings" advancing to the point that "each thing he saw seemed to figure out some part of his passions," and a "burden" to which he soon "yield[s]," thus "finding himself prisoner before he had leisure to arm himself" (OA, 12).

¹⁷⁸ [trans.] F. Silva 1559 [Fr. *Am.* XI]: "*vehemente ymagination*"; "*passion estrange*"; "*ceste mutation en luy soudaine*"; "*la maladie en pleine santé, l'espoir en crainte, le doux tourment que les sages ont appellé Amour*" (fol. XXVIII.v [sig. E.iii.v]). In Gohory's translation, these comments follow embellishment about the portrait (see note 174 here above), an allusion to "*Pigmalion*," and a poem in three stanzas replacing the one in Silva's text. Then follows Agesilao's exclamation to Diane. In FN3, Agesilao's monologue includes a brief exclamation to "*Santa María*," then to "*Amor*" and "*Razón*," then to Diana, then his own personal prayer of quasi-religious devotion concluding with mention of his father Falanges; then comes the poem (see Chapter Two above, at note 138).

¹⁷⁹ F. Silva 1559 [Fr. *Am.* XI], fol. XXIX.r-v (sig. E.v.r-v).

In the lovesick prince's consultation with his elder cousin just afterward, Musidorus diagnoses these symptoms as a dangerous illness of "passion" that will cause a falling away from virtue. Pyrocles, too, amidst his feelings of love in Philoclea's absence, characterizes himself as "sick, and sick to the death," but he emphasizes that his "melancholy" in contemplating his own situation "hath brought forth for the preparation at least of a salve, if it be not in itself a medicine": that is, his plan of disguise (*OA*, 24, 18). Sidney's imitation follows Gohory's "medical" version of Silva's narrative; yet, his variation of making this idea for Amazonian disguise a matter of the lovesick prince's own "invention" invents for Pyrocles an enhanced self-awareness and personal resolution in the debate.

Sidney's imitation amplifies and alters the dialogue of Agesilan and Arlanges primarily to convey for the reader an impression of amplified character development through experience of love. As noted above in Chapter Two, Silva's young hero Agesilao demonstrates significant self-awareness about his ancestry and about his own condition in love. In the love-by-image episode, his monologue and ensuing dialogue with Arlanges emphasize a sense of "folly in love" ("*sandez de amor*") he feels in Diana's absence: a poetic impression which Silva's narrative in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* elevates above other characters' more base, sensual notion of "folly" ("*sandez*") in love. In the corresponding episode of Sidney's *Old Arcadia*, the narrator attributes a sense of "folly" to the obsessive manner in which Pyrocles's mind fixates upon the smallest mundane details with regard to his beloved, but immediately following that sentence comes the narrator's emphasis on the young prince channeling that new sense of "invention" toward the idea of Amazonian disguise (*OA*, 12). In response to his elder

cousin's initial concern about his newly evident "solitariness" potentially leading to lapse in virtuous action, Pyrocles emphasizes that he does not fully understand "all the peculiarities" of his new melancholy but denies that it necessarily diverts him from "higher thoughts," arguing instead that "solitariness" can "nurse" his "contemplations": "the workings of the mind, I find, much more infinite than can be led unto by the eye or imagined by any that distract their thoughts without themselves" (*OA*, 14-15). When he admits his feelings of love and his plan for female disguise, his language regarding "the fatal overthrow of all my liberty" as a matter of life and death resembles that of Agesilao in Silva's text and its French translation.¹⁸⁰ Yet, at the same time, he conveys not the sense of paralysis found with Agesilao (and the French Agesilan) but rather firm resolution: "I am resolved, because all direct ways are barred me of opening my suit to the duke, to take upon me the estate of an Amazon lady going about the world to practise feats of chivalry and to seek myself a worthy husband" (*OA*, 18).

Pyrocles's plan encapsulates the narrative logic underlying Sidney's interlaced motifs drawn from Silva's work in Gohory's translation, even more pithily than in that source material. This resolution and mental invention by Pyrocles represent what seems to him the only practical solution for his situation in love. Pyrocles is fully aware of conventional suit for the hand of an *amour*, which circumstances prohibit in the case of Philoclea. Amazonian disguise seems logical as an approximation of his own virtuous actions as knight errant prior to this transformation in love. He even bears in mind the

¹⁸⁰ P. Sidney, *OA*, ed. J. Robertson: "since it was the fatal overthrow of all my liberty to see in the gallery of Mantinea the only Philoclea's picture, that beauty did pierce so through mine eyes to my heart that the impression of it doth not lie but live there, in such sort as the question is not now whether I shall love or no, but whether loving, I shall live or die. [...] And hereabout will I haunt till, by the help of this disguising, I may come to the presence of her whose imprisonment darkens the world, that my own eyes may be witnesses to my heart it is great reason why he should be thus captived" (pp. 17-18). Cf. *FN3*, Ch. 14; *Fr. Am.* XI, Ch. 15.

pretense of potential marriage to reflect his own genuine desire to marry Philoclea. The hero's plan for Amazonian disguise represents a new form of virtuous action within the adventure of his current circumstances in love, which he aims to face head-on, relying on his own "industry" and on his faith in "new secret helps" amidst unknown "fortune" and "occasion" to come.¹⁸¹ Musidorus does not initially comprehend his younger cousin's resolution as such only because at this point he has never experienced love.

This critical perspective revises recent rhetorical analysis of the two princes' debate. Jeffrey Dolven emphasizes that Musidorus's initial reaction to his younger cousin's confession of love represents earnestly sententious counsel which deems Pyrocles's condition a matter of "ethical emergency" and "sickness" which must be cured.¹⁸² Wendy Olmsted highlights the fact that Musidorus concedes his firm stance in the debate out of loving friendship, rather than being persuaded by rational argument.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ P. Sidney, *OA*, ed. J. Robertson: "then, as I shall have attained to the first degree of my happiness, so will fortune, occasion, and mine own industry put forward the rest. For the principal point is to set in a good way the thing we desire; for then will time itself daily discover new secret helps" (p. 18). R. A. Lanham 1965 notes, too, that "Pyrocles is not foregoing altogether a life of active self-assertion but rather transferring his endeavors from the field of courtly battle to that of courtly love"; but, in reading this scene as "a mockery of the typical epic 'arming-scene,'" Lanham interprets Pyrocles's disguise (as well as that of Musidorus) as "upsetting loss of self-control and hence of inner harmony" (pp. 204, 207).

¹⁸² J. Dolven 2007, p. 107. Dolven observes, "What the reader is allowed to overhear is the process of *inventio*: Musidorus is arguing by the book, gathering matter from the commonplaces of his memory, whence he retrieves, of course, *sententiae*. [...] The scene hammers home that idea of *sententia*-as-antidote already encountered in Lyly and Ascham. It is the trope of ethical constancy and autonomy, of the self that finds 'nothing without it if so high a price for which it should be altered' [*OA*, 13]. The sickness it is meant to cure is metamorphosis, what Ascham would regard as a Circean transformation. [...] *Sententia* will continue to associate itself with Stoicism [in Sidney's *OA*], as the rhetorical form of an ethical attitude, an attitude whose gospel of autonomy and *apatheia* was widely received in Renaissance humanism (and not least in classroom instruction)" (p. 107). Reading Musidorus's speech in tandem with Erasmus's *Adagia*, *Apophthegmata*, and *Institutio Principis Christiani*, Dolven suggests that its barrage of *sententiae* might have given contemporary readers the impression that it pushes maxim too far toward the point of axiom (pp. 108-115). Compare note 156 here above on the overarching thesis of Dolven's book.

¹⁸³ W. Olmsted 2005 associates the debate's outcome with "a gentle strand in the history of emotional persuasion in which speakers accommodate themselves to the imperfections of their friends," arguing that, "despite all the praise of masculine self-rule, it must be seen that emotion and gentle persuasion play positive roles in Renaissance/Reformation thought and in Sidney's understandings of conversation and friendship" (p. 157). Cf. J. Richards 1995 and W. Olmsted 2008, pp. 3-53; also L. D. Green 1994, R. Strier 2004, and J. S. McCullough [2006].

Attention to how Sidney reshapes the chivalric source material helps refine and re-direct those observations.

Here readers witness contrast between, on the one hand, Musidorus's rational *inventio* with sententious arguments, and on the other, Pyrocles's idea of Amazonian disguise as a "remedy" for his current situation, an "invention" fueled by his experience of love (*OA*, 26, 12). Modern interpretation of contrast between the two princes' rhetoric has remained conflicted: as to whether Sidney's narrative provokes readers to wonder whether both princes should have followed Musidorus's rational counsel provided here before he meets Pamela, or whether this dialogue instead conveys the impression that Musidorus's *sententiae* represent somewhat stuffy old lore transcended by the protagonists' experience in love.¹⁸⁴ Attention to Sidney's method helps identify how that difference in rhetoric represents a matter of character contrast within this immediate narrative context, wherein Pyrocles has experienced love and Musidorus has not. Musidorus agrees to condone his younger cousin's plan only after Pyrocles refuses to accept rational argumentation as his sole guide. Pyrocles insists that his new love has become a part of himself and that pursuing it would provide the only cure for his current lovesickness in Philoclea's absence. Musidorus then embraces Pyrocles's new mode of "invention" leading to metamorphosis as soon as he first views Pamela in the *locus amoenus*.

Sidney twists his source model toward this manner of character development in order to enhance reader engagement with both protagonist princes. *Old Arcadia* injects

¹⁸⁴ Contrast, for instance, readings of this debate in terms of religious poetics (A. D. Weiner 1978, p. 68; Å. Bergvall 1989, p. 72) versus rhetorical equivocation (R. C. McCoy 1979, p. 64; J. Dolven 2007, p. 108). W. Olmsted 2008 (pp. 20-53) associates this episode with honorable *ethos* in the protagonist princes' rhetoric later in *OA*.

irony into its presentation of Musidorus's philosophical arguments in Book One. In terms of situational irony, Musidorus's arguments about reason and constancy in this context of the princes' debate prove ironic for the reader on a thematic and structural level, after Musidorus himself embraces metamorphosis in love. For an educated sixteenth-century reader, his speech also proves ironic here within its immediate context, in relief with Pyrocles's replies. Analysis of their philosophical discourse helps reveal that significant element of irony, which has not been identified in previous studies with regard to its poetic effect for characterization.

Old Arcadia's presentation of philosophical debate in Book One would leave an educated sixteenth-century reader with a favorable impression of Pyrocles's resolution to transform himself in disguise—a poetic impression which, in turn, validates Musidorus's subsequent metamorphosis by means of delightful irony. Musidorus waxes philosophical in voicing initial shock that such an idea of female disguise could be proposed by “the only [i.e., premier] young prince in the world, formed by nature and framed by education to the true exercise of virtue” (*OA*, 18). He deploys generally Platonic and Aristotelian arguments, about “the reasonable part of the soul” versus “sensual weakness” and about virtue and vice as matters of habit, as preambles for his assumption that Pyrocles's new “love” constitutes a “bastard love...engendered betwixt lust and idleness” which “aspires unto a little pleasure, with much pain before, and great repentance after,” and thus “utterly subverts the course of nature in making reason give place to sense, and man to woman” (*OA*, 19-20).¹⁸⁵ Musidorus contrasts this presumption about what his younger cousin's lovesickness must represent with a Platonic notion of “true love” which

¹⁸⁵ The Aristotelian kernel of this speech resides in Musidorus's emphasis that “your behaviour can never come kindly [i.e., naturally] from you but as the mind is proportioned unto it” and that “there is no man

doth transform the very essence of the lover into the thing loved, uniting and, as it were incorporating it with a secret and inward working. And herein to these kinds of love imitate the excellent; for, as the love of heaven makes one heavenly, the love of virtue, virtuous, so doth the love of the world make one become worldly. (*OA*, 20)

His overture for this bout of “tedious but loving words” helps convey the irony of this final emphasis on “true love” with regard to his assumption that his cousin experiences “bastard love”: “O sweet Pyrocles, separate yourself a little, if it be possible, from yourself, and let your own mind look upon your own proceedings; so shall my words be needless, and you best instructed” (*OA*, 20, 19). Here Musidorus assumes that Pyrocles is exactly the same “Pyrocles” he was before viewing Philoclea’s portrait, while tacitly acknowledging for the reader amidst his own philosophizing that, if his cousin’s experience were one of “true love,” then he would not be the same “self,” for such love would mysteriously “transform the very essence of the lover into the thing loved.”

Sidney’s alteration of the source model amplifies this irony within the two princes’ debate by granting Pyrocles enhanced philosophical self-awareness. Indeed, Pyrocles’s argument about his own resolution to undertake such metamorphosis reflects a determination for pursuing virtuous action amidst a new, life-altering situation. He retains the same ethical values he possessed before falling in love, though accommodated to a new sense of “self.” His reply to Musidorus’s speech further reveals to the reader this young lover’s ethical and philosophical self-awareness. He emphasizes a need for due reverence toward women rather than “the unmanlike cruelty of mankind” which does “injury to them who (if we will argue by reason) are framed with the same parts of the

suddenly either excellently good or extremely evil, but grows either as he holds himself up in virtue or lets himself slide to viciousness” (*OA*, 19). Cf. note 187 below; also notes 166-167 above, on ironic resonance of this emphasis with the wording of the Delphic oracle’s prophecy about Philoclea.

mind for the exercise of virtue as we are” (*OA*, 21)¹⁸⁶; he argues that Amazonian warriors “neither want valour of mind, nor yet doth their fairness take away their force” (*OA*, 21); and then he turns Musidorus’s reasoning on its head by exposing his elder cousin’s incorrect assumption that no one experiencing “true love” would embrace such a metamorphosis:

Even that heavenly love you speak of is accompanied in some hearts with hopes, griefs, longings, and despairs. And in that heavenly love, since there are two parts (the one, the love itself; the other, the excellency of the thing loved), I (not able at the first leap to frame both in myself) do now, like a diligent workman, make ready the chief instrument and first part of that great work, which is love itself. Which, when I have a while practised in this sort, then you shall see me turn it to greater matters. And thus gently you may, if it please you, think of me. Neither doubt you, because I wear a woman’s apparel, I will be the more womanish; since, I assure you, for all my apparel, there is nothing I desire more than fully to prove myself a man in this enterprise. Much might be said in my defence, much more for love, and most of all for that divine creature which hath joined me and love together. But these disputations are fitter for quiet schools than my troubled brains, which are bent rather in deeds to perform, than in words to defend, the noble desire that possesseth me. (*OA*, 22-23)

This passage suggests to an educated and attentive sixteenth-century reader that perhaps Pyrocles and Philoclea represent divided halves of the same Platonic soul, like Agesilao and Diana in *Old Arcadia*’s chivalric source material, as suggested above in Chapter Two. Sidney’s narrative amplifies its opposition of “deeds” and “words” through a rapid exchange of short replies between the two princes, which further defines Pyrocles’s

¹⁸⁶ This particular comment applies directly to the argument about respecting women. Internally, it employs a simile about “others’ virtuous patience” abused by “childish masters,” which could suggest for contemporary readers both the immediate reference to misogynist spousal abuse and an impression of talented children abused by cruel schoolmasters, to complement both Pyrocles’s preamble to the comment (“this point of your speech doth nearest touch me”) and the narrator’s simile about Pyrocles immediately preceding this reply to Musidorus: “Pyrocles’s mind was all this while so fixed upon another devotion that he no more attentively marked his friend’s discourse than the child that hath leave to play marks the last part of his lesson” (*OA*, 21, 20). Cf. J. Dolven 2007 on Musidorus’s speech: “the very schoolmasterliness of the rebuke also raises questions about how well such rules sort with the Stoicism they seem intended to shore up, insofar as Stoicism is an ethics of independence” (p. 113). Here Dolven notes this statement by the narrator and comments on the matter of “tyranny” but, surprisingly, does not note the ensuing simile about the “tyrannous ambition” of “childish masters.” See K. Duncan-Jones 1991 (p. 24) on a passage regarding the protagonist princes’ education in Sidney’s *NA*.

impetus as the “heart” versus Musidorus’s as the “brain” (*OA*, 23). This dramatic debate between the two princes in Book One suggests to the reader that Pyrocles maintains a firm grasp on his experience in love as valid by Natural Law.¹⁸⁷ Philosophically and aesthetically, this poetic impression justifies both his amorous desire and his resolution to pursue it honorably within the constraints of courtship imposed by Duke Basilius.

Such philosophical implication—even amidst suggestive neo-Platonic language—does not establish for *Old Arcadia* an allegorical narrative. Rather, it reflects how Sidney invents characters and plot for *Old Arcadia* through imitation and variation of his primary source material, retaining and even amplifying philosophical registers within that chivalric fiction while enhancing verisimilitude for the purpose of reader engagement through character development. This dialogue reveals primarily that Musidorus does not understand his younger cousin’s perspective. Pyrocles emphasizes that he aims to disguise himself physically due to a truly “noble desire” and that, in doing so, he does indeed embrace the pursuit of virtuous action. At this point, only he and the attentive reader understand that he has been transformed in nature by love; thus, “reason” alone no longer suffices to guide him.¹⁸⁸

Sidney’s narrative, like its chivalric source material, establishes for its reader an aesthetic impression of metamorphosis at the moment the protagonist dons Amazonian

¹⁸⁷ Cf. R. S. White 1996: “In orthodox Natural Law fashion, Musidorus equates reason and nature. In response, Pyrocles puts an equally ‘natural’ set of points. He first reprimands Musidorus for misogyny and then points out (and at least one Natural Law thinker, More’s Hythlodæus, would agree in general terms) that ‘enjoying’ is the end and measure allotted to us by nature. While the head gives direction the heart gives life, and such life is as natural as reason itself. Even Aquinas concedes the naturalness of sexual attraction, and, although Musidorus sees his friend’s transformation as one of ‘poor reason’s overthrow’ and as an emblem of ‘what a deformity a passion can bring a man unto when it is not governed by reason,’ yet Pyrocles/Cleophila is satisfied that ‘conscience’ has not been violated” (pp. 139-140). Cf. note 185 above; and notes 166-167 above.

¹⁸⁸ He emphasizes to Musidorus, “Have you all the reason in the world, and with me remain all the imperfections; yet such as I can no more lay from me than the crow can be persuaded by the swan to cast off his blackness” (*OA*, 24).

disguise. Detailed description of Pyrocles's "womanish apparel" does not imitate Feliciano de Silva's fiction directly but does reflect Silva's general penchant for such description of female attire (*OA*, 26-27).¹⁸⁹ Musidorus's initial reaction to Pyrocles's new appearance in female disguise resembles that of Gradamarte and Amadís of Greece upon that protagonist's transformation in the disguise episode (analyzed above in Chapter Two):

Musidorus, that had helped to dress his friend, could not satisfy himself with looking upon him, so did he find his excellent beauty set out with this new change, like a diamond set in a more advantageous sort. Insomuch that he could not choose, but smiling said to him: 'Well,' said he, 'sweet cousin, since you are framed of such a loving mettle, I pray you, take heed of looking yourself in a glass lest Narcissus's fortune fall unto you. For my part, I promise you, if I were not fully resolved never to submit my heart to these fancies, I were like enough while I dressed you to become a young Pygmalion.' (*OA*, 27)

Here Sidney imitates and varies that moment in *Amadís de Grecia* when Gradamarte comments on his friend's new female beauty and Amadís of Greece looks in a mirror, at which point the narrator claims that Amadís only barely avoids Narcissus's fate.

Musidorus, too, marvels at his companion's beauty in female disguise and warns Pyrocles not to look at himself in a mirror. His warning seems to blend the use of a mirror in *Amadís de Grecia* with Arlanges's jest of warning in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* (and in Gohory's translation).¹⁹⁰ That warning proves apt in subsequent chapters of Silva's narrative (and Gohory's translation). In that source material and in Sidney's *Arcadia*,

¹⁸⁹ S. K. Heninger 1989 identifies this narrative moment in *OA* as an example of *prosopographia* (pp. 409-410). On this matter in Silva's works, see M. C. Daniels 1992, p. 199; and E. J. Sales Dasí 2004-2005, pp. 293-294.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. *FN3*, Ch. 14: "como assí se vieron, mirándose e riendo de verse en tal hábito, don Arlanges dixo, maravillado en ver la hermosura de Agesilao: —¡Para Sancta María!, que tenéis necesidad en encubrir el rostro si no queréis ponella en los cavalleros que os vieren para no's la poner mayor" ("as they saw themselves thus, looking at each other and laughing at seeing themselves in such manner of dress, Don Arlanges said, amazed in seeing the beauty of Agesilao, 'By the blessed Mary, you must cover your face if you do not want knights who may see you to give you their best'") (ed. J. Martín Lalanda, pp. 40b-41a). For this reason they decide to cover their faces while traveling to Guindaya.

readers find delight in both the perils and the pleasures generated by the hero's "androgynous" experience, especially if familiar with the primary narrative model Sidney imitates.¹⁹¹ To enhance the aesthetic impression of gender transformation, as in this parallel moment of *Amadís de Grecia*, the narrator uses masculine pronouns prior to conveying the princes' impressions, then feminine pronouns for the disguised prince immediately afterward (*OA*, 27-28). Herberay's and Gohory's French translations of *Amadís de Grecia* and *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* also employ immediate and consistent shift in pronoun usage, referring to a prince in Amazonian disguise as "elle."

As in Sidney's source material, allusions to Narcissus and Pygmalion further establish for the reader an impression of quasi-Ovidian metamorphosis. Whether or not the Narcissus reference was inspired directly by that allusion at this precise moment in Silva's *Amadís de Grecia*, its presence creates the same effect for readers. Surprisingly, Herberay's translation of that episode omits the Narcissus allusion (*Fr. Am.* VIII, Ch. 86; cf. *Am.Gr.*, Bk. II, Ch. 87). Gohory's Eleventh "Book" of the French *Amadis* cycle highlights the story of Pygmalion in tandem with that of Agesilan and Diane, alluding to it in the dedicatory epistle to Diane de Poitiers and in the love-by-image episode, as well as in an episode where Daraïde (Agesilan) pines for Diane while at her secret court in

¹⁹¹ In *FN3*, just after the disguise episode and before arriving at the enchanted towers, Daraida (Agesilao) and Garaya (Arlanges) encounter a situation in which two aggressive knights try to rape them and two other dames; Daraida (Agesilao) kills both offenders (*FN3*, Ch. 16). M. C. Daniels 1992 comments on that episode's appeal for female readers: "Silva presents rape, and the persistent danger of violence against women that motivates so many plot incidents in the chivalric romances, for the first time from an androgynous perspective, in which feminine and male experience are merged. As Darayda, Agesilao must experience firsthand the threat of violation and dishonor that women face daily, while at the same time he can act 'aggressively' as a male by punishing the would-be rapist. Even more important, because his female witnesses believe he acts as a woman their pride in their sex is increased by his martial triumph" (pp. 215-216; cf. pp. 214-215). Those other dames ironically compare Daraida's (Agesilao's) prowess to that of Alastraxerea (Agesilao's mother) (*FN3*, ed. J. Martín Lalanda, p. 47a). Gohory translates that episode as *Fr. Am.* XI, Ch. 17. Daniels's critical commentary on the hero's "androgynous" experience is significant for this present study's emphasis on neo-Platonic underpinnings in *FN3* (cf. Chapter Two above, note 139), as well as for its emphasis on the Countess of Pembroke as Sidney's primary intended audience for *OA*.

Guindaye.¹⁹² Gohory also aptly employs allusion to “*Narcissus*” in the episode where Queen Salderne of Galdap pursues Daraïde (Agesilan) in lust (Fr. Am. XI, Ch. 85; cf. *FN3*, Ch. 82).¹⁹³ In Sidney’s narrative, as in his source material, the disguise motif lends itself to playful Ovidian allusion, as well as to quasi-Ovidian psychological insight.

In this particular episode where Pyrocles dons Amazonian disguise, Sidney’s narrative engages its readers even further with the notion of metamorphosis as character development, embellishing imitation of its source material with further dialogue and “invention” by the protagonist in love following his transformation of apparel. Pyrocles, newly disguised as “Cleophila,” replies to Musidorus’s warning about the effect of his feminine beauty with further emphasis on the purpose of his disguise as a conduit for action.¹⁹⁴ In response to Musidorus’s persistence in suggesting that his cousin’s new beauty as Cleophila may surpass that of his beloved Philoclea, Pyrocles conveys a neo-Platonic understanding of his own love for Philoclea:

“Speak not that blasphemy, dear friend,” said Cleophila, “for if I have any beauty, it is the beauty which the imagination of her strikes into my fancies, which in part shines through my face into your eyes.” “Truly,” said Musidorus, “you are grown a notable philosopher of fancies.” “Astronomer,” answered Cleophila, “for they are heavenly fancies.” (*OA*, 28)

Here, as before, also as a departure from the source material, philosophical discourse serves the purpose of character contrast. Musidorus still does not comprehend Pyrocles’s

¹⁹² F. Silva 1559 [Fr. Am. XI], fol. LIX.v (sig. K.v.v). On the dedicatory epistle (*ibid.*, sig. ā.ii.r), see below. On Gohory’s allusion to Pygmalion in the love-by-image episode, see note 178 above.

¹⁹³ F. Silva 1559 [Fr. Am. XI], fol. CXLIII.v (sig. Aa.vi.v). Gohory peppers that whole sequence (Fr. Am. XI, Ch. 84-85) with classical allusion. The king and queen of Galdapa constantly refer to Daraïda (Agesilao) as their own “*terrestre Palla-Venus*” (“earthly Pallas-Venus”) (as opposed to “*diosa Daraïda*,” or “goddess Daraïda,” in *FN3*); and, in addition to Narcissus, the narrative alludes to “*Argus*” and “*Io*” (fol. CXLIII.r [sig. Aa.v.r]), Danaë (“*la belle Danaë enclose en vne tour de brouze*”) (*ibid.*), “*la Romaine Lucesse*” (fol. CXLIII.v [sig. Aa.v.v]), and “*Hypolite*” (fol. CXLIII.v [sig. Aa.vi.v]).

¹⁹⁴ In doing so, he reiterates his earlier distinction between his own aim for “deeds” and Musidorus’s investment in “words”: “if my beauty be anything, then will it help me to some part of my desires; otherwise I am no more to set by it than the orator by his eloquence that persuades nobody” (*OA*, 27).

transformation in love as such, remaining “full of extreme grief to see so worthy a mind thus infected” (*OA*, 28).

Just afterward, before Cleophila (Pyrocles) enters the *locus amoenus* and meets Philoclea, Sidney’s narrative clinches its impression of the disguised hero’s mental transformation with presentation of its first lyric poem: Sidney’s famous sonnet, “Transformed in show, but more transformed in mind.”¹⁹⁵ The narrator clarifies that Cleophila (Pyrocles) “with many sobs and tears, sang this song which she had made since her first determination thus to change her estate” (*OA*, 28). The song’s first two stanzas characterize her/his twofold transformation as “double conquest” of “outward force” and “inward treason,” claiming, “For from without came to mine eyes the blow, / Whereto mine inward thoughts did faintly yield; / Both these conspired poor reason’s overthrow; / False in myself; thus have I lost the field” (*OA*, 28-29). If one were to stop reading here, the song and its immediate preamble by the narrator might seem pessimistic with regard to the singer’s condition in having her/his “reason” “overthrow[n]”; but the third stanza and couplet revise that initial tone to complement the hero’s philosophical self-awareness in love conveyed above:

And thus mine eyes are placed still in one sight,

¹⁹⁵ For this sonnet, see *OA*, ed. J. Robertson, pp. 28-29 (cf. p. 423); *Poems*, ed. W. A. Ringler, pp. 11-12 (cf. p. 384). After falling in love with Pamela, Musidorus, too, sings a complementary poem about his mental transformation in adopting pastoral disguise: “Come shepherd’s weeds, become your master’s mind” (*OA*, pp. 40, 426; *Poems*, pp. 13, 385). Cf. M. E. Dana 1973: “Unlike the protagonists in Petrarch and Sannazaro who go into the pastoral landscape already suffering the pangs of love and seeking relief,” Sidney’s protagonist princes “enter its boundaries heart-whole, only to encounter there the strange contradictions inherent in romantic love. The change which this experience brings about in them is figured in the disguises which they immediately assume, which become, from this point of view, metaphors for the real transformation which has inwardly occurred” (pp. 314-315). V. Olejniczak Lobsien 2005, emphasizing neo-Platonic thought in terms of the potential and limits for “performance of perfection” as conceived by Castiglione’s *Il Cortegiano*, argues that Sidney’s *OA* “shows, stunningly, both the dubious success and the glorious failure of courtly artistry,” emphasizing the disguise motif and this sonnet as indication of the central issue: “how to perform the perfection one possesses and wants others to know one possesses in a situation in which it cannot be shown directly” (pp. 112-113).

And thus my thoughts can think but one thing still;

Thus reason to his servants gives his right;

Thus is my power transformed to your will.

What marvel, then, I take a woman's hue,

Since what I see, think, know, is all but you [i.e., Philoclea]? (OA, 29)

This song addresses the same basic concept as the *romance* Agesilao sings in recognizing his new mental condition upon falling in love with Diana through seeing her portrait (FN3, Ch. 14). As the first lyrical fruit of the protagonists' newfound mental "invention" in *Old Arcadia*, the sonnet "Transformed in show, but more transformed in mind" helps engage readers aesthetically with the work's disguise motif on philosophical and structural levels. Pyrocles has adopted the new name "Cleophila," which Sidney draws from Arlanges's beloved Queen Cleofila in that same chivalric source material ("Cleophile" in French), exploiting it for a playful and philosophically apt onomastic innovation with "Cleophila" as etymological inversion of "Philoclea": the disguised hero metamorphoses into "honorable lover" upon first witnessing "love of honor."¹⁹⁶

Aesthetically, the narrator's self-conscious comment about naming the cross-dressed hero functions in a manner similar to that of commentary by the narrator in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*.¹⁹⁷ Sidney's narrator, however, directly addresses a specific audience of female readers (namely, Sidney's sister the Countess of Pembroke

¹⁹⁶ J. J. O'Connor 1970 defines "Philoclea, *love of honor*," as an example of "the idea—not altogether unusual in chivalric romances, though more common in other literary kinds—of using descriptive names derived from Greek roots" (p. 264 n. 29).

¹⁹⁷ Cf. FN3, Ch. 14: "*Agesilao se llamó Daraida y don Arlanges Garaya e assí las llamaremos de aquí adelante*" ("Agesilao took the name Daraida, and Don Arlanges [took the name] Garaya, and thus we will name them from here onward") (ed. J. Martín Lalanda, p. 41a). Gohory omits this first-person address by Silva's narrator, emphasizing instead the princes' secrecy in proceeding onward toward Guindaya in disguise: "*Agesilan se nomma Daraïde, & dom Arlanges Garaya, & se tenans les plus couuertes que possible leur fut*" (F. Silva 1559 [Fr. Am. XI], fol. XXX.r [sig. Evi.r]).

and her court) and voices personal “compassion” with regard to the protagonist’s difficult circumstances in love:

Such was this Amazon’s attire: and thus did Pyrocles become Cleophila— which name for a time hereafter I will use, for I myself feel such compassion of his passion that I find even part of his fear lest his name should be uttered before fit time were for it; which you, fair ladies that vouchsafe to read this, I doubt not will account excusable (*OA*, 27).

The poetics of *Old Arcadia*, like that of Silva’s *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* (in Spanish and in Gohory’s partial French translation), hinges upon using the disguise motif to draw its reader into the protagonists’ transformation, establishing a sense of complicity, aesthetically putting us on the protagonists’ side in Books One through Three while exploiting the protagonists’ new identities for humorous effect, for philosophical implication, and for political plot conflict.

Although *Old Arcadia* exploits philosophically loaded language in Gohory’s translation of Silva’s *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, it does not provide neo-Platonic allegorical narrative or heavily metaphysical symbolism such as that Gohory imposes in translating Silva’s story. Recent studies by Rosanna Gorris and Jeannice Brooks analyze Gohory’s dual investment as both translator and occult philosopher and thus help clarify this perspective.

Gohory’s French rendition of Agesilao’s dialogue with Arlanges complements the translator’s interest in the medical ideas of Paracelsus. Drawing upon “the Paracelsian principle of healing through likeness,” Gohory’s French Arlanges “proposes their transformation into female musicians as the means of circumventing Diane’s imprisonment: that is, the remedy involves both a physical and a metaphysical

rapprochement with the malady's cause."¹⁹⁸ In a similar episode of friendship between Diana and Lardenia, Gohory's translation adds a specific animal reference which provides a distinct contemporary perspective on musical healing. As the sequestered princess pines for her beloved Daraida, her companion asks to take up her lute and play her a "harmony" ("*armonie*") to cure her "ills" ("*maladies*") in the same manner as the Hebrew King David did for Saul and for a certain people who suffered tarantula bites. Thus, Gohory's translation alludes to "tarantism," the principle of musical healing for physical symptoms of spider bites, which supposedly included sudden onset of erotic desire. This medical technique was commonly accepted in Renaissance Italy (especially in the South), was commonly associated with King David's psalms, and received mention in philosophical works such as Marcelino Ficino's *De Vita* and Cornelius Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*, both of which Gohory knew and used for his own works.¹⁹⁹

Gohory's embellishment with this reference coincides with an allusion to tarantism made by Sidney's narrator for *Old Arcadia* amidst the young princes' dialogue, precisely at the pivotal moment when Musidorus ironically mentions the word "lovers" and Pyrocles then responds by confessing his true condition and his plan for disguise. Immediately following Musidorus's comment that Pyrocles's new reasoning resembles that which poets put into the mouths of "fantastical mind-infected people that children and musicians call lovers," the narrator remarks, "This word 'lover' did no less pierce poor Pyrocles than the right tune of music toucheth him that is sick of the tarantula.

¹⁹⁸ J. Brooks 2007, pp. 1232-1233.

¹⁹⁹ See J. Brooks 2007, p. 1233 and nn. 79-81 (cf. pp. 1210-1212). In Arlanges's dialogue with Agesilao, just before Arlanges proposes the plan of Amazonian disguise, Gohory adds a distinct animal reference, having this character compare his cousin's lovesickness to the sting of a scorpion ("*scorpion*"), for which, as "one of our physicians writes" ("*vn de noz docteurs escrit*"), one must extract a hair from the "beast" ("*beste*") that stung him (F. Silva 1559 [Fr. Am. XI], fol. XXIX.v [sig. E.v.v]). Cf. J. Brooks 2007, p. 1232 and n. 78.

There was not one part of his body that did not feel a sudden motion, the heart drawing unto itself the life of every part to help it, distressed with the sound of that word” (*OA*, 17). This passage has been glossed briefly as a reference to tarantism, though without commentary on the matter as a technique of musical healing.²⁰⁰ Occurring in a scenario distinct from that in which Gohory employs such reference, Sidney’s allusion emphasizes that same nature of tarantism, as well as the physical symptoms of Pyrocles’s lovesickness.

Sidney, like Gohory, channels an intellectual interest in music into his production of prose fiction and poetry. Both he and his sister had enjoyed religious and secular music from their childhood onward, and evidence suggests that in 1573-1574 he had studied “speculative music” while traveling in Venice.²⁰¹ Sidney’s early poetry, which circulated in manuscript copies and was published posthumously by his sister as *Certain Sonnets* appended to the 1598 edition of *Arcadia*, demonstrates innovative metrical experimentation with English verse to imitate continental verse forms and to complement existing tunes for Italian, French, and Spanish ballads.²⁰² By the time he produced Books One through Three of *Old Arcadia* for his sister Mary, she probably knew that early work

²⁰⁰ J. Robertson, ed. P. Sidney, *OA*, glossary, “tarantula n. tarantism” (p. 496b). J. J. O’Connor 1970 notes these parallel passages in *OA* and *Fr. Am.* XI, as a brief point on semblance of verbal style without comment on Gohory (pp. 198-199).

²⁰¹ G. Alexander 2006b, pp. 67-68 and n. 9. On Mary Sidney’s education, see M. P. Hannay 1990, pp. 27-29.

²⁰² See P. Sidney, *Poems*, ed. W. A. Ringler, pp. 135-162 (text), 423-434 (notes), 566-568 (catalogue of musical settings). G. Warkentin 1980 and W. A. Ringler 1990 (pp. 133-134) provide further attention to textual issues regarding the *Certain Sonnets*. On Sidney’s investment in musical poetry, see B. Pattison 1934 (cf. B. Pattison 1948, pp. 62-64); J. Buxton 1954, pp. 98-99, 112-123; F. J. Fabry 1970 and 1973; J. Stevens 1990; and, with regard to textual transmission of the *Certain Sonnets*, H. R. Woudhuysen 1996, pp. 242-298 (cf. p. 385). Cf. G. Alexander 2006b, pp. 65-66. S. W. May 1991 claims, “By 1577 Philip Sidney had initiated a wholesale transformation of English poetry” (p. 69; see pp. 69-102, 366-368). Sidney reminded his friend Edward Denny on 22 June 1580 that his poetry suits Denny’s musical talent: “remember *with* your good voyce, to singe my songes for they will one well become an other” (quoted from transcription in J. M. Osborn 1972, p. 540; cf. G. Warkentin 1990, p. 77).

and shared his interest in music theory and musical verse.²⁰³ Given Sidney's attention to the "medical" mode of the young princes' dialogue in Gohory's translation of Silva's *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, it is important to emphasize how that source material links Gohory's interest in Paracelsian medicine with his intellectual investment in music theory and Italian neo-Platonic philosophy.

Agesilao's experience of falling in love with Diana in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* lends itself to neo-Platonic interpretation, as emphasized above in Chapter Two. Gohory's partial translation of that work by Silva limits its scope to the two disguised princes' courtship of Diana and Cleofila, for the purpose of emphasizing such an interpretation for both couples' love stories. In his dedicatory epistle, the translator emphasizes to Diane de Poitiers that, given her "bounty and liberality" as patroness of "arts and sciences," this narrative suits her well, for its character Diane "figures forth an Idea of the full perfection of beauty and grace, representing your similar excellence," and the translator attributes to that literary representation, as an "imaginary form" of "harmony" in beauty, the power of "ravishing the heart with natural admiration, thereby stirring up an ardent desire for consummation [*iouissance*"], which we call Love."²⁰⁴

Gohory's association of Diane de Poitiers with the poetics of the work he translates complements his investment in Silva's *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* to enhance its

²⁰³ M. P. Hannay 1990 emphasizes regular correspondence and exchange of manuscripts (p. 70). After his death, she amplified his poetic innovation with verse forms in completing his translation of King David's *Psalms*: see P. Sidney, *Poems*, ed. W. A. Ringler, pp. 267-337, 500-516 (cf. W. A. Ringler 1990, p. 136); M. P. Hannay *et al.*, "*Psalmes*: Literary Context," ed. M. Sidney Herbert, *Collected Works*, vol. 2, pp. 3-32; R. Zim 1987; M. G. Brennan 1996; S. W. May 1991, pp. 202-210 (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 343-345); M. P. Hannay 2002; D. Rienstra & N. J. Kinnamon 2002; and G. Alexander 2006a, pp. 77, 78, 84-86, 89-127.

²⁰⁴ [trans. from] F. Silva 1559 [Fr. Am. XI]: "*Combien (ma dame) que vostre bonté & liberalité (nourrice des artz & sciences) attire les meilleurs esperitz à vostre seruice (par la faueur que vostre deité de Lucine preste à l'enfantement de leur fruit spirituel) ceste histoire de Diane m'adresse specialement à vostre grandeur, comme proprement destinée par la conformité de son nom. Laquelle figure vne Idée de toute perfection de beauté & grace, representant vostre semblable excellence: qui est vne forme imaginaire d'armonie, de proportion, de couleur, & lineature: rauissant le cueur d'admiration naturelle, & y attizant vn ardent desir de iouissance, qu'on dit Amour*" (sig. ã.ii.r) (cf. ed. H. Vaganay 1906, p. 123).

metaphysical potential according to his own interests in neo-Platonic philosophy and musical theory.²⁰⁵ For the protagonists' experience of love within the story, Gohory translates Silva's text using language that complements this neo-Platonic "Idea" of "Love," which "ravishes" and transforms noble human beings whose hearts are conducive to its effects.

Sidney's imitation alters the dominant neo-Platonic undercurrent of that source material. Gohory's work amplifies emphasis on philosophically suggestive moments in Silva's narrative, using loaded diction such as "ravished" and "transported" to describe the protagonists' experience of love, as well as the effect of their music upon other characters such as the king and queen of Galdapa,²⁰⁶ whose simultaneous pursuit of Daraida (Agesilao) provides the paradigm for that of Basilius and Gynecia with Cleophila (Pyrocles). Books One through Three of *Old Arcadia* provide a condensed imitation of Silva's interlaced motifs as rendered by Gohory in French translation. Sidney's narrative, however, re-directs philosophical meaning in the source material away from its foundation in metaphysical symbolism with the two enchanted towers in Guindaye. Having eliminated that aspect of his literary source to enhance verisimilitude, Sidney avoids allegory altogether in *Old Arcadia's* primary narrative plane by granting its disguised protagonists an amplified degree of philosophical self-awareness in love.

²⁰⁵ On Gohory's investment in Silva's Diana character with regard to Diane de Poitiers, see R. Gorris 2000 (pp. 132-150) and *idem.* 2002. Cf. J. Brooks 2007: "The earthly beauty of the two Dianes mirrors a pure form with the explicitly musical quality of harmonious proportion: it ravishes the beholder and inspires an ardent yearning to experience the divine intelligence that conceived it. Agesilan's 'lengthy pursuit' of Diane is at the same time both a pursuit of knowledge and a quest for the divine union through love that was the ultimate goal of Neoplatonic philosophy" (p. 1225).

²⁰⁶ On this matter, see J. Brooks 2007, pp. 1235-1246. In the case of Agesilao's first sight of Diana in person, the translator provides astrological embellishment: "*ravie jusques au tiers ciel (qui est la sphere de Venus)*" ["ravished up to the third heaven (which is the sphere of Venus)"].

In the crucial episode where Pyrocles and Philoclea exchange vows of betrothal, according to the paradigm of their counterparts in Silva's work and Gohory's translation, Sidney's narrative employs philosophically suggestive language to significant aesthetic effect. When Cleophila (Pyrocles) dupes Basilius into granting her/him time alone with Philoclea, at which point the disguised prince reveals his true identity to his beloved, he characterizes his own "fall of fortune and unused [i.e., unusual] metamorphosis" as "a miserable miracle of affection," emphasizing, with regard to his transformation of self in love which has led to it, that "no words can carry with them the life of the inward feeling" (*OA*, 120). Readers, as witnesses to that experience of personal transformation in Book One, placed in relief with Musidorus's "tedious but loving words" in the debate, understand, as does Philoclea, who already has fallen in love with "him" as Cleophila. Philoclea, like Diana with Agesilao when they are secretly betrothed in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* (Ch. 143; cf. *Fr. Am.* XII, Ch. 59), offers her heart to Pyrocles in love, while impressing upon him responsibility for her moral virtue, expressing an acute understanding that she must protect her own honor (*OA*, 120-122). Pyrocles offers her, "as tokens both of his love and quality," precious jewels and correspondence from his father King Euarchus, whose handwriting Philoclea recognizes, having seen it in letters from him to her own father (*OA*, 122). In doing so, the hero feels "so carried up with joy that he did not envy the gods' felicity," and the narrator emphasizes that the ecstatic experience of "joy" in secret betrothal is mutual: "There, with many such embracings as it seemed their souls desired to meet and their hearts to kiss as their mouths did, they passed the promise of marriage" (*ibid.*).

Here, even before Pyrocles and Philoclea consummate their betrothal, Sidney's narrative defines these lovers' union as "marriage," suggesting that their mutual ecstasy in this moment constitutes *consensus per verba de praesenti*: genuine and sustained mutual intention to marry upon betrothal. In Elizabethan England, such union still constituted theologically valid marriage by pre-Tridentine Roman canon law.²⁰⁷ Aesthetically, the narrator's emphasis on their mutual exchange of marital vows as a transcendent experience would make it difficult for Sidney's sixteenth-century audience to perceive the act cynically, especially given any familiarity with the chivalric source material. *Old Arcadia* exploits philosophically suggestive language here for the purpose of this poetic effect, to cut a memorable image of happily innocent "marriage" for readers to bear in mind later in the story.

In the episode where these two lovers consummate their secret union physically, which concludes Book Three, Sidney's narrative reinforces the impression of their transcendent ecstasy in love, through use of language resembling that which Gohory adds to Silva's narrative in translation. As Pyrocles approaches his beloved's bedchamber—having tricked her parents into spending the night together in his chamber (where they ironically fulfill the oracle's prophecy about "adultery" by sleeping together in the dark, each thinking they do so with Cleophila)—the narrator emphasizes that this clever young protagonist feels "rapt from himself" with anticipation and with "the delightful cheer his imagination fed upon," explaining for readers the paradox of the "certain joyful pain" Pyrocles experiences amidst "that extremity of joy" as "a charming kind of ravishing" that occurs for "all the senses" in the process of "extending the heart beyond his wonted limits" (*OA*, 228-229). This narrative explanation of love as a "ravishing" experience

²⁰⁷ See Chapter One above, note 23; and Chapter Four below, note 239.

echoes Gohory's use of that word ("ravie" or "ravisant") for neo-Platonic philosophical implication. It complements and extends the earlier impression of Pyrocles's philosophical self-awareness in transformation through true, noble love: "All the great estate of his father seemed unto him but a trifling pomp, whose good stands in other men's conceit, in comparison of the true comfort he found in the depth of his mind" (*ibid.*). This episode thus reinforces for readers the overall impression that this young prince's desire for his beloved constitutes essentially a virtuous matter of "true comfort."

Old Arcadia creates for its reader a complementary aesthetic effect with regard to the courtship of Dorus (Musidorus) and Pamela, through imitating and varying the complementary paradigm of Arlanges and Cleofila. Gohory's partial translation of Silva's *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* ends with a lengthy lyric poem designed to enhance aesthetically a moment of divine sublimation shared by these two lovers (Fr. *Am.* XI, Ch. 88-89). Jeanice Brooks recently has observed, "In Gohory's *Amadis* ['Book' XI] the integration of sex, magic, and Neoplatonic perfect love is most seamlessly achieved in the relationship between the couple Arlanges and Cleofile, whose apotheosis occurs in a pair of new chapters Gohory added to close the book. [...] Gohory add[s] these chapters and the song in a complete deviation from his Spanish model: they figure as a summation in some ways corresponding to the interpretive key offered by Gohory's added chapter on the enchanted castle at the novel's outset."²⁰⁸ O'Connor's study of the French *Amadis* cycle also has suggested that Gohory's "*Chanson*" for Arlanges provided Sidney a template for the anomalous eighth song in *Astrophil and Stella*, which he

²⁰⁸ J. Brooks 2007, pp. 1243, 1245 (see pp. 1243-1246).

probably composed early and separate from the rest of that sequence.²⁰⁹ In *Old Arcadia*, Dorus's (Musidorus's) music wields a mysterious power akin to that of Gohory's Arlanges.

One instance occurs in a significant episode of Book Two, when this disguised prince indirectly hints to his beloved that all is not what it seems with him, using language that adds to the narrative moment a degree of self-consciousness about the literary convention of pastoral persona: "this estate [as shepherd] is not always to be rejected, since under that veil there may be hidden things to be esteemed" (*OA*, 106). Just afterward, the narrator informs readers that "love" for the purported shepherd Dorus has begun to pierce Pamela's heart, and that she perceptively interprets his "great feignings" such that she realizes he may indeed be a "prince"; then readers are told, "Dorus, that found his speeches had given alarm to her imaginations, to hold her the longer in them and bring her to a dull yielding-over her forces (as the nature of music is to do), he took up his harp and sang these few verses: [i.e., 'My sheep are thoughts, which I both guide and serve']" (*OA*, 106-107).²¹⁰ This represents but one narrative impression of metaphysical connection between these two lovers. Such narrative moments, here and elsewhere, serve the purpose of reader engagement through impressions of character development. In Book Three, when they begin to elope together, after Dorus (Musidorus) cleverly has convinced Pamela's gullible guardians to leave the *locus amoenus* for Mantinea, these two lovers enjoy "delightful discourses"

²⁰⁹ J. J. O'Connor 1970, in associating "the ecstatic experience of Arlanges and Cléophile" with John Donne's "The Ecstasy" (pp. 150-151), also claims, "It is most probable that Arlanges' *chanson* supplied Sidney with the pattern for the Eighth Song in *Astrophel and Stella*" (p. 151). See P. Sidney, *Poems*, ed. W. A. Ringler, pp. xlvi and n. 1, 217-221, 486. K. T. Rowe 1947, in contrast with this present reading of *Arcadia*, claims that Sidney "disregards the neo-Platonic metaphysics of the love of Arlanges and Cleofile in Book XII [rather, Book XI] of the *Amadis* cycle" (p. 5).

²¹⁰ For these verses, also see P. Sidney, *Poems*, ed. W. A. Ringler, p. 39.

while, the narrator emphasizes, “maintaining their hearts in that right harmony of affection which doth interchangeably deliver each to other the secret workings of their souls” (*OA*, 197). In this episode they, like Pyrocles and Philoclea beforehand in their first moment of mutual ecstasy, exchange vows of betrothal.

The matter of Pamela’s secret betrothal to Musidorus bears even more weight amidst subsequent plot conflicts than does that of Philoclea’s secret “marriage” to Pyrocles, because Pamela is the elder daughter and thus Duke Basilius’s heir-apparent. In this episode, she shows self-awareness of that “estate,” claiming, as she commends herself in love to Musidorus, “contrary to all general rules of reason, I have laid in you my estate, my life, my honour” (*OA*, 196). In doing so, she emphasizes to Musidorus, as Philoclea already has done with Pyrocles, that in devoting herself to him she also entrusts him with her virtue; but in Pamela’s case Sidney imposes a significant variation. Pamela, in step with Diana’s initial impulse upon exchanging secret marital vows with Agesilao (*FN3*, Ch. 143; *Fr. Am.* XII, Ch. 59), and ultimately in line with Chariclea’s chaste betrothal to Theagenes in Heliodorus’s *Aethiopica*, requests that they abstain from physical consummation of those vows for the time being: “I have yielded to be your wife; stay then till the time that I may rightly be so” (*OA*, 197).²¹¹

By “rightly” here, Pamela seems to mean “publicly”; and in her case, this distinction between secret “marriage” through mutual vows and public “marriage” through solemn social pact proves immensely significant for the Arcadian succession

²¹¹ On this matter in Silva’s narrative, see J. Martín Lalanda, ed. F. Silva, *FN3*, p. xxxii (cf. *ibid.*, p. xxxi; and J. Ruiz de Conde 1948, pp. 3-31). Guillaume Aubert de Poitier translates this episode from Silva’s work in *Fr. Am.* XII, Ch. 59. F. Marengo 1969 notes similarity between the engagement of Pamela and Musidorus in *OA* and that of Chariclea and Theagenes in *Aethiopica* (p. 256; rpt. in A. F. Kinney 1986b, p. 296), but Marengo’s perspective on Pyrocles and Musidorus in *OA* negates the significance of that literary parallel. See note 214 here below; also Chapter Four below.

crisis in Books Four and Five. As a foundation for analysis of that matter in Chapter Four below, it is important to recognize here Pamela's self-awareness as her father's heir-apparent. She even voices to her new husband a sense of contingency in her moral decision quite distinct from anything readers have heard or will hear from Philoclea to Pyrocles or from the narrator with regard to either couple: "If I have chosen well, all doubt is past, since your action only must determine whether I have done virtuously or shamefully in following you" (*ibid.*).

This claim by Pamela should not be taken out of its narrative context and granted too grand an exegetical significance for *Old Arcadia* as a whole. The narrator's emphasis on the "right harmony of affection" between these two lovers which pervades "the deepest workings of their souls" occurs just afterward. And yet, in context of the whole episode in which these two lovers try to elope, Pamela's comment on the political importance of Musidorus's patience in waiting to consummate their union complements a mixed impression Sidney's narrative establishes for its readers with regard to that matter. After the couple's "pleasant contemplations" and "virtuous wantonness" in carving poems into trees (*à la* Angelica and Medoro in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* XXIII), Pamela falls asleep in her new husband's lap; Musidorus becomes "overmastered with the fury of delight" in this situation, and he aims to "make approaches" upon his wife while she sleeps (*OA*, 199, 200, 202). But as he does so, the lovers are accosted by stragglers from an earlier popular rebellion levied by anxious citizens from the Arcadian town of Phagonia. These "dozen clownish villains, armed with diverse sorts of weapons," seem like savages in this sudden intrusion, and the narrator states that their

attack, as an “infortunate bar of his [i.e., Musidorus’s] long-pursued and almost-achieved desires,” serves as “just punishment of his broken promise [to Pamela]” (OA, 202).

For evaluating both Musidorus’s attempt to consummate his secret marriage and this structural shift in plot which occurs simultaneously, it proves useful to recognize that the paradigm for such popular uprising appears in Silva’s *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*. In a narrative sequence of that work in which Florisel and Daraida (Agesilao) travel together, occurring just prior to the arrival of an important political threat to the Isle of Guindaya posed by the Russian King Bultazar and the Gazan King Bruzerbo—demanding that Sidonia and Diana marry them or they will invade the realm, and thus motivating the return of Florisel and Daraida (Agesilao) to defend Guindaya—the disguised protagonist and his paternal grandfather encounter a popular uprising on the Isle of Artadefa while fighting to free the legitimate king of that island from usurping giants (“*jayanes*”) (FN3, Ch. 123). The Artadefan people have gathered by the prison tower out of concern for the situation, and when the usurping giant King Gadalote calls to them from a window desiring “vengeance” (“*vengança*”) for the “treason” (“*traición*”) of these foreign knights, the populace rises up in arms (FN3, pp. 378b-379a). Yet, Florisel plays the heroic orator, appealing to “memory” (“*memoria*”) of the usurping king’s “tyranny” and “arrogance” (“*tiranía*” and “*sobervio*”), as well as to the people’s “honor” in “fidelity” to their true king (“*de vuestra honra y de la fidelidad que devéis a vuestro señor el rey*”) and to their own “liberty” (“*libertad*”), thus persuading them to fight for the release of their imprisoned monarch and his restoration to the throne (FN3, p. 379a). This episode probably was inspired to some degree by Feliciano de Silva’s own personal experience as an aristocrat whose family collaborated with other aristocratic families in

Ciudad Rodrigo to manage successfully the popular uprising there during the nationwide *Comunero* revolts, between October 1520 and April 1521, in support of the monarch.²¹²

Gohory's partial translation does not include this episode, which was translated by Guillaume Aubert de Poitiers as Chapter 39 in his Twelfth "Book" of the French *Amadis* cycle (1556).²¹³ Earlier in Sidney's original *Arcadia*, as in this episode of Silva's work, the Arcadians from Phagonia muster in armed protest out of concern for instability in the realm since Duke Basilius's pastoral retreat (*OA*, 123-132). There, as in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, Chapter 123, the young hero in Amazonian disguise and his companion defend the political status quo with arms and with words, although in Sidney's narrative it is Cleophila (Pyrocles) who plays the heroic orator. The narrator firmly praises these disguised heroes' actions, explaining the uprising with disparaging language toward that rebellious populace.

For our present purposes, it is important to recognize that the reappearance of stragglers from that rebellion has nothing to do with residual fault on Dorus's (Musidorus's) part. It marks an instance of dramatic *peripeteia* with narrative logic distinct from that of the prior rebellion episode, instead tied structurally to the moment of Musidorus's attempted consummation with Pamela. Despite certain comments by the narrator, *Old Arcadia* does not grant that moment "cosmic" significance as a direct moral

²¹² On Silva's family in this context, see S. J. Luis Fernández 1977. Mainly because of this aristocratic intervention in Ciudad Rodrigo, popular revolts there were pardoned and forgotten by the monarchy much more quickly than elsewhere in Castile. Surprisingly, this episode in *FN3* has not previously been associated with that experience.

²¹³ Aubert de Poitiers translates the episode closely, using the same diction quoted above in Spanish, with some slight amplification: "vanger"; "trahison"; "l'orgueil & tyrannie de l'iniuste Galfombrof [i.e., Gadalote]"; "vostre honneur, si vous voulez garder la loyauté que vous devez au Roy vostre maistre"; "la miserable tyrannie ou vous estes tourmentez par les geants"; "la liberté de vous, & de vostre Roy, avec vostre honneur immortal" (F. Silva 1556 [Fr. Am. XII], fol. CV.r-v [sig. S.iii.r-v]). This translation also adds for the reader, when "le bon Roy" ("the good King") is released from prison, a reminder that his captivity had lasted twelve years ("douze ans") (*ibid.*, fol. CVI.r [sig. S.iiii.r]); Silva's narrative does not reiterate that detail at this precise moment.

punishment for uncontrolled lust.²¹⁴ Ethical impressions remain tied to characters' intentions rather than to their actions *per se*. Musidorus and Pamela are betrothed at this point, and they maintain mutual intention to consummate their secret marriage whenever political circumstances lend themselves to public ceremony.²¹⁵ Thus, according to pre-Tridentine Roman canon law still upheld in Elizabethan England, their secret union, like that of Pyrocles and Philoclea prior to sexual consummation, already constitutes theologically valid Christian marriage as *consensus per verba de praesenti*.²¹⁶ Here and when this narrative thread resumes in Book Four, the narrator's emphasis on "everlasting justice" has to do with Musidorus's "broken vow" of temporary abstinence in secret marriage rather than with the sexual desire itself.²¹⁷ In terms of narrative logic, the existence of these outcast rebels allows for interruption of the lovers here, and hence their apprehension by Arcadian authorities, thwarting their attempt to elope. Therefore, given that the motive for Pamela requiring Musidorus's "promise" to delay consummation seems primarily political, the narrator's poetic sensibility in deeming the outcast rebels'

²¹⁴ As he resumes this storyline in Book Four, the narrator does claim that "the coming of enemies defended [Pamela] from the violence of a friend" and that Musidorus, at the moment of interruption, feels "enraged betwixt a repentant shame of his promise-breaking attempt and the tyrannical fire of lust (which, having already caught hold of so sweet and fit a fuel, was past the calling back of reason's counsel)" (*OA*, 306). For such a reading of this episode in Book Three as "cosmic" poetic justice, see F. Marengo 1969, p. 258 (rpt. in A. F. Kinney 1986b, pp. 298-299). Cf. A. D. Weiner 1978: "Clearly any difference between the prince and the rebels is quantitative, not qualitative" (p. 81). R. E. Stillman 1986 provides a reading of this incident closer to that of this chapter, also emphasizing narrative poetics of reader engagement (pp. 134-135). If the catalogue of Pamela's "beauties" in this episode (*OA*, 201-202) were indeed "reminiscent of the Song of Solomon [a.k.a. *Song of Songs*]" for sixteenth-century readers (S. K. Heninger 1989, p. 419), such Biblical resonance probably would complement this chapter's perspective rather than the moralistic reading posited by Marengo and Weiner.

²¹⁵ Cf. M. Patchell 1947: "Though the Spanish [chivalric-romance] authors have emphasized the ideal of chastity, it will be recalled that many of the lovers fulfill their desires, anticipating marriage, which, it is understood, will eventually be solemnized. So, too, in the *Old Arcadia* the lovers yield to desire"; "as in the Spanish romances, such intimacies are excused on the ground of chasteness of mind and intended marriage" (p. 125).

²¹⁶ Cf. note 207 here above.

²¹⁷ In Book Four, the narrator claims, amidst disparaging comments about the savage-like Phagonian rebels, "In this sort vagabonding in those untrodden places, they were guided by the everlasting justice to be chastisers of Musidorus's broken vow" (*OA*, 307).

intervention a “just punishment” for Musidorus’s impatient desire foreshadows the political bind in which we see these two lovers in Book Five, with Pamela’s legal right to succession hanging in the balance.

In suggesting such a poetic impression of character and consequence in *Old Arcadia*, one must recognize the structural and thematic contrast that Sidney’s compressed imitation of the primary chivalric source material creates between the protagonist lovers, on the one hand, and, on the other, the sequestered princesses’ parents Basilius and Gynecia. The duke’s unwise reasoning, after all, has provoked the popular rebellion, as well as the protagonist couples’ need for disguise and secrecy in their courtship and marriage. Meeting Cleophila (Pyrocles) incites *eros* within Basilius and Gynecia alike, and it is their erotic passion which proves potentially destructive for the Arcadian regime, not the “wonderful passion” of “true love” felt by their daughters and the disguised princes.

Sidney’s narrative highlights such contrast, for instance, in Book Two, when Philoclea seeks solitude to contemplate her own “impossible desires” (before she knows Cleophila’s true identity as Pyrocles), by presenting her innocent guilt in relief with her parents’ mutual desire for Cleophila. This episode follows one in which Dorus (Musidorus) advances his suit for Pamela’s affection amidst his own feigned affection for her naïve guardian Mopsa. Then follows a short but significant scene of Basilius and Gynecia in bed that night, modeled upon a parallel episode in the chivalric source. Sidney’s narrative, in switching to this scene of Philoclea’s solitude and then to the bedroom scene involving her parents, frames the episodes as moments of internal and interpersonal character development, as well as exemplary character contrast.

In that sequence, the narrator shifts attention rather abruptly to Philoclea with a compassionate first-person address to her, apologizing that “my pen [hath] forgotten thee” (*OA*, 108). By characterizing her for the reader as “sweet-minded” and “amiable,” a “poor soul” who, in her “unspotted simplicity,” suddenly becomes aware of her own amorous feelings for Cleophila but unsure of what action to take in response to them—the narrator qualifies his ensuing language about her “burning desire” as a “disease” (*OA*, 108-109). Like Pyrocles in the love-by-image episode, she seeks solitude and, in doing so, “feed[s] the humour that did tyrannize within her” (*OA*, 109); but, unlike Pyrocles, she does not know the true gender of her beloved, so her ethical struggle with this new experience of melancholy in love requires more resistance. Upon retiring to a grove where she has sought solitude in the past, she sees a poem that she had composed and inscribed upon a white marble rock “a few days before Cleophila’s coming [to the *locus amoenus*]”—a poem espousing “virtuous Shame” and “Chastity,” the speaker claiming to the latter, “To only thee my constant course I bear”—and in response to seeing it she invents a twelve-line poetic retraction qualifying that prior perspective with her new experience in love (*OA*, 109-111).²¹⁸ Thus, this episode, like the princes’ debate in Book One, cleverly opposes a rational notion of constancy (expressed by one who has not yet experienced love) with an understanding of personal transformation in love.

This episode with Philoclea in Book Two of *Old Arcadia* establishes an effect of reader complicity similar to that achieved in Book One with Pyrocles. Philoclea, now in love with a woman (as she perceives Cleophila to be), laments her present condition to the stars, entreating them as “great hidden deities” to “judge rightly of me,” then

²¹⁸ For these poems—“Ye living powers enclosed in stately shrine” and “My words, in hope to blaze my steadfast mind”—also see P. Sidney, *Poems*, ed. W. A. Ringler, pp. 40-41.

retracting this wish, recognizing the homoerotic implications of her desire as shameful: “no, no, you cannot help me; my desire must needs be waited on with shame, and my attempt with danger” (*OA*, 111). She defines that fancy for some happy divine justice as a matter of “childish objections” to the real paradox of her situation: “It is the impossibility that doth torment me; for unlawful desires are punished after the effect of enjoying, but impossible desires are plagued in the desire itself” (*ibid.*). Then follows an ironic wish “that Cleophila [Pyrocles] might become a young transformed Caeneus,” because “if she were a man I might either obtain my desire, or have cause to hate for refusal” (*ibid.*). Finally, before returning home, she looks up at the moon, lamenting to that “Diana” (symbol of the “Chastity” her prior poem embraced) her own “outrageous folly” in currently loving another woman (*OA*, 111-112).²¹⁹ Poetically, Philoclea’s monologue establishes a sense of character development and, through situational irony and Ovidian allusion, stimulates the reader’s anticipation that this character will indeed “obtain” her “impossible” desire for Cleophila, for we, unlike she, know that it is neither “unlawful” nor impossible. Cleophila undoubtedly will be “transformed” back into Pyrocles at some point. Indeed, when she/he does reveal his true identity to her shortly afterward, Sidney’s narrative complements that prior Ovidian allusion with another to convey how her seemingly impossible “hope” has come true—comparing her “joy” to that of Pygmalion, no less—thus establishing clever symmetry with the narrative moment in which Pyrocles first dons his Amazonian garb in Book One.²²⁰

²¹⁹ Thematically, in a way (sans Ovidian allusion), this monologue resembles that of Sidonia just before the disguised princes first meet her, sitting outside looking at the moon (“*Diana*”) and contemplating the paradox of her own “unjust justice” in pursuing vengeance as a jilted lover (*FN3*, Ch. 18). Philoclea’s love, of course, is not truly conflicted in any such way, for her paradox disappears when Cleophila reveals her/his real identity.

²²⁰ “The joy which wrought into Pygmalion’s mind while he found his beloved image wax little and little both softer and warmer in his folded arms, till at length it accomplished his gladness with a perfect

Immediately after drawing the reader into such enhanced sympathy for and complicity with Philoclea, the narrative puts her own honorable and secretly self-imposed sense of “outrageous folly” in relief with the shamelessly “immoderate praises” that her lust-smitten father, as a “foolish lover,” lavishes upon Cleophila back among the others at court (*OA*, 112). Sidney’s diction echoes language at the corresponding moment in his source material, as translated by Gohory, emphasizing Galinides’s “infinite signs of immoderate love” (“*infinis signes d’amour demesure*”).²²¹ Here readers see distinction between noble and base versions of “folly” in love, as evident with the theme of “*sandez de amor*” in Silva’s works. With Basilius’s frequent fawning upon Cleophila (Pyrocles), Sidney also imitates Silva’s paradigm of the sultan’s lust for Nereida (Amadís of Greece) in *Amadís de Grecia*, where, as in Sidney’s *Arcadia*, that old man’s misdirected *eros* strikes both his daughter and her disguised male suitor (as well as the reader, of course) as comical.²²² Thus, Sidney’s invention through imitation and variation creates for the

woman’s shape, still beautified with the former perfections, was even such as, by each degree of Cleophila’s words, stealingly entered into Philoclea’s soul, till her pleasure was fully made up with the manifesting of his being, which was such as in hope did overcome hope” (*OA*, 120). J. Dolven 2007 also quotes this allusion, also recognizing its relationship to the Pygmalion reference in Book One and suggesting that, as the simile here commences, it may initially seem to the reader that it applies to Pyrocles: “the gracefully managed confusion metamorphoses each lover into the other, and the effect is a mutuality in which each is both sculptor and quickening statue” (p. 119; see pp. 118-119; cf. J. Haber 1994, p. 69). Dolven’s claim revises the structural emphasis of C. S. Lewis 1954 and N. R. Lindheim 1982, granting instead that in this narrative moment “the ideal *does* seem like a reverie, fleeting, fragile, surrendered to rather than achieved” (*ibid.*, p. 120). This eloquent observation does not address, however, the important connection between this Pygmalion simile and the Ovidian allusion in Philoclea’s monologue, nor does it recognize the legal status of these lovers’ betrothal and consummation as marriage. Cf. Chapter One above, note 54.

²²¹ F. Silva 1559 [Fr. *Am.* XI], fol. CXLIII.r (sig. Aa.v.r).

²²² See W. Schleiner 1988 (pp. 610-612), which analyzes this source material in Herberay’s French translation and, in doing so, qualifies the sober premise of M. Rose 1964 regarding poetic use of the disguise motif (see notes 154-155 here above). Cf. M. C. Daniels 1992, drawing upon Schleiner’s analysis: “Not content with the verbal equivocations of Amadís de Grecia in the Spanish version, the French Book 8 endows the Sultan with a far more aggressive libido, however ineffectual. The obvious impotency of the Sultan, ‘*car le corps debile ne correspond aucunement á tel desir*’ [‘because his feeble body did not correspond in any way with such desire’], combined with his heavy-breathing and heavy-handed fondling of Amadís, make the mildly pornographic French version far more graphic than Silva’s description. But the French farce merely underlines the comic intent of the Spanish original. Feliciano de Silva encourages

reader simultaneous complicity with the protagonist lovers and comic distance from the sequestered princesses' father, the duke of Arcadia.

Whereas Sidney's narrative uses its source material to create aesthetic distance from Basilius in a comical manner, it does so in a more tragic way with the princesses' mother Gynecia. As with King Galinides and Queen Salderna of Galdapa in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* (and in Gohory's French translation), Duke Basilius remains fully duped by Pyrocles's disguise as Cleophila, whereas the duchess sees through it. In this specific context of Basilius's behavior in Book Two, in between Philoclea's and Cleophila's (Pyrocles's) withdrawals from the group for personal reflection,²²³ the narrator highlights the duke's own self-deception in lust. Basilius perceives that his wife Gynecia feeds her own "inward fury" of desire through strategic show of "womanly modesty" toward Cleophila (Pyrocles), which allows her to kiss her/him, and the narrator emphasizes that, because the duke remains convinced that Cleophila really is a woman, "all Gynecia's actions were by Basilius interpreted as proceeding from jealousy" (*OA*, 112). His own desire ventures no further than the realm of sexual consummation, as opposed to their daughter's and their beloved Cleophila's contemplation of the essence or "Idea" of each other in love (to use Gohory's terminology in his dedicatory epistle to Diane de Poitiers). In fact, this particular statement by Sidney's narrator closely resembles an identical comment on perception of jealousy made by the narrator in

his readers to find amusement in both the courtship of the dotting Sultan and the awkward predicament of his embarrassed knight" (p. 204). Amidst Nereida's (Amadís's) dialogue with the amorous old sultan, in which the disguised hero comments on human will and forced desire amidst appeals to modesty and honor and a clever trick of ironic assurance, the sultan in Silva's Spanish text does contrast "*la frialdad de mi vejez*" ("the feebleness of my old age") with "*la terneza de tu edad*" ("the tenderness of your age") (F. Silva, *Amadís de Grecia* [1530], ed. A. C. Bueno Serrano & C. Laspuertas Sarvisé, p. 447a).

²²³ Cleophila (Pyrocles) withdraws from the group just afterward in the narrative, to contemplate her/his own situation while presumably alone, although Basilius eavesdrops, thus hearing Cleophila's song ("Loved I am, and yet complain of love") and then interrupting her/his privacy (*OA*, 113-114).

Gohory's partial translation of *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, regarding King Galinides and Queen Salderna as they pursue Daraida (Agesilao) at their court in Galdapa (Fr. *Am.* XI, Ch. 84; cf. *FN3*, Ch. 81).²²⁴

Just afterward, Sidney's narrative further contrasts Gynecia's outward show with her internal "fury" by relating how she kneels up in bed that night, silently cursing her current state as a "disastered changeling" in contrast with her prior chastity (*OA*, 112-113). In the source material, Galinides kneels in bed at night, comically praying in adoration of his new "goddess Daraida" ("*diosa Daraida*" in Silva; "*terrestre Palla-Venus*" in Gohory).²²⁵ Here Sidney's imitation provides a sharpened contrast between the effects of *eros* in husband and wife. Basilius awakens in response to Gynecia's expression of erotic frustration regarding her "forgotten virtue," thinking it a manifestation of "love" for him, thus lending her an embrace for "comfort" which she does not reciprocate (*OA*, 113). The narrator emphasizes that "if she would a little have maintained, perchance it might have weakened his new-conceived heats" (*ibid.*). Sidney's variation here suggests a contingency factor in Basilius's purely sexual affection for Cleophila, while also positing an impression of tragic internal conflict for Gynecia. The narrator emphasizes shortly afterward, "Thus did Gynecia eat of her jealousy, pine in her love, and receive kindness nowhere but from the fountain of unkindness" (*OA*, 118).

²²⁴ Cf. F. Silva 1559 [Fr. *Am.* XI]: "*Salderne d'autre costé estoit en continuëlle inquietude: ce que le Roy estimoit luy proceder de ialousie conceuë sur l'estrangere, la iugeant par luy mesme à l'exemple de celle dont il auoit parauant esté si tourmenté*" (fol. CXLII.r [sig. Aa.iiii.r]). Here Gohory translates F. Silva, *FN3*: "*el rey y la reina en toda aquella noche no durmieron pensando en Daraida. Y cada uno sentía el mal sossiego del otro. Y la reina cuidava lo que era del rey. Y el rey cuidava que de celos de Daraida la reina no dormía, y ninguna cosa el uno al otro dezían*" (ed. J. Martín Lalanda, p. 257b).

²²⁵ F. Silva, *FN3*, ed. J. Martín Lalanda, p. 257b; F. Silva 1559 [Fr. *Am.* XI], fol. CXLII.r (sig. Aa.iiii.r). Cf. note 193 above on Gohory's translation. J. Brooks 2007 reads Gohory's variation here as making the humorous episode into "a naming ceremony—a crucial ritual in Renaissance occult philosophy and in Paracelsism" (p. 1237).

That same narrative moment of the married couple at night in Sidney's source material seems to have inspired later emphasis on Gynecia's jealousy, when it actually arises in Sidney's narrative shortly after this point. Gohory's translation amplifies a simple claim by Silva's narrator—that Galinides and Salderna kept each other awake all night in mutual jealous vigilance of each other—with a grand rhetorical question purportedly posed by the fictional "chronicler" Galersis: "Oh miserable passion, the anxious rage of jealousy," etcetera.²²⁶ Sidney imitates that embellishment, placing his rendition of the same rhetorical question at a crucial point shortly afterward in the narrative—on the next day, after Cleophila (Pyrocles) has convinced the dotting Basilius (who grants Cleophila's every request "desiring but a speedy return of comfort") to leave her/him alone with Philoclea, thus ironically "mak[ing] her profit of his folly" (OA, 116, 115)—after Gynecia's foreboding dream that she may lose Cleophila (OA, 117)—and after that premonition comes true (from the reader's perspective) as the disguised hero uses his newly won opportunity to reveal his secret identity to Philoclea (OA, 119-121). Indeed, significantly, the narrator's embellishment on jealousy occurs immediately following the moment in which Pyrocles and Philoclea secretly exchange vows as "promise of marriage" (OA, 122). These young lovers can proceed no further in their union precisely because "Gynecia's restless affection and furious jealousy had by this time prevailed so much with her husband as to come to separate them," at which point the

²²⁶ F. Silva 1559 [Fr. Am. XI]: "*Surquoy exclame Galersis le croniqueur: O malheureuse passion ainçois rage de ialousie, que les ignorans cuident sortir d'amour, ainsi que du feu la cendre, & le suiure naturellement comme l'ombre le corps: voyez icy que le fondement estoit peu ferme & solide, qu'une veuë soudaine d'autre obiet à demolly en vn moment & fait fondre comme la nege au soleil. Vray ne peut on dire auoir esté l'amour de Galinides, que l'on void si peu durable, ains ourdir la toile de l'affection de la royne autre part adressée. Car, quelle amitié parfaite pouons nous fonder en defiance? qu'est ce qui donne plus d'occasion d'offence que la deffence? Ainsi plus appete le malade ce qui luy est prohibé & interdit: ainsi le cheual courageux quand on luy tient la bride trop roide souuent prend le mordz au dents & se met à la course laquelle il cesse en luy laschant vn peu le frein*" (fol. CXLII.r-v [sig. Aa.iiii.r-v]).

narrator waxes poetic as does Gohory's: "O jealousy, the frenzy of wise folks," etcetera (*ibid.*).²²⁷

Sidney's imitation here, following the narrative logic of Silva's paradigm and the language of its French translation, characterizes jealousy as a "sickness" which, in full "fever," tragically affects great people.²²⁸ His narrative adds further self-consciousness on Gynecia's part by having her retrieve in memory a sonnet analyzing her condition ("With two strange fires of equal heat possessed, / The one of love, the other jealousy"). Recalling "an old song which she thought did well figure her fortune" proves different from the protagonist lovers' invention of their own lyric poetry elsewhere, and the narrator emphasizes the destructive nature of Gynecia's jealousy by comparing "the envenomed heat which lay within her" to the "rageful haste" with which "the Trojan women went to burn Aeneas's ships" when incited to do so by the vengeful Juno in *Aeneid* V.604-681 (*OA*, 122-123). Sidney imitates and varies the tragicomic paradigm of Silva's Galinides and Salderna—in which *eros* dominates Galinides's mind to the point of insanity, a condition which incites invasion of his realm by a neighboring king—by investing Basilius's pursuit of Cleophila (Pyrocles) with both comical aesthetic effect and grave political consequence, while creating for Gynecia a purely tragic internal conflict tightly interlaced with those political circumstances. Sidney's narrative poetics of

²²⁷ "O jealousy, the frenzy of wise folks, the well wishing spite and unkind carefulness, the self-punishment for other's fault and self-misery in other's happiness, the sister of envy, daughter of love, and mother of hate, how couldst thou so quickly get thee a seat in the unquiet heart of Gynecia, a lady very fair in her strongest age, known wise and esteemed virtuous? It was thy breeder's power that planted thee there; it was the inflaming agonies of affection that drew on the fever of thy sickness in such sort that nature gave place" (*OA*, 122).

²²⁸ M. C. Daniels 1992 observes that the "monstrous passion" which dominates Galinides and Salderna in these chapters of *FN3* "confirms the mysterious power of desire to transcend gender" (p. 222). On the language, compare notes 226 and 227 above.

exemplary character contrast creates for the reader distance from Basilius and Gynecia while establishing delightful complicity with the *Arcadia*'s four protagonist lovers.

* * *

This chapter's emphasis on Sidney's design for affective reader engagement in Books One through Three of *Old Arcadia*—its narrative establishing reader complicity with the protagonist lovers while imposing exemplary contrast with other characters—helps explain the fundamental differences in form and in poetics between Sidney's chivalric fiction in prose and that of Edmund Spenser in verse. The *Aeneid* allusion quoted here above, employed by Sidney in reference to Gynecia's destructive jealousy, serves as a useful touchstone for addressing that larger issue. Recent triangulation of heroic fiction by Sidney, Spenser, and Milton attributes an "epic" dimension to Sidney's work by arguing that certain narrative episodes and a network of classical allusions within both versions of the *Arcadia* represent allegorical "form" distinct from that of *The Faerie Queene* and *Paradise Lost* only in degree rather than in kind.²²⁹ Allusions such as the one quoted here above do provide significant "epic" registers within the *Arcadia*'s narrative poetics, but not "allegory" *per se*. Rather, Sidney's narrative imports and refines the exemplary poetics of its primary chivalric source material, also written in prose interspersed with lyric poetry.

This chapter has demonstrated how Sidney's imitation of Silva's *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* in Gohory's partial French translation downplays that work's metaphysical underpinnings while exploiting Gohory's philosophically suggestive language and amplifying philosophical discourse between the protagonist princes. Sidney's narrative employs those aspects for the poetic effects of character development,

²²⁹ K. Borris 2000, pp. 1-10, 109-141 (cf. *idem*. 1999).

reader complicity with the protagonists, and exemplary character contrast. This creative method complements the manner in which Sidney's *Defence of Poesie* "prescribes an Aristotelian mimesis that is *not* allegorical in the neoplatonist sense," a mode of invention which, in contrast with that of the allegorist and of the rhetorician alike, does not draw upon preexisting Ideas or *topoi* to determine verbal expression, but rather conveys "new imagining, a verbal image where language and picture are inseparable."²³⁰ Language of "marriage," for instance, cannot be overlooked or qualified as romantic fancy: the word must be taken for what it means, forcing readers to recognize that all characters involved with the Arcadian succession crisis in Book Four and the trial scene in Book Five grant that the protagonist lovers are indeed married.

²³⁰ S. K. Heninger 1989 (pp. 274, 278): "For Sidney the ontological *situs* of the poem [i.e., fictional poetics] lies not in some concealed truth behind the veil of words. Rather, in the best poetry its ultimate being inheres in the verbal system itself, especially as that verbal system generates poetic images. The poem is its own reality instead of a counter for an anterior idea. [...] If poetry is to succeed in its mission of delighting, teaching, and moving, the rhetorician's *res* must merge with and emerge from his *verba* as a dynamic, uninterrupted event [...]—indeed, the *verba* of the poem provide the sole existence for the *res* [...] Conceit is matter; in Sidney's poetics, *verba* are *res*" (pp. 274-278, 297; cf. pp. 405-406). R. E. Stillman 2008 also distinguishes Sidney's notion of exemplary poetics in *DP* from "allegory," taking into account Reformation hermeneutics (pp. 63-122; cf. *idem*. 2002a). Cf. K. Meerhoff 1994 and K. Eden 1997 (pp. 79-89) on Melanchthon's *Elementorum Rhetorices* (1531).

IV.

Blending Ancient Prose Fiction with Spanish Chivalric Romance: Poetics of Legal Debate about Clandestine Marriage in *Old Arcadia*, Books Four and Five

Political and legal controversy in the final two Books of *Old Arcadia* arises from variant interpretation of what the protagonist lovers' distinct unions in secret wedlock should mean politically. Only in Book Four does Sidney's narrative reveal to the reader that Arcadian law not only prohibits succession of goods and titles in cases of clandestine marriage but also condemns to death anyone partaking in such secret union within the Arcadian realm. In the former detail, Arcadian law reflects late-sixteenth-century French law at the time of Leicester's secret marriage, combined with subtle emphasis on theological validity of clandestine marriage within Arcadia, a detail consistent with Elizabethan English canon law. As demonstrated in Chapter One above, both continental European law and this case of Leicester's secret wedlock remained matters of political and personal concern both for Sidney and for the Countess of Pembroke while he composed *Old Arcadia*, primarily for her between 1578 and 1581. The other detail of legal death penalty for secret marriage represents a purely fictional embellishment invented to amplify the intellectual and political stakes for clandestine marriage within the Arcadian realm.

The fictional world figures forth ethical and political controversy akin to that of the author's real world through its own internal logic. That internal logic includes ethical impressions of characters: that is, their intentions and personal *ethos* as well as their

words and actions. Sidney's narrative in Books Four and Five develops certain characters mentioned only briefly in Book One as a means to fuel *Old Arcadia's* overarching poetics of exemplary character contrast. Philanax, Kerxenus, and Euarchus all play central roles in the escalation of dramatic conflict resulting from Basilius's supposed death, announced at the beginning of Book Four. That narrative development extends the poetic effect of *admiratio* established in Books One through Three, keeping the reader on the protagonist lovers' side amidst a political succession crisis and tragic condemnation of Pyrocles and Musidorus to death by strict adherence to Arcadian law.

This aesthetic effect flies in the face of rational explanation for that death sentence: an argument which bears striking resemblance to the rationale underlying European legal reform prohibiting succession of goods and titles in cases of clandestine marriage. Sidney's narrative challenges its reader to recognize logical inconsistency. Pyrocles and Musidorus are condemned to death by the same law for the same action for which Philoclea and Pamela are excused due to mitigating circumstances. Because the rational judgment underlying that death sentence remains unquestioned within the confines of the story, Sidney's fiction creates for its readers a dramatic impasse of unjust justice. The reader desires legal equity for the protagonist princes like that granted their wives. Basilius's revival at the very end of Book Five, as a sudden and unexpected twist of plot for the reader, captures an aesthetic impression of wish fulfillment.

Sidney invents this tragicomic scenario through blending specific motifs from ancient prose fiction with the narrative poetics of secret marriage established in Books One through Three via imitation and variation of Silva's work in Gohory's translation. From an anecdotal story in Book Ten of Apuleius's *The Golden Ass (Metamorphoses)*,

Sidney draws the tragicomic motif of unjust legal condemnation resolved at the last minute by the fact that supposed poison turns out to have been only a potent sleeping potion. For the trial scene itself and Euarchus's condemnation of his own son and nephew to death, Sidney varies the combined trial-scene and unknown-parentage motifs in the final Book of Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*. These new motifs in the concluding Books complement (rather than overturn or revise) the narrative logic of *admiratio* and reader complicity with protagonist lovers established in Books One through Three.

This chapter analyzes closely the narrative trajectory of Books Four and Five and emphasizes how its rhetorical effect of temporary dramatic impasse arises from Sidney's synthesis and variation of literary sources. That literary invention, combined with its sudden resolution through the Apuleian sleeping-potion motif, constitutes a matter of consistent narrative poetics which unifies *Old Arcadia*'s structural and thematic focus on dynastic union through clandestine marriage. Sidney's poetics of compound imitation establishes for *Old Arcadia* an overarching theme of metamorphosis, through exploiting Silva's interlaced motifs in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* (via Gohory's translation) for Books One through Three, then exploiting complementary motifs in ancient prose fiction for Books Four and Five. His narrative, like those of Apuleius (literally) and Silva (figuratively, through the disguise motif), "tells how the forms and fortunes [or "estate"] of men were converted into alien natures, and then back again by the twist of fate into their first selves."²³¹ With the protagonist princes, Sidney's fiction plays upon the notion of altered "estate" in disguise as encompassing physical, social, and legal condition,

²³¹ Apuleius, "Preface" to *The Golden Ass*, trans. J. Lindsay, p. 31. William Adlington's translation renders this prefatory comment in verse: "I will declare how one by happe, his humaine figure lost, / And how in brutishe fourmed shape, his lothed life he tost: / And how he was in course of time, from such estate vnfold. / Who eftsoones turnd to pristine shape, his lot vn lucky told" (L. Apuleius 1566 [English], sig. B.i.v). Cf. Apuleius 1571 [English], sig. B.ij.v.

without drastic change in moral or ethical condition. In Basilius's sudden conversion upon awaking from supposed death, readers witness a restoration of ethical and political condition for Arcadia.

Old Arcadia thus figures forth its author's own legal, political, and social concerns. The Leicester-Sidney circle's interest in law between 1578 and 1585 remained linked to their anticipated venture in the Netherlands, as noted by Henry Woudhuysen, and in those years Leicester and Sidney also would have remained keenly aware of legal equity as important for inheritance rights pertaining to Leicester's clandestine marriage. Arthur Kinney has observed that, in designing the emphasis on "equity" in *Arcadia* Book Five, "Sidney has set up the terms of his fiction so that they coincide precisely with the debate of common law over chancery": that is, contemporary debate regarding the tradition of English common law, which for centuries developed "unyielding reliance on precedent [which] guaranteed consistent enactment of institutional and monarchical policies," versus legal emphasis on "equity" found in chancery, which "supported the individual application of the law and the individual determination of justice by closely examining surrounding, even mitigating, circumstances."²³² Within the fictional context of *Arcadia* Book Five, Euarchus's role as Arcadian protector "in Elizabethan terms places him close to the Chancellor, one able to override positive laws with either mercy or a superior justice."²³³ In contrast with Euarchus's choice of adherence to "dead pitiless laws" in the cases of *Arcadia*'s two protagonist princes and Queen Gynecia, Sidney's narrative suggests to its reader a need for wise application of legal equity by the

²³² A. F. Kinney 1988, pp. 308-309; *idem.* 1990, pp. 50-51. On these legal contexts, see S. E. Prall 1964. Cf. M. L. Cioni 1985; I. Maclean 1992, pp. 171-178, 181-186 (cf. pp. 138-142; W. Trimpi 1983, pp. 266-275; K. Eden 1986); M. Fortier 2005, pp. 59-86; B. Cormack 2007, pp. 1-44. For Woudhuysen's perspective, see Chapter One above, notes 25-26.

²³³ R. S. White 1996, p. 143.

monarch,²³⁴ specifically in politically-charged cases of clandestine marriage among prominent aristocrats with dynastic succession at stake.

To supplement this emphasis on *Old Arcadia* as verisimilar rhetorical mimesis pertaining to the Dudley-Sidney family's interests, this chapter concludes with analysis of material contexts for those two ancient prose romances in English translation.

Recognizing the likelihood that Sidney might have read them in French or in Latin translations, that section identifies aspects of the English translations pertinent to Sidney's own legal interest and personal honor. These considerations complement emphases throughout this study regarding the nature of Sidney's artistry as non-allegorical exemplary poetics, as well as with regard to the author's own personal sensibilities as projected within his fiction.

* * *

Old Arcadia's overall narrative structure framing Sidney's shift in imitated motifs, from those of Spanish chivalric romance to those of ancient prose fiction, contributes to the final two Books' dialectical gridlock. Books Four and Five essentially recapitulate and judge the disguised princes' courtship and secret union with Basilius's daughters which has occurred in Books One through Three, within a new context of political crisis. New action fuels that function of re-evaluation through legal judgment.

In Book Four, while Pyrocles and Philoclea remain trapped in the lodge after consummating their secret marriage, Sidney's narrator frames Pyrocles's thoughts about

²³⁴ Cf. D. Norbrook 2002: "Sidney clearly expects his readers to feel the injustice of treating noble and magnanimous princes in the same way as anyone else: where Puritanism seems to have democratic tendencies, he fears it" (p. 91); A. F. Kinney 1988: "Equity admits flexibility and change, but it does not deny justice and stability. Equity was, after all, what the Low Countries seemed to be struggling for, what Sidney's uncle Leicester would advocate, what his father was arguing as the best means of establishing plantations on Ireland, and what his own youthful talent at negotiation and diplomacy (as practiced during his grand tour) seemed to qualify him for best" (p. 309). On monarchal authority and equity, see I. Maclean 1992 (pp. 91-95) and M. Fortier 2005 (pp. 87-106).

his wife's honor in a manner that complements the sense of complicit sympathy the narrative has established for its reader with regard to the four protagonist lovers in Books One through Three. The narrator presents Pyrocles not as a morally compromised lover but rather as an epic hero who has found himself in a bind without his sword while "he perceived he was a prisoner before any arrest": he resembles Homer's Achilles, we are told, in demonstrating how "confidence in oneself is the chief nurse of true magnanimity" (*OA*, 289). Here, as elsewhere in Sidney's *Arcadia*, allusion to epic poetry serves the rhetorical purposes of characterization and reader engagement. In this case, it fosters *admiratio*. This narrative moment also provides the reader new information about Arcadian law. In conveying how "[Pyrocles's] excellent wit, strengthened with virtue but guided by love, had soon described to himself a perfect vision of their present condition," the first of this hero's considerations outlined by the narrator consists of "remembering withal the cruelty of the Arcadian laws which, without exception, did condemn all to death who were found in act of marriage without solemnity of marriage, assuring himself, besides the law, that the duke and duchess would use so much more hate against their daughter as they had found themselves sotted by him in the pursuit of their love" (*OA*, 290). Here in the narrator's commentary on Pyrocles's strategic thought emerges a legal distinction between secret "act of marriage" and public "solemnity of marriage" in *Arcadia*.

Herein lies the twofold gist of the protagonist lovers' predicament, which resembles that of Spanish chivalric-romance heroes in their clandestine marriages. The circumstance that Pyrocles does not yet know of Basilius's supposed death allows for a reminder here that, as in Silva's *Amadís de Grecia* and *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*, it

is precisely the circumstances which force the protagonist lovers to act upon their love in secret that inhibit parental approval.²³⁵ Also, here readers learn two new facts about Sidney's fictional Arcadia: first, that laws exist in the realm which condemn to death anyone who undertakes clandestine marriage, and second, the likelihood that those laws may be enforced against these princes, given the circumstances of their courtship. Like Montalvo's narrative commentary on the same legal punishment for "adultery" ("*adulterio*") committed by noblewomen in pre-Arthurian Britain, Sidney's narrator characterizes this Arcadian legal custom as "cruel" (cf. "*tan cruel costumbre y pésima*").²³⁶ As in the Spanish chivalric-romance tradition, maintaining one's honor in secret marriage requires full awareness of such legal custom. In Sidney's fiction, however, the "cruel" laws apply to "marriage," rather than just to adultery.

This variation highlights an important distinction between the world in which Sidney produced his imitation and the world in which his literary sources were produced. Montalvo and Silva fashioned the poetics of their stories involving true love in secret marriage, and those works were translated into French, too, before the Council of Trent's ruling against the theological and social legitimacy of clandestine marriage in 1563. Sidney's imitation occurred after the post-Tridentine shift in reception of these Spanish authors' stories, within a context of enhanced anxiety about the theological and social nature of marriage, which the Protestant English establishment no longer deemed a

²³⁵ Cf. K. T. Rowe 1947 on the matter of "romantic love and parental authority," although Rowe's study proves problematic for our present purposes because it relies on the composite 1593 text of *Arcadia* (see p. 14 n. 38), which combines Sidney's later revision and expansion of Books One through Three (incomplete) with a slightly revised version of Books Three through Five from *OA*.

²³⁶ G. R. Montalvo, *Amadís de Gaula*, ed. J. M. Cacho Blecua, vol. 1, pp. 242-243. This commentary by the narrator occurs early in Book One with regard to the secret marriage of Perión and Helisena through which the protagonist is conceived.

sacrament.²³⁷ Poetic use of the secret-marriage motif could not function for Sidney's imitation in the same way it could for Montalvo's and Silva's fiction in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. Sidney's narrative therefore blends its use with use of motifs in ancient prose fiction, in order to figure forth early modern perspectives on the matter of clandestine marriage.

In Books Four and Five, *Old Arcadia* stages debate over the issue of clandestine marriage by extending its existing narrative poetics. Establishing reader complicity with the protagonist lovers and exemplary contrast with other main characters, as in Books One through Three, Books Four and Five convey character development for Philanax, who appears only briefly in Book One. Sidney's narrative contrasts Philanax's skeptical approach to the matter of clandestine marriage, based on existing laws and political expediency, with poetic impressions of the protagonist lovers' "inner worth and true nobility" as they defend the virtue of their own actions.²³⁸ In Book Four, for instance, when Pyrocles is apprehended by Arcadian authorities, the narrator emphasizes his charismatic courage: in that group of Arcadian aristocrats accompanying Philanax and Sympathus (an aptly named "nobleman" entrusted to keep Pyrocles captive), "everyone" feels "desirous to have him in his charge, so much did his goodly presence (in whom true valour shined) breed a delightful admiration in all the beholders" (*OA*, 302-303). Philoclea's plea to Philanax that she and her husband be kept together clearly conveys a poetic impression of theological validity for their "virtuous marriage":

My only suit is you will be a mean for me that, while I am suffered to enjoy this life, I may not be separated from him to whom the gods have joined me; and that you determine nothing more cruelly of him than you

²³⁷ See Chapter One above, notes 20-23, and Chapter Five below, at note 300.

²³⁸ A. C. Hamilton 1972: "the trial which proves their guilt also proves their inner worth and true nobility" (p. 44).

do of me. But if you rightly judge of our virtuous marriage, whereto our innocencies were the solemnities, and the gods themselves the witnesses, then procure we may live together. But if my father will not so conceive of us, as the fault (if any were) was united, so let the punishment be united also. (OA, 303-304)

Philoclea recognizes the difference between theological legitimacy and social legitimacy, though she takes as the “solemnities” of their secret marriage their innocent exchange of mutual vows and chaste consummation of the union. In other words, she appeals to the unquestionable validity of their union in the eyes of God (or rather, within this fictive world, “the gods”). She remains fully committed to that “virtuous marriage” while, at the same time, obediently deferring to her father’s judgment on the matter. Because Books One through Three have provoked within readers a genuine delight in these “innocencies” of the union between Pyrocles and Philoclea, we are inclined toward a favorable impression of this argument, both in terms of its *pathos* and her personal *ethos*.

For readers, the fact that Philoclea does not yet know of her father’s supposed death enhances both the rhetorical effect of her argument and the aesthetic impression of her virtuous character. That same fact, however, causes Philanax to receive both her argument about marriage and the reference to her father with cynical distrust. The narrator explains this interpretation by Philanax immediately after Philoclea’s request, clarifying that he assumes Pyrocles and Philoclea have acted in cohorts with Gynecia, planning together Basilius’s death, the exile of Pamela with Musidorus, and their own “marriage” as a *coup d’état* “to overthrow the diadem of Arcadia” (OA, 304). Philanax’s interpretation clearly comes from genuine love and sense of duty toward his supposedly deceased sovereign, as the narrator makes clear in describing his inner emotional response to Philoclea’s open grief upon hearing of her father’s death (OA, 305). His

accusatory initial reply to Philoclea's plea highlights precisely how the current political situation has become skewed to preclude "mercy" toward these young lovers in their clandestine marriage: "since among yourselves you have taken him away in whom was the only power to have mercy, you must now be clothed in your own working, and look for no other than that which dead pitiless laws may allot unto you" (*OA*, 304). The power of merciful reprieve belongs to the duke, who is presumed dead. The matters of clandestine marriage and alleged conspiracy to be judged involve both heirs-apparent to the Arcadian throne, and the narrator has told us already that Arcadian law alone would ensure the two princesses and their husbands each a death sentence. Therefore, for the time being, there exists a vacuum of political authority in which the reigning dynasty may be wiped out by "dead pitiless laws." Amidst ensuing political negotiation and tension, Sidney's narrative amplifies the contrast between Philanax's well-intentioned but potentially tragic antagonism on behalf of the state and the protagonist lovers' charismatic courage in defending both the virtue of their actions and Pamela's legal right to the Arcadian throne.

Book Four in *Old Arcadia* exploits the still-ambiguous issue of Musidorus's attempt to consummate his secret marriage to Pamela in Book Three, as a device for establishing narrative emphasis on the political stakes for their clandestine union. The shift back to focus on Pamela and Musidorus highlights and further clarifies the matter of political succession, given Basilius's apparent death. The narrator reminds readers here that Musidorus has begun to break his promise to Pamela by endangering her virginity, and, as noted above in Chapter Three, the stakes underlying that promise are primarily political. When the couple is being taken to Arcadian authorities, Pamela clarifies that in

her mind neither her “virtue” nor her husband’s “honour” has been compromised whatsoever in that attempted consummation. Contrasting their “ill hap” with his “faithful faultlessness,” she reassures her husband, “how can I want comfort that have the true and living comfort of my unblemished virtue; and how can I want honour as long as Musidorus (in whom indeed honour is) doth honour me? Nothing bred from myself can discomfort me, and fools’ opinions I will not reckon as dishonour” (*OA*, 311-312). This reassurance helps Musidorus, as well as the reader, distinguish between inner virtue and external circumstance, between true honor and others’ misperception of such honor as dishonor. From this point onward, he defends Pamela’s virtue and her right of succession admirably, with words rather than arms, willing (like Pyrocles) to give up his own life for his wife’s sake. His charismatic *ethos* nearly persuades their prison guards to release them, and his argument highlights “my lady Pamela being the undoubted inheritrix of this state” (*OA*, 315; see 315-316). When all four protagonist lovers are brought before Philanax, Pamela asserts her own authority as legal successor to her father and, in doing so, firmly defines her union with Musidorus as marriage:

remembering how necessary it was for her not to lose herself in such an extremity, she strengthened her well created heart, and stoutly demanded Philanax what authority then they had to lay hands of her person, who being the undoubted heir was then the lawful princess of that dukedom.

Philanax answered: “Her grace knew the ancient laws of Arcadia bare she was to have no sway of government till she came to one and twenty years of age, or were married.”

“And married I am,” replied the wise princess, “therefore I demand your due allegiance.” (*OA*, 319)

No one, including Philanax, doubts her legal status as successor to Basilius, but here we learn that “the ancient laws of Arcadia” identify both age and marriage as contingency

factors in her right to succession. She is only seventeen at present, so everything hinges upon her marriage.

In *Old Arcadia*, political tension stems from legal ambiguity regarding whether or not the clandestine nature of Pamela's marriage to Musidorus validates her right of succession. The narrator characterizes Pamela as "wise" in perceiving that she and Musidorus are indeed married, through freely rendered mutual exchange of vows. Their union within Sidney's fiction could be perceived by sixteenth-century English readers not only as *consensus per verba de futuro*, a theologically valid betrothal, but also as *consensus per verba de praesenti*, a sustained mutual will for marriage, which in Elizabethan England still functioned theologically as consummation equally legitimate as sexual union.²³⁹ Philanax's reply to Pamela's argument, however, highlights how Sidney's fiction grapples with the social dimension of clandestine marriage (and hence, in this case, its political implications), rather than with its theological definition. Before Pamela's assertion, the narrator describes "Philanax, showing a sullen kind of reverence unto her, as a man that honoured her as his master's heir but much disliked her for her (in his conceit) dishonourable proceedings" (*OA*, 319). His reply to her claim of marriage further explains his perspective on her "proceedings" as "dishonourable." He does not deny that she has married Musidorus; rather, he speaks disparagingly of "such marriages" (that is, clandestine marriage), with emphasis on current political and legal circumstances that could inhibit her right of succession:

"The gods forbid," said Philanax, "Arcadia should be a dowry of such marriages." Besides, he told her, all the estates of her country were ill

²³⁹ On these concepts and their validity in Elizabethan England, see A. P. Moore 1909; G. H. Joyce 1933, pp. 1-11, 39-74, 83-128, 137-138, 186-197 (esp. pp. 61-62, 128, 137-138, 190-191); M. Ingram 1987, p. 190 (cf. pp. 131-136); and S. Mukherji 2006, pp. 17-25 (esp. p. 19). Cf. J. Ruiz de Conde 1948, pp. 11-12; M. Rothstein 1994, p. 879.

satisfied touching her father's death, which likewise according to the statutes of Arcadia was even that day to be judged of, before the body were removed to receive his princely funerals. After that passed, she should have such obedience as by the laws was due unto her, desiring God she would show herself better in public government than she had done in private. (*ibid.*)

Here we see the crux of *Old Arcadia's* secret-marriage theme. Basilius's sudden "death," established by Sidney's narrative through the Apuleian sleeping-potion motif, has left loose ends regarding the legal validity of Pamela's right to succession via clandestine marriage. Such matters of legal will and titular succession—as well as the question of abduction (*raptus*)—were precisely the issues debated for centuries and ultimately addressed by Genevan, French, and Tridentine legal reform with regard to clandestine marriage in the mid-sixteenth century.²⁴⁰ In this case, suspicion of conspiracy inhibits Pamela's immediate succession and thus, for the time being, limits her power to claim the duchy of Arcadia as "dowry" for her new husband. Here and elsewhere, Philanax seems inclined to validate Pamela's title as duchess of Arcadia, but here and throughout most of Books Four and Five, he remains loath to allow Musidorus and Pyrocles any legal concession as husbands to Basilius's daughters.

Political circumstances in Arcadia present *Arcadia's* readers a crisis regarding legal equity. Should all four protagonist lovers be held to the letter of Arcadian law, leaving the realm without any heir-apparent? Or, should the two princesses be granted legal concession but their husbands be held to the letter of the law, based on the judgment that their clandestine union, though theologically legitimate, may be defined as illicit according to positive law? Or, rather, should Pyrocles and Musidorus also be granted legal concession? No one in Arcadia supports the first prospect. The second and third

²⁴⁰ See Chapter One above, notes 20-23.

possibilities entail judgment of the protagonists' legal status in Arcadia and of their moral character. In Book Five, both Philanax's legal prosecution and Euarchus's legal verdict condone the second perspective. The protagonist lovers and their supporters embrace the third. The dilemma itself advances the plot of Sidney's narrative. This legal crisis regarding the Arcadian succession in Sidney's fictional world creates political division and hence the motive for appointing a temporary political "protector" to whose legal judgment Arcadia may defer on the matter, resulting in the trial scene of Book Five.

The narrative transition delineating this action amidst political crisis focuses on character development; and here, as with the poetics of Books One through Three, *Old Arcadia* employs mimesis and philosophical discourse for the rhetorical purposes of exemplary character contrast and reader complicity with the protagonist lovers. The narrator's comments on "confused and dangerous divisions" among Arcadian councilors suggest the need for a strong and wise monarch within a mixed polity such as this one (and, by implicit comparison, that of Elizabethan England). He defines those "divisions" as "a notable example how great dissipations monarchal governments are subject unto," cataloguing various interest groups involved in the current political crisis, including "the great men looking to make themselves strong by factions" (*OA*, 320). The ambitious and unscrupulous Arcadian aristocrat Timautus, for instance, proposes that he marry one of the princesses, and, in response to Philanax's quick and firm refusal, Timautus arouses dissention through rhetoric employed against Philanax, who, appealing to "the laws" and "the duty you owe to this state," rallies some troops to stop Timautus from freeing Gynecia (*OA*, 321-325). Amidst this political tension in the *locus amoenus* (not so pleasant at present), Kerxenus comes from nearby Mantinea, visits the protagonist lovers

in prison, and then, among his own people, admirably defends both Pamela's right to succession and her marriage. Kerxenus's argument hinges upon his favorable impression of the protagonist lovers' personal *ethos* ("virtue"), and the narrator explains that the effect of Kerxenus's speech in swaying this particular group of Arcadians into action results from his own persuasive *ethos* as "a man both grave in years and known honest" (OA, 326). The narrator then explicitly contrasts Kerxenus's actions with Philanax's policy motivated by overzealous commitment to legal "justice" with or without due process: Philanax "thought best to remove the prisoners secretly, and (if need were) rather without form of justice to kill them than against justice (as he thought) to have them usurp the state" (*ibid.*). That policy fails only because the prisoners' keeper Sympathus, who, like Kerxenus, remains "stricken in compassion with their excellent presence," adheres to Philanax's original charge of keeping them safely guarded rather than to his new charge that they be released secretly into his own care (*ibid.*). Thus, the conclusion of Book Four extends and alters the reader's formerly admirable impression of Philanax as a prudent and loyal counselor to Duke Basilius, adding a new and negative dimension of misguided zeal in his loyalty to Basilius. In the process, Sidney's narrative provides a new impression of Kerxenus and introduces new characters for the purpose of reinforcing the reader's favorable impression of the protagonist lovers just before their trial.

This poetic effect, enhanced by the protagonist lovers' philosophical contemplation and courage in Book Five, inclines readers to remain on the protagonists' side and to be skeptical of Philanax's allegations in the trial scene, because we know his faulty assumptions about the defendants' motives. Readers, unlike the trial's judge and

audience, also know that Philanax withholds important evidence in his prosecution of Pyrocles and Musidorus: two tear-stained letters intended to be read by the Arcadian assembly, written by Philoclea and Pamela about their husbands. Sidney's narrative provides us those texts, in which each princess defines her partner as "husband" (see *OA*, 395-398). Pamela's letter, after sarcastic questions about the Arcadian "lords" and their "laws" currently posing as her "fellows" and "sovereigns," condemns any transgression against herself or against her husband Musidorus as a matter of treason (*OA*, 397).²⁴¹ Philoclea's letter provides a more "humble" and tender private plea that would corroborate the notion of "justice" in "clemency" underlying Pyrocles's argument in pleading guilty of clandestine marriage (in response to Philanax's second accusation): "the salve of her [Philoclea's] honour (I mean as the world will take it, for else in truth it is most untouched) must be my marriage and not my death, since the one stops all mouths, the other becomes a doubtful fable" (*OA*, 394-395). These arguments enhance readers' impressions of Philoclea's honorable character and Pamela's strength of character. The latter is exactly what Arcadia needs from her as rightful ruler in this time of political crisis.

The gap between the protagonists' *ethos* and that of Philanax widens as readers witness his motive for suppressing legal evidence and accusing Musidorus of abduction. A messenger delivers the two letters to Philanax amidst Pyrocles's defense, during which the young prince indignantly challenges Philanax to a duel, and the narrator explains that

²⁴¹ Pamela's letter emphasizes with regard to Musidorus, "the good or evil you do to the excellent prince was taken with me, and after by force from me, I will ever impute it as either way done to my own person. He is a prince and worthy to be my husband, and so is he my husband by me worthily chosen. Believe it, believe it; either you shall be traitors for murdering of me or, if you let me live, the murderers of him shall smart as traitors" (*OA*, 397). H. R. Woudhuysen [1980] also emphasizes this passage but does not address the matter of Pamela's marriage (p. 291).

Philanax “utterly suppress[es]” the letters as a matter of “revenge” against Pyrocles (*OA*, 398). This action and its motive confer onto the reader some degree of Pyrocles’s indignation, further diminishing Philanax’s *ethos* in our minds and hence also the persuasiveness of his ensuing allegation that Musidorus’s primary motive for elopement with Pamela was political conspiracy. For the reader, narrative explanation of Philanax’s biased assumptions, methods, and motives in Books Four and Five compromises the *logos* of his policy and prosecution, while enhancing the favorable effect of the protagonist lovers’ *ethos* in defending their actions and rights.

A similar effect, though more complex, occurs with Euarchus’s final judgment of the protagonist princes, as elected “protector” for Arcadia. He resolutely administers death sentences to his nephew and son as a matter of adherence to Arcadian law. The narrator frames this judicial sentencing with emphasis that Euarchus, in hearing both prosecution and defense, attends only to the apparent *logos* of each side’s arguments, “letting pass the flowers of rhetoric and only marking whither their reasons tended” (*OA*, 403). Euarchus recognizes these young princes’ noble chivalric deeds—that is, “the services they had done before,” in foreign lands prior to arrival in Arcadia and in defending Arcadia from popular rebellion—as “truly honourable and worthy of great reward, but not worthy to countervail with a following wickedness,” emphasizing, “this no man can deny: they have been accidental, if not principal, causes of the duke’s death” (*OA*, 405). With regard to “universal civility” or “the law of nations” pertaining to “world citizens,” Euarchus claims that his own son and nephew, Pyrocles and Musidorus, as “public persons,” both have transgressed “the law of arms” by entering Arcadia as “private” persons submitting themselves to “domestical services” in disguise, “so by

making themselves private [have] deprived themselves of respect due to their public calling”; therefore, they should know that in doing so, “hav[ing] not only left to do like princes but to be like princes,” each “must take heed how he fall into their hands whom he so wrongeth, for then is courtesy the best custom he can claim”:

For no proportion it were of justice that a man might make himself no prince when he would do evil, and might anew create himself a prince when he would not suffer evil. Thus, therefore, by all laws of nature and nations, and especially by their own putting themselves out of the sanctuary of them, these young men cannot in justice avoid the judgement, but like private men must have their doings either cleared, excused, or condemned. (*OA*, 404)

This argument about the disguised princes “debas[ing]” themselves “as private citizens, without the privileges of political immunity,” has been recognized as a “contrivance of dramatic irony” in Sidney’s narrative, given that the protagonists have in fact protected Arcadia from civil rebellion.²⁴² Yet, it is important to highlight and analyze anew this final emphasis that the protagonists’ actions in disguise may be “either cleared, excused, or condemned” by Euarchus as Arcadian protector. The stipulation regarding “the law of arms” serves as a legal premise for waiving automatic political immunity for the foreign princes in Arcadia, whereas the logic of Euarchus’s judgment, and hence its irony, hinges upon his perspective on clandestine marriage.

Euarchus’s justification for Musidorus’s death sentence provides sharp contrast with the argument of Pamela’s letter (conveyed to readers and to Philanax but not to Euarchus), which defines such sentence as treason. Ironically, both perspectives lean upon the same premise pertaining to local ordinance and international law. Readers know that as a responsible traveler Musidorus familiarized himself with Arcadian law

²⁴² V. Skretkiewicz 1990, p. 167. H. R. Woudhuysen [1980] emphasizes this argument by Euarchus in *OA* as an example of Leicester’s and Sidney’s interest in international law and “theories of limited monarchy” (pp. 291-292).

upon arrival in that country (*OA*, 13). When he and Pyrocles appear for trial in Book Five, just before their hearing begins, they are told that “Arcadia laws were to have their force upon any were found in Arcadia, since strangers have scope to know the customs of the country,” and that

whatsoever they were, Arcadia was to acknowledge them but as private men, since they were neither by magistracy nor alliance to the princely blood to claim anything in that region. Therefore, if they had offended (which now by the plaintiff and their defence was to be judged) against the laws of nations, by the laws of nations they were to be chastised; if against the peculiar ordinances of the province, those peculiar ordinances were to lay hold of them” (*OA*, 385).

In other words, if they have not officially been granted legal rights in Arcadia or established dynastic alliance with its rulers, they maintain no special legal privileges here in Arcadia, regardless of who they may be by birth elsewhere. It is Pamela’s contention, however, that executing Musidorus constitutes treason precisely because she has in fact allied herself to him in marriage. Therefore, her succession is valid (even though she has not yet reached twenty-one years of age), and her husband shares her authority and rights in Arcadia.

Yet, even if Euarchus had read Pamela’s letter, the logic of his decision presumably would hold firm, for he shares Philanax’s perspective that the clandestine nature of Pamela’s marriage endangers “the state” as an “unfit” precedent:

For if the governors of justice shall take such a scope as to measure the foot of the law by a show of conveniency, and [to] measure that conveniency not by the public society but by that which is fittest for them which offend, [it follows logically that] young men, strong men, and rich men shall ever find private conveniences how to palliate such committed disorders as to the public shall not only be inconvenient but pestilent. The marriage perchance might be fit for them [i.e., Pamela and Musidorus], but

very unfit were it to the state to allow a pattern of such procurations of marriage. (*OA*, 407)²⁴³

Euarchus's concern here about such precedent becoming a slippery slope, like Philanax's similar perspective noted above, conveys the rationale for late-sixteenth-century anxiety and legal reform with regard to property rights and succession in cases of clandestine marriage. As noted above in Chapter One, these were precisely the issues at stake for Sidney in the wake of Queen Elizabeth's anger toward Leicester for his clandestine marriage. Arcadia's new protector, renowned internationally for his dedication to "justice," upholds such reformed policy even to the point of sentencing his nephew and son to death. Here in Book Five Sidney's *Arcadia* delivers its primary rhetorical punch.

In the protagonist princes' case and in the case of Gynecia, *Old Arcadia's* readers—upon hearing Philanax's vindictive prosecution, the accused princes' defense of their actions in Arcadia (complemented by the Arcadian people's admiration for these heroes), and the harsh death sentences administered by Euarchus—perceive such legal "justice" as unjust,²⁴⁴ at least to a significant degree, for we know that Basilius's death (which we still take his drug-induced sleep to be) has occurred by accident. Readers

²⁴³ M. M. Sullivan 1991 also quotes this passage for similar emphasis (pp. 65-66). Sullivan's study reads the Amazonian disguise motif's "function" alongside anthropological perspectives on gender and patriarchy to suggest "analogical relation between monarchy and patriarchy" in Sidney's *Arcadia* (p. 62), limiting its analysis of *OA* to Book Five as a springboard for addressing *NA* revision. Cf. Chapter Three above, note 154.

²⁴⁴ Cf. E. Dipple 1970 on this matter. Dipple's study balances the perspective of R. A. Lanham 1965 on rhetoric in *OA* with due emphasis on the work's poetics of reader engagement, and it overturns the premise of W. R. Davis 1965 (pp. 136-167) that Euarchus's presence in Book Five and his judgment symbolize universal justice (*ius naturale*). Davis's reading proves problematic methodologically, drawing wholly upon the composite 1593 text combining the revised Books One through Three in *NA* with Books Three through Five of *OA*. D. M. Anderson 1957 revises the similar reading of Book Five in K. T. Rowe 1947, recognizing in it the same problem (cf. note 235 here above). Dipple's essay, on the other hand, provides a somewhat exaggerated interpretation of the narrator's comment—"so uncertain are mortal judgements, the same person most infamous and most famous, and neither justly" (*OA*, 416)—suggesting an overarching religious perspective akin to the Calvinist readings cited above (see Chapter Three, note 154). R. S. White 1996 balances Dipple's perspective with emphasis that "in court even the accused confess themselves guilty" (p. 144; see pp. 143-148). Cf. N. R. Lindheim 1982, pp. 159-161, 214 nn. 73-74; S. K. Heninger 1989, pp. 429, 581 n. 34; M. Fortier 2005, pp. 113-116.

know about Philanax's skewed prosecution, and we also know that Gynecia confesses guilt in Book Four only as a matter of "despair" amidst the "torment of conscience" she feels in misperceiving Basilius's comatose sleep as death (*OA*, 279-280; see 278-283).²⁴⁵ We know, too, that she warned her husband not to drink the sleep potion. Given this awareness, combined with readers' privileged knowledge of the Delphic oracle and Basilius's reactions to it, *Old Arcadia's* readers alone may perceive that the root causes for each legal allegation ultimately reside in Basilius's bad judgment. Indeed, it is precisely because of this discrepancy in knowledge between reader and characters that, despite the aesthetic impression of characters and events Sidney's narrative establishes for us as readers, Euarchus's legal judgment remains unquestioned within the story. In this situation, "*Arcadia* knows no proper grounds for questioning Euarchus's authority" and therefore "brings us to an appreciation of the limits of the law, perhaps the limits of any universal law, absent clemency or equity."²⁴⁶ This rhetorical impression conveys the Dudley-Sidney family's perspective amidst their predicament in 1578-1581 revolving around Leicester's marriage.

Sidney's narrative establishes that poetic impression—a matter of rhetorical mimesis—through imitation and variation of literary sources. The trial scene in *Old Arcadia* captures, to a significant degree, both the central conflict and the aesthetic effect of reader anticipation in the trial scene concluding Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*, wherein all present parties admire the protagonist lovers' virtue. Even after Sisimithres publicly reveals Chariclea's identity as daughter and heir to Hydaspes and Persinna, Hydaspes

²⁴⁵ Gynecia's perjured confession of guilt at the trial in Book Five has been compared to that of Clitophon amidst a distinct trial scene in *Clitophon and Leucippe* by Achilles Tatius (S. L. Wolff 1912, p. 317), a work available to Sidney in French translation.

²⁴⁶ J. Dolven 2007, p. 125.

assumes falsely that to appease the populace he must nonetheless adhere to Ethiopian law in sacrificing her. Hydaspes's speech to the Ethiopian people, as translated into English by Thomas Underdowne in 1568-1569 (reprinted in 1577), appeals to the "Weale Publike" and to "custome of our Countrie" above "priuate commoditie," which, he emphasizes, includes both the "Lawe of nature" by which he desires his daughter's life be spared and "the succession of my Bloude."²⁴⁷ Similar logic motivates Euarchus's decision as temporary Arcadian protector to uphold legal death sentence for the protagonist knights, even after their identities as his nephew and son have been revealed.²⁴⁸ But here Sidney's imitation of literary motifs diverges from his sources in philosophical implication. Analysis of blended Aristotelian, Platonic, and Ciceronian philosophical tenets underlying Sidney's poetics suggests that Euarchus, like Basilius in Book One, exercises bad judgment, though in a very different manner: "That Euarchus refuses to admit conditions and circumstances that might mitigate against law in an (unrealistic) pure state suggests that his own behavior is finally immoral and unjust. This is confirmed by his notion of an absolute sentence similar in kind to the crime."²⁴⁹ Euarchus understands equity to mean upholding positive law impartially, without

²⁴⁷ Heliodorus 1569 [English], fol. 139r-v (sig. Mm.iiij.r-v). Cf. Heliodorus 1577 [English], fol. 142r-v (sig. S.iiii.r-v).

²⁴⁸ A. C. Hamilton 1972 claims with regard to Hydaspes and Euarchus in these contexts, "Even a close reader may fail to distinguish the two speakers in these passages where each urges his child to accept his verdict" (p. 43).

²⁴⁹ A. F. Kinney 1986a, p. 267 (see pp. 261-273). Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 273-274, comparing this philosophical perspective to the "Protestant apologetics" of Sidney's friend Philippe Duplessis de Mornay in *De la Vérité de la Religion Chrestienne* (Antwerp, 1581): "The classical philosophers' state of divine or eternal virtue is for Mornay the equivalent of Providence, and although Sidney could not expect all humanists—even all Christian humanists—to know Mornay, he surely means to imply in the *Arcadia* that the pagan philosophy of Book 5 is in perfect accord with Christianity. As in the *Defence* where David's Psalms become an ideal model for poets, so in the *Arcadia* poetry transforms antique thought into *Christian* humanism" (p. 274).

exception.²⁵⁰ Sidney's narrative makes its reader think otherwise about the nature of equity as justice.

This poetic effect in Book Five arises from Sidney's structural and conceptual interlacement of the Heliodoran paradigm with his imitation of chivalric-romance sources in Book One. High praise for Euarchus's virtuous reputation as a judge occurring early in Books One and Five, including emphasis on "his equity" (*OA*, 351; cf. 361), contributes toward an ironic reversal of expectation for the reader at the end of Book Five. Thematically, one might even link Euarchus's unjust justice as Arcadia's temporary protector in Book Five with the unwise reasoning of its rightful ruler Basilius in Book One. Sidney invents that matter of the duke's unwise reasoning as a variation of the sequestered-princess motif in *Old Arcadia's* primary chivalric source, as noted above in Chapter Three. The narrative structure established there in Book One also provides for a unique variation of the unknown-parentage motif employed in the *Aethiopica* and also integral to the Spanish chivalric-romance tradition. Pyrocles, like Agesilao in Sidney's primary chivalric source, knows his parentage and heroic family history, but he has grown up away from his father during a decade of warfare in Macedonia and Thrace, and, when Euarchus comes to Arcadia seeking his son and nephew in Book Five, the Macedonian king is quickly recruited as legal protector while the princes remain in prison and Basilius remains supposedly dead. Then the princes use pseudonyms at trial. Therefore, in the trial scene, father and son, uncle and nephew initially do not recognize each other as such (*OA*, 375-376). Yet, when identities are revealed, Euarchus feels compelled to remain impartial in his legal judgment. For this version of the unknown-parentage motif, Sidney invents a synthesis of sorts for the poetics of Silva's interlaced

²⁵⁰ M. Fortier 2005, p. 115.

motifs in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* and *Amadís de Grecia*, combined with that particular motif's use in the conclusion of Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*.

The poetic effect of Sidney's compound imitation, however, diverges from that of source material such as *Amadís de Grecia* and the *Aethiopica*, in which revelation of parentage provides comic *anagnorisis* resulting in resolution of plot conflicts. Sidney's narrative, in contrast, thwarts the clear build-up of reader anticipation in those sources, imposing a sudden and unexpected resolution through synthesis of the Heliodoran paradigm with that of the story in Apuleius's *The Golden Ass (Metamorphoses)*, thus creating a trial scene involving both the unknown-parentage motif and the sleeping-potion motif. In Heliodorus's narrative, Hydaspes proposes his daughter's sacrifice hoping that his people will want him to act otherwise, and such is the case. The matter of sacrificing Theagenes persists thereafter only until the public revelation of Chariclea's full background and relationship with him, at which point everyone endorses their public marriage ceremony and their physical consummation of the union. Sidney's invention through imitation and variation replaces that tidiness in narrative thread with a knot—that is, Euarchus's harsh judgment remaining unquestioned—unraveled suddenly and dramatically through the motif of presumed death by sleeping potion, drawn from Apuleius's story of a young man, his lusting and conniving stepmother, and local magistrates anxious about maintaining civil order. That Apuleian trial scene—like Heliodorus's narrative, Silva's narratives (in their full scope), and Sidney's narrative—results in happy dynastic union.²⁵¹

²⁵¹ See William Adlington's sixteenth-century English translation: L. Apuleius 1566 [English], fol. 102r-106v (sig. Dd.ij.r-Ee.ij.v). The narration concludes, "behold how the fortune of y^e old man was changed, who thinking to be deprived of all his race & posteritie, was in one moment made the father of twoo children" (fol. 106v). Cf. Apuleius 1571 [English], fol. 99r-103v (sig. Dd.ij.r—Ee.ij.v).

The issue of Euarchus's legal judgment in Sidney's narrative lends the work's happy resolution a distinct irony appropriate to its chivalric subject matter of dynastic union through clandestine marriage. When this Macedonian king arrives in Arcadia, the narrator reminds readers of Duke Basilius's political lapse in shirking his responsibilities of state while explaining Euarchus's virtuous motive in coming here. Euarchus, we are told, "weigh[s] and pitie[s] the pitiful case of the Arcadian people," recognizing the danger of invasion by bordering rival peoples, "the Asiatics" and "the Latins," and the narrative identifies one motive for his arrival as "wise and temperate considerations" on behalf of the Arcadian state during Basilius's unwise seclusion in the *locus amoenus*; thus, he travels there "to see whether by his authority he might withdraw Basilius from this burying himself alive" (*OA*, 358-359). This consideration alone, however, does not determine Euarchus's decision to aid Arcadia. He also travels there out of concern for his son and nephew, not only to seek word of them but also to broker dynastic union between them and his friend Basilius's daughters:

Neither was he without a consideration in himself to provide the marriage of Basilius's two daughters for his son and nephew against their return [to Macedonia], the tedious expectation of which, joined with the fear of their miscarrying (having been long without hearing any news from them), made him the willinger to ease that part of melancholy with changing the objects of his wearied senses and visiting his old and well approved acquaintance [i.e., Basilius]. (*OA*, 359)

These combined motives for Euarchus's arrival in Arcadia lend bitter irony to his choice as that country's protector to refuse those same young lovers legal equity, which would seem just to us readers based on mitigating circumstances imposed by Basilius's own choices, which Euarchus himself deems unwise and dangerous to the state. Thus, it is doubly ironic that in Sidney's original *Arcadia*, ultimately, despite (or rather in spite of)

Euarchus's legal judgment, "the fortuitous arrival of the knights errant" amidst the dangerous political situation imposed by Basilius "ensures that the phoenix arising from the ashes of revolutionary despair will be a newly established exemplar of the author's personal ideal, responsible monarchy, supported wherever possible by blood ties."²⁵² Euarchus's legal "justice," purportedly enacted for the sake of political stability, would eliminate the possibility of those "blood ties" he seeks to establish for the preservation of his own dynasty and, presumably, for the political stability of both realms. The resolution of that impasse in Sidney's narrative allows its foundational plot conflicts to result in dynastic union, as occurs in the literary template for those plot conflicts, Silva's *Chronicle of Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*.²⁵³

Given this study's analysis of how Sidney's original *Arcadia* imitates the poetics of Spanish chivalric romance with regard to its protagonist knights' experience in love and their actions in disguise (including embellishment in French translation), it seems wrong to interpret the young heroes' exemplary function within the narrative as demonstrating "the obverse of correct chivalric behaviour and the consequences of this" based on the pessimistic premise "that the love that causes them to lapse from their previously noble chivalric standards now leaves them vulnerable to prosecution."²⁵⁴ Such a reading not only embraces the common but misleading critical assumption that the protagonist lovers' secret union represents moral "lapse"; it also conflates Euarchus's legal premise about "the law of arms" and political immunity with his judgment in

²⁵² V. Skretkovicz 1990, pp. 166-167. Skretkovicz considers this fact "dramatic irony" only in tandem with the legal premise about the princes' loss of regal or aristocratic rights according to international "law of arms" (p. 167).

²⁵³ In French translation, the conclusion of *FN3* occurs in Guillaume Aubert de Poitier's French "Book" XII rather than in Gohory's French "Book" XI. Sidney probably knew that latter half of the story: see Chapter Three above, at note 153.

²⁵⁴ V. Skretkovicz 1990, p. 170. Cf. S. Chaudhuri 1989: "In the *Old Arcadia*, love is largely opposed to chivalry" (p. 285).

sentencing the princes to death, without recognizing his ironic anxiety about Pamela's "marriage"; and it also does not distinguish the plot circumstance of "prosecution" from aesthetic impressions of characters and legal "justice" in Books Four and Five. Such critical trends, unfortunately, often lead to tacit dismissal of the final two paragraphs in Sidney's narrative.²⁵⁵ *Old Arcadia's* happy ending proves quite significant for the story's overall rhetorical effect.

In *Old Arcadia's* conclusion, as elsewhere in the story, Sidney's narrative manipulates aesthetic impressions of characters and events for rhetorical effect. Macedonia is a monarchy, and, although Arcadia technically constitutes a dukedom, its ruler's name "Basilius" evokes for the reader, etymologically, his function as "king" ("Βασιλεύς") for his people. Sidney almost certainly drew that name from "Bazilique," the name Herberay gave to Silva's lusty old Babylonian sultan of Niquea in translating *Amadís de Grecia*.²⁵⁶ The "king" has endangered his people, as well as his daughters and their new spouses, and only his return to "life" and to responsible political authority brings legal equity for the protagonist lovers. Upon awaking from the potion's effects, Basilius conveys to the Arcadian people the perspective which only he and we readers possessed earlier based on privileged knowledge of the Delphic oracle's prophecies and his reactions to them, claiming that "all had fallen out by the highest providence" and recognizing that "in all these matters his own fault had been the greatest" (*OA*, 416).

²⁵⁵ Not surprisingly, studies which do emphasize the "happy ending" of "mercy" and "marriage" include comparison of Book Five with its Heliodoran source (A. C. Hamilton 1972, p. 45) and studies of *OA* with regard to dynastic succession in England (L. Tennenhouse 1990, p. 208) and Natural Law (R. S. White 1996, pp. 145, 147).

²⁵⁶ J. J. O'Connor 1970 observes that Basilius's character constitutes "a blend of Galanides [in *FN3*; Fr. *Am.* XI] and old Bazilique [in *Am.Gr.*; Fr. *Am.* VIII]" (p. 192) and that "Even the name Basilius Sidney probably derived from that of Bazilique, the sultan of Babylon" (p. 201), adding that "Bazilique derives obviously from the Greek word for king, Βασιλεύς" (p. 264 n. 29). On Sidney's knowledge of Greek, see J. Considine 2002.

Basilius “conclude[s]” the “marriage” of Pamela and Musidorus, “to the inestimable joy of Euarchus,” and names Musidorus his heir to the Arcadian dukedom (*OA*, 417). In this same penultimate paragraph of *Old Arcadia*, the narrator explains that Philanax remains ever faithful to Basilius, that Euarchus takes the admirable Arcadian aristocrat Sympathus to Macedonia “and there highly advance[s] him,” and that Pyrocles becomes king of Thrace and perpetually shows gratitude toward Kerxenus for his loyal support, “giving him in pure gift the great city of Abdera” (*ibid.*). Here readers witness chivalric justice akin to the logic of kinship ties and rewards for loyal service among characters in Spanish chivalric romances.²⁵⁷

Old Arcadia concludes its overarching secret-marriage theme with emphasis on public validation and dynastic issue. Sidney conveys that emphasis through a rhetorical flourish of *praeteritio*, the narrator highlighting various matters through emphasis that he will not address them but that they “may awake some other spirit to exercise his pen in that wherewith mine is already dulled” (*ibid.*). Significantly, the first of these matters is “the solemnities of these marriages” between the protagonist lovers—that is, official public ceremony indicating their parents’ approval of the dynastic union—the prior impossibility of which constituted the story’s central conflict. The final matters listed are future stories of the protagonist couples’ children, named after them: “the son of Pyrocles named Pyrophilus, and Melidora the fair daughter of Pamela by Musidorus, who even at their birth entered into admirable fortunes” (*ibid.*). Only recently has this final point of emphasis in Sidney’s narrative been recognized for its political significance

²⁵⁷ Cf. M. P. Harney 2001 and 2005 on that matter.

within the story.²⁵⁸ It should also be recognized how this conclusion, aesthetically, resembles those of chivalric-romance narratives in the Spanish tradition, which, as feigned “chronicles,” frequently highlight public ceremonies of dynastic union and new generations of young heroes whose adventures must be told elsewhere.

The original *Arcadia*’s happy ending for its secret-marriage theme, including its final emphasis on “admirable fortunes” for the protagonist lovers’ children, provides a favorable impression of what may result from due equity granted by a responsible monarch. As demonstrated in Chapter One above, Philip Sidney constructed this aesthetic impression of true love, clandestine marriage, and legal equity within a fictional dukedom primarily for his sister, at a time when their uncle Robert Dudley’s clandestine marriage incurred Queen Elizabeth’s anger and also had produced a child. The former temporarily compromised the Sidney family’s position at court. The latter indefinitely jeopardized Philip Sidney’s own right of succession to the earldoms of Leicester and Warwick. By 1581, Sidney’s family had begun recovering from the former. The latter issue, on the other hand, remained a matter of concern for Sidney until the child Denbigh’s death in 1584.

* * *

The preceding section’s literary analysis further confirms this study’s opening observation that Sidney chose and exploited literary sources for *Old Arcadia* based on his own family’s interests. Here it is important to re-emphasize the uncertainty of Sidney’s social situation: politically and economically for his whole family in the months of Queen Elizabeth’s strongest resentment toward Leicester for his marriage, as well as

²⁵⁸ V. Skretkowitz 2004 [2006] notes the children’s birth, observing, “Only through the tragi-comic accidents of romance does the degrading chaos of the plot result in political stability” (p. 17). Cf. S. K. Heninger 1989, p. 403.

socially in terms of his own gentry status in contrast with members of England's landed nobility who held earldoms. That latter issue, combined with the matter of pedigree, or antiquity of aristocratic title, proved a significant factor in his quarrel with Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, in August 1579 (see Chapter One above, note 39). Upon the pregnancy of Leicester's new wife and the birth of their son, Sidney potentially (and then temporarily in real life) lost his legal right of inheritance to the earldoms (and wealth) of his maternal uncles Leicester and Warwick. Despite that reality in 1581, although perhaps also partially because of it, these final Books of Sidney's *Old Arcadia* complicate its situation of secret marriage with uncertainty and impending tragedy, yet without compromising the virtue of its protagonist lovers. This biographical context deserves further scrutiny. Secondary impetus for Sidney's choice of literary sources might have come from family rivalries with other English aristocrats. *Old Arcadia's* fictional poetics is, after all, topical with regard to its subject of clandestine marriage. Yet, amidst this new consideration, it must not be forgotten that Sidney's invention is "topical" in thematic and intellectual content but, above all, delightful and rhetorical in poetic focus.

Analysis of material contexts for the source narratives upon which Sidney drew for inventing Books Four and Five brings to light new facets of cultural competition probably built into *Old Arcadia's* narrative poetics. It seems no mere coincidence that the two ancient prose romances upon which Sidney drew most heavily for plot motifs in Books Four and Five of *Old Arcadia* were translated into English and dedicated in print to aristocratic rivals of the Dudley-Sidney family. Largely because most literary studies have not recognized the primary motives for Leicester's campaign of artistic patronage

between 1578 and 1581, they have not noted with regard to Sidney's sources for Books Four and Five of *Arcadia* that the existing English translations of Heliodorus's *Aethiopica* and Apuleius's *The Golden Ass (Metamorphoses)*, produced by Thomas Underdowne and William Adlington, were dedicated in print to the Earls of Oxford and Sussex, respectively. In writing *Old Arcadia*, Sidney participated (at least tacitly, though probably with conscious intention) in his uncle's network of artistic patronage, cultivated by Leicester's desire to amplify his own persona as an important European lord. Sidney chose literary sources primarily for their efficacy for inventing the secret-marriage theme of his narrative, which applied nicely to the exigency of his uncle's legal situation in marriage. In doing so, he also channeled his considerable literary talent toward general competition with French court culture and, perhaps, specific competition with those less creatively "Englished" literal renditions of ancient prose fiction dedicated to rival English aristocrats.

Tilling this new ground of cultural rivalry with other English aristocrats requires precise attention to the nature of Sidney's contention with the Earls of Oxford and Sussex. As noted above in Chapter One, Philip Sidney quarreled directly with Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, challenging him to a duel in August 1579 in reaction to his snub in calling Sidney a "puppy," and Queen Elizabeth's ruling that Sidney must back down due to his inferior aristocratic status rankled with *Old Arcadia's* author. It was that same issue of Oxford's superior pedigree that caused William Cecil to contract the marriage of his daughter Anne to the Earl of Oxford in 1571, rather than to Philip Sidney

as negotiated with Henry Sidney in 1569.²⁵⁹ Sidney bore no such direct resentment toward Thomas Radcliffe, third Earl of Sussex, but there was an ongoing political rivalry between Leicester and Sussex, separate from divided political policy (at times) on the immediate prospect that Queen Elizabeth might marry the French Duc d'Anjou, though intimately tied to Dudley-Sidney family interests. Sussex was an uncle to Philip Sidney by marriage, Leicester an uncle by blood. Prior to this period of 1578-1581, Leicester had maneuvered to ensure that Henry Sidney maintain his position as the queen's president in Wales rather than let it be taken over by Sussex, and then Leicester had blocked Sussex's reappointment as Lord Deputy of Ireland so that Henry Sidney could assume that duty. Between 1578 and 1581, friction between these aristocrats seems to have occurred as much or more from this preexisting political rivalry, combined with Archbishop Whitgift's criticism of Henry Sidney's rule in Ireland as too lenient toward Catholic recusancy, than from firm ideological conflict over the Anjou marriage prospect.²⁶⁰ Recognizing the distinct nature of each aristocratic rivalry proves useful for evaluating the significance of printed dedications to those two earls attached to Heliodorus's and Apuleius's narratives in English translation, with regard to Sidney's dynamic synthesis and variation of motifs from those source narratives.

²⁵⁹ For documentation of that negotiation between Cecil and Henry Sidney, consult M. G. Brennan & N. J. Kinnamon 2003, pp. 23-27. On the marriage of Anne Cecil to Edward de Vere, see Chapter One above, note 39.

²⁶⁰ See S. A. Adams 2004a, pp. 100a, 105b (cf. pp. 106b-107a); W. T. MacCaffrey 2004a, p. 547a-b; and W. T. MacCaffrey 2004b, pp. 751a-752b, 753a, 754a-755a. M. W. Wallace 1915 characterizes the Leicester-Sussex political rivalry as a "bitter feud" of which Henry Sidney remained wary (p. 24). H. R. Woudhuysen [1980] explains with regard to friction between Leicester and Sussex that "despite these minor eruptions which reflect the deeper tensions of the court[,] it would be wrong to feel that both parties were impossibly hostile to each other. In Elizabethan, as much English politics, principled opposition did not rule out reasonable co-operation or personal friendship" (p. 37). Cf. S. A. Adams 1982 and 1991; S. Alford 2008, p. 231.

Gauging Sidney's impression of the *Aethiopica* in English requires revising two recent approaches to the question of Sidney's *Arcadia* and sixteenth-century texts of Heliodorus's fiction. Sidney probably knew Thomas Underdowne's dedicatory epistle to the Earl of Oxford, first printed in 1569, the year of Sidney's preliminary betrothal to Oxford's future wife Anne Cecil, then reprinted in 1577, the year in which Sidney returned from his embassy in eastern Europe. Awareness of that dedication may signify nothing, for it is likely that Sidney drew upon Jacques Amyot's French translation of Heliodorus's narrative (1547; revised edition 1559), perhaps also familiar with Stanislaus Warschewiczki's Latin translation (1552), which Underdowne translated into English. Recently, political motives for Amyot's French translation have been associated with the appearance of Melanchthon's name on the title page of the Warschewiczki translation, that combination of data used by Victor Skretkowicz for evaluating how those European versions of Heliodorus's narrative became "Sidney's literary model" for inventing English fiction. Skretkowicz argues that *Old Arcadia* "allegoris[es] the Protestant League's desire to build a dynastic hegemony of monarchomachist, anti-papal states."²⁶¹ That thesis builds from significant emphasis on Amyot's French translation of Heliodorus as "part of his cultural reform of the French court" (*ibid.*). Sidney almost certainly knew Amyot's translation of Plutarch (1559) and probably also his French Heliodorus.²⁶² Yet, that political reading relies on unstable critical assumptions and proves misleading to readers not familiar with the sixteenth-century political theory it cites, not least due to its association of "monarchomachy" with Phillip Melanchthon rather than "tyrannomachy"

²⁶¹ V. Skretkowicz 2004 [2006], p. 17. V. Skretkowicz 2008 further introduces what will be a book-length version of this argument.

²⁶² Cf. S. Lee 1910 (pp. 151-157) and A. K. Forcione 1970 (pp. 55-64) on Amyot and his translations; also M. Hearsey 1933 on Sidney and Amyot's Plutarch; and V. Skretkowicz 1976 on Sidney and Amyot's Heliodorus.

with Hubert Languet (Melanchthon's pupil and Sidney's mentor), the latter association slippery enough in itself and difficult to apply directly to Sidney's fiction.²⁶³ Rather, Sidney's choice of source material is "political" insofar as Leicester's patronage and Sidney's literary production served as competition with Anjou's patronage and French court culture more generally.²⁶⁴

With regard to Warschewiczki's Latin translation and its endorsement by Melanchthon—bearing on its title page the advertisement, "*Adiectum est etiam Philippi Melanthonis de ipso autore, & hac eiusdem conuersione, iudicium*"—another recent study claims that this emphasis on "*iudicium*" ("judgment") creates an impression of *auctoritas* for Heliodorus that would have appealed to Sidney in contrast with a general impression of "frivolity" attached to the Earl of Oxford.²⁶⁵ That claim misrepresents Underdowne's dedicatory epistle to Oxford. The epistle emphasizes fictional "Historie" as "knowledge fitte for a Noble Gentelman...most seeminge," combining its praise of the earl's personal "vertues" (which Sidney would have deemed ironic) with, significantly, a concluding emphasis on the high pedigree of dedicatees for sixteenth-century translations of Heliodorus.²⁶⁶ Given these emphases in the dedication, Sidney's use of Heliodorus as

²⁶³ See Chapter Five below, note 285, for Skretkowicz's approach and for Roger Kuin's comments on Melanchthon, the *réseau*, and such misperception of "tyrannomachy" as "monarchomachy."

²⁶⁴ On this general matter of Leicester, Sidney, and Anjou's artistic patronage, see H. R. Woudhuysen [1980].

²⁶⁵ S. R. Mentz 2006: "The key term here is '*iudicium*,' judgment. Melanchthon has read Heliodorus and judges him to be appropriate. The authority of the sober Lutheran refutes the charges of frivolity that had attached to Heliodorus since the medieval period, and which the dedication to the earl of Oxford would revive in England. Melanchthon's approval of the *Aethiopian History* would at least have confirmed Sidney's decision to use Heliodorus as a narrative model; it may even have inspired it" (p. 60).

²⁶⁶ Underdowne's epistle to Edward de Vere contrasts "noble menne" who "rule in the weale Publike" with "the Bookishe man busily attendinge his owne study [who therefore] cannot carefully yenough tender the state" and, in turn, contrasts "The Greekes" with "the Romanes" who, "content with mediocritie, applied themselves to greater thinges." The epistle does so in order to claim that "of all knowledge fitte for a Noble Gentelman, I suppose the knowledge of Histories is most seeminge," thus justifying the translation of this "passing fine, and wittie Historie," and emphasizing, "suche is the forsce of vertue, that shee maketh vs to loue, not onely our owne Countrie men by sight vnknownen, but also Straungers" (Heliodorus 1569)

source material for *Arcadia* might have involved another facet of cultural rivalry. Sidney's fiction figures forth validation of royal and aristocratic pedigree with active virtue in love and in arms: an affirmation of his own values, in contrast with Oxford's bombastic exploitation of wealth and aristocratic privilege attained through pedigree alone.²⁶⁷ This hypothesis about thematic emphasis built into Sidney's creative method complements recent critical emphasis on changing "patronage networks" in the late 1570s and on printed works dedicated to the Earl of Oxford.²⁶⁸

Sidney's attention to Apuleius's fiction as rendered and marketed in English translation, on the other hand, seems more bent on competing narrative poetics than on competing patronage networks.²⁶⁹ William Adlington's English translation of Apuleius's *The Golden Ass (Metamorphoses)*, first printed in 1566 and then again in 1571, has not been examined alongside Sidney's invention of *Arcadia*. Adlington's dedication to Sussex complements the commentary provided in his epistle "To the Reader," which proves suggestive with regard to Sidney's immediate interests and potential literary rivalry with this work. Adlington emphasizes the importance of Apuleius's fiction in terms of its aesthetic effect for readers. He compares *The Golden Ass (Metamorphoses)* to "the Fables of Esope [Aesop], & the feigninge of the Poetes," explaining his own perspective on the work's poetics:

[English], sig. ¶.ii.r—¶.iii.r). Underdowne praises the earl's "hautie courage," his "sufficiencie in learning," his "good nature, and common sense," then emphasizes, "Sure I am that of other translatoours he hath beene dedicated to mighty Kinges, and Princes. Therefore accept my good will (Honorable Earle) and if opportunitie shall serue hereafter, there shall greater thinges appeare vnder your Honours name. Almighty God geue you increase of Honour, and keepe, and defende, you for euer and euer" (*ibid.*, sig. ¶.iii.r).

²⁶⁷ Cf. Chapter One above, notes 38-39.

²⁶⁸ D. B. Hamilton 2005, pp. 2-4; A. H. Nelson 2003, pp. 236-239. Cf. M. C. Questier 2006 for a complementary general discussion of aristocratic patronage (pp. 20-29).

²⁶⁹ This approach revises a tacitly disparaging claim by Sussex's most recent biographer that he received no literary dedications (W. T. MacCaffrey 2004b, p. 755b). F. B. Williams 1962 lists the dedication (p. 153b; *STC* 718). For recent perspective on Sussex as theatrical patron, see W. R. Streitberger 2007. Cf. A. H. Nelson 2003 on Oxford's patronage of playwrights and players (pp. 239-248, 287-289).

when I had throughly [*sic.*] learned the intent of the Author, and the purpose why he inuented so sportfull a jest [...which] should not onely be accepted of many, but the matter it selfe allowed, & praised of all...whereby they may not take the same, as a thing onely to jest and laugh at...but [instead] by the pleasauntnes thereof, be rather induced to the knowledge of their present estate, and thereby transforme themselues into the right and perfect shape of men.²⁷⁰

Sidney's *Defence of Poesie* also upholds the moral value of Aesop's fables (specifically) and exemplary poetics (generally) based on the power of such fiction to move readers toward social consciousness and virtuous action through aesthetic delight.²⁷¹ With the exemplary poetics of *Old Arcadia*, Sidney departs from Adlington's allegorical perspective on the poetics of metamorphosis in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*.

Old Arcadia's narrative poetics resists the type of allegorical reading encouraged by Adlington. His epistle "To the Reader" moralizes the alteration of "estate" in Apuleius's fiction, adding other literary *exempla* (Ulysses's men with Circe in the *Odyssey* and a story of the Biblical King Nebuchadnezzar transformed into "an horrible monster" for his "exceedyng pride") to support his allegorical interpretation of the work he translated. The protagonist's metamorphosis into a donkey, Adlington explains, reflects how we humans "suffer our mindes so to be drowned in the sensuall lustes of the fleshe, and the beastly pleasure thereof," that "we leese wholly the vse of reason and vertue (which proprely [*sic.*] should be in man) and play the partes of brute and sauage

²⁷⁰ L. Apuleius 1566 [English], sig. A.ij.v. Cf. Apuleius 1571 [English], sig. A.iiij.v. Adlington's dedication to Sussex emphasizes, "although the matter therein seeme very light, and mery, yet the effect thereof tendeth to a good and vertuous morall, as in the followynge Epistle to the Reader may be cleerly perceaued" (1566, sig. *.i.v; cf. 1571, sig. A.ij.v).

²⁷¹ On "the feigned image of poetry" versus "the regular instruction of philosophy," Sidney claims, "the poet is the food for the tenderest stomachs, the poet is indeed the right popular philosopher, whereof Aesop's tales give good proof: whose pretty allegories, stealing under the formal tales of beasts, make many, more beastly than beasts, begin to hear the sound of virtue from these dumb speakers" (*DP*, 87). Sidney also claims that poetic invention "sometimes, under the pretty tales of wolves and sheep, can include the whole considerations of wrong-doing and patience" (*DP*, 95). See S. K. Heninger 1989 on Sidney's *DP*, Abraham Fraunce on Plutarch, and Aesop's fables as emblematic allegory (pp. 269-271) and on Sidney's exemplary poetics versus allegorical poetics (pp. 273-276).

beastes.”²⁷² He emphasizes that in each case the literary characters were transformed back into human form “and liued after a good & virtuous life: So can we neuer be restored to the right figure of our selues, except we taste and eate the sweete Rose of reason and vertue, which the rather by mediation of prayer, we may assuredly attaine” (*ibid.*). It is precisely such a moralized reading of Sidney’s *Old Arcadia*—originally outlined by modern studies aligning the work with Renaissance emblem traditions and Calvinist theology, as noted above in Chapter Three (note 154)—that this present study refutes with regard to the work’s protagonist lovers. Analyzing Sidney’s poetic invention through compound imitation and variation of source narratives reveals how his synthesis and variation of literary motifs creates for the protagonist lovers metamorphoses of physical, social, and legal “estate” *without* moral degradation. With Basilius and Gynecia, on the other hand, Sidney’s narrative creates sudden conversion of ethical status by imitating the motif of presumed death by sleeping potion, drawn from Apuleius’s narrative. To a significant degree, Sidney consciously works against the long exegetical tradition of moralizing Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* and other ancient fiction in the manner that Adlington moralizes Apuleius’s *Metamorphoses*.

Sidney might well have read and used the Latin text of Apuleius’s narrative, but marginalia accompanying the trial scene in Adlington’s translation suggests that this English version might have fueled his thoughts in combining imitation of the motif from Apuleius with imitation of the trial scene concluding Heliodorus’s narrative. At the trial scene in Book Ten of *The Golden Ass*, Adlington’s translation provides the following marginal comments: “To proceede by lawe is justice, for lawe is very justice”; “Thus they vsed in olde time to putte suche to death, as had killed any of their kinrede. But that

²⁷² L. Apuleius 1566 [English], sig. A.ij.v—A.iiij.r. Cf. Apuleius 1571 [English], sig. A.iiij.v—B.i.r.

law was afterwarde abrogate”; and “Iudges are sworne to execute Iustice.”²⁷³ Here one sees appended to the fictional narrative a degree of contemporary self-consciousness regarding the same difficult matters of legal justice figured forth in Sidney’s narrative. Both these editorial comments accompanying Adlington’s translation and Sidney’s trial scene in *Arcadia* Book Five pinpoint an issue essential to the Dudley-Sidney family’s immediate concerns: the matter of legal precedent versus legal equity.

* * *

Sidney’s fiction focuses existing legal concerns of the Dudley-Herbert-Sidney family upon the need for legal concession in certain select cases of clandestine marriage. The implication for Sidney’s intended aristocratic audience seems clear: Queen Elizabeth should forgive Leicester for his secret marriage, and all parties involved (including Sidney himself, one would assume) may come to find that it could bring unexpected glory to their noble aristocratic lineage. This critical emphasis does not suggest direct allegorical correspondence between specific fictional characters and Queen Elizabeth, Leicester, or other parties affected by Leicester’s marriage.²⁷⁴ Even the

²⁷³ L. Apuleius 1566 [English], fol. 104r (sig. Ee.i.r) and fol. 105r (sig. Ee.ij.r). Cf. Apuleius 1571 [English], fol. 101r (sig. Dd.iiij.r) and fol. 102r (sig. Ee.i.r).

²⁷⁴ This study’s revision of B. Worden 1996 (see Chapter One above) need not lean in that direction. K. Duncan-Jones 1996—in calling for nuanced critical attention to Sidney’s known association with and sympathy for numerous English Catholics, especially the family friend Edmund Campion, whom Leicester and Henry Sidney admired and supported (at times) for a decade and a half before Campion returned to England with fellow Jesuit Robert Persons (a.k.a. Parsons) on a vigorous campaign to re-convert the country to Catholicism, for which Campion was executed in 1581—concludes with the hypothesis that “Campion’s trial and execution gave a sudden jolt to Sidney when he was in the final stages of writing the *Arcadia*, and had some direct influence on its fifth and final book, especially the final scene in which the two young princes who are the book’s heroes are charged with conspiracy to assassinate the monarch and are put on trial” (p. 99; see pp. 99-102). If one were to accept that events in 1581 did directly influence Sidney’s conception of the trial scene in Book Five of the *Arcadia*, one certainly need not grant that it was Campion’s trial to which Sidney was “indebted” for figuring forth its course of events. On the mission of Campion and Persons within the political context of negotiation for Queen Elizabeth’s marriage to Anjou, see T. M. McCoog 2001. To Duncan-Jones’s survey providing examples of Sidney’s personal association with Campion and other English Catholics (1996, pp. 85-98), one may add another example discovered by Jonathan Woolfson and incorporated into Alan Stewart’s biography of Sidney. Philip Sidney apparently spent time with English Catholic expatriates in Padua, for his name appears among six others as witness for

narrator's conspicuous analogy in Book Five regarding Pyrocles's Greek garments at trial, which were "not much in fashion unlike to the crimson raiment our knights of the order first put on" (*OA*, 376), serves a rhetorical poetic function. The first-person reference to "our knights of the order" clearly would have indicated for an English reader the chivalric Order of the Garter.²⁷⁵ This flagrantly anachronistic comparison helps solidify a connection in an aristocratic English reader's mind between literary plot circumstance—that is, legal and political ramifications of clandestine marriage—and the contemporary matter of Leicester's marriage. The literary moment is not "political" in terms of sustained topical allegory. Rather, the overall rhetorical message of Sidney's fictional narrative is "topical" on thematic and intellectual levels. Sidney employs such rhetorical poetics even in the case of seeming topical allegory with his own pastoral persona in the Eclogues, as demonstrated in the following chapter.

Books One through Five constitute *Old Arcadia's* primary narrative plane, generating its central thematic emphases and operative poetic effect. The story of Pyrocles and Musidorus marrying Philoclea and Pamela, invented through a synthesis of characters and motifs from Spanish chivalric romance and ancient prose fiction, provides tragicomedy in figuring forth a scenario that demands legal equity as a corrective for

a doctoral exam in law for an Englishman named John Hart, 7 June 1574 (A. Stewart 2000, p. 120). On John Hart and Nicholas Wendon (another of the witnesses listed with Philip Sidney), see J. Woolfson 1998, pp. 243, 282. Also, on a story about wolves that Sidney apparently told over dinner in Germany, which might have been meant as a beast fable about English Catholics, see K. J. Höltgen 1981 and A. Stewart 2000 (p. 105; cf. *DP*, 95, quoted in note 271 above). J. A. Bossy 2006 provides appropriate warning that any such evidence should not be misconstrued into an assumption that Sidney himself was in any way "a closet Catholic" (p. 17c). Also, see R. Kuin 2002 for balanced and necessary qualification of Stewart's biographical thesis that Sidney was "forced to lead a double life: of fame and praise abroad, and of comparative—and deliberate—neglect at home" (A. Stewart 2000, p. 7). S. W. May 1990 provides documentary evidence to revise the long-standing assumption that Queen Elizabeth did not favor Philip Sidney after his return from the diplomatic mission in 1577.

²⁷⁵ See J. Robertson, ed. P. Sidney, *OA*, p. 480 n. 27.

literal interpretation of positive law through establishing admiration for the protagonists' noble virtue.

V.

Pastoral Persona and Structural Poetics:

Sidney's Use of Spanish Pastoral Romance in *Old Arcadia's* Eclogues

Having recognized in previous chapters that Leicester's clandestine marriage served as a crucial impetus for Sidney to produce feigned Arcadian history, as well as for his choice of literary sources in doing so, the question remains, to what degree does the original *Arcadia's* narrative poetics involve allegory, if at all? This issue demands attention to the work's overall structural poetics: that is, how *Old Arcadia's* four interludes of pastoral entertainment, or "Eclogues," interact with its five prose Books. The Eclogues' melancholic aristocrat-turned-shepherd, Philisides, frequently has been highlighted as an internal cue for interpreting *Old Arcadia* allegorically. This chapter emphasizes that thinking of the Philisides character in terms of pastoral persona proves more constructive.

Old Arcadia as a whole maintains a dramatic structure in which the four pastoral interludes, like the five primary "Books or Acts" (labeled as such in extant manuscripts), provide narrative poetics of exemplary character contrast. Sidney's use of chivalric-romance sources establishes for the *Arcadia* as a whole its dominant focus on responsible monarchy and clandestine marriage, both matters tied to the royal and aristocratic main characters. Books One through Five constitute the primary plane of reader engagement and exemplary character contrast. The Eclogues provide auxiliary debate regarding matters at stake in the main story of two disguised princes wooing two sequestered princesses and dodging restrictions imposed externally upon the lovers' mutual desire for

union in marriage. This tangential or “choric” function supplements the work’s overall thematic focus and poetic effect.

The First and Second Eclogues focus on music and other matters directly pertinent to the disguised princes’ courtship of Basilius’s daughters. The Third and Fourth Eclogues focus on matters of marriage and justice (both individual and social), figuring forth poetic impressions of contentment and discontentment for each topic. In designing these two latter groups of pastoral entertainments, Sidney drew selectively from two Spanish pastoral romances: Jorge de Montemayor’s *Los Siete Libros de la Diana* (c.1558-1559) and Gaspar Gil Polo’s *Diana Enamorada* (1564).

The first section of this chapter re-evaluates the narrative significance of recognized parallels between verse forms and thematic emphasis in those two works and in *Old Arcadia*’s Third and Fourth Eclogues. It revises a misleading premise by which *Old Arcadia* has been triangulated with Montemayor’s and Gil Polo’s fiction, by providing new emphasis on continuity and change in the themes of marriage and justice in love between Montemayor’s invention of the pastoral-romance genre and Gil Polo’s continuation. This new perspective helps explain the quasi-religious dimension of *Old Arcadia*’s pastoral epithalamion in terms of exemplary character contrast between the Third Eclogues and Book Three. *Old Arcadia*’s pastoral mode complements but does not trump its dominant chivalric focus on dynastic union through secret marriage.

The second section argues further that the melancholic character Philisides represents a quasi-autobiographical persona for Sidney similar to Montemayor’s Sireno in the *Diana*. Pastoral persona in the Third and Fourth Eclogues conveys a poetic impression of Sidney’s personal predicament in the wake of Leicester’s clandestine

marriage, complementing the rhetorical punch of dramatic impasse conveyed in Book Five regarding legal judgment of the protagonist princes.

* * *

The synthesis of narrative poetics and pastoral interlude within *Old Arcadia's* Eclogues provides a dynamic mixture of anecdotal prose narrative and bucolic poetry. In this regard, these Eclogues differ greatly from the poetics of *prosimetrum* form in Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, resembling more closely the generic form of Spanish pastoral romances such as Montemayor's *Diana* and Gil Polo's *Diana Enamorada*. Serving an almost choric function for *Old Arcadia's* five "Books or Acts," its four Eclogues, as pastoral interludes, comment upon actions involving the protagonist lovers; but, in terms of overall poetic effect, they remain subordinate to the action and narrative poetics of *Old Arcadia's* five "Books or Acts."²⁷⁶ Analyzing Sidney's synthesis and alteration of specific aspects from Montemayor's *Diana* and Gil Polo's *Diana Enamorada* in the Third and Fourth Eclogues helps elucidate the manner in which exemplary character contrast within the Eclogues reinforces character contrast established in the main narrative.

In the Eclogues, as in Books One through Five, Sidney generates characters and thematic focus through imitation and variation of multiple literary sources. For Philisides, he imitates the model of Montemayor's protagonist shepherd Sireno in the

²⁷⁶ In addition to R. E. Stillman 1986 on Sidney's Eclogues and Spanish pastoral romance versus Sannazaro's mode of pastoral fiction, see A. C. Hamilton 1972 (pp. 33-38), which does not address Spanish pastoral-romance sources but does, like this present study, conclude that "Sidney's eclogues become detached epilogues which only comment upon the action. Ideally they may have been designed to function as the chorus of a Greek tragedy; [...] in Sidney, the prose plot, which dramatizes the Arcadian state of mind, becomes the soul of the work" (p. 38). See S. Chaudhuri 1989 (pp. 289-295) on the manner by which, "in the *Old Arcadia*, the courtly narrative continues through the Eclogues as well" (p. 292). Cf. J. S. Lawry 1972 (pp. 24, 59-71) on the Eclogues' "choric" function. On five-act dramatic structure as a probable organizing principle for the five "Books or Acts" of *OA*, see Chapter One above, note 18.

Diana, rather than Sannazaro's Sincero, as has been assumed by modern critics.²⁷⁷

Montemayor's *Diana* provides an innovative mode of pastoral humanist poetics focused on "the process of education" through "collocation of several interlocking love stories architecturally arranged," involving "ironic wit" and "equivocation," this combination of structure and style representing a "general combination of the pastoral and the courtly" which Arthur Kinney defines as "Montemayor's most significant legacy to Sidney."²⁷⁸ Onomastic innovation marks perhaps the most conspicuous aspect of that humanist pastoral legacy. Montemayor playfully invents various character names exploiting the Latin etymological root *felix, felicis* in thematic relation to the Greek root *philo*, which Sidney exploits for playful thematic significance in character names, including this pastoral persona "Philisides" in the Eclogues and, significantly, the transformation of Pyrocles into "Cleophila" through Amazonian disguise as a means to pursue his new love for "Philoclea."²⁷⁹

Old Arcadia's Eclogues contain lyric poetry which imitates verse forms developed by Sannazaro, Montemayor, and Gil Polo. Herein lies Sidney's direct creative engagement with Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, from which he draws models for bucolic singing

²⁷⁷ A. M. Patterson 1982 overlooks Montemayor's *Diana*, associating Sidney's pastoral persona directly with Sannazaro's Sincero (pp. 12-13, 18-19; rpt. in *idem*. 1984, pp. 33-34, 39-40, and in A. F. Kinney 1986b, pp. 364-365, 370-371)—as do A. C. Hamilton 1977 (p. 35), P. Lindenbaum 1986 (pp. 29-30), S. K. Heninger 1989 (pp. 402, 439, 582 n. 44). R. Schneider 2008 notes both paradigms (pp. 176-180) but privileges that of Sannazaro (p. 184).

²⁷⁸ A. F. Kinney 1986a, pp. 247-251. Kinney's perspective on how Montemayor's *Diana* helps fuel the humanist poetics of Sidney's fiction proves useful for refining general notions of the *Diana* as didactic fiction (B. M. Damiani 1983). R. Schneider 2008 characterizes Montemayor's *Diana* as "Sidney's model for expanding the rather static pastoral scene of the Eclogues into a full-blown narrative with a didactic intention," allowing for the "narrative function" of poetic dialogue and speeches in *OA* "within the larger framework of the plot, that is, their contribution to the *oeconomia* of the text, 'the orderly unified disposition of scenes in a comedy'" (pp. 87, 100). Cf. S. Chaudhuri 1989, p. 300.

²⁷⁹ On this onomastic innovation by Montemayor and Sidney, see J. Oliveira e Silva 1980 and 1982a; also Chapter Three above (at note 196) on Pyrocles's transformation.

competition and pastoral elegy.²⁸⁰ Some verse forms which Sidney introduced into the English language, such as the sestina, appear in both Sannazaro's work and Montemayor's *Diana*. Sidney's skillful translation of two lyric poems from Book One of the *Diana* (produced separately from *Arcadia*) and certain verbal parallels with Montemayor's work evident within *Old Arcadia* suggest that Sidney paid detailed attention to Montemayor's Spanish text.²⁸¹ One conspicuous parallel occurs in the first line of a soliloquy sonnet by Cleophila (Pyrocles)—“Loved I am, and yet complain of love”—a clever variation of the first line in a lament sung by Sylvano in Book One of the *Diana* (“*Amador soy, mas nunca fuy amado*”), aptly adapted to the dramatic scenario of this personal lament by the disguised protagonist in *Arcadia* Book Two.²⁸² For the epithalamion Dicus sings to Lalus and Kala at the beginning of the Third Eclogues (“Let mother earth now deck herself in flowers”), which represents “the first formal epithalamion in English,” Sidney imitates the unique verse form of an epithalamion sung

²⁸⁰ W. A. Ringler, ed. P. Sidney, *Poems*, pp. 385, 388, 419-421. Cf. W. V. Moody [1894], pp. 11-16; J. Robertson, ed. P. Sidney, *OA*, pp. 428, 431 (nn. 73.16-30, 73.31-34), 432 (nn. 76.12-13, 76.19), 459, 477; K. Duncan-Jones, ed. P. Sidney, *OA*, pp. 371 n. 52, 383 n. 299. Also, for Sidney's poem “The ladd Philisides,” a *canzone* in the general form of that found in Sannazaro's Third Eclogue (cf. Petrarch's *canzone* 126) and probably written in this same period of time (1577-1581), see P. Sidney, *Poems*, ed. Ringler, pp. 256-259 (text), 496-498 (notes); cf. K. Duncan-Jones, ed. P. Sidney, *Philip Sidney*, p. 343 n. 38.

²⁸¹ For these two translations from the *Diana*, see P. Sidney, *Poems*, ed. W. A. Ringler, pp. 157-159 (cf. notes in *ibid.*, pp. 432-434; and K. Duncan-Jones, ed. P. Sidney, *Philip Sidney*, pp. 342-343 nn. 34-35). J. Oliveira e Silva 1982b identifies these two poems as close translations of Montemayor's Spanish texts, in contrast with Bartholomew Yong's English translation produced in the early 1580s (pp. 134-145). P. J. Cooke [1939], Ch. 2, also distinguishes Sidney's translation of these poems from M. Nicole Colin's French translation printed in 1578. Material evidence suggests that these two translations did not circulate widely in manuscript as did other poems from Sidney's collection of verse later labeled “Certain Sonnets” in the 1598 printed collection of Sidney's works (H. R. Woudhuysen 1996, pp. 246-247, 294). The latter of the two survives in only one manuscript copy (Folger ms. H.b.1, fol. 225v-226r), together with its companion, most of the other “Certain Sonnets,” and a copy of *OA*. H. R. Woudhuysen 1996 identifies the scribe of that manuscript as Richard Robinson (pp. 195-203, 326-327, and Plate V; cf. p. 400). E. Fosalba 1994 addresses verbal parallels between Sidney's *OA* and Montemayor's *Diana* (pp. 284-287).

²⁸² For this soliloquy sonnet, see P. Sidney, *OA*, ed. J. Robertson, p. 114; *Poems*, ed. W. A. Ringler, p. 41. For Sylvano's lament quoted here, see J. Montemayor, *Diana*, ed. J. Arribas, pp. 130-131.

at the end of Book Four in Gil Polo's *Diana Enamorada*.²⁸³ For the double sestina sung by Strephon and Klaius at the beginning of the Fourth Eclogues ("Ye goat-herd gods, that love the grassy mountains"), another poetic innovation for the English language, Sidney draws upon a double sestina in Sannazaro's Fourth Eclogue for its verse form and upon a similar exchange sung by Tauriso and Berardo in Book One of Gil Polo's *Diana Enamorada* for its thematic emphasis on justice.²⁸⁴ These two poems provide the terms of pastoral debate within the Third and Fourth Eclogues, respectively, and Sidney chose to imitate these two poetic templates from Gil Polo's *Diana Enamorada* for their thematic focus: marriage and justice. Thus, these two poems capture perhaps better than any others the thematic interrelationship between Sidney's Eclogues and the narrative prose Books in his original *Arcadia*.

Focusing on the Spanish templates for these poems helps elucidate their function as bridges between Eclogues and prose Books; yet, doing so requires revision of prominent critical perspectives on *Old Arcadia*'s structural poetics. Arguments ascribing various underlying political ideologies to the work as a whole, for instance, rely on the assumption that lyric poems in the Eclogues sung by Sidney's pastoral persona—especially the "Ister Bank" beast fable in antiquated language, wherein Philisides overtly mentions his friend "Languet"—serve as exegetical keys for interpreting the author's

²⁸³ W. A. Ringler, ed. P. Sidney, *Poems*, pp. 411-412. For the two texts, see *ibid.*, pp. 91-94; P. Sidney, *OA*, ed. J. Robertson, pp. 245-248; and G. Gil Polo, *Diana Enamorada*, ed. F. López Estrada, pp. 260-262. R. L. Grismer and M. B. Grismer provide a facing-page edition of Gil Polo's text alongside that of Yong's translation from the 1580s (as printed in 1598) (see pp. 200-205). K. Duncan-Jones cites Ringler's observation incorrectly here, attributing the verse form to "a wedding poem in Montemayor's *Diana*" (ed. P. Sidney, *OA*, p. 379 n. 213).

²⁸⁴ R. E. Stillman 1982 (cf. R. E. Stillman 1986, pp. 156-162, 248-249, esp. n. 6). Cf. P. Sidney, *Poems*, ed. W. A. Ringler, pp. 111-113 (text), 416-417 (notes); *OA*, ed. J. Robertson, pp. 328-330 (text), 473-774 (notes); G. Gil Polo, *Diana Enamorada*, ed. F. López Estrada, pp. 132-137; G. Gil Polo & B. Yong, *Diana Enamorada / Enamoured Diana*, ed. R. L. Grismer & M. B. Grismer, pp. 48-57. D. Kalstone 1965 analyzes "Ye goat-herd gods" only in tandem with Sannazaro's double sestina (pp. 71-83; cf. pp. 32-36), hence the conclusion that this poem "give[s] us some indication of why the pastoral sections of the English romance strike a reader so often as un-Arcadian" (p. 83).

own stance on English and European politics in the late 1570s.²⁸⁵ Among such interpretations of the “Ister Bank” poem as a clue to Sidney’s own political thought, William Ringler’s reading, accepted by Jean Robertson and Robert Stillman, remains the most convincing: responsible monarchy requires recognizing the need for a strong and loyal aristocracy to maintain political stability.²⁸⁶ This poem should be addressed with regard to its local function within *Old Arcadia*’s structural poetics, as one of many political registers rather than as a trump card dominating all others.

²⁸⁵ E.g., W. D. Briggs 1931 and 1932; I. Ribner 1952a; E. W. Talbert 1962, pp. 92-117; A. M. Patterson 1982 (cf. *idem.* 1991, pp. 67-75); M. N. Raitiere 1984, pp. ix-17, 57-149; W. R. Drennan 1986; B. Worden 1996, pp. 209-294 (cf. Alexander’s “Introduction” and Worden’s comments in G. Alexander *et al* 1998, pp. 36-41, 47-56; also B. Worden 2007, p. 78); and V. Skretkovicz 2004 [2006] (cf. Skretkovicz’s comments on B. Worden 1996 in G. Alexander *et al* 1998, pp. 44-56; also V. Skretkovicz 1999 and 2001). Cf. W. A. Ringler, ed. P. Sidney, *Poems*, pp. 98-103, 412-415 (esp. pp. 413, 414-415 n. 154); J. Robertson, ed. P. Sidney, *OA*, pp. 254-260, 463-464 (esp. p. 464); R. E. Stillman 1985 and 1998 (cf. *idem.* 1986, pp. 37-38, 143-147, 247 n. 23; and Stillman’s comments on B. Worden 1996 in G. Alexander *et al* 1998, pp. 42-44); G. Warkentin 1990, p. 85; G. Alexander 2006a, pp. xxx, 227-231. Several of these scholars (Briggs, Drennan, Worden, and Skretkovicz) interpret the “Ister Bank” poem as an allegorical perspective on justified rebellion, assumed to represent (in varying degrees) Sidney’s own political thought. Those studies filter their critical perspectives anachronistically through works and actions by Sidney’s friends and later family members in the 1590s and in the mid-seventeenth century. Patterson and Raitiere, also reading the “Ister Bank” poem as Sidney’s own thoughts on political reform, interpret the author’s perspective as more moderate. B. Nicollier-De Weck 1995 and R. Kuin 1997 help balance the impressions of sixteenth-century political theory provided by such literary studies with a less anachronistic bent. Kuin notes specifically there, “In English-literature circles, especially, there has often been a certain amount of misunderstanding about Protestantism and monarchy. Part of this stems from a confusion of all non-Lutheran Protestantism with Calvinism, and of Calvinism (due to its popularity in Geneva and the northern Netherlands) with republicanism. Melanchthon’s thought was neither Calvinist nor republican; and although the *réseau* [interpersonal network of Protestant activists] is often identified with ‘monarchomachy,’ the term is inaccurate: ‘tyrannomachy’ would be more precise. It is here that [M. N. Raitiere 1984] errs: like most other English-language scholarly works, it largely ignores ‘Philippism’ (from Melanchthon’s first name) as a separate reformation current. The same lacuna is found in [A. D. Weiner 1978] where, although Mornay’s *Trewnesse of the Christian Religion* is one of the principal sources, Melanchthon’s name does not even appear in the Index” (p. 68 n. 8). Cf. Kuin on B. Worden 1996 (G. Alexander *et al* 1998, p. 46) and R. Kuin 1999 on Sidney and Mornay. Also see R. E. Stillman 2002b and 2008 on Sidney’s *DP* and the Philippists (cf. W. Olmsted 2008, pp. 54-75; contrast A. D. Weiner 1972 and 1990, on the one hand, and on the other, R. Matz 1995; also consider J. Richards 1996). Ribner’s reading of the “Ister Bank” poem (*op cit.*) interprets it as a self-consciously orthodox allegorical appeal to Queen Elizabeth’s perspective on monarchy. Talbert and Raitiere (*op cit.*) propose more subtle and balanced readings of the poem as orthodox political perspective. Ringler (*op cit.*) interprets it as emphasis on the need for a strong aristocracy in maintaining political stability within a mixed polity like the Elizabethan English monarchy. Robertson and Stillman (*op cit.*) accept Ringler’s reading.

²⁸⁶ Ringler glosses this poem’s injunction “know your strengths” [*Poems*, p. 103; cf. *OA*, 259] as “be aware that the aristocrats are the protectors of the commons against tyranny,” claiming that “in this poem Sidney is dealing, not with the question of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of rebellion, but with the kind of government—a monarchy limited by a strong aristocracy—that will prevent the development of tyranny” (ed. P. Sidney, *Poems*, pp. 414-415). Cf. note 285 above for Robertson and Stillman.

Stillman provides the most thorough study of the Eclogues in such a manner, revising earlier studies to interpret Sidney's fiction as a unique brand of quasi-Stoic pastoral with a poetics of teaching and delighting not bent on conveying specific religious or political ideology but rather provoking for its readers intellectual reflection and aesthetic contentment regarding the nature of "justice."²⁸⁷ That argument's general emphasis on reader engagement sparking intellectual reflection and aesthetic contentment proves revealing. It also highlights thematic significance for Sidney's attention to Spanish pastoral romance. Interpretation arising from that analysis, though, remains limited by attention to only one genre of literary sources. Stillman's reading of *Old Arcadia* overemphasizes both its "pastoral" dimension and its discourse of constancy in "contentment," largely due to the limitations of prior critical surveys addressing the work's relationship to Spanish chivalric romance and ancient prose fiction.²⁸⁸

Old Arcadia as a whole does not fit the generic mold of "pastoral romance," nor do its Eclogues impose "oblique criticism of the manner in which Pyrocles and Musidorus pursue contentment."²⁸⁹ The Eclogues proceed in step with intellectual issues

²⁸⁷ R. E. Stillman 1986 (see pp. 7-14, 19-44, esp. pp. 9, 21, 22, 37-38). As biographical context for this thesis, Stillman highlights an emphasis on "constancy" emerging in Sidney-Languet correspondence (1576-1577), combined with a notion of "virtuous quietness" emphasized in a letter from Sidney to his father, 25 April 1578, just before Henry Sidney was officially recalled from his position as Lord Deputy in Ireland. See note 285 above for Stillman's contributions to debate about politics, religion, and Sidney's fictional poetics. For a critical bridge or middle ground between Stillman's perspective on *OA*'s narrative poetics and arguments for religious ideology in *OA* posited by Marengo and Weiner, see E. Dipple 1967, 1968, and 1970. Also consider H. R. Woudhuysen [1980] on Roger Baynes's *The Praise of Solitariness* (1577) as an intellectual context for *OA* (pp. 293-298).

²⁸⁸ Stillman's approach steers away from source material by Heliodorus and Feliciano de Silva (in French translation) through cursory reference to S. L. Wolff 1912 and J. J. O'Connor 1970 (p. 233 n. 30). See Chapter Two here above on the limitations of those two earlier source studies.

²⁸⁹ W. R. Davis 1965, p. 5 (cf. pp. 50-58, 168-179, for Davis's notions of "Sidney's moralization of plot" and "*Arcadia* as a Pastoral Romance" even in its 1593 *NA* form); R. E. Stillman 1986, p. 139. Stillman's stance here on *OA*'s narrative poetics regarding the protagonist princes perpetuates, in a different vein, this same assumption posited by Marengo and Weiner. See note 297 below. E. Fosalba 1994, like Davis's study, loosely associates the disguise motif in Sidney's *Arcadia* with the plotline of Felis and Felismena in Montemayor's *Diana* (p. 288 and n. 41). E. Rhodes 1992 contests Davis's reading of Felismena as the *Diana*'s protagonist (pp. 114-115). R. Schneider 2008 clarifies that "Davis's emphasis lies on individual

and poetic impressions generated by *Old Arcadia*'s narrative Books. Representation of mixed society between aristocrats and shepherds places momentous aristocratic matters in relief with parallel concerns within a lower echelon of society. Such juxtaposition accentuates the complexity and importance of those aristocratic concerns, rather than moralize them or illuminate them philosophically. Stillman's premise that Gil Polo's fiction serves as Sidney's dominant narrative source material proves misleading. It relies upon a traditional critical distinction between Montemayor's work and that of Gil Polo which requires revision based on more recent scholarship regarding Montemayor and his *Diana*.²⁹⁰

Re-evaluating Sidney's creative engagement with the matters of marriage and justice in the *Diana* and in *Diana Enamorada* demands analysis of Montemayor's narrative poetics and Gil Polo's revision regarding Sireno's fortune in love. Critical emphasis on Montemayor's *Diana* as innovative exemplary fiction, inspired at least partially by Feliciano de Silva's work, proves useful for appreciating Sidney's attention to it as a supplement for imitation alongside Silva's fiction, as well as for revising

plot elements rather than on the overall structure of the narrative" (p. 89 n. 6). The same qualification applies to T. P. Harrison 1926, which tenuously associates the central story of Pyrocles and Musidorus wooing Philoclea and Pamela in *NA* with that of Delicius and Parthenius wooing Stela and Crimine in Alonso Pérez's continuation of Montemayor's *Diana* (pp. 64-68). On Pérez's work, see J. B. Avallé-Arce 1959, pp. 86-98; and B. J. Nelson [2007], pp. 95-101. Harrison did not know Feliciano de Silva's work, neither directly nor through W. V. Moody [1894], pp. 34-47 (T. P. Harrison 1926, p. 53 n. 3). W. V. Moody [1894] notes a general affinity between Sidney's and Montemayor's fiction in terms of mixed adventure and pastoral repose, associating the lion and bear incident in *Arcadia* Book One with a moment in Book Two of the *Diana* when "savages" ("*salvajes*") suddenly attack a group of pastoral nymphs and are slain by Felismena, the aristocratic female warrior who has disguised herself as a shepherdess and has entered the *locus amoenus*—but Moody denies overall narrative correlation with Montemayor's fiction (pp. 24-31; see pp. 18-32). Cf. J. Montemayor, *Diana*, ed. J. Arribas, pp. 183-185; and, on the savage-man trope in Spanish sentimental fiction and pastoral romance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see A. Deyermond 1964 [1966] (pp. 109-111 on this incident in the *Diana*).

²⁹⁰ For this premise about Sidney's use of Gil Polo's work, R. E. Stillman 1986 (pp. 30-31) leans heavily upon A. Solé-Leris 1959, which, in turn, relies upon B. W. Wardropper 1951 for its interpretation of Montemayor's *Diana*.

Stillman's distinction between the *Diana* and Gil Polo's *Diana Enamorada*, which obscures the nature of Montemayor's Sireno character.

That traditional distinction highlights the theme of "*Fortuna*" in Montemayor's *Diana*, arguing that Gil Polo's *Diana Enamorada*, in contrast with its precursor, asserts "an uncompromising affirmation of free will," emphatically providing "reasoned criticism aimed at lovers rather than at love, on the grounds that the lovers themselves, by surrendering to passion, are responsible for their own sufferings. Love holds no sway over men except insofar as they, of their own accord, place themselves in its power."²⁹¹ This underlying notion of human free will and suffering in love proved integral for the development of Spain's pastoral-romance tradition, but it arose in Montemayor's *Diana*, which invented the genre, rather than in Gil Polo's imitation of that model. Montemayor's overall narrative poetics imitates the dynamic mixture of motifs and distinct generic registers apparent in Feliciano de Silva's later works. The pivotal fourth Book of Montemayor's *Diana* even incorporates a famous chivalric-romance motif, the Arch of Loyal Lovers, imported directly from Book Two of Montalvo's *Amadís de Gaula*, with its poetic function granted a new quasi-religious significance in the *Diana*: only lovers who amidst suffering remain true to their "first faith" ("*si la fe primera no [h]a perdido*") may enter the sage Felicia's temple (239).²⁹² Gil Polo's imitation of Montemayor's pastoral fiction amplifies its emphasis on anecdotal narrative, more closely resembling the "Byzantine" style of ancient prose fiction in this regard than does

²⁹¹ A. Solé-Leris 1959, pp. 70, 67. Solé-Leris argues that *Diana Enamorada* provides critical imitation of a passage in Book Four of Montemayor's *Diana* drawn from Leone Hebreo's *Dialoghi d'Amore*, turning it on its head: "In Gil Polo, we are told that the god of love is a figment of men's imaginations" (p. 68). J. Arribas 1996 notes that, although Montemayor uses the word "*fortuna*" more frequently, the lexicon for that concept remains consistent between *Diana* and *Diana Enamorada* (pp. 76-77).

²⁹² Parenthetical page citation refers to J. Montemayor, *Los Siete Libros de la Diana*, ed. J. Arribas, which collates textual variants. For more extensive glosses on critical interpretation, see J. Montemayor, *Diana*, ed. J. Montero.

Montemayor's work, while maintaining the *Diana*'s thematic focus on human free will and justice in love which culminates in marriage.

Scholars of Montemayor's religious poetry have revised traditional notions of philosophical underpinnings for the *Diana*, interpreting its characters' communal suffering in love along the lines of Montemayor's specific religious views as a Christian humanist to suggest an impression of heroic suffering in faith—rather than “stoic” resolve or even neo-Platonic sublimation of desire—such that “the more perfect love is, the more agonizingly passionate it becomes.”²⁹³ Recent articulation of this critical approach argues that, “as a Renaissance humanist and a lay Catholic Reformist, Montemayor sought to oppose the doctrine of Original Sin not only in his religious poetry but in the *Diana* as well[,...]implicitly introducing the modern view that passionate sexual love and the physical desire that it generally includes are by no means at variance with naive innocence of heart.”²⁹⁴

This perspective on Montemayor's *Diana* complements analysis in Chapter Three above revealing how Sidney generates *Old Arcadia*'s central plot conflicts and character development through imitating interlaced motifs in Feliciano de Silva's *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* and modifying their neo-Platonic bent as rendered in partial French translation of that work by Jacques Gohory. The protagonist lovers in *Old Arcadia*, like their creative templates in *Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* and the protagonist lovers in

²⁹³ B. L. Creel 2004, p. 233. Cf. B. L. Creel 1990: “It would be an error to see expressed in the *Diana* the stoic concept of ‘fate’ as a force that degrades the lover by undermining the free action of his will. For Montemayor ‘fate’ corresponds at most to the Boethian concept of fate as the disposition or interconnection of the particular as determined on a general basis by providence, or even to the Augustinian ideal of subordination to the truth of eternal law (love of the Good), which is also the essence of both freedom and happiness”; thus, “the cult of suffering in love can be seen as a conscious stylistic pose that had the value of masking and at the same time esoterically suggesting a central core of happiness, gaiety, and even bliss” (p. 9). E. Rhodes 1992 also provides a reading of the *Diana* as quasi-religious narrative poetics, in more detail, although paying unduly short shrift to B. L. Creel 1981 and 1990 (e.g., pp. 10-11).

²⁹⁴ B. L. Creel 2004, p. 225 (see pp. 220-251).

Montemayor's *Diana*, provide models of exemplary devotion in love, wherein passionate desire for the beloved emanates from a higher realm of noble love in the human soul. All three of these works represent love as a noble virtue, and none of these impressions can be defined as "stoic" or strictly neo-Platonic in nature. Sidney's protagonists, like Silva's, desire sexual union as a complement to shared ecstasy they feel in love and, significantly, as consummation of mutual marriage vows. Montemayor's fiction, like Sidney's, builds upon the foundation of Silva's innovation within the Spanish chivalric-romance tradition. Indeed, Montemayor's invention of the pastoral-romance genre seems linked, to a significant degree, to the creative innovation of a specific literary circle tied to Feliciano de Silva.²⁹⁵ Yet, the narrative poetics of Montemayor's fiction differs from

²⁹⁵ Montemayor clearly knew Silva's work and admired him greatly, writing an elegy and an epitaph upon his death in 1554, both printed in the 1562 edition of Montemayor's *Cancionero*, published in Zaragoza eight years after its first edition (Antwerp, 1554) and just one year after Montemayor's own death. In the elegy, an allegorical figure of "widowed Poetry" laments, "*¡Perdí mi bien, perdí mi Feliciano / muerta es la gracia, el ser, la sotileza, / la audacia, ingenio, estilo sobrehumano!*" ("I have lost my goods, lost my Feliciano; / dead is the grace, the essence, the subtlety, / the audacity, ingenuity, superhuman style!"). For those two poems, see J. Montemayor, *Cancionero*, ed. Á. González Palencia, pp. 442-447 (cf. BNM ms. 4072, fol. 86v, which preserves a copy of the "Epitafio a Feliciano de Silva," though faded and very difficult to read). Based on playful character names and allusions in the works of Alonso Núñez de Reinoso, a Portuguese *converso* ("New" Christian of Jewish ancestry) who moved to Italy and imitated Silva's work in one section of his prose romance *Clareo y Florisea*—it seems that Reinoso, Silva, and Montemayor were friends and literary correspondents in the mid-sixteenth century. On Reinoso's imitation of Silva's work, see S. P. Cravens 1978b. On this matter of Reinoso, Montemayor, and Silva, see C. H. Rose 1971, pp. 26-35; S. P. Cravens 1976, pp. 25-29 (cf. pp. 32 n. 36, 35-37); and M. Á. Teijeiro Fuentes 1988, pp. 20-27. Cf. M. Bataillon 1957, p. 2 (rpt. *idem*. 1962, p. 57). Reinoso and Montemayor probably met and befriended Silva through proximity to his home in Ciudad Rodrigo. For Reinoso it might have been in Salamanca, and Montemayor probably met Silva some time while serving as a musician (bass vocalist) at the royal chapel of Charles V's daughter Doña María in Valladolid between 1548 and 1552 (S. P. Cravens 1976, pp. 27-28; cf. B. L. Creel 1981, pp. 48-49, and F. M. Ruiz Cabello 2000, pp. 133-134). This was the same period in which Silva composed his final chivalric romance, *FN4* (written by 1550 and published at Salamanca in 1551), which greatly amplifies narrative emphasis on a pastoral-courtly *locus amoenus* with a sudden proliferation of lyric poetry within the chivalric narrative: inspired largely by the publication of Garcilaso's pastoral poetry together with Juan Boscán's translation of Castiglione's *Libro del Cortegiano* in 1543, editions of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* in Spanish translation (1547 and 1549), and, presumably, courtly entertainments in Salamanca and Valladolid in 1543 and 1548, respectively celebrating the marriage of Prince Felipe (later Felipe II) to Doña María of Portugal and the marriage of Felipe's sister Doña María to Maximilian of Hungary (S. P. Cravens 1976, pp. 33-34, 75-90; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 15 n. 9, 91-108, 123-127; and A. Río Noguerras 2002). In addition to the two authors' literary affinity, Silva had Portuguese heritage on his father's side of the family, and he presumably maintained sympathy for the *converso* condition through his own experience in marriage (F. López Estrada 1973, p. 168; E. Cotarelo y Mori 1926, pp. 133-138; M. C. Daniels 1983, pp. 80-88). It has also been assumed that Montemayor himself was a

that of Silva's later works and, to a lesser degree, from that of Sidney's original *Arcadia*. None of Montemayor's characters resembles the *Arcadia*'s protagonist lovers. Philisides, however, represents a faithful yet unfortunate lover similar to Montemayor's protagonist shepherd Sireno.

Sireno, like Philisides in *Old Arcadia*, remains unmarried in Montemayor's *Diana*. The marriage of three couples, including true shepherds and aristocrats alike, occurs in Felicia's temple as an official ceremony, a detail that aligns with the Catholic Church's increasing concern that ordained priests officiate the sacrament of marriage, an issue emphasized heavily since the Council of Trent's first convention in 1547.²⁹⁶ Yet, Montemayor's primary protagonist, Sireno, cannot enjoy such union with his beloved Diana, because she sadly resigned herself to marry another shepherd named Delio while Sireno was away from home (125). Her marriage precludes the consummation of his ongoing passion for Diana upon returning to the pastoral *locus amoenus*. Among the protagonist lovers who visit Felicia's temple, in the end only Sireno remains unmarried, devoting himself to perpetual passionate memory of the former mutual love he shared with Diana prior to her marriage.

Gil Polo's *Diana Enamorada* (1564), produced shortly after further Tridentine legal reform regarding marriage in 1563, imposes upon Montemayor's central story of Sireno and Diana a revised poetic impression of romantic love and marriage. Delio dies; therefore, as a widow, Diana marries Sireno. In the *Diana* and in *Diana Enamorada*, Sireno and Diana are true shepherds, in contrast with the protagonist lovers in Silva's and

converso Christian, or at least a reformist Catholic with *converso* sympathies, and this biographical premise has been construed to complement revised interpretation of his *Diana* (E. Rhodes 1992). On that matter, see the latter portion of this present chapter.

²⁹⁶ B. M. Damiani 1983, p. 108 (cf. p. 37).

Sidney's pastoral-courtly fiction. In this regard, their marriage in Gil Polo's fiction resembles that of Lalus and Kala in Sidney's Third Eclogues. For this reason, it seems, Sidney imitates Gil Polo's epithalamion sung for Sireno and Diana as a poetic model to be modified for Dicus's song at the wedding of these Arcadian shepherds. Gil Polo's romance replaces the open-ended suffering in love experienced by Montemayor's protagonist with virtuous consummation in marriage, as an end to his anxiety in desire. Sidney's Eclogues, on the other hand, provide both paradigms: that is, Philisides, a pastoral persona with misfortune and *ethos* as a lover similar to that of Montemayor's protagonist shepherd, presented in contrast with a public pastoral wedding which occurs in the Third Eclogues, just after the secret "marriage" of noble protagonist lovers in Book Three.

The rustic simplicity of Lalus and Kala and their nuptials contrasts with the protagonist lovers' complicated situation. That contrast establishes for the reader tacit criticism of Duke Basilius's lust and his wife Gynecia's jealousy as they both pursue Cleophila (Pyrocles), in a manner that complements the poetics of reader engagement and exemplary character contrast established in Books One through Three, as outline above in Chapter Three. Dicus's epithalamion, in contrast with its formal template in Gil Polo's *Diana Enamorada*, prays that Lalus and Kala may continue within marriage to uphold "chasteness" and "simple love," not letting themselves succumb to "lawless lust" and "vile jealousy" (OA, 247-248). This emphasis poses an ideal for marriage that Basilius and Gynecia both have transgressed. Yet, in juxtaposing the consummation of clandestine marriage between Pyrocles and Philoclea at the end of Book Three with "a rustic's imagined perfection of simple piety and contentment" here in the Third Eclogues,

Sidney's narrative does not implicitly critique the protagonist lovers' union.²⁹⁷ Instead, affectively, "the joyous marriage of the shepherds deepens our sympathy for the princes," given the restrictions imposed upon their love by Basilius and Gynecia.²⁹⁸

At the same time, Dicus's epithalamion, while affirming the impression of Lalus and Kala as "chaste" and "simple" lovers established by Sidney's narrative frame preceding the poem, also conveys a significant degree of anxiety about the contingency of human virtue and happiness in marriage. Its creative template by Gil Polo, in contrast, emphasizes the "great contentment" ("*gran contento*") found in "marriage" ("*casamiento*") after the experience of "constant will" ("*voluntad constante*") amidst "harsh misfortune in love" ("*desamor muy crudo*"), also highlighting the quasi-ecclesiastical authority of "the great Felicia" ("*la gran Felicia*") as an agent for uniting the couple in marriage.²⁹⁹ To a significant degree, Sidney's epithalamion in *Old Arcadia's* Third Eclogues reflects the general manner in which "Protestantism enhanced

²⁹⁷ R. E. Stillman 1986, p. 138 (see pp. 104-107, 137-143; cf. p. 88). Stillman explains his perspective on *OA's* narrative poetics here as follows: "After having given us the chance to indulge our sentimental appetites in the bedroom scene at the end of the third book, Sidney makes us conscious by the wedding of our weakness, of our vulnerability in accepting a cheap version of sexual contentment in place of the more genuine happiness of virtuous moderation" (p. 139). A. D. Weiner 1978 also reads this pastoral wedding celebration as implicit moral critique (pp. 131-135), as do E. Z. Cohen 1968 (pp. 765-766), Å. Bergvall 1989 (p. 70), C. Bates 1992 (pp. 112-113, 118, 123), R. S. White 1996 (pp. 141-142), and J. Catty 1999 (pp. 43-44). K. Duncan-Jones similarly claims that it offers "many ironic points of contrast to the behaviour of the princes" (ed. P. Sidney, *Philip Sidney*, p. 349 n. 97; cf. H. R. Woudhuysen 1996, p. 295).

²⁹⁸ A. C. Hamilton 1977, p. 67. R. E. Stillman 1986 grants, "it should be remembered that although the princes have employed deceptive strategies throughout the third book, they are forced to do so by Basilius's strictures against suitors, and that their wives, like their author's, are a source of positive pleasure for the reader" (p. 139), but Stillman judges that Hamilton's reading pushes this matter "maybe a bit too far" (p. 246 n. 9 [Ch. 7]). On *OA's* narrative poetics of reader complicity with the protagonist lovers amidst their secret marriage in Book Three, combined with comic and tragic distance from Basilius and Gynecia, see Chapter Three above.

²⁹⁹ G. Gil Polo 1564, fol. 115r (sig. P.iiij.r). Cf. G. Gil Polo 1577, fol. 122r-v (sig. P4.r-v); *Diana Enamorada*, ed. F. López Estrada, p. 261; G. Gil Polo & B. Yong, *Diana Enamorada / Enamoured Diana*, ed. R. L. Grismer & M. B. Grismer, pp. 202-203.

marriage as a means of personal companionship and individual, earthly happiness, but, in desacramentalizing it, lowered its resistance to the pressures of the secular world.”³⁰⁰

The narrative frame following this poem enhances emphasis on that general issue of maintaining virtue in marriage. Nico’s dialogue with Paso and his Chaucerian-style *fabliau* provide further warning about the danger of jealousy (*OA*, 248-254). Geron and Histor engage in poetic debate at the end of the Third Eclogues, wherein Geron argues that the institution of “holy marriage” helps couples remain virtuous and procreate, against Histor’s jaded perspective that few women go into marriage with the virtue that Kala exhibits (*OA*, 260-263). Such debate stimulates the reader’s thoughts on that matter, preparing us to recognize virtue displayed by the protagonist princesses Pamela and Philoclea in Book Four, as well as to anticipate dramatic debate regarding their clandestine marriages in Books Four and Five.

The emphasis on marriage in *Old Arcadia* remains firmly entrenched within the realm of society and politics, without debate regarding its theological nature, and in this manner Sidney’s narrative logically interlaces the marriage theme with the theme of political justice. In the Fourth Eclogues, the double sestina sung by Strephon and Klaius blends the form and thematic emphasis of its poetic models by Sannazaro and Gil Polo to establish for *Old Arcadia*’s Fourth Eclogues a theme of discontentment and injustice.³⁰¹ Sidney’s own pastoral persona, Philisides, establishes a bridge for this theme of justice between the Third and Fourth Eclogues. His political beast fable sung in the Third Eclogues provides the reader an allegorical reminder of the need for a strong aristocracy

³⁰⁰ R. V. Young 2001, p. 274. Cf. Chapter One above, note 23.

³⁰¹ See note 284 above. Stillman’s reading revises the perspective of K. Duncan-Jones 1966 on Strephon and Klaius with regard to Urania in *OA*: “The fact of greatest importance about ‘ye goat-herd gods,’ is not that Urania has gone away, but that Strephon and Klaius, struggling to obtain quiet of mind, ‘tarry in Arcadia’ in expectation of her return” (R. E. Stillman 1986, p. 156).

as an essential ingredient for just monarchy (*OA*, 254-259) (see notes 285 and 286 above). In the Fourth Eclogues, amidst other shepherds' laments about Arcadia's political misfortune upon Basilius's supposed death, Philisides tells his own story at the request of Strephon and Klaius (*OA*, 334-344). Sidney's narrative, here and elsewhere in the original *Arcadia's* Eclogues, consistently emphasizes Philisides's personal "melancholy" and "desolate pensiveness" bred by misfortune in love, which in turn has caused exile from his homeland and disguise as a shepherd in Arcadia (*OA*, 71, 163; cf. 159, 254, 340-341, 344). In his mental state of continual suffering, Philisides represents a melancholic lover *à la* Sireno in Montemayor's *Diana*. He, unlike Sireno, is an aristocrat in pastoral disguise, but in this regard the character's social station matches that of the work's author. Thus, Sidney follows the literary tradition of creating a quasi-autobiographical pastoral persona, as does Montemayor with his shepherd Sireno.

The aspect of melancholy in love which Montemayor developed for his *Diana*—the contentment in discontentment—provides a basis for critical debate about his own religious persuasion and how it may be figured forth in the *Diana*. It is this same wrinkle of self-indulgent and self-perpetuating melancholy that Gil Polo's *Diana Enamorada* irons out with the marriage of Sireno and Diana. Evaluating Sidney's imitation with the pastoral persona Philisides requires further attention to the matter of Montemayor's biography and his character Sireno.

Montemayor invented what is now known as the pastoral-romance genre as an alternative outlet for his primary poetic interest in Christian devotion. The perspectives on divine grace and Catholic lay piety promoted by his religious poetry earned it a place in the *Index of Prohibited Books* published by the Spanish Inquisition in 1559.

Montemayor thus created a new mode of quasi-religious pastoral fiction that blends the traditional topics of pastoral entertainment and courtly love, each lending themselves to philosophical contemplation, with new emphases on justice in love and on marriage. Gil Polo's continuation extends and alters those two new thematic focuses. Sidney chose poems on marriage and justice from the *Diana Enamorada* for imitation and revision, in order to put them in relief with his own imitation and variation of Montemayor's paradigm for a melancholic literary persona residing within a community of shepherds. The result within *Old Arcadia*'s Third and Fourth Eclogues figures forth generally Protestant perspectives on individual Christian faith and on marriage as a potentially blissful union of loving individuals which remains acutely susceptible to human vices.

Old Arcadia's Third and Fourth Eclogues cue readers to analyze the issues of marriage and justice in love as they arise subsequently in debate regarding the protagonist lovers' clandestine marriage. The beast fable and autobiographical dream vision related by Philisides help interlace thematic emphasis on marriage and justice within the Third and Fourth Eclogues. This emphasis on those two poems' local poetic function within *Old Arcadia* helps re-direct critical debate about the manner and degree in which Philisides's situation in Arcadia reflects that of Sidney as courtier and poet in England.³⁰² *Old Arcadia*'s author remained nettled by affronts to his family's aristocratic pedigree, while also unmarried between 1578 and 1581. With this pastoral persona, Sidney figures

³⁰² For debate about the relationship between Philisides's story in *OA* and Sidney's life and art, see W. A. Ringler, ed. P. Sidney, *Poems*, pp. 417-418; N. L. Rudenstine 1967, pp. 16, 35-41, 106-114, 209-211, 273, 297-298; J. A. Galm 1973, pp. 210-225; D. Moore 1982a and 1982b (pp. 82-125); S. K. Heninger 1989, pp. 439-445, 456-462, 495-497; Å. Bergvall 1989, pp. 96-100; and E. I. Berry 1998, pp. x-xi, 63-101 (cf. pp. 3-27, 192-212). G. Alexander 2006a (esp. pp. xxxvi-xliv) emphasizes that "Sidney becomes his personae after his death" (p. xxxviii).

forth a quasi-autobiographical impression of his own unfortunate situation with regard to social standing at court, as well as with love and marriage.

* * *

The literary personae produced by Montemayor and by Sidney both convey discontentment with courtly life amidst pastoral community. The nature of that discontentment and the degree of communion the character experiences within pastoral community, however, differ subtly but significantly between paradigm and imitation. Within the narrative poetics of Montemayor's *Diana*, Sireno's devotion in love gives an impression of affective Christian piety similar to that embraced by Spanish Catholic evangelical reform in the early and mid-sixteenth century. Philisides's parallel faithfulness amidst misfortune in love, within the narrative poetics of Sidney's original *Arcadia*, could be construed, to some degree, as a vaguely Protestant impression of individual affective piety. Yet, Sidney's pastoral persona functions primarily to convey an exemplary alternative to the experience of poetic impasse and resolution regarding legal judgment of the protagonist princes in *Arcadia*, Book Five. In paradigm and imitation alike, narrative context associates this quasi-autobiographical shepherd persona with active aristocratic virtue and with marriage, but he remains personally detached from such accomplishments, finding contentment only through faithful devotion amidst misfortune in love. Such was Sidney's own personal predicament between 1578 and 1581, whether or not that devotion were directed toward a specific woman. Indeed, as in the case of Montemayor's Sireno, pastoral persona embedded within exemplary poetics may convey a more general sense of personal contentment amidst misfortune at court and discontentment with courtly life.

The *Diana*'s mixed society of true shepherds and aristocrats disguised as shepherds occurs entirely within a geographically flexible *locus amoenus* in which the real shepherds show "nobility" of character equal to that of the aristocrats, through noble suffering in love, although distinct in exact manifestation. Even in the allegorical temple of Felicia, where the devoted pilgrim lovers arrive in Book Four and where the aristocratic character Felismena receives special honor, a poetic dialogue sung in turns by Felicia's nymphs and by these shepherd characters highlights the work's overarching paradoxical premise that suffering in love can produce contentment in discontentment (240-242). Such critical emphasis fuels readings of the *Diana*'s narrative poetics that build upon interpretation of Montemayor's religious works in terms of reformist Catholic ideology. There remains some debate, however, regarding the degree of orthodoxy versus the degree of reformist bent built into the spiritual poetics of Montemayor's religious poetry. Nuanced attention to this matter proves relevant to the issue of Sidney's imitation of Montemayor's pastoral persona.

Montemayor begins Book One of his *Diana* with self-conscious invocation of the pastoral mode in which he writes, suggesting intention for Sireno as an authorial persona in some way. His "*Argumento Deste Libro*" ("Argument of this Book") introducing this first chapter explicitly situates the *locus amoenus* in a Spanish suburban setting—"los campos de la principal ciudad de León, riberas del río Ezla" ("fields near the principal city of León, alongside the River Ezla")—and informs the reader of past events to establish the work's central premise (125). Book One begins with the following literary injunction:

de aquí comienza el primero libro; y en los demás hallarán muy diversas hystorias de casos que verdaderamente an sucedido, aunque van disfrazados

debaxo de nombres y estilo pastoril [or just “*nombres pastorales*” (textual variant)] (125).

Here begins the first book; and in the rest you will find very diverse stories of situations that truly have occurred, though they go disguised under [different] names and a pastoral style [or just “pastoral names”].³⁰³

With this overt reminder of the exegetical tradition inseparable from pastoral poetry since Servius’s commentary on Virgil’s *Eclogues*,³⁰⁴ Montemayor cues the reader to interpret his version of pastoral poetics allegorically, at least to some degree.

The opening “Argument” emphasizes that Sireno was pure and honest in his extreme love for the beautiful shepherdess Diana, who returned his affections with love, until it happened that Sireno was forced to leave the kingdom against his will (“*forçadamente fuera del reyno, a cosas que su partida no podía escusarse*”), remaining away for a full year, during which time Diana grieved his absence but eventually married another shepherd named Delio, for her heart had changed along with the times (“*los tiempos y el corazón de Diana se mudaron*”) (*ibid.*). Montemayor’s diction accentuates the “pureness” and “honesty” of Sireno’s and Diana’s mutual love, while attributing the “extreme” fervor only to Sireno.³⁰⁵ Indeed, throughout all seven Books of the story, Sireno remains fervently devoted to his love for Diana and to the memory of their mutual love prior to his departure from Spain, with the exception of a brief period in which his

³⁰³ The textual variant glossed by Arribas (p. 125), corresponds with editions printed in Milan, and thus may represent the text with which Sidney was familiar, if he acquired it at the Frankfurt Book Fair or while traveling in Italy. Bartholomew Yong’s translation of the early 1580s, however, clearly derives from the other textual tradition: “...though they goe muffled under pastorall names and style” (B. Yong, trans. *George of Montemayor’s “Diana” and Gil Polo’s “Enamoured Diana”* [c.1583/1598], ed. J. M. Kennedy, p. 10). For detailed bibliographic description of extant editions and textual traditions, including variant paratexts and watermarks, see E. Fosalba 1994, pp. 9-184; and J. Arribas, ed. J. Montemayor, *Diana*, pp. 19-122, 325-372. On sixteenth- and seventeenth-century translations of the *Diana*, see J. Arribas, *op cit.*, pp. 63-83; and E. Fosalba 1994, pp. 185-357 (cf. J. M. Kennedy, “Introduction,” ed. B. Yong, *Translation*, pp. xxxi-lxxx).

³⁰⁴ Cf. A. M. Patterson 1987, p. 24ff.

³⁰⁵ “*Ésta* [i.e., Diana] *quiso y fue querida en extremo de un pastor llamado Sireno, en cuyos amores uvo toda la limpieza y honestidad possible*” (125).

memory has been altered. Yet, even after Sireno and other melancholic lovers drink the magic philter acquired at the temple of Felicia in Book Four, its effects of blissful forgetfulness wear off on the protagonist shepherd. In Book Seven, he resumes melancholic devotion to the memory of his love for Diana, even persuading his friend Sylvano, whom the magic potion causes to forget Diana and allow himself a more genuine love for the shepherdess Selvagia, to re-join him in such devotion. Thus Sireno comes full circle in Montemayor's story, resuming his passionate devotion to the memory of mutual love displayed at the work's outset, when he has returned to the *locus amoenus* after his year abroad and has heard that Diana is already married.

Modern critical analysis has gravitated away from the assumption that Montemayor's fiction allegorically reflects upon his own love life,³⁰⁶ toward evaluating the manner in which Montemayor's narrative poetics reflects the religious ideology of his devotional works. Presumably, the *Diana* expresses his own political and religious anxieties, transferred into the central shepherd character Sireno. Putting Montemayor's use of pastoral persona in relief with Sidney's imitation helps clarify how and why Sidney varies that paradigm for his original *Arcadia*.

Such investigation inevitably confronts the fact that most of what we "know" about Montemayor's life and intellectual milieu derives from dedicatory epistles and other paratexts for his printed works, as well as from modern literary interpretation of the works themselves. For instance, the notion that Montemayor comes from a family of *conversos*, or "New" Christians, arises from modern interpretation of Sireno's "melancholy" in the *Diana* read in tandem with Montemayor's poetic exposition on Psalm 137 regarding the Hebrew people's Babylonian exile ("*Super flumina*

³⁰⁶ On this matter, see F. López Estrada, ed. J. Montemayor, *Diana*, pp. xxi-xxviii (cf. p. xxxvii).

Babylonis”),³⁰⁷ as well as from a poetic dialogue between Montemayor and a clothier in Seville named Joan de Alcalá. Further investigation of that dialogue casts doubt on the reliability of this biographical premise.³⁰⁸ Studies that assume a *converso* heritage for Montemayor tend also to compare the particular brand of affective individual piety promoted by his religious works to that embraced by the “*iluminista*” or “*alumbrado*” movement, a specific mode of Spanish mysticism.³⁰⁹ The narrative poetics of Montemayor’s *Diana*, in turn, has been interpreted as an alternative means of figuring forth the “*recogido*” piety promoted by such Catholic devotional reform, especially that of the famous Dominican preacher and devotional writer Fray Luis de Granada.³¹⁰

Comprehensive study of Montemayor’s religious poetry, which he wrote prior to his pastoral fiction, provides a more firm foundation for such a reading of the *Diana*, identifying the trend which might have been perceived by contemporaries as an “*iluminista* element” as his poetry’s consistent “repudiation of servile fear in favor of the non-monastic spirit of triumphant and confident joy”: “By attempting to identify original sin with personal sin, redemption by Christ is equated to salvation, Christ having placed that salvation within every man’s reach.”³¹¹ Hence the explanation of “love-melancholy” in Montemayor’s *Diana* as “not an essential or true melancholy” but rather “the outward

³⁰⁷ A. Castro 1948, p. 577; M. Bataillon 1952a, pp. 39-40, 44-45, 47-49 (rpt. in *idem.* 1962, pp. 39-40, 47, 51-52); E. Rhodes 1992, pp. 21-23, 103-107, 214. Cf. note 295 above. On Montemayor’s “Paraphrasis del Psalmo *Super flumina Babylonis*,” see B. L. Creel 1981 (pp. 132-146) and B. L. Creel 1985.

³⁰⁸ B. L. Creel 1981, pp. 54, 195-196 (cf. *ibid.*, Appendix B, pp. 257-263).

³⁰⁹ M. Bataillon 1936a, p. 15; *idem.* 1950, vol. 2, p. 209.

³¹⁰ See E. Rhodes 1992, which accepts that Montemayor probably does hail from a *converso* family (pp. 21-23).

³¹¹ B. L. Creel 1981, p. 244 (see pp. 243-245). B. L. Creel 2004 provides balanced commentary on Rhodes’s critical approach to Montemayor’s religious works with regard to the *Diana* (p. 224 n. 11).

designation of a central bliss and vitality that are themselves a result of an essential goodness (good willing), a disposition to love.”³¹²

To accept this compelling interpretation of the *Diana*, which proves especially revealing with regard to its protagonist shepherd Sireno, one need not pin down Montemayor’s promotion of affective individual Christian piety with the tag “*iluminista*” or “*alumbrado*,” nor even necessarily define it with the more general “Catholic-reformist” label. Recent analysis of his religious poetry notes its diversity of source material and emphasizes how it balances focus on the Christian individual’s “interior” piety with orthodox Catholic theology, concluding that specific critical labels (especially that of “*iluminista*”) prove misleading.³¹³ What matters most in this critical debate about Montemayor’s religious poetry for interpretation of the *Diana*’s production and its pastoral poetics with the character Sireno—and hence also for evaluating Sidney’s reception and variation of this Sireno paradigm—is the common general focus on affective individual devotion as a spiritual ideal in Montemayor’s work. As in the distinct case of Sidney’s original *Arcadia*, the questions of practical and rhetorical motivation for inventing such pastoral poetics in the *Diana* remain contingent upon divergent critical approaches to analysis of source material and certain biographical data.

Presumably, Montemayor channeled his creative energy into the invention of “pastoral romance” circa 1558-1560 at least partially in response to his religious poetry being placed on the *Index of Prohibited Books* composed by Fernando de Valdés, Archbishop of Seville and Spanish Inquisitor General, and printed for publication in 1559. This official suspicion regarding Montemayor’s religious poetry might have been

³¹² B. L. Creel 2004, p. 243 (see pp. 239-249; and *idem.* 1990).

³¹³ M. D. Esteva de Llobet 2004, pp. 771-773; also see *idem.*, ed. J. Montemayor, *Diálogo Espiritual*, pp. 49-74.

generated initially due to the fact that his collected works prior to the *Diana* were published in Antwerp (1554 and 1558) and thus banned by the 7 September 1558 censorial decree prohibiting books printed abroad. It might also have been motivated by the mode of Christian piety they encourage, which might have seemed dangerously close to “Protestant” spirituality from the viewpoint of specific Spanish officials such as Valdés and Melchor Cano, official censor for the 1559 *Index* and an important intellectual who invested his energy in defining “heresy” and hence “orthodoxy” in the mid-sixteenth century. Devotional works by Savonarola and Erasmus, for instance, fueled reformist religious “currents” within the Spanish Catholic Church in the early sixteenth century, and it was the emphasis on individual, “interior” Christian piety embraced by such reformed spirituality that censors such as Cano defined as unorthodox.³¹⁴ The 1559 *Index* banned the works of certain Catholic authors—including Girolamo Savonarola, Desiderius Erasmus, Bartolomé Carranza de Miranda, Fray Luis de Granada, Juan de Ávila, Juan de Valdés, and Alfonso de Valdés—as well as works by famous Protestant (or proto-Protestant) writers including John Wycliff, Martin Luther, Jean Calvin, and Philipp Melanchthon.³¹⁵ It listed Montemayor’s poetry alongside a select group of vernacular books including Luis de Granada’s popular devotional works.³¹⁶ Given that Portuguese catalogues of prohibited books included Montemayor’s *Diana* from the

³¹⁴ On such “currents” of “interior” Catholic piety in early sixteenth-century Spain, see especially E. Asensio 1952 (cf. *idem.* 1968) and M. Andrés Martín 1984 (cf. English trans. in Á. Alcalá 1987, pp. 457-494). Compare B. L. Creel 1981 and M. D. Esteva de Llobet 2004 on Montemayor’s poetry. On the matter of Protestant Reformation and Spanish reform, also see J. Contreras 1987 (cf. A. Redondo 1965 and P. J. Hauben 1969) and H. Kamen 1998, pp. 83-102 (cf. pp. 103-136 on literary censorship). On the system of inquisitorial review and censorship, see V. Pinto Crespo 1983; or, for a concise account, *idem.* 1984 (esp. pp. 30-31, 33 on Cano) (cf. *idem.* 1987).

³¹⁵ B. L. Creel 1981, p. 230. Cf. A. Sierra Corella 1947, pp. 223-234; M. Bataillon 1950, vol. 2, pp. 332-334.

³¹⁶ A. Márquez 1980, pp. 152, 234-235. This short catalogue of vernacular books prohibited by the 1559 Valdés *Index* also included the picaresque novel *Lazarillo de Tormes* and Feliciano de Silva’s sequel to Rojas’s *Celestina*. Montemayor’s religious works also appeared in Quiroga’s 1583 *Index* (B. L. Creel 1981, p. 238).

country's annexation by Spain until 1624,³¹⁷ modern interpretation of its emphasis on Sireno's devotion in love as quasi-religious narrative poetics does not seem anachronistic and merits detailed critical attention with regard to Sidney's reception. The issue hinges upon assumptions regarding Montemayor's and Sidney's respective intellectual milieu.

Montemayor's religious poetry has been linked concretely with the work of Savonarola and tacitly with that of Erasmus, Luis de Granada, and Carranza. His poetic commentary on Psalm 50 of the Vulgate Bible ("*Miserere mei, Deus*"), which appeared in both editions of his collected poetry (1554 and 1558), imitates in Italianate lyric verse the earlier commentary on that same penitential psalm produced by Savonarola in 1498 while imprisoned in Florence awaiting execution, balancing its perspective on Christian faith and devotion with that of Erasmus's *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* in a manner that might have seemed dangerous to censors like Melchor Cano.³¹⁸ Since the discovery of this specific source relationship, both the "Erasmian" (or quasi-Erasmian) vein of Christian piety promoted by Montemayor's work and its appearance in the 1559 *Index of Prohibited Books* have been linked to the Dominican community at San Gregorio College in Valladolid and to one of its most conspicuous alumni, Fray Luis de Granada, based on a reference to that intellectual community in the prologue for Montemayor's *Segundo Cancionero Espiritual* (1558), which emphasizes that he had consulted theological authorities in Flanders and in Spain.³¹⁹

³¹⁷ F. López Estrada, ed. J. Montemayor, *Diana*, p. xlv; B. L. Creel 2004, pp. 250-251.

³¹⁸ M. Bataillon 1936a (cf. *idem*. 1934); T. O'Reilly, "Introduction," ed. J. Montemayor, *Omélias sobre "Miserere mei Deus,"* pp. 1-26 (esp. pp. 1-13, p. 6 on Cano). Cf. B. L. Creel 1981, pp. 90-91, 113-119, 239-242.

³¹⁹ M. Bataillon 1936a, pp. 15-16; *idem*. 1936b (esp. pp. 25-26) (cf. *idem*. 1950, vol. 2, p. 209); E. Rhodes 1992, p. 47. Cf. B. L. Creel 1981, p. 231; T. O'Reilly, "Introduction," *op cit.*, p. 5 and n. 13.

One critical approach assumes that Montemayor probably knew and emulated Luis de Granada, who served as chaplain to Cardinal Enrique of Portugal while Montemayor worked as musician and chamberlain at the court of that Cardinal's brother Prince João, arguing that Montemayor's works prior to the *Diana* convey a spiritual poetics that shares the same specific attention to Christ's suffering as Luis de Granada's devotional literature, as well as its general emphasis on affective piety: that is, sentimental identification aimed toward imitation of Christ, leading to wisdom and contentment infused through devotional experience.³²⁰ Another approach associates this type of Christian piety promoted by Luis de Granada more directly with the evangelical Catholic teaching of Bartolomé Carranza, noting the contrast between Carranza's intellectual contingent at San Gregorio College (the "*pietistas*" or "*carrancistas*"), which included Luis de Granada, and that of Melchor Cano (the "*intelectualistas*" or "*canistas*"), which aimed to revitalize scholastic tradition as "orthodox" Catholic theology. Faced with a lack of documentary evidence explaining why Montemayor's work was prohibited by the 1559 *Index*, analyzing detailed records regarding Cano's inquisitorial censure of Carranza's influential *Comentarios sobre el Catecismo Christiano*, in tandem with comprehensive study of Montemayor's religious poetry, suggests that Cano would have reacted against Montemayor's work in a similar way,

³²⁰ E. Rhodes 1992, pp. 26, 45-50, 65-89. Such Catholic devotion operates on various levels: first, the vocal aspect of oral prayer (to remember Scripture), to which is added meditation on Christ's life and the Passion (to enhance one's memory and emotional understanding of Christ's sacrifice), and finally a degree of mental or spiritual *via unitiva*, some sense of communion with one's self and with humanity through the idea of Christ's sacrifice (to incite one's will, or desire, to emulate Christ) (A. Hamilton 1992, p. 15). "*Recogido*" teaching shared humanist reformers' optimism regarding lay piety in maintaining that all Christians can and should exercise such devotion (including and often prominently featuring women), not only those devoted to ecclesiastical or monastic life; yet, emphasis fell on active religious community, especially through celebration of the Eucharist, rather than on intellectual endeavor to facilitate Biblical exegesis (A. Márquez 1972; A. Hamilton 1992, pp. 7-23; E. Rhodes 1992, pp. 50-65). The third and most important level of devotion advocated in Luis de Granada's *Guía de Pecadores*, for instance, is sacramental (e.g., preface "*Al Lector*" [1556], ed. M. Martínez Burgos, p. 10).

interpreting its perspectives on divine grace and Christian piety, too, as ambiguously mystical or “Lutheran” and thus prone to heresy.³²¹ Upon the official prohibition of such devotional literature, Montemayor turned to pastoral fiction, inventing an imaginary outlet for his religious views and perhaps also for his frustration with the politics of Christian spirituality at the Spanish court. This consideration regarding Montemayor’s impetus for producing the *Diana* helps elucidate both Gil Polo’s motive for inventing the marriage of Sireno and Diana in his continuation and, to some degree, the poetics of Sidney’s compound imitation in *Old Arcadia*’s Third and Fourth Eclogues.

Recent emphasis on political contexts for these contrasting religious currents in sixteenth-century Spain proves revealing when placed in relief with evidence pertaining to Montemayor’s personal experience at court. Dynastic union between Spain and the Habsburg empire under Charles V produced diverse approaches to Catholic spirituality and hence ideological division within the royal court and its affiliate institutions such as the College of San Gregorio in Valladolid. Detailed study of this matter refines the general critical distinction between “interior” religion and “orthodox” scholasticism to identify, on the one hand, “Biblical Paulism” emphasized by the “Castilian” contingent of Ferdinand and Isabella, and, on the other, the Burgundian inheritance of “Erasmian Paulism” embraced by well-known figures such as Bartolomé Carranza, Luis de Granada, and Ignacio de Loyola, as well as by authors like Juan de Valdés and by specific groups like the Sevillian contingent at San Isidro del Campo (Juan Egidio [a.k.a. Juan Gil],

³²¹ See B. L. Creel 1981, pp. 230-238. J. C. Nieto 1997 characterizes Carranza and certain other Spanish reformers (including Luis de Granada and Ignacio de Loyola) in terms of “*Evangelismo Católico Romano*” (“Roman Catholic Evangelism”) (pp. 278-304). On Carranza in this regard, also see J. H. Edwards 2006, pp. 217-224 (cf. pp. 215-217 on Carranza and other Spanish reformers). Cf. G. H. Williams 1962 on Catholic “Evangelism” (pp. 1-26, 529-544).

Constantino de la Fuente, and Antonio del Corro).³²² By the time Montemayor entered Princess Juana's service in 1552, her court had become a cultural hub for this latter Burgundian vein of reformist Spanish Catholicism.³²³ Montemayor's own prefatory emphasis that the publication of his 1554 *Obras (Works)* "*fui mandado de quien era fuerza obedescer*" ("was ordered by one whom it was necessary to obey") has been interpreted as likely evidence that it was requested by Princess Juana herself.³²⁴ The death of her Portuguese husband Prince João in 1554 clearly came as a blow to Montemayor, who presumably accompanied her back to Castile but then no longer remained in her service. The "Song of Orpheus" in Book Four of his *Diana*, lauding Doña Juana in a catalogue of virtuous Spanish women that follows ekphrastic praise of Spain's military history elsewhere in Felicia's temple, characterizes the Princess as "*espejo y luz de lusitanos*" ("mirror and light for the Portuguese") and notes that "insane Fortune" ("*fortuna insana*") has taken away from her "scepter, crown, and high seat" ("*el cetro, la corona y alta silla*") through the death of her husband (250).³²⁵ With her return to Castile came the end of her patronage toward Montemayor but also her ascent to the position of Spanish regent in the absence of her father Charles V and her brother Felipe. Some time after 1554, Montemayor went to Flanders, then probably served as a soldier,

³²² J. Martínez Millán 2004, p. 101. See W. McFadden [1953] on Corro, "Erasmian Paulism" (as Martínez Millán puts it), and the community at San Isidro del Campo (pp. 7-53). On the matters of that Seville community and "Evangelism and Paulinism," also see J. C. Nieto 1997, pp. 161-307.

³²³ M. Bataillon 1952b emphasizes this matter. Cf. B. L. Creel 1981, p. 49; E. Rhodes 1992, p. 26.

³²⁴ M. Bataillon 1952b, pp. 269-270; B. L. Creel 1981, p. 49 and n. 30. N. Alonso Cortés 1930 provides documentary evidence from AGS confirming Montemayor's request for publication in October 1552, while in the service of Doña Juana ("*criado de la serenísima princesa de portugal*"), as well as ensuing ecclesiastical review by officials in Medina del Campo (pp. 354-356; rpt. in *idem*. 1935, pp. 129-131).

³²⁵ Cf. B. L. Creel 1981, pp. 53-54. On the structure and symbolism of Felicia's temple in *Diana* Book Four, see G. Correa 1961. J. Arribas edits additions to the "*Canto de Orfeo*" in Milan editions of the *Diana* and in the 1562 Zaragoza edition (ed. J. Montemayor, *Diana*, pp. 331-344) (cf. note 303 above).

perhaps after the 1558 publication of both his *Segundo Cancionero* and *Segundo Cancionero Espiritual* in Antwerp.³²⁶

Some scholars have speculated that perhaps between 1554 and 1558 Montemayor joined the retinue of Felipe II in England, which included Carranza.³²⁷ It has been suggested, too, based on a poem entitled “*Partiéndose para la guerra*” (“Parting for war”) appearing only in posthumous editions of the *Cancionero*, that perhaps he began a brief military career in 1558 by joining the campaign of Felipe II in France which culminated in victory at St. Quentin.³²⁸ Whether or not either scenario were the case, Montemayor returned to Spain some time around 1559, and the *Index of Prohibited Books* appeared in print, having been condoned by the interim regent Doña Juana, from whose court Montemayor then remained estranged. The *Index* complemented Felipe II’s new emphasis on maintaining religious orthodoxy in Castile after his return from regency in England (1554-1558) and military victory at St. Quentin followed by dynastic union with France (1559). Thus, the “Castilian” religious contingent at court maintained its dominance gained under Charles V, although a group of the “pietist” or “reformist” persuasion remained in place under Felipe II, affiliated with the locus of power through affinity with the Jesuits.³²⁹ Both the ramifications of this political situation for Montemayor’s *Diana* and the possibility (however slim) that its author might have served in England merit attention as factors potentially relevant to Sidney’s reception of

³²⁶ B. L. Creel 1981, pp. 51 and n. 39, 52-53 and n. 46.

³²⁷ See F. López Estrada, ed. J. Montemayor, *Diana*, pp. xviii-xix; J. Montero, ed. J. Montemayor, *Diana*, p. xxviii n. 1; N. Alonso Cortés 1930 (rpt. *idem*. 1935, pp. 131-132, 139-140); and B. L. Creel 1981, pp. 51-53. Alonso and Creel doubt the likelihood of this hypothesis. None of these literary studies mentions Carranza’s place in that retinue. On Carranza and the Spanish religious mission in England under Mary Tudor, see J. I. Tellechea Idígoras 1977; J. H. Edwards & R. W. Truman 2005; and J. H. Edwards 2006, none of which mentions Montemayor.

³²⁸ M. Menéndez y Pelayo 1962, vol. 2, p. 246; B. L. Creel 1981, pp. 52-53 and n. 46 (cf. p. 51 and n. 39).

³²⁹ See J. Martínez Millán 2004 and, on this “faction” at the court of Felipe II, *idem*. 1992b.

Montemayor's work and hence to his imitation and variation of Montemayor's Sireno as a paradigm for his Philisides character.

In this regard, variant fortunes in the *Diana*'s pastoral community—especially between the extremes of its protagonist shepherd Sireno and the disguised aristocrat Felismena—prove significant. Felismena receives highest honor in Felicia's temple and is reunited with her lost beloved in nearby Portugal, returning to the Temple of Diana so that Felicia may officially unite them in wedlock. For Sireno, in contrast with other true shepherds who also drink the magic draught provided by Felicia, the potion's effect of forgetfulness wears off, yet he finds contentment in re-devoting himself to the painful memory of mutual love he shared with Diana prior to her marriage. Such divergent fortune may represent, through mimesis built into narrative poetics of exemplary character contrast, that of courtiers from distinct social echelons.

Recent studies have emphasized how the Fourth Book of Montemayor's *Diana* provides compressed representation of Spanish imperial glory within the confines of the work's flexible *locus amoenus*, which encompasses the Leonese suburban fields, Felicia's Temple of Diana, and the region of Portugal from which Montemayor himself hailed.³³⁰ This aspect of the *Diana* may convey, to some degree, an appeal by its author for further patronage. Based on persons named in the "Song of Orpheus" and in the *Cancionero* apart from Montemayor's former royal patronesses Doña María and Doña Juana, it has been suggested that the author directed such appeal toward aristocrats in the Leonese locale of Valencia de Don Juan, particularly the ducal family there.³³¹ A letter

³³⁰ P. Carranza [2005], pp. 149-175; B. J. Nelson [2007], pp. 69-95.

³³¹ On this matter, see N. Alonso Cortés 1930 (rpt. *idem*. 1935, pp. 132-140); and B. L. Creel 1981, pp. 51-52. Cf. E. Rhodes 1992 on the Duke of Sessa (p. 175; see pp. 174-189 on Montemayor's "careful selection from" and "adaptation of" Leone Hebreo's *Dialoghi d'Amore* in Book Four of the *Diana*).

which Montemayor wrote in the late 1550s, shortly before the *Diana*, clearly conveys his disillusionment with court culture.³³² Around the same time, he drew upon Thomas Aquinas's Christianized Aristotelian perspective on monarchy, as well as subsequent mirror-for-princes literary tradition, composing his own "*Regimiento de Príncipes*," printed in the 1558 *Segundo Cancionero Espiritual*, and, while in Flanders toward the end of that same year, a letter to "*un grande de España*" ("one nobleman of Spain") entitled "*Los Trabajos de los Reyes*" ("The Duties of Kings").³³³ In this latter work, Montemayor specifies that, in his own case, service to the crown has brought "more misery than abundance" ("*más miseria que abundancia*"), despite military service.³³⁴ Perhaps frustration with the politics of Catholic spirituality at court provoked intellectual reflection upon the ethical duties of a Christian monarch, as well as the invention of "pastoral romance."

Attending to Montemayor's probable motives for producing the *Diana* helps generate new considerations regarding Sidney's reception. Sidney's presumed Spanish tutor Antonio del Corro, who embraced Spanish "pietist" spirituality and also read the work of Melanchthon and other Protestant writers while still in Spain as a member of the San Isidro del Campo community in Seville between c.1547 and 1557, also harbored frustration and indignation at the politics of Catholic religious policy under Felipe II, voicing it most boldly in a letter to the Spanish king written and published just before Corro fled from Antwerp to London as the Spanish army approached to occupy Brussels

³³² F. López Estrada 1956. Also see F. M. Ruiz Cabello 2000, p. 135 and n. 26.

³³³ See M. D. Esteva de Llobet 1989. Cf. *idem*. 2004 (p. 773) and B. L. Creel 1981 (pp. 84-90) on Montemayor's "*Regimiento de Príncipes*." E. Asensio 1961 identifies a treatise by Lourenço de Cáceres as a source for Montemayor's "*Trabajos de los Reyes*."

³³⁴ Quoted from edition in F. J. Sánchez Cantón 1925, p. 45.

in 1567.³³⁵ Leicester and Cecil probably recruited Corro as young Philip Sidney's Spanish tutor between 1569 and 1572, then perhaps it was Corro who first introduced Sidney to Montemayor's work. Recent critical emphasis on Sidney's "cosmopolitanism" with regard to international Protestant intellectual community may be enhanced by this attention to Corro's background in reformist Catholic piety and the works of Melanchthon.³³⁶ Given the fact that Philip's father Henry Sidney knew some Spanish and accompanied Felipe II and his retinue in their journey to England in 1554,³³⁷ a retinue that included Carranza and perhaps also Montemayor, it is possible that Sir Henry might even have met Montemayor personally. Whether or not this were the case, and whether or not Corro was indeed Philip Sidney's Spanish tutor, Sidney clearly knew Montemayor's *Diana* in Spanish, probably having acquired a copy while traveling abroad, either in Italy or at the Frankfurt Book Fair.³³⁸ Built into the humanist poetics of the *Diana* Sidney found a model for the courtly dimension of pastoral community in his *Arcadia*'s Eclogues, as well as an impression of Sireno's estrangement from that courtly social dynamic, which Sidney channeled into his own character Philisides.

³³⁵ W. McFadden [1953], pp. 20-67, 291-300, 577-611 (cf. pp. 250-290 on Corro in Antwerp prior to March 1567). G. Ungerer 1956 suggests that Corro probably served as Sidney's Spanish tutor (pp. 69-70). Cf. note 336 here below.

³³⁶ R. E. Stillman 2008 emphasizes such "cosmopolitan" perspective with regard to Sidney's *DP*. R. Kuin 1997 notes the importance of Melanchthon and his *réseau* for Languet and hence Sidney's intellectual milieu. Also see J. I. Tellechea Idígoras 1979 on affinities between the work of Carranza and Melanchthon. On Corro's life and works, including Cecil's and Leicester's support for him in England, see W. McFadden [1953]. Cf. P. J. Hauben 1967, pp. 3-81; H. R. Woudhuysen [1980], pp. 60-62; S. A. Adams 1990, p. 17a (rpt. in *idem*. 2002, p. 228); and J. C. Nieto 1997 (consult index for Corro).

³³⁷ M. W. Wallace 1915, pp. 11-12; J. Oliveira e Silva 1982b, p. 132 and n. 5. W. T. MacCaffrey 2004a, like Oliveira e Silva's study, emphasizes that Henry Sidney "probably owed this appointment to his language skills" (p. 546b). Felipe II, in his personal response appended to an April 1574 report by Mateo Vázquez relaying news from Antonio de Guaras regarding Henry Sidney, recalls that "*estuvo en españa quando yo fuy a Inglaterra y fue conygo*" ("he was in Spain when I went to England, and he accompanied me") (BL ms. Additional 28263, fol. 2r). Henry Sidney and his wife Mary named Felipe II godfather for Philip at his baptism in 1554, a fact which Felipe II remembered upon Philip Sidney's death in 1586 (M. W. Wallace 1915, p. 12).

³³⁸ See notes 288 and 303 above. G. Draut 1610 includes reference to Spanish prose fiction. On Draut's catalogue of books sold at the Frankfurt Book Fair in prior decades, see I. Maclean 1991.

One crucial distinction between paradigm and imitation, though, resides in the degree of communion occurring in pastoral community. This matter of communion in the *Diana* becomes more clear through comparing it with Montemayor's *Diálogo Espiritual*, an early prose work which has been labeled an important "precursor" for the *Diana*.³³⁹ That work suggests earlier discontentment with the "intellectualista" contingent of Dominican spirituality championed by Melchor Cano. A hermit named Dileto speaks with a traveling Christian named Severo, explaining that he had been a courtier but has retired from the city in disillusionment, dedicating himself to meditation and conversation with visitors as a means to share his wisdom from past experience with others. In the course of the dialogue, Dileto expounds upon Catholic doctrine, encouraging Severo to retire from society, embracing a life of pious suffering which may afford him the experience of divine grace. His exposition distinguishes faith based solely on intellectual knowledge from that enhanced by the spiritually infused wisdom gained through heartfelt devotional experience. In the former case, erudite scholars may "know God" rationally, but if they do not exercise affective piety, God will "know" them less intimately "through experience."³⁴⁰ Such distinction accentuates the necessity of divine grace for human holiness, while advocating active virtue.

³³⁹ E. Rhodes 1992, pp. 89-107; also *idem*. 1985.

³⁴⁰ My translation from J. Montemayor, "*Dialogo Spiritual*," as quoted in E. Rhodes 1992 (p. 95), from the manuscript Cód. CXIII in Biblioteca Pública de Évora (Portugal), fol. 7r-7v:

Y aquellos en quien Dios infude el entendimiento sin aprenderlas [cosas de Dios] son los que gustan a Dios porque les sabe bien, y estos tales alcanzan mejor las cosas que de Dios se pueden saber que en los que estudian, y Dios no les sabe bien porque predicán y no obran, dicen y no hacen, y éstos son los que saben a Dios por ciencia, mas no les sabe a ellos bien Dios por experiencia. (7r)

And those in whom God infuses understanding without learning all those things [about God] are the ones who taste God because [God] knows them well, and those same people attain those things that can be known of God better than those who study, and God does not know them well because they preach and do not act, they speak and do not do, and these are the ones who know God by science, though God does not know them well through experience.

Montemayor's literary dialogue implies the importance of communion in virtue. Learned discourse should lead to pious devotion, and vice versa. It is through passionate devotion that one may "taste God" (see note 340), by means of exercising individual piety and encouraging it among others, as well as, implicitly, partaking of Eucharistic Communion with enhanced vigor. In other words, righteousness comes only through grace, which God grants humans through the "experience" of active faith. Such is the balance with scholastic orthodoxy maintained by Catholic reformers of Montemayor's intellectual milieu, who emphasize Church doctrine while advocating active private devotion and personal awareness of the gulf between God and His creation, and hence of humans' need for divine grace. To a significant degree, Montemayor's *Diana* figures forth this perspective on Christian piety with Sireno's ultimate contentment amidst the perpetual discontentment of devoting himself to the memory of lost mutual bliss in love. Sharing that memory with his companion Sylvano, in Book One and in Book Seven, helps Sireno remain faithful to his vow that he will always bear Diana's image in his

I have altered Rhodes's translation, particularly her phrases "God tastes good to them" and "they do not know or taste God well by experience," in order to more faithfully render Montemayor's diction. Her translation of these phrases inclines toward highlighting the phrase "*los que gustan a Dios*" as well as the ensuing metaphor with which Dileto further explains his point:

Ya ves a un niño a los pechos de su madre, con qué agonía [deseo vehemente] y con que extremado gusto está gustando aquella leche, que le parece que no hay cosa criada de mayor sabor. ¡Oh cuánto mejor hablaría, pues, aquel niño, si naturaleza le diese lugar, de la leche y de los efectos y particularidades de ella que el filósofo o médico que por filosofía natural o por anatomía entiende qué cosa es leche o qué particularidades tiene! Y esto es porque el médico sabe la leche, mas al niño sábele la leche. Así que muy mejor sabe a Dios quien le sabe porque lo gusta que quien lo sabe por virtud de las letras que tiene y de los años que ha estudiado. (fol. 7v)

Now you see a child at its mother's breasts, with what vehement desire [*agonía*] and what extreme pleasure it is tasting that milk, such that it seems to that child that there is no created thing that tastes better. Oh, how much better that child would speak, then, should nature make it possible, about milk and its effects and qualities than the philosopher or physician who by means of natural philosophy or anatomy understands what sort of thing milk is! And this is because the physician knows milk, but the child tastes it [i.e. "knows milk for himself" (*sábele la leche*)]. Thus the one who tastes God knows God better than the one who knows God by virtue of studies completed and years of education.

To balance Rhodes's perspective on Montemayor's *Diálogo Espiritual* (1992, pp. 89-103; cf. E. Rhodes 1985), see M. D. Esteva de Llobet's editorial introduction for that work (esp. pp. 49-74 on sources).

mind. Sylvano also finds a certain contentment in such communion with Sireno, when he, too, pines for Diana in Book One, as well as in Book Seven when he has redirected that emotion toward mutual love with Selvagia.

Because Sidney blends imitation of Montemayor's Sireno paradigm with imitation of the epithalamion for Sireno in Gil Polo's continuation, it proves useful to reconsider the motive for Gil Polo's primary thematic innovation in *Diana Enamorada*: replacing the aesthetic impression of Sireno's perpetual melancholy with communal celebration of the protagonist's marriage to Diana as a just culmination for his virtuous suffering in devotion to her. Gil Polo's 1564 epistle to the readers of *Diana Enamorada* comments on his own use of various verse forms, some of them imitating French and ancient Provençal models, and specifies that the "*ficciones imaginadas*" ("imagined fictions") presented in this pastoral romance as continuation of Montemayor's work "*no se escribieron para que se les diese fe, sino para satisfacer a los gustos delicados y aprovechar a los que con ejemplo de vidas ajenas quisieren asegurar la suya*" ("were not written so as to encourage faith, but rather to satisfy refined [poetic] tastes and to benefit those who through the example of other [fictional] lives may want to affirm their own").³⁴¹ Gil Polo self-consciously avoids the implication of affective Christian piety built into Montemayor's story of Sireno, emphasizing instead poetic artifice and exemplary narrative poetics more akin to the neo-"Byzantine" style of prose fiction gaining popularity in Spain.

Recent studies argue that Gil Polo's narrative imitates and varies the *Diana*'s representation of Spanish imperial glory within the confines of an even more flexible

³⁴¹ G. Gil Polo 1564, sig. [¶].vi.v. Cf. *Diana Enamorada*, ed. F. López Estrada, p. 83. G. Gil Polo 1577 does not include this epistle to the reader.

locus amoenus.³⁴² These political readings, however, do not take into account Montemayor's corpus of work and the quasi-religious dimension of his *Diana*. Brief attention to the matter of Sireno's marriage in such discussion, consequently, has looked to the other continuation of Montemayor's fiction by Alonso Pérez, published in the same year as the *Diana Enamorada* (1564), concluding that Gil Polo's work simply "closes the project envisioned by Montemayor and transmitted through his *La Diana* with the marriage of Sireno and Diana."³⁴³ Whether or not Montemayor himself did anticipate such a continuation before his untimely death in 1561—perhaps even having met Gil Polo in Valencia, where the earliest datable extant edition of *Diana* was published in 1560—one should not gloss over the significant difference between Sireno's story in the *Diana* versus the *Diana Enamorada*, nor critical attention to immediate biographical and political contexts for the two works' production. Gil Polo, who studied law at some point in the 1560s, produced his pastoral fiction in the year Felipe II visited Valencia for a convention of the *Cortes*, framing it with a dedicatory epistle to Doña Jerónima de Castro y Bolea, wife to the vice-chancellor of Aragón, the work's publication probably intended as an appeal for favor and hence some official position within the realm's governmental administration.³⁴⁴ He did receive such a post, as well as official appointments and concessions from Felipe II, in the 1570s and 1580s. For our present purposes, it is worth considering that his revision of Sireno's story, which provides a marriage ceremony for the protagonist vaguely in accordance with Tridentine standards, probably complements this rhetorical purpose for publishing the work as an appeal for patronage.

³⁴² P. Carranza [2005], pp. 175-183 (esp. p. 178 and p. 181 on creative engagement with Sannazaro and Garcilaso); B. J. Nelson [2007], pp. 101-110.

³⁴³ B. J. Nelson [2007], p. 109. Cf. *ibid.* (pp. 95-101) on Alonso Pérez's *La Diana de Montemayor*.

³⁴⁴ F. López Estrada, ed. G. Gil Polo, *Diana Enamorada*, p. 15 (see pp. 14-18 for biographical data on Gil Polo).

Sidney's compound imitation in *Old Arcadia's* Eclogues puts the Philisides persona inspired by Montemayor's Sireno in relief with the epithalamion and double sestina inspired by poems in Gil Polo's work to create a poetic impression of estrangement for Philisides even within the Arcadian pastoral community he has joined. Sidney selectively imitates the melancholic devotion to lost love exhibited by Montemayor's Sireno, while eliminating (or at least greatly diminishing) the *Diana's* aesthetic impression of virtuous communion experienced within pastoral community. Unlike the melancholy exhibited by Sireno, that of the young shepherd Philisides remains an isolated state of emotion and contemplation, even when he shares his beast fable (in the Third Eclogues) and his own autobiographical dream sequence (in the Fourth Eclogues) with other shepherds in the Arcadian *locus amoenus*. When read in tandem with the quasi-religious poetics of Montemayor's *Diana*, Sidney's variation with Philisides reflects, to some degree, a vaguely Protestant impression of individual piety, thus complementing the Protestant perspective on marriage conveyed by Sidney's variation with the epithalamion inspired by Gil Polo's work. *Old Arcadia's* Eclogues as a whole, however, do not moralize the work's primary storyline (Books One through Five) in a Calvinist vein.³⁴⁵

Sidney amplifies this impression of Philisides's isolation with a famously cryptic allusion to "Samothea" as the character's country of origin, where he returns briefly by way of dream vision (*OA*, 334, 336). Samothea represents a mythical precursor to Britain, based on the historiographical premise that all nations on earth derive from the postdiluvian stock of Noah. The Samothea legend derives from Annius of Viterbo, appearing in Raphael Holinshed's sixteenth-century *Chronicles* for the history of Britain,

³⁴⁵ Contrast F. Marenco 1968 and A. D. Weiner 1978. Cf. note 297 above.

as well as in William Lambard's *A Perambulation of Kent* (1576), of which a copy presented by the author to Henry Sidney survives.³⁴⁶ Katherine Duncan-Jones may be right in suggesting that Sidney's reference to this national myth linked to Philisides might have been construed as "a bit of a joke,"³⁴⁷ especially given the character's humorous tone at times in relating his dream vision. When the goddesses Venus and Diana descend upon him in chariots, for instance, the initial dramatic effect proves anticlimactic when he meets them: "When I such guests did see come out of such a house, / The mountains great with child I thought brought forth a mouse" (*OA*, 337). Robert Stillman's study of the Eclogues notes this quality but also rightly emphasizes the ethical focus of Samothean historiography rather than dwell upon its nature as historical fabrication. Stillman argues that here in the Fourth Eclogues Sidney "transform[s] the nature" of political representation in continental pastoral-romance tradition, also diverging from that found in English pastoral literature by Barclay and Spenser, providing "not a single hint of praise either for England or for Elizabeth"; and he associates Philisides's private fortune with his beast fable about political digression from a Golden Age to a less stable state of monarchy, thus presumably conveying a poetic impression of Sidney's own unjust political misfortune.³⁴⁸

This perspective on Sidney's quasi-autobiographical representation through Philisides proves apt, and, given this chapter's attention to Montemayor's Sireno character, it may be added that in this regard Sidney's imitation resembles its paradigm. Stillman's reading of the political register for Sidney's "Samothea" reference in *Old Arcadia* also complements this present study's perspective on the work's structural

³⁴⁶ K. Duncan-Jones 1974 and 1987. Also see W. L. Godshalk 1978 and 1980.

³⁴⁷ K. Duncan-Jones 1987, p. 227.

³⁴⁸ R. E. Stillman 1986, pp. 163-167 (cf. pp. 212-213).

poetics, in contrast with recent political readings such as that posited by Victor Skretkowicz, addressed above in Chapter Four and revised with regard to its argument about Sidney's use of Heliodorus's *Aethiopica* as a literary paradigm.

Yet, that article by Skretkowicz, which anticipates his forthcoming book on the *Arcadia*, introduces a useful critical premise regarding Sidney's "Samothea" reference in the original version's Fourth Eclogues. Skretkowicz associates "an amalgam of mythical concepts" in Sidney's fiction with "the intersection of Annius of Viterbo's construction of divinely ordained European political unity with the obscurities of Anglo-Norman history."³⁴⁹ From that angle comes the suggestion that, "in their wars of Protestant liberation in France and the Netherlands, Sidney and like-minded contemporaries may have been motivated as much by notions of pan-European nationalism, and a reunited Christian Europe, as by opposition to Catholic doctrine" (*ibid.*). Skretkowicz's initial premise thus proves quite revealing, especially given recent critical emphasis on that matter of Anglo-Norman historiography with regard to the Sidney family's dynastic concerns, including indirect association with the French and Spanish monarchies, as well as emphasis on Sidney's "cosmopolitan" investment in European thought.³⁵⁰ In fact, both Leicester and Henry Sidney commissioned Robert Cooke to draw up family pedigrees with forged deeds suggesting dynastic ties to the courts of Edward I and Henry II, during the years in which Sidney composed *Old Arcadia*, c.1578-1580.³⁵¹ Philip Sidney, his

³⁴⁹ V. Skretkowicz 2004 [2006], p. 1.

³⁵⁰ M. G. Brennan 2004 [2006] (cf. L. P. Harvey 1997); R. E. Stillman 2008.

³⁵¹ See HMC, *Report MSS De L'Isle & Dudley*, vol. 1, pp. v-xi, 304; and H. R. Woudhuysen [1980], p. 259 and n. 62. Woudhuysen claims that such forgery "does not support any claim to the throne, but gains its significance from the period of its invention": "It is too much of a coincidence that they should have both been devised probably in the same year, by the same man and for closely connected families. They must reflect Leicester's changed status and doubts over his future due to the Alençon [Anjou] courtship" (p. 259). Cf. R. C. McCoy 1989 on Cooke, pedigrees designed for Leicester, and other such documents (pp. 36-41, 55). McCoy's study focuses on Leicester's earlier dynastic interest, claiming, "One [manuscript], at

father (a knight without an earldom), and his uncle (the Dudley family's first Earl of Leicester) remained keenly aware of the clout and privilege tied to a family name like De Vere, associated with the Earldom of Oxford since the Norman occupation of Britain.

It makes sense that *Old Arcadia* playfully links Sidney's melancholy pastoral alter-ego with a mythical Britain preceding any such aristocratic titles. Such a poetic impression would have proven topical for a savvy audience such as Mary Sidney Herbert: in 1579-1580 amidst the family's uncertain social condition during the months of 1579/80, in the wake of both Sidney's personal conflict with the Earl of Oxford and Queen Elizabeth's resentment toward Leicester for his secret marriage, as well as in 1580-1581 after the family's fortunes at court and prospects for involvement in the Netherlands had turned. Producing this fiction with personal and family interests in mind, while also participating in Leicester's patronage campaign for cultural competition with the French court—here, as elsewhere throughout *Old Arcadia's* poetics of exemplary character contrast, Sidney's work favors individual virtue as a manifestation of noble pedigree, in accordance with French literature on the matter in the 1570s and 1580s.³⁵² Here one remains on firm ground working from Skretkowicz's initial premise. Rather than argue for political ideology embedded within elaborate allegorical underpinnings for Sidney's Samothea reference, it proves more revealing to identify its local function within *Old Arcadia's* poetics of exemplary character contrast.

Philisides, in general accordance with Sidney's paradigm of Montemayor's Sireno, admits "fault" for his passionate suffering in love but emphasizes that "All my

the College of Arms, traces Elizabeth and Dudley back to the same ancestor, presumably for the purpose of proving them a suitable match"; "The common ancestor is Raffe Neville, Earl of Westmoreland" (pp. 37, 170 n. 36).

³⁵² Cf. Chapter One above, at notes 38-39; and Chapter Four, at notes 266-267.

offence was love” and interprets this “fault” as “faith,” which he characterizes as “stainless, inviolate” (*OA*, 342-343). On this particular moment in the Fourth Eclogues, Stillman’s reading proves revealing with regard to the work’s structural poetics of putting shepherds in relief with the protagonist princes, granting that in this case, “as in the princes’,” Sidney’s narrative “prevents us from making overly simple moral assumptions about the nature of Philisides’s love experience”: “the claim at once fails to absolve him of responsibility for his actions, and is impossible and unwise entirely to reject.”³⁵³ Hence a poetic impasse akin to that generated for the reader by Euarchus’s legal condemnation of the protagonist princes in Book Five.

Comparison of the two effects must include recognition that *Old Arcadia* as a whole focuses its emphasis on justice—both personal and political—on the matter of its four protagonist lovers’ clandestine marriage as interlaced with the issue of Basilius’s political judgment. Herein lies the quasi-autobiographical significance of Sidney’s pastoral persona for the overall rhetorical effect of his fiction. Philisides—like Sidney himself to a significant degree, especially in the months of 1579/80 before ramifications of the Portuguese succession issue altered Leicester’s prospects in the Netherlands—remains detached from the action, witnessing the political ramifications of foreign incursion and clandestine marriage within Arcadia, understanding intellectual issues involved while attuned emotionally to the noble lovers’ plight, yet unable to effect change for his own worldly misfortune, therefore embracing contentment in his own personal virtue.

* * *

³⁵³ R. E. Stillman 1986, pp. 167-168.

Sidney's compound imitation in the Third and Fourth Eclogues fuels *Old Arcadia's* structural poetics, putting creative variation of aspects from Montemayor's *Diana* and Gil Polo's *Diana Enamorada* in relief with the primary story of two noble couples' courtship and secret union. This method of invention focuses on exemplary character contrast revolving around themes of marriage and justice. In that regard, Sidney's fiction exploits similarity in narrative poetics and thematic emphasis between Spanish chivalric romance and Spanish pastoral romance. *Old Arcadia's* synthesis and variation of Spanish pastoral-romance models bends their quasi-religious impressions of marriage and individual piety toward vaguely Protestant perspectives on those matters. That creative method also proves apt invention for *Old Arcadia's* rhetorical purpose of figuring forth the emotional and intellectual issues involved with the Sidney family's predicament revolving around Leicester's secret marriage.

Pastoral persona with "topical" significance pertinent to political contexts for the work's production need not imply overarching allegory or political ideology for the work as a whole. With Philisides in the Third and Fourth Eclogues, as with the protagonist lovers in the main narrative, Sidney's *Old Arcadia* manipulates aesthetic impressions left upon its readers for rhetorical effect. His effort to eliminate the pastoral persona Philisides from his revision of *Arcadia* between 1582 and 1585 probably was motivated by his marriage to Francis Walsingham's daughter,³⁵⁴ as well as by the opportunity for real chivalric action in the Netherlands, and perhaps also by the death of young Lord Denbigh, who, while alive between 1581 and 1584, replaced Sidney as Leicester's presumptive heir. All of these events occurred subsequently to Sidney's production of

³⁵⁴ K. Duncan-Jones 1974, p. 177. Cf. Chapter One above, note 46.

the original *Arcadia* and affected his prospects for a prosperous future and dynastic legacy.

Conclusions

This study's emphasis on thematic and structural unity in Sidney's *Old Arcadia* sheds new light on the work's topical and rhetorical poetics. This re-evaluation of Sidney's source material and of how he uses it helps reveal continuity between his poetic theory and practice. Such perspective on Sidney's artistry with *Old Arcadia* provides a new foundation for analyzing continuity between that original version of the story and the expanded version of Books One through Three he left incomplete upon his death in 1586. A hybrid combination of that revision with Books Three through Five of *Old Arcadia* became the printed version known by posterity from 1593 until the early twentieth century.³⁵⁵ Future analysis of that "New" *Arcadia* and its literary legacy will benefit from this study's reinterpretation of *Old Arcadia*'s narrative poetics, thematic focus, and hierarchy of literary sources.

Recognizing the secret-marriage theme shared by Sidney's fiction and its chivalric source material demands revision of a misleading premise posited by the revised version's Oxford editor. Neither in *Old Arcadia* nor in *New Arcadia* do the protagonist heroes reflect "a paradoxical mixture of chivalric activity and paralytic love."³⁵⁶ Rather, both versions, with their protagonist heroes, represent congruity and harmony between true love, martial *virtus*, and politically significant dynastic union. This study's analysis of how Sidney uses chivalric source material also challenges existing arguments for discontinuity or "re-vision" in character and thematic conceit amidst rhetorical and

³⁵⁵ C. S. Lewis 1954 emphasizes this point (p. 333). B. Dobell 1909 re-discovered *OA* in print, and A. Feuillerat produced the first modern edition, based on Folger ms. H.b.1, printed in 1926 (P. Sidney, *Complete Works*, vol. 4).

³⁵⁶ V. Skretkiewicz 1990, p. 171 (cf. pp. 169-170, 173-174). Compare Chapter Four above, at note 254.

structural difference between *Old Arcadia* and *New Arcadia*.³⁵⁷ It supports and further explains, rather, the traditional perspective that Sidney's revision employs further ingenuity in "characterization, verisimilitude, and narrative technique," without radical alteration or redirection in central plot and character types.³⁵⁸

New Arcadia retains *Old Arcadia*'s secret-marriage theme and amplifies its poetics of *admiratio* for the protagonist lovers. Readers hear about the heroes' background more extensively in *New Arcadia*, and Sidney invents the anecdotal backdrop of an Amazonian warrior Zelmane who has loved Pyrocles in the past and died unrequited; thus, when Pyrocles adopts Amazonian disguise as a necessary means to woo Philoclea, he adopts the name Zelmane in her honor. Pyrocles dons Amazonian disguise and sings "Transformed in show, but more transformed in mind" immediately before (rather than just after) his dialogue with Musidorus, from whom he has been separated by previous adventures in *New Arcadia*. This alteration further emphasizes the degree of confidence he feels in choosing that disguise before consulting with his cousin.

Amplified background stories for the protagonist princes enhance the work's internal impression of those heroes' chivalric glory within this fictional world. Also, the revised narrative withholds the Delphic oracle's text until the moment in Book Two when

Basilus interprets it incorrectly following the disguised heroes' action of quelling civil

³⁵⁷ Contrast, for instance, N. R. Lindheim 1982 (cf. *idem*. 1972, p. 147); M. McCandles 1989; and R. Schneider 2008. Also see M. Rose 1968 on marriage in *NA* (esp. pp. 38-41), in contrast with Rose's perspective on *OA* (*ibid.*, pp. 37-38, 49-56; M. Rose 1964) and on the protagonist princes in *NA* (1968, pp. 59-73). Cf. Chapter Three above, note 154. A. C. Hamilton 1977 promotes a similar impression of discontinuity in moral tenor (as well as generic mode) between *OA* and *NA*, through reliance on M. Rose 1964 with regard to the disguise motif in *OA*. Cf. B. Worden 1996 on *OA* versus *ibid.* (pp. 363-366) on its protagonists in *NA*. M. McCandles 1989 builds its argument upon Rose's premise (pp. 7-9, 111-125; cf. Chapter Two above, note 66). Å. Bergvall 1989 draws upon it to argue that *OA* and *NA* represent "critique of Petrarchism" (p. 102; see pp. 81-121; cf. *idem*. 1988). Distinct interpretation of the *NA* protagonists in W. Craft 1985 also accepts Rose's premise about *OA* through its critical legacy (pp. 45-48), as in D. Norbrook 2002, pp. 89-93. Other studies argue for ambiguity in these matters (see Chapter One above, note 55).

³⁵⁸ R. W. Zandvoort 1929, pp. 73, 119 (see pp. 52-119).

insurrection in Arcadia (*NA* [1590], 295-296; [1593], 395).³⁵⁹ Significantly, the oracle's text now explicitly foreshadows dynastic union between the protagonist lovers: "Both they themselves unto such two shall wed" (*op cit.* [1590 and 1593]) (see Chapter Three above, at note 175). Sidney's revised narrative retains the original story's emphasis on the betrothal of Pyrocles and Philoclea as "promise of marriage" (*NA* [1590], 233), constituting *consensus per verba de praesenti* and thus valid Christian marriage by Elizabethan English canon law. To that narrative moment, the composite text printed in 1593, edited primarily by Mary Sidney Herbert and in this case preserving a revision probably developed by Philip Sidney, adds further embellishment: "they passed the promise of marriage, which fain Pyrocles would have sealed with the chief arms of his desire, but Philoclea commanded the contrary" (*NA* [1593], 331; cf. 357).³⁶⁰ That composite text then conspicuously transforms *Old Arcadia's* episode of sexual consummation into one of dialogue and "chaste embracements" as the two young lovers fall asleep side-by-side in bed (*NA* [1593], 687-690; *OA*, 236-237 [1593 alteration in textual gloss]). By the time *New Arcadia* provides the Delphic oracle's text, the reader

³⁵⁹ *NA* citation refers to page numbers in Skretkovicz's edition of Sidney's incomplete expansion for Books One to Three [1590] and in Evans's edition of the composite version including Books Three through Five from *OA* (slightly revised) [1593]. Evans's edition also includes a narrative bridge between those two components invented by Sir William Alexander for a 1621 Dublin edition of *NA* (pp. 595-625; cf. pp. 863-865 nn. 29, 32, 34).

³⁶⁰ V. Skretkovicz 1995 associates this embellishment with "the chivalric tradition of aiding rather than assaulting women" but does not address Sidney's chivalric source material and, in labeling the lovers' exchange as "marriage vows," does not discuss the nature of this betrothal as legitimate marriage (p. 140); instead, it cites *idem.* 1990, which merely characterizes the "wedding of the two heroes to the two Arcadian princesses" as "inevitable but never realised" in *NA* (p. 170). For debate about Sidney's hand in revision and the degree of his sister's direct intervention as editor for the composite *NA*, see R. W. Zandvoort 1929, pp. 28-38; K. T. Rowe 1939a and 1939b; W. A. Ringler, ed. P. Sidney, *Poems*, pp. 364-382; W. L. Godshalk 1964; J. Rees 1966; J. Robertson, ed. *OA*, pp. lii-lxvi; S. Chaudhuri 1983; V. Skretkovicz, ed. *NA* [1590], pp. lv-lxxix; M. P. Hannay 1990, pp. 60, 69-78, 235-238 nn. 39-83 (cf. *idem.* 2002); H. R. Woudhuysen 1996, pp. 224-232 (cf. pp. 299-355, esp. 311-315); V. Skretkovicz 2000; and G. Alexander 2006a (consult index on Fulke Greville, Mary Sidney Herbert, and printed versions of *Arcadia*). Ringler (pp. 377-378) adduces evidence to indicate that this alteration with Pyrocles and Philoclea, and by extension that with Musidorus noted below in this paragraph, probably comes from Sidney's own revision. Compare Robertson (pp. lxii-lxiii) and Hannay (1990, p. 76). Cf. R. Schneider 2008, pp. 1-35.

already has witnessed these lovers' secret union in "marriage," and this tender scene in Philoclea's bedchamber occurs much later. *New Arcadia* also omits *Old Arcadia*'s narrative moment in which Musidorus desires physical consummation of his secret "marriage" to Pamela while she sleeps, analyzed in Chapter Three above. The revised narrative thus draws its reader into complicity with the protagonist lovers, as in *Old Arcadia*, while challenging sixteenth-century readers even further to recognize that both couples' unions by *verba de praesenti* represent legitimate marriage.

New Arcadia approximates the scope of Sidney's chivalric source model more closely than *Old Arcadia*, though, in that such episodes of betrothal and tender respite between protagonist lovers occur amidst amplified plot complications tied to *Arcadia*'s foundational sequestered-princess premise. These conflicts include open warfare provoked not only by Basilius's actions but also by those of new characters: Amphialus's rebellion and abduction of the Arcadian princesses, as well as his mother Cecropia's manipulative schemes. Thus, with new waves of revision comes heavier emphasis both on chastity in the protagonist lovers' secret marriage and on chivalric action necessary for achieving public validation of that dynastic union.³⁶¹

New Arcadia retains *Old Arcadia*'s contrast between protagonist lovers' virtuous desire for each other, on the one hand, and on the other, the lust and jealousy of Philoclea's parents Basilius and Gynecia; but Sidney's revision alters the narrative frame for that poetic effect. Addition of many new characters and supplementary plotlines establishes a wide web of exemplary character contrast akin to that of *Arcadia*'s chivalric

³⁶¹ Sidney apparently intended that chivalric action remain a contingency factor for this outcome, since before finishing his revisions for Books One through Three he omitted the passage from Book Five which indicates that Euarchus ironically intended to broker dynastic union between the protagonist princes and the Arcadian princesses (*OA*, 359, 357 [editorial gloss with 1593 text]). Cf. Chapter Four above.

source material. Modern studies have noted this proliferation of exemplary characters in *New Arcadia*, as well as its poetic functions in the work, both for the reader and internally for the protagonist heroes.³⁶² The relationship between that brand of narrative poetics and Sidney's chivalric source material, however, has remained unrecognized. Sidney amplifies the heroic mode of his fiction in revision by more closely approximating the narrative form of Spanish chivalric romance. *New Arcadia*'s printer John Windet, in the first edition of the 1590 text, divided Sidney's narrative into episodic chapters, directly along the lines of that continental tradition.³⁶³ *New Arcadia* complements its enhanced heroic mode with more extensive focus on fictional genealogy, and it amplifies *Old Arcadia*'s emphasis on geographical verisimilitude.³⁶⁴ Sidney's revised narrative also employs the tropes of a regal birthmark for Musidorus and of a feigned "historiographer" for its story, both characteristic to its source genre (*NA* [1590], 138; [1593], 232). *New Arcadia*, like *Old Arcadia* and its chivalric source material, provides narrative poetics of reader engagement and exemplary character contrast, and both versions maintain thematic emphasis on secret marriage and its ramifications within the Arcadian realm.

This general observation complements emphasis in Chapter Two above on the shortcomings of previous methodology in discussing literary source material. O'Connor has confirmed that Sidney drew certain episodes added for *New Arcadia* from stories in

³⁶² See W. Craft 1984 and *idem.* 1994, pp. 53-54, 61-75. Cf. T. N. Greenfield 1982, pp. 36-68; N. Jeny 1989. V. Skretkowitz 1994-1995 distinguishes Sidney's fiction from ancient Greek romances in its mode of exemplary poetics but notes chivalric source material only briefly in passing, also as a distinct matter (pp. 4, 7-8).

³⁶³ Existing modern editions prove misleading in this regard. Skretkowitz's rendition of the 1590 text omits those chapter divisions, in accordance with the second 1590 edition, whereas Evans's edition imposes them onto the 1593 text, in which they are not present. For editorial commentary on this matter in those earliest printed editions of *Arcadia*, see P. Sidney 1590a, sig. A4.r; *idem.* 1590b, sig. ¶4.r-v; and *idem.* 1593, sig. ¶4.r-v.

³⁶⁴ On the matter of genealogy in *NA*, see D. E. Baughan 1952. Cf. genealogical tables in *NA* [1590], ed. Skretkowitz, pp. 620-622; and in A. C. Hamilton 1977, p. 175. On geographical accuracy in *NA* according to Strabo's *Geography* and Mercator's maps, see P. Lindenbaum 1984. Cf. Chapter Three above, note 172.

the *Amadis* cycle.³⁶⁵ Yet, recurrent separation of motifs and plot episodes from narrative structure and thematic focus in that source material has obscured the degree of continuity between Sidney's distinct versions of *Arcadia* and its primary chivalric source: in poetic theory and in specific form of narrative poetics. A few brief examples from *New Arcadia* suffice to complement this study's analysis of that matter with regard to *Old Arcadia*.

Sidney draws the Pamphilus anecdote in *New Arcadia* from Chapter 72 in Gohory's French rendition of Chapters 1-84 in Feliciano de Silva's feigned *Chronicle of Florisel de Niquea, Part Three*. In *New Arcadia*, just after Pyrocles has revealed his true identity to Philoclea and the couple has exchanged marriage vows, rather than be interrupted by Gynecia's jealous vigilance, the prince informs his new wife of his past adventures, which include two brief encounters with the un-chivalrous knight Pamphilus and a vengeful woman (aptly named Dido) whom Pamphilus has seduced and abandoned and then abducts after Pyrocles makes peace between them, only to be thwarted in that attempt by another chance encounter with Pyrocles (*NA* [1590], 236-243; [1593], 334-341). Pyrocles tells how, in the first encounter, Dido and eight other women had tied Pamphilus to a tree and aimed to attack him with knives for seducing them all individually and leaving each one for the next. The incident resembles one from Silva's fiction and Gohory's translation in which the disguised protagonist Daraida (Agesilao) encounters two women physically beating a knight whom they have tied naked to a tree; he had seduced them both through feigned marriage vows (*FN3*, Ch. 69; *Fr. Am.* XI, Ch. 72). In noting this source parallel, O'Connor simply claims, "The story of Pamphilus is not merely an isolated, half-comic event as it is in *Amadis* [i.e., *Fr. Am.* XI, Ch. 72]; it is

³⁶⁵ J. J. O'Connor 1970, pp. 193-196. Cf. V. Skretkiewicz, ed. *NA* [1590], p. xx.

... tied in with Sidney's main theme of love and reason."³⁶⁶ Chapters Two and Three above have demonstrated how Sidney derives that thematic focus directly from his chivalric source narrative, in which this episode provides sharp exemplary contrast with the protagonist's noble behavior in exchanging genuine marriage vows and eventually engaging in secret consummation with Diana.

Sidney's imitation omits false promise of marriage, replacing it with Dido's general emphasis on Pamphilius's deceptive courtship and smug sophistry. Sidney amplifies the number of women involved and adds the Ovidian register of Dido's self-consciousness about her name in deeming Pamphilius "a false Aeneas" (*NA* [1590], 240; [1593], 338; cf. *Heroides* VII). Pamphilius's cowardice sharply contrasts with the chivalry exhibited by Pyrocles in this anecdote.³⁶⁷ Dido, like her classical precursor, meets a tragic death shortly afterward, amidst the fray of an ambush arranged for Pyrocles by her father, rather than by suicide (*NA* [1590], 248; [1593], 346). Here, as elsewhere in Sidney's fiction, classical allusion serves the poetic purpose of exemplary character contrast. This variation of the chivalric source model complements Sidney's

³⁶⁶ J. J. O'Connor 1970, p. 193.

³⁶⁷ Pyrocles meets Pamphilius and Dido while on his way to fight a duel with Anaxius, and, after he makes peace between them, they suddenly reappear while Pyrocles battles Anaxius. Pyrocles cuts that duel short by delivering a quick debilitating blow, compromising the glory he could have won through full-fledged victory for the sake of thwarting Pamphilius's abduction of Dido. Pamphilius flees when Pyrocles accosts him and his men, and Sidney's narrative emphasizes that the hero understands his own chivalry as a matter of avenging injustice, including "secret wrongs": "the lady's misery over-balanced my reputation, so that after her I went,... they began to strip her of her clothes, when I came in among them and running through the first with a lance, the justness of the cause so enabled me against the rest (false-hearted in their own wrong-doing) that I had, in as short time almost as I had been fighting with only Anaxius, delivered her from those injurious wretches, most of whom carried news to the other world that amongst men secret wrongs are not always left unpunished" (*NA* [1590], 243; [1593], 341). Compare the narrative contrast between Pyrocles and his ambushers shortly afterward (*NA* [1590], 246-247; [1593], 344-345) and Leucippe's complaints against Pamphilius (*NA* [1590], 259-260; [1593], 357-359). Sidney clearly intended for Pamphilius to reappear later in the revised narrative, either to be slain by Pyrocles as proper punishment for his vices or to exhibit repentance according to Leucippe's prayers. On Aeneas and Dido in Virgil's *Aeneid* with regard to the Spanish chivalric-romance tradition and Sidney's *DP*, see Chapter Two above (esp. note 87).

foundational imitation of that source text's emphasis on the slippery interplay of reason and passion, which produces tragic and comical consequences for some characters as well as beneficial dynastic union through secret marriage.

This study's analysis of how Sidney draws that thematic focus for *Arcadia* from the chivalric source narrative challenges persistent assumptions about hierarchy of source material in *New Arcadia* revision. Wolff's argument for the primacy of ancient Greek prose fiction in Sidney's invention of *Arcadia* has maintained currency as a premise with regard to *New Arcadia* more than with the original version. Two narrative devices Sidney added in revision clearly smack of analogues in two different stories from the ancient Greek prose romance tradition. Briefly re-assessing those source parallels helps elucidate continuity between *Old Arcadia* and *New Arcadia*, both in Sidney's method of invention and in his vision for *Arcadia*'s central narrative trajectory.

Most conspicuously, the revised narrative structure opens with a parallel to Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*, combined with a taste of Spanish pastoral fiction. A fleeting dialogue between Arcadian shepherds evokes "remembrance" in much the same manner as Sireno's emphasis on "*memoria*" at the beginning of Montemayor's *Diana*, serving as a frame for the beginning of the main storyline, which occurs *in medias res* with a beachside scene that generally resembles the opening gambit in Book One of Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*. This revised opening complements the augmented heroic tenor of *Arcadia*'s expanded narrative structure.³⁶⁸ It does not capitalize upon a "Heliodoran vogue" in European fiction in order to frame a story of "theological speculation" and

³⁶⁸ V. Skretkowicz 1976; *idem.*, ed. *NA* [1590], pp. xxv-xliii. Cf. A. C. Hamilton 1977, pp. 123-168 (but see note 357 here above). Also see William Craft's useful thoughts on intended global structure for Sidney's revision (1994, pp. 115, 147-149 n. 17).

“anti-epic” sentiment, as has been suggested recently.³⁶⁹ Nor does this probable return to Heliodorus’s work for further invention in revision indicate intention for grand political allegory.³⁷⁰ Rather, new narrative structure operates on practical rhetorical levels. Aesthetically, the opening scene contrasts the protagonist princes as men of action with the contemplative Arcadian shepherds Strephon and Claius. The incident also separates Pyrocles from Musidorus upon their arrival in the Arcadian realm. This revision allows for amplified rhetoric of friendship and hospitality in *New Arcadia*.³⁷¹ It also shifts the narrative’s dual-protagonist focus at the beginning more toward Musidorus, whom the reader now meets first while only hearing about Pyrocles secondhand until his appearance in Amazonian disguise later in Book One. Presumably, Sidney’s return to the Heliodorian source for this point of revision came to mind in tandem with his use of that material for *Old Arcadia*’s conclusion, for the structural purpose of creating bookend Heliodoran registers both focused heavily on Musidorus and the trajectory of his adventure in the Arcadian realm, to which he becomes presumptive heir at the end of Book Five in *Old Arcadia* (and hence also in the composite 1593 *New Arcadia*).

Using motifs from ancient prose fiction to supplement a dominant chivalric source model in *Old Arcadia*, Books Four and Five, incited Sidney to employ further supplements drawn from other complementary material in expanding Books One through Three toward a “New” *Arcadia*. For Gynecia’s place in the trial scene in *Old Arcadia*’s concluding Book, it has been suggested that Sidney blended the Heliodoran paradigm

³⁶⁹ S. R. Mentz 2006, pp. 15, 73-103 (cf. *idem*. 2004a and 2004b).

³⁷⁰ V. Skretkiewicz 2004 [2006] and 2008. On this matter with regard to *OA*, see above: Chapter Four, at note 261; Chapter Five, note 285 and at notes 349-350.

³⁷¹ Cf. W. Olmsted 2008 (pp. 76-105) on these rhetorical emphases in *NA*.

with one aspect of a distinct trial scene in Achilles Tatius's *Clitophon and Leucippe*.³⁷² Moody and Wolff also note that Cecropia's feigned-beheading tricks with the captured Arcadian princesses in *New Arcadia* resemble parallel moments in Tatius's fiction.³⁷³ O'Connor qualifies that fact with the observation that beheading motifs appear in the *Amadís* cycle.³⁷⁴ O'Connor's plea of impasse on that matter, concluding that "it is impossible to be sure where Sidney got the idea," once again reveals the limitation of such traditional methodology for source study. Authorial invention, narrative contexts, and poetic effect for such devices should be analyzed in source material and in target imitation alike. Unfortunately, Sidney's untimely death left his revisions for *Arcadia* incomplete; but, given that scenario, what matters in this case is that the device, which Sidney probably did draw from Tatius's story, complements the *Arcadia*'s structural and thematic focus drawn from Feliciano de Silva's work in French translation, as well as the ingenuity of narrative perspective Sidney admired in that source. Silva's *Chronicle of Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* uses a distinct false-beheading device to fulfill the required beheading of Florisel built into the sequestered-princess motif with Queen Sidonia and her daughter Diana, invented as a structural premise for that work (analyzed in Chapter Two above). From imitation and variation of that premise Sidney's fiction derives its emphasis on ironic effects of reasoned passion and impassioned reason. Cecropia's beheading games, like the beheading scheme established by Queen Sidonia with the two magical towers in Guindaya, firmly establish both reader complicity with the protagonist lovers and tragic distance from this conniving female character, without the degree of sympathy felt for Sidonia as a vengeful scorned lover. Sidney employs the

³⁷² See Chapter Four above, note 245.

³⁷³ W. V. Moody [1894], p. 54 (cf. pp. 50-51); S. L. Wolff 1912, pp. 316-317.

³⁷⁴ J. J. O'Connor 1970, p. 195.

feigned-beheading device to channel that effect toward epic ends revolving around *Arcadia*'s central love stories, as in Silva's work.

The seeming death of Philoclea pushes Zelmane (Pyrocles) toward the point of despair, as Cecropia intends, but the hero focuses that emotion, "a wild fury of desperate agony" and "the madness of anguish," away from suicide, toward epic rage bent on vengeful retribution:

he heard (or he thought he heard) a voice which cried, 'Revenge, Revenge,' unto him—...that, indeed, helped with virtue and her valiant servant anger, stopped him from present destroying himself, yielding in reason and manhood first to destroy man, woman, and child that were any way of kin to them that were accessory to this cruelty, then to raze the castle and to build a sumptuous monument for her sister, and a most sumptuous for herself, and then himself to die upon her tomb. (*NA* [1590], 431-432; [1593], 563, 564)

This description of the grief felt by *Arcadia*'s hero in Amazonian disguise upon viewing his secret wife's head in a basin, seemingly severed from her body, shifts from prior reference to "Zelmane" and use of feminine pronouns back to "Pyrocles" and use of masculine pronouns. Elsewhere, too, pronoun usage varies according to subjective viewpoints. As in *Arcadia*'s chivalric source material, the cross-dressed hero remains in Amazonian disguise amidst grand chivalric action. After Pyrocles learns that Philoclea is not in fact dead, virtuous anger akin to that emphasized in this passage propels him in battle as he slays Zoilus and Lycurgus, then duels Anaxius again in this incomplete expansion of Book Three. In describing that renewed duel, amidst which Sidney's revision ends mid-sentence, the narrative refers to Zelmane (Pyrocles) from Anaxius's perspective with feminine pronouns but also playfully refers to "Zelmane" in terms of her/his "Pyroclean nature, fuller of gay bravery in the midst than in the beginning of danger" (*NA* [1590], 464-465; [1593], 594-595). That "Pyroclean nature" in this

expanded sequence resembles the ethos of protagonist heroes in Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*.³⁷⁵ Both the chivalric content and such ingenuity with narrative perspective amidst poetics of metamorphosis through Amazonian disguise, though, resemble Sidney's primary chivalric source material. *New Arcadia* follows that Spanish tradition in its congruence between amorous virtue, martial *virtus*, and the ultimate consequence of dynastic empire achieved through secret marriage.

Thus, Sidney invents and then later re-structures *Arcadia* by imitating and varying Feliciano de Silva's fiction—primarily in French translation—and by supplementing that foundation with complementary narrative devices from ancient prose fiction and Spanish pastoral romance. Recognizing Sidney's method of inventing *Arcadia* through this use of literary sources demands qualification of existing emphasis on Sidney's structural and rhetorical revision for *New Arcadia* as alteration of emblematic representation. Critical approaches to altered narrative perspective in *New Arcadia* often highlight Ramist tenets, traditions of visual epistemology, and rhetorical tropes for reader engagement and characterization through emblematic representation and indirect description rather than through direct speech by the narrator.³⁷⁶ This present study has emphasized that reading *Old Arcadia* alongside Renaissance emblem traditions must not supplant analysis of Sidney's invention from literary sources (see Chapter Three, note 154). This emphasis applies to *New Arcadia* as well, especially with regard to the disguise motif imported

³⁷⁵ Cf. T. P. Roche 1989 and C. Burrow 1993 (pp. 139-142) on this matter regarding the incomplete 1590 text for *NA*. To the issue of pride as this antagonist's downfall, *NA* adds a playful twist of poetic justice. Pyrocles (in female disguise) contrasts his own faith in "heavenly providence" with Anaxius's "pride," claiming that his opponent justly will be "punished by the weak sex which thou [Anaxius] most contemnest" (*NA* [1590], 465; [1593], 594).

³⁷⁶ E.g., V. Skretkowicz, ed. *NA* [1590], pp. xxxi-xxxiii; J. A. Van Dorsten 1967, pp. 422-424; F. G. Robinson 1972, pp. 1-3, 137-173; L. C. Wolfley 1976; T. N. Greenfield 1982, pp. 21-35; N. K. Farmer 1984, pp. 2-18; S. K. Heninger 1989, pp. 488-497; K. Saupe 1993, pp. 26-29; C. Preston 1997 and 2007 (pp. 117-126); J. Dolven 2007, pp. 173-205. Also compare E. B. Bearden [2006] on *NA* (pp. 65-121) with H. Morales 2004.

directly from *Old Arcadia*. Sidney's revision adds reference to an emblem of Hercules in female disguise, with the motto "never more valiant," worn by Pyrocles when he first appears disguised as Zelmane (NA [1590], 69; [1593], 131). That fact has been used as a springboard for claiming major revision of character and emblematic poetics between *Old Arcadia* and *New Arcadia*.³⁷⁷ Yet, that detail complements *Old Arcadia*'s presentation of Pyrocles's transformation in love, as analyzed in Chapter Three above. It also complements the source material Sidney used for inventing *Old Arcadia*, Books One through Three. Feliciano de Silva's *Chronicle of Florisel de Niquea, Part Three* invokes Hercules as an analogue for its protagonist hero Agesilao, and Jacques Gohory's dedicatory epistle for his translation highlights that parallel (see Chapter Two above, note 137). Future study of emblems and ekphrastic description in *Arcadia* will benefit from this study's re-evaluation of narrative poetics established by *Old Arcadia*'s structural motifs derived from Silva's work in Gohory's translation.

Enhanced emphasis on chivalric spectacle and military action in *New Arcadia* suggests continuity with *Old Arcadia* in the sense that both represent rhetorical mimesis. This study's re-evaluation of *Old Arcadia* as rhetorical mimesis facilitates the same with regard to the expanded version. Sidney's revision of *Arcadia* between c.1582 and c.1585, like his production of the original *Arcadia* between 1578 and 1581, seems motivated by personal concern with the matters of Leicester's marriage and the Dudley-Sidney family's honor. That literary endeavor probably was inspired, at least to some degree, by various new circumstances: the libelous pamphlet against Leicester known as *Leicester's Commonwealth*, the eminent prospect of military action in the Low Countries,

³⁷⁷ E. Dipple 1971; J. A. Roberts 1978; V. Skretkovicz 1980, pp. 308b-309a. Cf. Chapter Three above, note 154; also Chapter Four, note 243. Contrast C. R. Kinney 1991 with those studies and with this present study.

and Sidney's marriage to the daughter of Francis Walsingham on 21 September 1583.³⁷⁸ Given the extent of Leicester's baronial affinity,³⁷⁹ the networks of affinities and the chivalric *ethos* attached to military action in *New Arcadia* makes sense as mimesis. Recent theory of "incompletion" tied to Sidney's revisions for *Arcadia* applies well for analyzing the work's early reception but proves misleading if taken as a conscious maneuver of rhetorical impasse on Sidney's part.³⁸⁰ *New Arcadia* amplifies chivalric action tied to *Old Arcadia*'s secret-marriage conceit, conveying varied impressions of love and warfare revolving around the trajectory of its central love stories.

Assessing *Arcadia*'s reception history demands consideration that in the revised version circulated in print, as in the original version, rhetorical mimesis takes the form of exemplary poetics. Aspects of *Arcadia*'s mimesis may be interpreted as topical allegory by individual readers, but the work as a whole ultimately resists such exegesis, subordinating allegorical touches to its narrative design. Jousts described within *New Arcadia*'s expanded early chapters resemble Elizabethan tilts, and certain minor characters involved have been associated directly with Sidney and with Queen Elizabeth's consistent champion in those jousts, Sir Henry Lee.³⁸¹ At least two seventeenth-century readers, on the other hand, drew up interpretive keys associating the protagonist lovers, among other characters, with the author and contemporary persons

³⁷⁸ D. E. Baughan 1952 emphasizes *Leicester's Commonwealth* and Sidney's own *Defence of Leicester* as important contexts for *NA* revision. K. Duncan-Jones 1974 suggests Sidney's marriage as such (p. 177; cf. *idem.* 1991, p. 251).

³⁷⁹ See S. A. Adams 1998.

³⁸⁰ Cf. G. Alexander 2006a, pp. xx-55 (esp. pp. 35-55).

³⁸¹ See J. H. Hanford & S. R. Watson 1934; D. Coulman 1957; F. A. Yates 1957, pp. 4-16 (cf. *idem.* 1975, pp. 88-102); K. Duncan-Jones 1970; E. M. Parkinson 1985. Other studies elaborate psychologically with distinct theories of cultural mimesis (e.g., D. Kay 1992; E. B. Bearden [forthcoming]). Contrast Chapter One above, at notes 36-39.

from his lifetime.³⁸² One extant copy of the 1593 composite *Arcadia* text, heavily annotated not long after that edition first appeared, addresses the intellectual issue of political rebellion figured forth with Amphialus in Sidney's revised narrative, as well as matters of ethics in love represented in *Arcadia*, including comparison with the Aeneas-Dido story in Virgil's *Aeneid*, Book Four. Fred Schurink's recent analysis of that artifact compares it with modern interpretations of how *Arcadia* figures forth sixteenth-century political theory, emphasizing that this "W. Blount" (probably William Blount, seventh Lord Mountjoy) reads the composite *New Arcadia* more comprehensively in terms of its variety and thematic complexity, without attention to topical allegory such as that construed by Blair Worden.³⁸³ These early and recent observations aim to interpret literary mimesis in Sidney's fiction decades and centuries after its production. Based on this present study's analysis of *Old Arcadia* and its contexts of production, it seems highly doubtful that Sidney intended to inscribe networks of direct topical allegory within his fiction. One can claim with some assurance, though, that Sidney's revision imposes multivalent perspective on diverse human experience in love and war, often poignantly so, in a manner that complicates any one firm political theory or philosophical perspective.³⁸⁴ Sidney's poetic invention, both originally and in this later revision,

³⁸² W. Dean 1993. Cf. D. Tyndale, "Key of Pembroke's *Arcadia*," in J. Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. A. Clark, vol. 2, pp. 250-251; and G. Alexander 2006a, p. 301.

³⁸³ F. Schurink 2008. Cf. Chapter One above on Worden's study; Chapter Five, note 285, for debate on political theory and allegorical interpretation of the "Ister Bank" poem in *OA*; also complementary debate on *NA* revisions (M. Bergbusch 1974; M. N. Raitiere 1982; B. Worden 1996, pp. 355-369; T. Sedinger 2007; R. Wood 2008).

³⁸⁴ See R. C. McCoy 1989 on Amphialus in *NA* (pp. 69-73); W. Craft 1994 (esp. pp. 3-8, 25-75); and D. Norbrook 2002, pp. 91-96. Cf. G. Williams 1981 on mixed impressions of war in *NA*; R. M. Berrong 1989 on the issue of popular rebellion; S. Chamberlain 2002 on Amphialus and Cecropia; C. R. Kinney 1995 and W. Olmsted 2008 (pp. 83-90) on the issue of honor and erotic rivalry. McCoy attaches to his analysis the psychological claim, "Throughout his life Sidney was hobbled by an inability to acknowledge his own ambitions" (p. 74; cf. p. 75); S. K. Heninger 1989 characterizes *NA* as "a collage of the debilitating attitudes that Sidney witnessed in his society" (p. 488); but Craft's study emphasizes that *NA* "represents a heroic response to suffering and contingency; the 'pictures' within it contribute to that image, but they

achieves effects of rhetorical mimesis through narrative poetics focused on exemplary character contrast.

This critical emphasis, emerging from this present study's analysis of *Old Arcadia's* quasi-theatrical poetics regarding the matter of legal equity tied to clandestine marriage, will facilitate future study of Sidney's comments on English theater in his *Defence of Poesie* and of English playwrights' reception of *New Arcadia*. This study provides a starting point for reassessing the former issue (Chapter One, note 18; Chapter Two, note 79). It has been recognized that English dramatists mined Sidney's fiction for plot material.³⁸⁵ Critical surveys of sixteenth-century English theater highlight its roots in the structural poetics of exemplary character contrast (via native morality-play tradition) as well as in humanist rhetorical training and affective poetics of academic theater.³⁸⁶ Recent studies also emphasize English drama's relationship to the Aristotelian tradition of legal fiction and identify the issue of clandestine marriage as a significant topic for English theater in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.³⁸⁷ Separate studies have catalogued and begun to analyze allusions to Spanish chivalric romances in

cannot be lifted out and made models for conduct. Like Pyrocles and Musidorus, who achieve only intermittent success, we must read and read again the conventions within the narrative to discover what portion of the truth they encompass and what they do not" (p. 75).

³⁸⁵ H. W. Hill 1908 (pp. 28-59) and G. Bullough 1957-1975 provide useful reference guides for considering English dramatists' attention to *NA*. Consult *PSWB* for critical discussion of this matter prior to 2004; also A. Hadfield 2006 (cf. M. Doran 1933; F. Pyle 1948; I. Ribner 1952b and 1956; H. Craig 1961; T. McAlindon 1992; K. Duncan-Jones 1997, pp. 12-17) and G. Alexander 2006a.

³⁸⁶ See, on the one hand, D. Bevington 1962 and 2002, and on the other, J. B. Altman 1978 and K. Cartwright 1999.

³⁸⁷ On law and theatrical representation in this period, see M. E. Andrews 1965; R. S. White 1996, pp. 134-137, 148-184; T. Stretton 1998, pp. 55-69; B. J. Sokol & M. Sokol 2003; A. G. Harmon 2004; L. L. Giese 2006; S. Mukherji 2006; C. Jordan & K. Cunningham 2007; and L. Hutson 2007. Also see K. Eden 1986 on that Aristotelian tradition and Sidney's *DP*; and Chapter Two above. S. Mukherji 2006 usefully emphasizes the issue of evidence pertaining to the matter of secret marriage in English plays from this period (pp. 17-54). R. H. Hemholz 1990, addressing "the inception of *ex officio* prosecutions against laymen who had been present at clandestine marriages," notes, "Friar Laurence in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, for example, might well have been summoned before an English ecclesiastical tribunal, along with the lovers themselves" (p. 71). Compare these perspectives on drama of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods with G. S. Alleman 1942 on Restoration comedy.

English drama of that period.³⁸⁸ This study's observations that Sidney's *Arcadia* focuses on secret marriage and that it draws that theme directly from the Spanish chivalric-romance tradition will facilitate future analysis of these matters as represented on the English stage.

These same observations posited by this study also bear upon English prose fiction in the 1590s and early seventeenth century, and hence, by extension, the rise of the English novel. Critical emphasis on a shift from "romance" fiction toward the modern novel has remained vague, and recent emphasis on commercial motives tied to Sidney's work falls short in light of this study's observations.³⁸⁹ Narrative poetics of exemplary character contrast in the Spanish chivalric-romance tradition and in Sidney's *Arcadia* differ from similar poetics in eighteenth-century English fiction more in style and degree than in kind. *Don Quixote*, which appealed to eighteenth-century English literary taste and political thought alike,³⁹⁰ should be read and studied in terms of reception history by looking forward through its own literary tradition rather than backward past it, as emphasized in Chapter Two above. Whereas *Don Quixote* playfully critiques the fantastical dimension of prior works in its genre, as well as the stylistic virtuosity of Feliciano de Silva, whose works employ magical elements for concrete narrative purpose, Cervantine parody also preserves its genre's thematic emphases and narrative poetics of exemplary character contrast. Indeed, Sidney's imitation of Silva's work prefigures the Cervantine shift toward verisimilitude, retaining the dramatic humor built into that

³⁸⁸ H. Thomas 1920, pp. 269-294; A. Davis 2003, pp. 99-133. Thomas's survey provides dates of playbook publication rather than production and performance. For the latter, consult A. C. Harbage & S. Schoenbaum 1964.

³⁸⁹ E.g., M. McKeon 1987; S. R. Mentz 2006. Contrast the critical approach of M. M. Sullivan 1991 (p. 76 n. 2).

³⁹⁰ R. Paulson 1998.

chivalric source material without parodying it as Cervantes does. In *Arcadia* and in *Don Quixote*, narrative ingenuity for engaging readers with different characters' subjective perspectives amidst the story's events owes much to Silva's innovations in the mid-sixteenth century.

Traditions of imitation and innovation come into focus only through analyzing in detail specific examples of authorial agency, with regard to historical and rhetorical contexts for both production and reception, as well as continuity and divergence in narrative logic built into motifs and themes transported from one work into another. Sidney invents *Arcadia*'s protagonist characters and the work's secret-marriage conceit by imitating and altering Silva's work as encountered in French translation, for the rhetorical purpose of verisimilar mimesis motivated by his own family's social and political circumstances. Recognizing this method of invention as a matter of continuity between both phases of Sidney's fiction opens new avenues of inquiry for interpreting continuity in his literary oeuvre.³⁹¹ This perspective also provides new focus for assessing *New Arcadia*'s impact on English prose fiction of the 1590s and the early seventeenth century, especially Lady Mary Wroth's *Urania* (1621), which also conveys a significant degree of rhetorical mimesis mirroring contemporary reality and also focuses on marriage, including secret marriage.³⁹² As Gavin Alexander has emphasized recently,

³⁹¹ Cf. note 357 here above. To cite one brief example, Sidney's emphasis on Heliodorus's story of Theagenes and Chariclea in *DP* (81) complements *NA*'s enhanced emphasis on the protagonist lovers' chastity, but it makes sense whether Sidney wrote *DP* while composing *OA* or afterward. A similar degree of chastity in betrothal without physical consummation already exists in *OA* with Pamela and Musidorus. Three distinct arguments align circumstantial evidence to suggest that Sidney wrote *DP* around 1579-1580: see J. A. Van Dorsten, ed. *DP*, in *Miscellaneous Prose*, pp. 59-63; A. F. Kinney 1972; and S. K. Heninger 1983 (cf. G. Warkentin 1990, p. 80). H. R. Woudhuysen [1980] suggests instead that Sidney wrote *DP* between autumn 1580 and 1582 (p. 299); and K. Duncan-Jones 1991 ventures further to suggest 1582-1583 (pp. 222, 230-233; cf. pp. 236-239, 242).

³⁹² See J. A. Roberts 1991 (esp. pp. 122-124); S. Starke 2006 [2007] (esp. p. 30); and G. Alexander 2006a, pp. 262-282 (on English continuations of Sidney's *Arcadia*), 284-331 (on Wroth's *Urania*). For further

evaluating reception and imitation of Sidney's work requires attention to its own rhetorical and mimetic nature. This study's re-evaluation of those qualities in Sidney's fiction facilitates further investigation of precisely how and why it spawned a tradition of continuations and imitation and translation into other languages, as did the chivalric romances of Montalvo and Silva within Spanish and European literary traditions.

bibliography on Wroth's place in the Sidney-Herbert family and on her fiction, see B. Zimbalist 2006. Also see S. K. Heninger 1989 on the influence of Sidney's narrative poetics (pp. 301-306; cf. pp. 282-283, 404-407).

Bibliography of Manuscripts Cited

BL ms. Additional 28263

BNM ms. 4072

Folger ms. H. b. 1

Harvard ms. HU 89.365.20

PRO ms. SP 12, vol. 148

Bibliography of Early Printed Sources Cited

- Apuleius, Lucius (1566) [English]. *The .xi. Bookes of the Golden Asse, Conteing the Metamorphosie of Lucius Apuleius, enterlaced with sondrie pleasaunt and delectable Tales, with an excellent Narration of the Mariage of Cupide and Psiches, set out in the .iiij. v. and .vj. Bookes. Translated out of Latine into Englishe by VWilliam Adlington* (London: Henry Wykes). [STC 718]
- Apuleius, Lucius (1571) [English]. *The .xi. Bookes of the Golden Asse, Conteing the Metamorphosie of Lucius Apuleius, enterlaced with sondrie pleasaunt and delectable Tales, with an excellent Narration of the Mariage of Cupide and Psyches, set out in the .iiij. v. and .vj. Bookes. Translated out of Latine into Englishe by VWilliam Adlington* (London: William How, for Abraham Veale). [STC 719]
- Bouquet, Simon (1572). *Bref et Sommaire Recueil de ce qui a esté fait, & de l'ordre tenüe à la Loyeuse & Triumphant Entrée de tres-puissant, tres-magnanime & tres-chrestien Prince Charles IX. de ce nom Roy de France, en sa bonne ville & cité de Paris, capitale de son Royaume, le Mardy sixiesme iour de Mars. Avec le covronnement de tres-haute, tres-illustre & tres-excellente Princesse Madame Elizabet d'Austriche son espouse, le Dimanche vingtcinquesme. Et entrée de ladicte dame en icelle ville le leudi XXIX. dudict mois de mars, M. D. LXXI.* (Paris: Denis du Pré, for Olivier Codoré). [facsimile edition: *La Loyeuse Entrée de Charles IX Roy de France en Paris*, Renaissance Triumphs (Amsterdam: Thatrvm Orbis Terrarvm Ltd.; New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1973)]
- Draut [Draudius], Georg (1610). *Bibliotheca exotica [i.e., vernacular], sive catalogus officinalis librorum peregrinis linguis usualibus scriptorum, videlicet Gallica, Italica, Belgica, Anglica, Danica, Bohemica, Vngarica, etc. omnium, quotquot in Officinis Bibliopolarum indagari potuerunt, et in Nundinis Francofortensibus prostant, ac venales habentur: La Bibliotheque universail, contenant le catalogue de tous les livres qui ont esté imprimés ce siecle passé, aux langues François, Italienne, Espagnole, et autres, qui sont aujourdhuy plus communes, depuis l'an 1500 iusques à l'an present M DC.XXIV. distribuée en certain ordre selon les matieres y contenues, et les surnoms des Autheurs* (Frankfurt: Pierre Kopf).
- Gil Polo, Gaspar (1564). *Primera Parte de Diana Enamorada. Cinco Libros que prossiguen los siete de la Diana de Iorge Monte Mayor. Compvestos por Gaspar Gil Polo. Dirigidos Ala muy Ilustre Señora Doña Hieronyma de Castro y Bolea* (Valencia: Joan Mey).
- Gil Polo, Gaspar (1577). *Primera Parte de Diana Enamorada. Cinco Libros que prossiguen, los siete de la de Iorge de Monte Mayor. Compvestos por Gaspar Gil Polo. Dirigidos a la muy Illustre Señora Doña Hieronyma de Castro y Bolea* (Zaragoza: Juan Millan).
- Goldwell, Henry (1581). *A briefe declaration of the shews, deuices, speeches, and inuentions, done & performed before the Queenes Maiestie, & the French Ambassadors, at the most valiaunt and worthye Triumph, attempted and executed on the Munday and Tuesday in VWhitsen weeke last, Anno 1581.*

- Collected, gathered, penned & published, by Henry Goldvvell, Gen.* (London: Robert Waldgrave). [STC 11990]
- Heliodorus 1569 [English]. *An Æthiopian Historie written in Greeke by Heliodorus: very vvittie and pleasaunt, Englished by Thomas Vnderdounne. With the Argumente of euery Booke, sette bifore the whole Vvoorke* (London: Henry Wykes, for Frances Coldocke). [STC 13041]
- Heliodorus 1577 [English]. *An Æthiopian Historie, written in Greeke by Heliodorus, no lesse wittie then pleasant: Englished by Thomas Vnderdowne, and newly corrected and augmented, with diuers and sundrie new additions by the saide Authour. Whervnto is also annexed the argument of euery booke, in the beginning of the same, for the better vnderstanding of the storie* (London: Henry Middleton, for Francis Coldocke). [STC 13042]
- Montalvo, Garci Rodríguez de (1508). *Los quatro libros del Uirtuoso Cauallero Amadís de Gaula: Complidos* (Zaragoza: George Coci [October 30]). [unique extant copy in BL (C.20.e.6)]
- Sidney, Philip (1590a). *The Covntesse of Pembrokes Arcadia, written by Sir Philippe Sidnei* (London: John Windet, for William Ponsonby). [STC 22539]
- Sidney, Philip (1590b). *The Covntesse of Pembrokes Arcadia, written by Sir Philippe Sidnei* (London: John Windet, for William Ponsonby). [STC 22539a]
- Sidney, Philip (1593). *The Covntesse of Pembrokes Arcadia. Written by Sir Philip Sidney Knight. Now since the first edition augmented and ended* (London: John Windet, for William Ponsonby). [STC 22540]
- Silva, Feliciano de (1532). *La Cronica de los mvy valientes y esforçados y inuencibles caualleros don Florisel de Niquea, y el fuerte Anaxartes* (Valladolid: Nicolás Tierri, for Juan de Spinola).
- Silva, Feliciano de (1548) [Fr. Am. VIII]. *Le Hvitisme Liure d'Amadis de Gaule, auquel sont recite'es les havtes roresses et faitz merueillevx d'Amadis de Grece svrnomme le Cheualier de l'ardante Espée: Mis en François par le Seigneur des Essars N. de Herberay, Commissaire ordinaire de l'artillerie du Roy, & lieutenant en icelle, es païs & gouvernement de Picardie, de monsieur de Brissac, Cheualier de l'ordre grand Mistre, & Capitaine general d'icelle artillerie* (Paris: Vincent Sertenas).
- Silva, Feliciano de (1556) [Fr. Am. XII]. *Le Dovziesme Biure [Livre] d'Amadis de Gaule, contenant quelle fin prindrent les loyalles amovrs d'Agésilan de Colchos, et de la princesse Diane, & par quel moyen la royne Sidonie se rapaisa, apres auoir longuement pourchassé la mort de don Florisel de Niquée, avecques plusieurs estranges auantures, non moins recreatifues, que singulieres, & ingenieuses sur toutes celles qui ont esté traitées es liures precedans. Traduyt nouvellement d'Espagnol en François* [trans. Guillaume Aubert de Poitiers] (Paris: Estienne Groulleau, for Vincent Sertenas).
- Silva, Feliciano de (1559) [Fr. Am. XI]. *L'Onzieme Livre d'Amadis de Gavle, Tradvit d'Espagnol en François, continvant les entreprises chevalerevses et aventvres estranges, tant de luy que des Princes de son sang: ou reluysent principalement les hautz faitz d'armes de Rogel de Grece, & ceux d'Agésilan de Colchos, au long pourchas de l'amour de Diane, la plus belle Princesse du monde* [trans. Jacques Gohory] (Paris: Estienne Groulleau, for Vincent Sertenas).

Stubbes, John (1579). *The Discoverie of a Gaping Gvlf vvereinto England is like to be swallowed by an other French mariage, if the Lord forbid not the banes, by letting her Maiestie see the sin and punishment thereof. Saue Lord, let the King here vs in the day that vve call Psal.20.verse.9. Anno.1579.* (London: H. Singleton for W. Page [August]). [STC 23400]

Bibliography of Modern Editions and Translations Cited for Early Sources

- Antología de Libros de Caballerías Castellanos*, ed. José Manuel Lucía Megías (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2001).
- Aquinas, Thomas. *Treatise on Law* (Summa Theologica, *Questions 90-97*), Gateway Editions (Washington, DC: Regnery, 1957; rpt. 1996).
- Aubrey, John. *Brief Lives: chiefly of contemporaries, set down by John Aubrey, between the years 1669 & 1696*, ed. Andrew Clark, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898).
- Averröes [Abū al-Walīd Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Rushd]. *On the Harmony of Religions and Philosophy: A Translation, with Introduction and Notes, of Ibn Rushd's Kitāb faṣl almaqāl, with its Appendix (Damīma) and an Extract from Kitāb al-kashf 'an manāhij al-adilla*, trans. George Fadlo Hourani (London: Luzac, 1961; rpt. 1967).
- Averröes [Ibn Rushd]. *Commentary on Plato's "Republic"* [i.e., on Arabic trans. Be'ur le-sefer hanhagat ha-medinah le-Aplaṭon], trans. Ralph Lerner, Agora Paperback Editions (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1974; rpt. 2005).
- Averröes [Ibn Rushd]. *Three Short Commentaries on Aristotle's "Topics," "Rhetoric," and "Poetics,"* ed. & trans. Charles E. Butterworth (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977).
- Averröes [Ibn Rushd]. *Middle Commentary on Aristotle's "Poetics,"* trans. Charles E. Butterworth (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986).
- Averröes [Ibn Rushd]. *The Book of the Decisive Treatise, Determining the Connection Between the Law and Wisdom & Epistle Dedicatory*, ed. & trans. Charles E. Butterworth (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 2001).
- Averroës [Ibn Rushd]. *Long Commentary on the De Anima of Aristotle*, trans. [also Introduction and notes] Richard C. Taylor, with Thérèse-Anne Druart (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).
- The Book of the Knight Zifar*, trans. Charles L. Nelson, Studies in Romance Languages 27 (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983).
- Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, ed. Martín de Riquer, Clásicos Universales Planeta (Madrid: Editorial Planeta, 1998).
- Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Don Quijote*, trans. Burton Raffel, A Norton Critical Edition, ed. Diana de Armas Wilson (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Co., 1999).
- Du Bellay, Joachim. *Œuvres Poétiques*, ed. Henri Chamard, 6 vols. (Paris: E. Cornély, for Société Nouvelle de Libraire et D'Édition / Librairie Hachette, 1908-1931).
- Gil Polo, Gaspar. *Diana Enamorada*, ed. Francisco López Estrada, Clásicos Castalia (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1987).
- Gil Polo, Gaspar. *"Diana Enamorada" (1564) together with the English Translation (1598) by Bartholomew Yong*, ed. Raymond L. Grismer and Mildred B. Grismer (Minneapolis, MN: Burgess Publishing, 1959).
- Granada, Fray Luis de. *Guía de Pecadores*, ed. Matías Martínez Burgos, Clásicos Castellanos 97 (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1966).

- Greville, Fulke. *The Prose Works of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke*, ed. John Gouws (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).
- The Library of the Sidney Family of Penshurst Place, c.1655-65* [Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone, ms. CKS U1475/Z45/2], ed. Germaine Warkentin, Joseph Black, and William Bowen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, forthcoming).
- El Libro del Cauallero Zifar*, ed. Charles Philip Wagner (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1929).
- Libros de Caballerías*, ed. Pascual de Gayangos, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 40 (Madrid: Imprenta de los Sucesores de Hernando, 1919).
- López Pinciano, Alonso. *Philosophia Antigua Poética*, ed. Alfredo Carballo Picazo, 3 vols., Biblioteca de Antiguos Libros Hispánicos, Series A, vol. 19-21 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto “Miguel de Cervantes,” 1973).
- Montalvo, Garci Rodríguez de. *Amadís de Gaula*, ed. Juan Manuel Cacho Blecua, 2 vols. (Madrid: Cátedra, 1987-1988; rpt. 2004).
- Montalvo, Garci Rodríguez de. *Amadís de Gaula* [1508], ed. Edwin B. Place, 4 vols. (Madrid: Instituto Miguel de Cervantes, 1959).
- Montalvo, Garci Rodríguez de. *Amadis de Gaule, Livre IV*, trans. Nicolas de Herberay des Essarts, ed. Luce Guillerm, Textes de la Renaissance 92, Romans de Chevalerie de la Renaissance (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2005).
- Montalvo, Garci Rodríguez de. *Sergas de Esplandián*, ed. Carlos Sainz de la Maza, Clásicos Castalia 272 (Madrid: Castalia, 2003).
- Montemayor, Jorge de. *El Cancionero del Poeta George de Montemayor*, ed. Ángel González Palencia (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1932).
- Montemayor, Jorge de. *Los Siete Libros de la Diana*, ed. Francisco López Estrada, Clásicos Castellanos, 3rd Edition (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1962).
- Montemayor, Jorge de. *Los Siete Libros de la Diana*, ed. Julian Arribas, Colección Tamesis, Serie B: Textos 41 (London: Tamesis, 1996).
- Montemayor, Jorge de. *Diálogo Espiritual*, ed. María Dolores Esteva de Llobet (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1998).
- Montemayor, Jorge de. *Omelías sobre “Miserere mei Deus,”* ed. Terence O’Reilly, Durham Modern Languages Series (Durham: University of Durham Press, 2000).
- Ovid [Publius Ovidius Naso]. *Heroides and Amores*, revised ed. G. P. Goold, with English trans. Grant Showerman, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977).
- Sidney, Philip. *The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Albert Feuillerat, 4 vols., Cambridge English Classics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912-1926).
- Sidney, Philip. *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. John Drinkwater, The Muses’ Library (London: Routledge & Sons; New York: Dutton, 1910; rpt. 1934).
- Sidney, Philip. *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler, Jr. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).
- Sidney, Philip. *Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and Jan Van Dorsten (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).
- Sidney, Philip. *The Countess of Pembroke’s Arcadia (Old Arcadia)*, ed. Jean Robertson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).

- Sidney, Philip. *The Old Arcadia*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985; rpt. 1999).
- Sidney, Philip. *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (New Arcadia)* [1590], ed. Victor Skretkowitz (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).
- Sidney, Philip. *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, ed. Maurice Evans (London: Penguin, 1977; rpt. 1987).
- Sidney, Philip. *Sir Philip Sidney*, The Oxford Authors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).
- Sidney Herbert, Mary. *The Collected Works of Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke*, ed. Margaret P. Hannay, Noel J. Kinnamon, and Michael G. Brennan, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- Silva, Feliciano de. *Amadís de Grecia* [Cuenca: Cristóbal Francés, for Atanasio de Salcedo, 1530 (January 8)], ed. Ana Carmen Bueno Serrano and Carmen Laspuertas Sarvisé, Los Libros de Rocinante 19 (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2004).
- Silva, Feliciano de. *Florisel de Niquea (Tercera Parte)* [Seville: Juan Cromberger, 1546 (March 6)], ed. Javier Martín Lalanda, Los Libros de Rocinante 6 (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 1999).
- Southey, Robert. (ed.) *Palmerin of England*, trans. Anthony Munday, 4 vols. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1807).
- Stubbs, John. *John Stubbs' Gaping Gulf, with Letters and Other Relevant Documents*, ed. Lloyd E. Berry (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968).
- Virgil [Publius Vergilius Maro]. *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I-VI*, Revised Edition by G. P. Goold, with English trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999; rpt. 2001).
- Yong, Bartholomew. *A Critical Edition of Yong's Translation of George of Montemayor's "Diana" and Gil Polo's "Enamoured Diana,"* ed. Judith M. Kennedy (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

Bibliography of Modern Studies Cited

- Abraham, Lyndy (1998). *A Dictionary of Alchemical Imagery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; rpt. 2001).
- Acebrón Ruiz, Julián (2001). (ed.) *Fechos Antiguos que los Cavalleros en Armas Passaron: Estudios sobre la Ficción Caballeresca*, Colección Ensayos / Scriptura 11 (Lleida: Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida).
- Adams, Simon A. (1982). "Faction, Clientage, and Party: English Politics, 1550-1603," *History Today* 32 (December), pp. 33-39. [reproduced as S. A. Adams 2002, pp. 13-23]
- Adams, Simon A. (1990). "A Godly Peer?: Leicester and the Puritans," *History Today* 40 (January), pp. 14-19. [reproduced as S. A. Adams 2002, pp. 225-232]
- Adams, Simon A. (1991). "Favourites and Factions at the Elizabethan Court," in R. G. Asch & A. M. Birke 1991, pp. 265-287. [reproduced (with "Bibliographical Postscript") in S. A. Adams 2002, pp. 46-67]
- Adams, Simon A. (1996). "Papers of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, III: The Countess of Leicester's Collection," *Archives* 22.94, pp. 1-26.
- Adams, Simon A. (1998). "Baronial Contexts?: Continuity and Change in the Noble Affinity, 1400-1600," in J. L. Watts 1998, pp. 155-197. [reproduced as S. A. Adams 2002, pp. 374-410]
- Adams, Simon A. (2002). *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Adams, Simon A. (2004a). "Dudley, Robert, Earl of Leicester (1532/3-1588), Courtier and Magnate," in *ODNB*, vol. 17, pp. 92b-112b.
- Adams, Simon A. (2004b). "Dudley [*née* Knollys; *other married name* Devereux], Lettice, Countess of Essex and Countess of Leicester (1543-1634), Noblewoman," in *ODNB*, vol. 17, pp. 86b-90b.
- Adams, Simon A. (2004c). "Elizabeth I and the Sovereignty of the Netherlands, 1575-1585," *TRHS* 14 [6th Series], 309-319.
- Adamson, Sylvia; Gavin Alexander, and Katrin Ettenhuber (2007). (ed.) *Renaissance Figures of Speech* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Alcalá, Ángel (1984). (ed.) *Inquisición Española y Mentalidad Inquisitorial: Ponencias del Simposio Internacional sobre Inquisición, Nueva York, Abril de 1983* (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel).
- Alcalá, Ángel (1987). (ed.) *The Spanish Inquisition and the Inquisitorial Mind* [trans. Á. Alcalá 1984], *Atlantic Studies on Society in Change* 49 (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs; Highland Lakes, NJ: Atlantic Research and Publications, for Columbia University Press).
- Alexander, Gavin (2006a). *Writing After Sidney: The Literary Response to Sir Philip Sidney, 1586-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Alexander, Gavin (2006b). "The Musical Sidneys," *John Donne Journal: Studies in the Age of Donne* 25 [special issue on literature and music], pp. 65-105.
- Alexander, Gavin (2007). "Prosopoeia: The Speaking Figure," in S. Adamson *et al* 2007, pp. 97-112.

- Alexander, Gavin; Robert Stillman, Victor Skretkowicz, Roger Kuin, and Blair Worden (1998). "A Discussion of Blair Worden's *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's "Arcadia" and Elizabethan Politics*," *Sidney Journal* 16.1, pp. 36-56.
- Alford, Stephen (2008). *Burghley: William Cecil at the Court of Elizabeth I* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press).
- Alleman, Gellert Spencer (1942). *Matrimonial Law and the Materials of Restoration Comedy* (Wallingford, PA: [private publication of Ph.D. thesis from University of Pennsylvania]).
- Allen, Judson Boyce (1976). "Hermann the German's Averroistic Aristotle and Medieval Poetic Theory," *Mosaic* 9.3, pp. 67-81.
- Allen, Judson Boyce (1982). *The Ethical Poetic of the Later Middle Ages: A Decorum of Convenient Distinction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press).
- Allen, Michael J. B.; Dominic Baker-Smith, Arthur F. Kinney, and Margaret M. Sullivan (1990). (ed.) *Sir Philip Sidney's Achievements* (New York: AMS Press, for UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies).
- Alonso Alonso, Manuel (1947). *Teología de Averröes: Estudios y Documentos* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto "Miguel Asín," Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada).
- Alonso Cortés, Narciso (1930). "Sobre Montemayor y *La Diana*," *BRAE* 17.83, pp. 353-362. [reproduced in N. Alonso Cortés 1935, pp. 127-140]
- Alonso Cortés, Narciso (1935). *Artículos Historico-Literarios* (Valladolid: Imprenta Castellana).
- Altman, Joel B. (1978). *The Tudor Play of Mind: Rhetorical Inquiry and the Development of Elizabethan Drama* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press).
- Alvar, Carlos (2007). "Libros de Caballerías: Estado de la Cuestión (2000-2004 ca.)," in J. M. Cacho Bleuca *et al* 2007, pp. 13-58.
- Alvar, Carlos *et al* (1986). (ed.) *Studia in Honorem Prof. Martín de Riquer*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Quaderns Crema).
- Alvar, Carlos; and José Manuel Lucía Megías (1996). (ed.) *La Literatura en la Época de Sancho IV (Actas del Congreso Internacional "La Literatura en la Época de Sancho IV", Alcalá de Henares, 21-24 de Febrero de 1994)* (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá de Henares).
- Alvar, Carlos; and José Manuel Lucía Megías (2002). (ed.) *Diccionario Filológico de Literatura Medieval Española: Textos y Transmisión*, Nueva Biblioteca de Erudición y Crítica 21 (Madrid: Castalia).
- Anderson, D. M. (1957). "The Trial of the Princes in the *Arcadia*, Book V," *RES* 8.32, pp. 409-412.
- Andrés Martín, Melquíades (1984). "Alumbrados, Erasmistas, 'Luteranos,' y Místicos, y su Común Denominador: El Riesgo de una Espiritualidad más 'Intimista,'" in Á. Alcalá 1984, pp. 373-409.
- Andrews, Mark Edwin (1965). *Law Versus Equity in "The Merchant of Venice": A Legalization of Act IV, Scene 1, with Foreword, Judicial Precedents, and Notes* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press).
- Anglo, Sydney (1990). (ed.) *Chivalry in the Renaissance* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press).

- Arenas Lozano, Verónica; *et al* (2004). (ed.) *Líneas Actuales de Investigación Literaria: Estudios de Literatura Hispánica* (Valencia: Asociación de Jóvenes Investigadores de la Literatura Hispánica, Universitat de València).
- Armstrong, Elizabeth (1990). *Before Copyright: The French Book-Privilege System, 1498-1526* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Arrabal, Fernando (1993). *Genios y Figuras: "...Mis Idolatrados Genios,"* Nuevo Austral 308 (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe).
- Arrabal, Fernando (2001). "Silva por un Pánico Futuro (La *Celestina* Olvidada de un Feliciano Maldito)," in G. Santonja 2001, pp. 175-185.
- Arribas, Julian (1996). "Lexical Notes of 'Amor,' 'Tiempo,' and 'Fortuna' in the Spanish Pastoral Romances," *Romance Notes* 37.1, pp. 75-88.
- Arteaga del Alcázar, Almudena de (2004). *María de Molina: Tres Coronas Medievales* (Madrid: MR Ediciones).
- Asch, Ronald G.; and Adolf M. Birke (1991). (ed.) *Princes, Patronage, and Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c.1450-1650*, German Historical Institute Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, for German Historical Institute).
- Asensio, Eugenio (1952). "El Erasmismo y las Corrientes Espirituales Afines," *RFE* 36, pp. 31-99.
- Asensio, Eugenio (1961). "Lourenço de Cáceres y Su Tratado *Dos Trabalhos do Rei* (Con una Nota sobre Jorge de Montemayor Plagario)," *Ibérica* 5, pp. 67-79.
- Asensio, Eugenio (1968). "Los Estudios sobre Erasmo de Marcel Bataillon," *Revista de Occidente* 21, pp. 302-320.
- Astell, Ann W. (1984). "Sidney's Didactic Method in the *Old Arcadia*," *SEL* 24.1, pp. 39-51.
- Auerbach, Erich (1953). *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Avalle-Arce, Juan Bautista (1959). *La Novela Pastoral Española* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente).
- Avalle-Arce, Juan Bautista (1990). *Amadís de Gaula: El Primitivo y El de Montalvo*, Sección de Obras de Lengua y Estudios Literarios (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica).
- Baranda, Consolación (1987). "Novela y Tradición en los Orígenes de la Prosa Pastoral Española," *Dicenda: Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica* 6, pp. 359-371.
- Barber, Sigmund J. (1984). "*Amadis de Gaule*" and the German Enlightenment, *American University Studies, Germanic Languages and Literature* 30 (New York: Peter Lang).
- Barsi, Monica (1996). (ed.) *Il Romanzo nella Francia del Rinascimento: Dall'Eredità Medievale all'Astrea (Atti del Convegno Internazionale de Studi, Gargnano, Palazzo Feltrinelli, 7-9 Ottobre 1993)*, Grupo di Studio sul Cinquecento Francese 6 (Fasano: Schena).
- Baswell, Christopher (1995). *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the Aeneid from the Twelfth Century to Chaucer*, *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature* 24 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

- Bataillon, Marcel (1934). "Sur la Difusión des Oeuvres de Savonarola en Espagne et en Portugal, 1500-1560," in *Melanges de Philologie, d'Histoire et de Littérature offerts à Joseph Vianey* (Paris: Les Presses Françaises), pp. 93-103.
- Bataillon, Marcel (1936a). "Une Source de Gil Vicente et de Montemor [sic.]: La Méditation de Savonarole sur le *Miserere*," *Bulletin des Études Portugaises* 3, pp. 1-16.
- Bataillon, Marcel (1936b). "De Savonarole à Louis de Grenade," *Revue de Littérature Comparée* 16.1, pp. 23-39.
- Bataillon, Marcel (1950). *Erasmus y España: Estudios sobre la Historia Espiritual del Siglo XVI*, trans. Antonio Alatorre, 2 vols., Sección de Obras de Historia (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica).
- Bataillon, Marcel (1952a). "¿Melancolía Renacentista o Melancolía Judía?," in A. M. Coe *et al* 1952, pp. 39-50. [reproduced as M. Bataillon 1962, pp. 39-54]
- Bataillon, Marcel (1952b). "Jeanne d'Autriche, Princess de Portugal," in *Études sur le Portugal au Temps de l'Humanisme*, Acta Universitatis Conimbrigensis (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra), pp. 257-283.
- Bataillon, Marcel (1957). "Alonso Núñez de Reinoso y los Marranos Portugueses en Italia," in *Miscelânea de Estudos em Honra do Prof. Hernâni Cidade* (Lisbon: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa), pp. 1-21. [reproduced as M. Bataillon 1962, pp. 55-80]
- Bataillon, Marcel (1962). *Varia Lección de Clásicos Españoles*, Biblioteca Románica Hispánica, Estudios y Ensayos (Madrid: Editorial Gredos).
- Bates, Catherine (1992). *The Rhetoric of Courtship in Elizabethan Language and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Bates, Catherine (2008). *Masculinity, Gender, and Identity in the English Renaissance Lyric* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Baughan, Denver Ewing (1938). "Sir Philip Sidney and the Matchmakers," *MLR* 33.4, pp. 509-519.
- Baughan, Denver Ewing (1952). "Sidney's *Defence of the Earl of Leicester* and the Revised *Arcadia*," *JEGP* 51.1, pp. 34-41.
- Beal, Peter (1980). *Index of English Literary Manuscripts, Volume I: 1450-1625*, 2 Parts (London: Mansell).
- Beal, Peter (1998). *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Beal, Peter (2002). "Philip Sidney's *Letter to Queen Elizabeth* and that 'False Knave' Alexander Dicsone," *EMS* 11, pp. 1-51.
- Beal, Peter; and Grace Ioppolo (2007). (ed.) *Elizabeth I and the Culture of Writing* (London: British Library).
- Bearden, Elizabeth B. [2006]. *Repainting Romance: Ekphrasis and Otherness in Renaissance Imitations of Ancient Greek Romance*, Ph.D. thesis (New York University).
- Bearden, Elizabeth B. [forthcoming]. "Sidney's *Celestina* and *Philisides*' Iberia: 'Mongrell Tragicomedy' and Anglo-Spanish Exchange in *The New Arcadia*," *Journal of Early Modern Cultural Studies*.
- Beltrán, Rafael (1998). (ed.) *Literatura de Caballerías y Orígenes de la Novela* (Valencia: Universitat de València).

- Beltrán, Rafael; J. L. Canet, and J. L. Sirera (1992). (ed.) *Historias y Ficciones: Coloquio sobre la Literatura del Siglo XV (Valencia, 29, 30 y 31 de Octubre de 1990)* (Valencia: Universitat de València, Departament de Filologia Espanyola).
- Beltrán, Vicente (1988). (ed.) *Actas del I Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval: Santiago de Compostela, 2 al 6 de Diciembre de 1985* (Barcelona: Prensas y Publicaciones Universitarias).
- Beltrán, Vicente (1992). "Tipos y Temas Trovadorescos: *Leonoreta / Fin Roseta*, la Corte Poética de Alfonso XI, y el Origen del *Amadís*," in A. Vilanova 1992, vol. 1, pp. 111-125.
- Bergbusch, Martin (1974). "Rebellion in the *New Arcadia*," *PQ* 53.1, pp. 29-41.
- Bergvall, Åke (1988). "The 'Enabling of Judgement': An Old Reading of the *New Arcadia*," *SP* 85.4, pp. 471-488.
- Bergvall, Åke (1989). *The "Enabling of Judgement": Sir Philip Sidney and the Education of the Reader*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Anglistica Upsaliensia 70 (Uppsala: University of Uppsala; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell).
- Bergvall, Åke (1992). "Reason in Luther, Calvin, and Sidney," *SCJ* 23.1, pp. 115-127.
- Bernard, John D. (1986). *Vergil at 2000: Commemorative Essays on the Poet and His Influence* (New York: AMS Press).
- Berrong, Richard M. (1989). "Changing Depictions of Popular Revolt in Sixteenth-Century England: The Case of Sidney's Two *Arcadias*," *JMRS* 19.1, pp. 15-33.
- Berry, Edward I. (1998). *The Making of Sir Philip Sidney* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press).
- Betteridge, Thomas (2007). (ed.) *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Bevington, David (1962). *From "Mankind" to Marlowe: Growth of Structure in the Popular Drama of Tudor England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Bevington, David (2002). "Literature and the Theatre," in D. Loewenstein & J. Mueller 2002, pp. 428-456.
- Blanco Sánchez, Antonio (1998). *Esplandián Amadís: 500 Años* (Valladolid: Diputación Provincial).
- Blockmans, Wim; and Nicolette Mout (2004). (ed.) *The World of Emperor Charles V, Proceedings of the Colloquium, Amsterdam 4-6 October 2000* (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences).
- Bogges, William F. (1970). "Aristotle's *Poetics* in the Fourteenth Century," *SP* 67.3, pp. 278-294.
- Bognolo, Anna (1984). "La Prima Traduzione dell' *Amadís de Gaula*: Venezia 1546," *Annali della Facoltà di Lingue e Letterature Straniere di Ca'Foscari* 23.1, pp. 1-29.
- Borrás, Gonzalo M.; and Jesús Criado (2000). (ed.) *La Imagen Triunfal del Emperador: La Jornada de la Coronación Imperial de Carlos V en Bolonia y el Friso del Ayuntamiento de Tarazona* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V).
- Borris, Kenneth (1999). "Elizabethan Allegorical Epics: The *Arcadias* as Counterparts of *The Faerie Queene*," *Spenser Studies: A Renaissance Poetry Annual* 13, pp. 191-221.

- Borris, Kenneth (2000). *Allegory and Epic in English Renaissance Literature: Heroic Form in Sidney, Spenser, and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Bossy, John A. (1960). "English Catholics and the French Marriage, 1577-81," *Recusant History* 5, pp. 2-18.
- Bossy, John A. (2006). "Philip Sidney, Perhaps," *TLS* (October 20), p. 17c-d.
- Boutcher, Warren (1997). "'A French Dexterity, & an Italian Confidence': New Documents on John Florio, Learned Strangers, and Protestant Humanist Study of Modern Languages in Renaissance England from c.1547 to c.1625," *Reformation* 2, pp. 39-109.
- Boutcher, Warren (1999). "Vernacular Humanism in the Sixteenth Century," in J. Kraye 1999, pp. 189-202.
- Bowen, Willis Herbert [1936]. *Jacques Gohory (1520-1576)*, Ph.D. thesis (Harvard University).
- Brennan, Michael G. (1996). "'First rais'de by thy blest hand, and what is mine / inspir'd by thee': The 'Sidney Psalter' and the Countess of Pembroke's Completion of the Sidneian Psalms," *Sidney Newsletter & Journal* 14.1, pp. 37-44.
- Brennan, Michael G. (2004 [2006]). "The Sidneys of Penshurst, the Earldom of Leicester, and the Monarchies of England, Spain and France," *Sidney Journal* 22.1-2 [issued in 2006], pp. 25-45.
- Brennan, Michael G.; and Noel J. Kinnamon (2003). *A Sidney Chronology, 1554-1654, Author Chronologies* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Briggs, William Dinsmore (1931). "Political Ideas in Sidney's *Arcadia*," *SP* 28.2, pp. 137-161.
- Briggs, William Dinsmore (1932). "Sidney's Political Ideas," *SP* 29.4, pp. 534-542.
- Brink, Jean R. (1999). "Manuscript Culture Revisited," *Sidney Journal* 17.1, pp. 19-30.
- Brink, Jean R.; Maryanne C. Horowitz, and Allison P. Coudert (1991). (ed.) *Playing with Gender: A Renaissance Pursuit* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press).
- Brooks, Jeanice (2005). "Chivalric Romance, Courtly Love, and Courtly Song: Female Vocality and Feminine Desire in the World of *Amadis de Gaule*," in T. La May 2005, pp. 63-95.
- Brooks, Jeanice (2007). "Music As Erotic Magic in a Renaissance Romance," *RQ* 60.4, pp. 1207-1256.
- Brown, Cynthia Jane (1985). *The Shaping of History and Poetry in Late Medieval France: Propaganda and Artistic Expression in the Works of the Rhétoriciens* (Birmingham, AL: Summa Publications).
- Brownlee, Kevin; and Marina Scordilis Brownlee (1985). (ed.) *Romance: Generic Transformation from Chrétien de Troyes to Cervantes* (Hanover, NH and London: University Press of New England).
- Brownlee, Marina Scordilis (2000). "Romance at the Crossroads: Medieval Spanish Paradigms and Cervantine Revisions," in R. L. Krueger 2000, pp. 253-266.
- Brundage, James A. (1987). *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press).
- Brunhuber, Kaspar (1903). *Sir Philip Sidney's "Arcadia" und ihre Nachläufer* (Nürnberg: Edelman).

- Bueno Serrano, Ana Carmen (2004). "Las Inovaciones Formales de Feliciano de Silva en *Amadís de Grecia*: Una Coda Pastoril," in V. Arenas Lozano *et al* 2004, pp. 165-175.
- Bullough, Geoffrey (1957-1975). *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, 8 vols. (London: Routledge; New York: Columbia University Press).
- Burrow, Colin (1993). *Epic Romance: Homer to Milton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Butterworth, Charles E. (1986). *Philosophy, Ethics, and Virtuous Rule: A Study of Averroes' Commentary on Plato's "Republic,"* Cairo Papers in Social Science 9.1 (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press).
- Buxton, John (1954). *Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance* (London: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin's Press).
- Buxton, John (1972). "An Elizabethan Reading-List: An Unpublished Letter from Sir Philip Sidney," *TLS* (March 24), pp. 343-344.
- Cabello Porras, Gregorio; and Javier Campos Daroca (2002). (ed.) *Poéticas de la Metamorfosis: Tradición Clásica, Siglo de Oro, y Modernidad* (Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Málaga / Universidad de Almería).
- Cacho Bleuca, Juan Manuel (1986). "El Entrelazamiento en el *Amadís* y en las *Sergas de Esplandián*," in C. Alvar *et al* 1986, vol. 1, pp. 235-271.
- Cacho Bleuca, Juan Manuel (1993). "El Prólogo del *Libro del Caballero Zifar*: El *Exemplum* de Ferrán Martínez," in A. A. Nascimento & C. Almeida Ribeiro 1993, vol. 3, pp. 227-231.
- Cacho Bleuca, Juan Manuel (1999). "El Género del *Cifar* (Cromberger, 1512)," *TBICC* 54.1, pp. 76-105.
- Cacho Bleuca, Juan Manuel (2000). "El Universo Ficticio de Rodríguez de Montalvo: El *Amadís de Gaula* y las *Sergas de Esplandián*," in J.-P. Sánchez 2000, pp. 251-269.
- Cacho Bleuca, Juan Manuel (2002). "*Amadís de Gaula*," in C. Alvar & J. M. Lucía Megías 2002, pp. 192-198.
- Cacho Bleuca, Juan Manuel; Ana Carmen Bueno Serrano, Patricia Esteban Erlés, and Karla Xiomara Luna Mariscal (2007). (ed.) *De la Literatura Caballeresca al "Quijote"*, Colección Humanidades 61 (Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza).
- Caldwell, John; Edward Olleson, and Susan Wollenberg (1990). (ed.) *The Well Enchanting Skill: Music, Poetry, and Drama in the Culture of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Camargo, Martin (2003). "Defining Medieval Rhetoric," in C. J. Mews *et al* 2003, pp. 21-34.
- Carey, John (1987). "Structure and Rhetoric in Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*," in D. Kay 1987, pp. 245-264.
- Carlson, Eric Josef (1994). *Marriage and the English Reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Carranza, Paul [2005]. *Empire in a Small Space: Spanish Pastoral in Its Imperial Context*, Ph.D. thesis (University of Pennsylvania).
- Carrasco Pérez, Juan (1995). (ed.) *Europa en los Umbrales de la Crisis, 1250-1350: Actas de la XXI Semana de Estudios Medievales, Estella, 18 a 22 de Julio de 1994* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, Departamento de Educación y Cultura).

- Carro Carbajal, Eva Belén; Laura Puerto Moro, and María Sánchez Pérez (2002). (ed.) *Libros de Caballerías (De "Amadís" al "Quijote"): Poética, Lectura, Representación, e Identidad*, Publicaciones del SEMYR 3 (Salamanca: Gráficas Cervantes, for Sociedad de Estudios Medievales y Renacentistas).
- Carruthers, Mary J. (1990). *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Cartwright, Kent (1999). *Theatre and Humanism: English Drama in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Casey, James (1985). "Le Mariage Clandestin en Andalousie à l'Époque Moderne," in A. Redondo 1985, pp. 57-68.
- Castro, Américo (1948). *España en Su Historia: Cristianos, Moros, y Judíos* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada).
- Cátedra, Pedro M. (2002). "Realidad, Disfraz, e Identidad Caballeresca," in E. B. Carro Carbajal *et al* 2002, pp. 71-85.
- Catty, Jocelyn (1999). *Writing Rape, Writing Women in Early Modern England*, Early Modern Literature in History (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press; New York: St. Martin's Press).
- Cazauran, Nicole (2000). "Amadis de Gaule en 1540: Un Nouveau 'Roman de Chevalerie'?", in *Les Amadis en France au XVIe Siècle*, pp. 21-39.
- Celovsky, Lisa (1994). "Pyrocles' Warlike Peace: Sir Philip Sidney and Androgyny," in R. C. Trexler 1994, pp. 235-244.
- Chalifour, Clark L. (1976). "Sir Philip Sidney's *Old Arcadia* as Terentian Comedy," *SEL* 16.1, pp. 51-63.
- Challis, Lorna (1965). "The Use of Oratory in Sidney's *Arcadia*," *SP* 62.4, pp. 561-576.
- Chamberlain, Stephanie (2002). "The Demonization of Sidney's Cecropia: Erasing a Legal Identity," *Quidditas: Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 23, pp. 5-20.
- Chatelain, Jean-Marc. "L' Illustration d' *Amadis de Gaule* dans les Éditions Françaises du XVIe Siècle," in *Les Amadis en France au XVIe siècle*, pp. 42-52.
- Chaudhuri, Sukanta (1983). "The Eclogues in Sidney's *New Arcadia*," *RES* 35.138, pp. 185-202.
- Chaudhuri, Sukanta (1989). *Renaissance Pastoral and its English Developments* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Chaudhuri, Sukanta (1995) (ed.) *Renaissance Essays for Kitty Scoular Datta* (Calcutta: Oxford University Press).
- Cioni, Maria Lynn (1985). *Women and Law in Elizabethan England, with particular reference to the Court of Chancery*, British Economic History (New York: Garland).
- Civil, Pierre (2004). (ed.) *Siglos Dorados: Homenaje a Augustin Redondo*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Editorial Castalia).
- Clegg, Cyndia Susan (1997). *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Coe, Ada M.; Jorge Guillén, Anita Oyarzábal, and Justina Ruiz de Conde (1952). (ed.) *Estudios Hispánicos: Homenaje a Archer M. Huntington* (Wellesley, MA: Wellesley College).

- Cohen, E. Z. (1968). "The *Old Arcadia*: A Treatise on Moderation," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 48, pp. 749-770.
- Connell, Dorothy (1977). *Sir Philip Sidney: The Maker's Mind* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Considine, John (2002). "How Much Greek Did Philip Sidney Know?," *Sidney Journal* 20.2, pp. 57-78.
- Contreras, Jaime (1987). "The Impact of Protestantism in Spain, 1520-1600," in S. Haliczzer 1987, pp. 47-63.
- Cooke, Paul John [1939]. *The Spanish Romances in Sir Philip Sidney's "Arcadia,"* Ph.D. thesis (University of Illinois, Urbana).
- Cooper, Helen (2004). *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Copeland, Rita (1991). *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Corfis, Ivy A. (2007). "Conquest and Conversion in the Hispanic Chivalric Romance: The Case of *Reinaldos de Montalván*," in I. A. Corfis & R. Harris-Northall 2007, pp. 70-84.
- Corfis, Ivy A.; and Ray Harris-Northall (2007). (ed.) *Medieval Iberia: Changing Societies and Cultures in Contact and Transition*, Monografías 247 (London: Tamesis).
- Cormack, Bradin (2007). *A Power to Do Justice: Jurisdiction, English Literature, and the Rise of Common Law, 1509-1625* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press).
- Correa, Gustavo (1961). "El Templo de Diana en la Novela de Jorge de Montemayor," *TBICC* 16.1, pp. 59-76.
- Cotarelo y Mori, Emilio (1926). "Nuevas Noticias Biográficas de Feliciano de Silva," *BRAE* 13.62, pp. 129-139.
- Coulman, D. (1957). "'Spotted to be Known,'" *JWCI* 20.1-2, pp. 179-180.
- Council, Norman (1976). "*O Dea Certe*: The Allegory of the Fortress of Perfect Beauty," *HLQ* 39.4, pp. 329-341.
- Craft, William (1984). "The Shaping Picture of Love in Sidney's *New Arcadia*," *SP* 81.4, pp. 395-418.
- Craft, William (1985). "Remaking the Heroic Self in the *New Arcadia*," *SEL* 25.1, pp. 45-67.
- Craft, William (1994). *Labyrinth of Desire: Invention and Culture in the Work of Sir Philip Sidney* (Newark: University of Delaware Press).
- Craig, Hardin (1961). "The Composition of *King Lear*," *Renaissance Papers*, pp. 57-61.
- Cravens, Sydney Paul (1976). *Feliciano de Silva y los Antecedentes de la Novela Pastoril en Sus Libros de Caballerías*, Estudios de Hispanófila 38 (Madrid and Chapel Hill, NC: Editorial Castalia).
- Cravens, Sydney Paul (1978a). "Feliciano de Silva and His Romances of Chivalry in *Don Quijote*," *Inti: Revista de Literatura Hispánica* 7, pp. 28-34.

- Cravens, Sydney Paul (1978b) "The *Ínsula Deleitosa* Tale in Alonso Núñez de Reinoso's *Clareo y Florisea*: A Tribute to Feliciano de Silva," *Hispanófila* 64, pp. 1-6.
- Cravens, Sydney Paul (2000). "Amadís de Gaula Reivindicado por Feliciano de Silva," *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 48.1, pp. 51-69.
- Creel, Bryant L. (1981). *The Religious Poetry of Jorge de Montemayor* (London: Tamesis).
- Creel, Bryant L. (1985). "Reformist Dialectics and Poetic Adaptations of Psalm 137, 'Super Flumina Babylonis,' in Portugal in the Sixteenth Century," in M. Lourdes Belchior & E. Martínez-López 1985, pp. 85-92.
- Creel, Bryant L. (1990). "Aesthetics of Change in a Renaissance Pastoral: New Ideals of Moral Culture in Montemayor's *Diana*," *Hispanófila* 99, pp. 1-27.
- Creel, Bryant L. (2004). *The Voice of the Phoenix: Metaphors of Death and Rebirth in Classics of the Iberian Renaissance*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 272 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies).
- Cuesta Torre, María Luzdivina (1996). "Libros de Caballerías y Propaganda Política: Un Trasunto Novelesco de Carlos V," in J. M. Pozuelo Yvancos & F. Vicente Gómez 1996, vol. 1, pp. 553-560.
- Cuesta Torre, María Luzdivina (1997). "Adaptación, Refundición e Imitación: De la Materia Artúrica a los Libros de Caballerías," *Revista de Poética Medieval* 1, pp. 35-70.
- Cuesta Torre, María Luzdivina (1998). "La Teoría Renacentista de la Imitación y los Libros de Caballerías," in J. Matas Caballero *et al* 1998, pp. 297-304.
- Cuesta Torre, María Luzdivina (2001). "Las Ínsulas del Zifar y el *Amadís*, y Otras Islas de Hadas y Gigantes," in J. Acebrón Ruiz 2001, pp. 11-39.
- Cuesta Torre, María Luzdivina (2002a). "La Realidad Histórica en la Ficción de los Libros de Caballerías," in E. B. Carro Carbajal *et al* 2002, pp. 87-109.
- Cuesta Torre, María Luzdivina (2002b). "*El Rey don Tristán de Leonís el Joven* (1534)," *Edad de Oro* 21 [special issue on chivalric romances], pp. 305-334.
- Damiani, Bruno M. (1983). "*La Diana*" of Montemayor as Social & Religious Teaching, *Studies in Romance Languages* 28 (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky).
- Dana, Margaret E. (1973). "Heroic and Pastoral: Sidney's *Arcadia* as Masquerade," *Comparative Literature* 25.4, pp. 308-320.
- Dana, Margaret E. (1977). "The Providential Plot of the *Old Arcadia*," *SEL* 17.1, pp. 39-57.
- Daniels, Marie Cort (1983). "Feliciano de Silva: A Sixteenth-Century Reader-Writer of Romance," in R. E. Surtz & N. Weinerth 1983, pp. 77-88.
- Daniels, Marie Cort (1992). *The Function of Humor in the Spanish Romances of Chivalry*, Harvard Dissertations in Romance Languages (New York: Garland).
- Danvila, Alfonso (1956). *Felipe II y la Sucesión de Portugal* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe).
- Dauffmann, Georg (1991). (ed.) *Die Renaissance im Blick der Nationen Europas* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz).
- Davis, Alex (2003). *Chivalry and Romance in the English Renaissance*, *Studies in Renaissance Literature* 11 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer).
- Davis, Walter R. (1965). *A Map of Arcadia: Sidney's Romance in Its Tradition*, in W. R. Davis & R. A. Lanham 1965, pp. 1-179.

- Davis, Walter R.; and Richard A. Lanham (1965). *Sidney's Arcadia*, Yale Studies in English 158 (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press).
- Dean, William (1993). "Henry Oxinden's Key (1628) to *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*: Some Facts and Conjectures," *Sidney Newsletter & Journal* 12.2, pp. 14-21.
- Devereux, James A. (1982). "The Meaning of Delight in Sidney's *Defence of Poesy*," *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 15.1 [special issue on Sidney], pp. 85-97.
- Dewar-Watson, Sarah (2007). "Aristotle and Tragicomedy," in S. Mujherji & R. Lyne 2007, pp. 15-27.
- Deyermond, Alan (1964 [1966]). "El Hombre Salvaje en la Novela Sentimental," *Filología* 10, pp. 97-111.
- Díaz Esteban, Fernando (1994). (ed.) *Los Judaizantes en Europa y la Literatura Castellana del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Letrúmero).
- Dipple, Elizabeth (1967). "The 'Fore Conceit' of Sidney's Eclogues," *Literary Monographs* 1, pp. 2-47 (text), 301-303 (notes).
- Dipple, Elizabeth (1968). "Harmony and Pastoral in the *Old Arcadia*," *ELH* 35.3, pp. 309-328.
- Dipple, Elizabeth (1970). "'Unjust Justice' in the *Old Arcadia*," *SEL* 10.1, pp. 83-101.
- Dipple, Elizabeth (1971). "Metamorphosis in Sidney's *Arcadias*," *PQ* 50.1, pp. 47-62. [reproduced as A. F. Kinney 1986b, pp. 327-345]
- Dobell, Bertram (1909). "New Light upon Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*," *Quarterly Review* 211, pp. 74-100.
- Doherty, Mary J. (1991). *The Mistress-Knowledge: Sir Philip Sidney's "Defence of Poesie" and Literary Architectonics in the English Renaissance* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press).
- Dolven, Jeffrey (2007). *Scenes of Instruction in Renaissance Romance* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press).
- Doran, Madeleine (1933). "Elements in the Composition of *King Lear*," *SP* 30.1, pp. 34-58.
- Doran, Susan (1996). *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* (London: Routledge).
- Drennan, William R. (1986). "Or Know Your Strengths: Sidney's Attitude to Rebellion in 'Ister Banke,'" *N&Q* n.s. 33.3, pp. 339b-340b.
- Dubrow, Heather; and Richard Strier (1988). (ed.) *Historical Renaissance: New Essays on Tudor and Stuart Literature and Culture* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press).
- Duby, Georges (1983). *The Knight, the Lady, and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France*, trans. Barbara Bray (New York: Pantheon Books).
- Duffy, Eamon; and David Loades (2006). (ed.) *The Church of Mary Tudor* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Duhamel, P. Albert (1948). "Sidney's *Arcadia* and Elizabethan Rhetoric," *SP* 45.2, pp. 134-150.
- Duncan-Jones, Katherine (1966). "Sidney's *Urania*," *RES* 17.66, pp. 123-132.
- Duncan-Jones, Katherine (1970). "Sidney's Personal *Imprese*," *JWCI* 33, pp. 321-324.
- Duncan-Jones, Katherine (1974). "Sidney in Samothea: A Forgotten National Myth," *RES* 25.98, pp. 174-177.

- Duncan-Jones, Katherine (1987). "Sidney in Samothea Yet Again," *RES* 38.150, pp. 226-227.
- Duncan-Jones, Katherine (1991). *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press).
- Duncan-Jones, Katherine (1996). "Sir Philip Sidney's Debt to Edmund Campion," in T. M. McCoog 1996, pp. 85-102.
- Duncan-Jones, Katherine (1997). "Liquid Prisoners: Shakespeare's Re-Writings of Sidney," *Sidney Journal* 15.2, pp. 3-20.
- Duggan, Joseph J. (2001). *The Romances of Chrétien de Troyes* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press).
- Dyer, Abigail (2003). "Seduction by Promise of Marriage: Law, Sex, and Culture in Seventeenth Century Spain," *SCJ* 34.2, pp. 439-455.
- Earenfight, Theresa (2005). (ed.) *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain, Women and Gender in the Early Modern World* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Eden, Kathy (1986). *Poetic and Legal Fiction in the Aristotelian Tradition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Eden, Kathy (1997). *Hermeneutics and the Rhetorical Tradition: Chapters in the Ancient Legacy & Its Humanist Reception*, Yale Studies in Hermeneutics (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press).
- Edwards, John H. (2006). "Spanish Religious Influence in Marian England," in E. Duffy & D. Loades 2006, pp. 201-224.
- Edwards, John H.; and Ronald W. Truman (2005). (ed.) *Reforming Catholicism in the England of Mary Tudor: The Achievement of Friar Bartolomé Carranza* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Eisele, Gillian (1980). "A Reappraisal of the 1534 Sequel to *Don Tristán de Leonís*," *Tristania* 5.2, pp. 28-44.
- Eisenberg, Daniel (1974-1975). "The Pseudo-Historicity of the Romances of Chivalry," *Quaderni Ibero-Americani* 45-46, pp. 253-259 [reproduced as D. Eisenberg 1982, pp. 119-129]
- Eisenberg, Daniel (1982). *Romances of Chivalry in the Spanish Golden Age*, Documentación Cervantina 3 (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta).
- Eisenberg, Daniel; and María Carmen Marín Pina (2000). *Bibliografía de los Libros de Caballerías Castellanos*, Colección Humanidades 40 (Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza).
- Elliott, John H. (1963). *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (London: Edward Arnold; rpt. Penguin Books, 1990).
- Enguita Utrilla, José María (1999). (ed.) *Jornadas de Filología Aragonesa*, 2 vols. (Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico").
- Erlés, Patricia Esteban (2007). "Aproximación al Estudio de la Magia en los Primeros Libros del Ciclo Amadisiano," in J. M. Cacho Blecua *et al* 2007, pp. 185-199.
- Esteva de Llobet, María Dolores (1989). "Hacia la Concepción de una Teoría de la Moral Política en Jorge de Montemayor: El *Regimiento de Príncipes* y la *Epístola a un Grande de España*," in A. Sotelo Vázquez & M. C. Carbonell 1989, vol. 1, pp. 245-263.

- Esteva de Llobet, Lola [i.e., María Dolores] (2004). "Los Cancioneros de Jorge de Montemayor: El *Cancionero del Poeta* (1554) y el *Segundo Cancionero Espiritual* (1558)," in M. L. Lobato & F. Domínguez Matito 2004, pp. 761-773.
- Fabry, Frank J. (1970). "Sidney's Verse Adaptations to Two Sixteenth-Century Italian Art Songs," *RQ* 23.3, pp. 237-255.
- Fabry, Frank J. (1973). "Sidney's Poetry and Italian Song-Form," *ELR* 3.2, pp. 232-248.
- Fakhry, Majid (1968). "Philosophy and Scripture in the Theology of Averroes," *Mediaeval Studies* 30, pp. 78-89.
- Fakhry, Majid (1997). *Averroes, Aquinas, and The Rediscovery of Aristotle in Western Europe*, Occasional Papers (Washington, DC: Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, History and International Affairs, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University).
- Fakhry, Majid (2004). *A History of Islamic Philosophy*, 3rd Edition (New York: Columbia University Press).
- Fanlo, Jean-Raymond; and Marie-Dominique Legrand (2002). (ed.) *Le Mythe de Diane en France au XVIe Siècle: Actes du Colloque du 29-31 Mai 2001*, Albineana 14 (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion).
- Farmer, Norman K., Jr. (1984). *Poets and the Visual Arts in Renaissance England* (Austin: University of Texas Press).
- Fiumara, Francesco [2005]. "*Tradotti pur Hora*": *Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano e la Diffusione del Romanzo Cavalleresco Spagnolo nell' Italia della Controriforma*, Ph.D. thesis (Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD).
- Fogelquist, James Donald (1982). *El "Amadís" y el Género de la Historia Fingida* (Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas; Potomac, MD: Studia Humanitatis).
- Forcione, Alban K. (1970). *Cervantes, Aristotle, and the "Persiles"* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Fortier, Mark (2005). *The Culture of Equity in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Fortuno Llorens, Santiago; and Tomàs Martínez Romero (1999). (ed.) *Actes del Nuovo Congrès de l'Associació Hispànica de Literatura Medieval (Castelló de la Plana, 22-26 de Setembre de 1997)*, Coleccão Medievalia (Castelló de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I).
- Fosalba, Eugenia (1994). *La Diana en Europa: Ediciones, Traducciones e Influencias* (Barcelona: Seminari de Filologia i d'Informàtica, Departament de Filologia Espanyola, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona).
- Fuchs, Barbara (2001). *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities*, Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture 40 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Fuchs, Barbara (2004). *Romance, The New Critical Idiom* (London: Routledge).
- Fumaroli, Marc (1985). "Jacques Amyot and the Clerical Polemic Against the Chivalric Novel," *RQ* 38.1, pp. 22-40.
- Gaibrois de Ballesteros, Mercedes (1936). *María de Molina, Tres Veces Reina* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe); rpt. (Barcelona: Planeta DeAgostini, 2008).
- Gallagher, Patrick; and Don W. Cruickshank (1990). (ed.) *God's Obvious Design: Papers for the Spanish Armada Symposium, Sligo, 1988, with an Edition and Translation of the Account of Francisco de Cuéllar* (London: Tamesis Books).

- Galm, John A. (1973). *Sidney's Arcadian Poems*, Salzburg Studies in English Literature, Elizabethan Studies 1 (Salzburg: Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, Universität Salzburg).
- García Rojas, Axayácatl Campos (2001). "La Ínsula del Ploto en *Tristán de Leonís* y la Construcción de un Legado: El Modelo Ejemplar de los Reyes Católicos," in J. Acebrón Ruiz 2001, pp. 75-96.
- Giese, Loreen L. (2006). *Courtships, Marriage Customs, and Shakespeare's Comedies* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Gil-Albarellos, Susana (1997). "Debates Renacentistas en Torno a la Materia Caballeresca: Estudio Comparativo en Italia y España," *Exemplaria: Revista Internacional de Literatura Comparada* 1, pp. 43-73.
- Gil-Albarellos, Susana (1999). "*Amadís de Gaula*" y el Género Caballeresco en España (Valladolid: Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Editorial, Universidad de Valladolid).
- Giráldez, Susan (2003). "*Las Sergas de Esplandián*" y la España de los Reyes Católicos (New York: Peter Lang).
- Godshalk, William Leigh (1964). "Sidney's Revision of the *Arcadia*, Books III-V," *PQ* 43.2, pp. 161-184. [reproduced as A. F. Kinney 1986b, pp. 311-326]
- Godshalk, William Leigh (1978). "Correspondence," *RES* 29.115, pp. 325-326.
- Godshalk, William Leigh (1980). "Correspondence," *RES* 31.122, p. 192.
- Goldman, Marcus Seldon (1934). *Sir Philip Sidney and the "Arcadia,"* Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 17.1-2 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press).
- Goldring, Elizabeth (2004). "The Earl of Leicester and Portraits of the Duc d'Alençon," *The Burlington Magazine* 146 (February), pp. 108-111.
- Gómez Redondo, Fernando (1981). "El Prólogo del *Çifar*: Realidad, Ficción, y Poética," *RFE* 61, pp. 85-112.
- Gómez Redondo, Fernando (1994). *La Prosa del Siglo XIV* (Madrid: Júcar).
- Gómez Redondo, Fernando (1998). *Historia de la Prosa Medieval Castellana, I: La Creación del Discurso Prosístico: El Entramado Cortesano* (Madrid: Cátedra).
- Gómez Redondo, Fernando (1999). *Historia de la Prosa Medieval Castellana, II: El Desarrollo de los Géneros: La Ficción Caballeresca y el Orden Religioso* (Madrid: Cátedra).
- Gómez Redondo, Fernando (2002). *Historia de la Prosa Medieval Castellana, III: Los Orígenes del Humanismo: El Marco Cultural de Enrique II y Juan II* (Madrid: Cátedra).
- Gómez Redondo, Fernando (2007). *Historia de la Prosa Medieval Castellana, IV: El Reinado de Enrique IV: El Final de la Edad Media* (Madrid: Cátedra).
- González Argüelles, Eloy R. (2001). *La Conclusión del "Amadís de Gaula": "Las Sergas de Esplandián" de Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo* (Potomac, MD: Scripta Humanistica).
- González, Eloy R.; and Jennifer T. Roberts (1978). "Montalvo's Recantation, Revisited," *BHS* 55.3 (1978), pp. 203-210.
- Gorris, Rosanna (1996). "'Du Sens Mystique des Romans Antiques': Il Paratesto degli *Amadigi* di Jacques Gohory," in M. Barsi 1996, pp. 61-83.
- Gorris, Rosanna (2000). "Pour une Lecture Stéganographique des *Amadis* de Jacques Gohory," in *Les Amadis en France au XVIe siècle*, pp. 127-156.

- Gorris, Rosanna (2002). "Diane de Guindaye, Pentasilée et les Autres, ou les Diane de Jacques Gohory," in J.-R. Fanlo & M.-D. Legrand 2002, pp. 291-332.
- Görtschacher, Wolfgang; and Holger Klein (1995). (ed.) *Narrative Strategies in Early English Fiction*, Salzburg Studies in English Literature, Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 118 (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press).
- Gracia, Paloma (1991). *Las Señales del Destino Heroico* (Barcelona: Montesinos).
- Gracia, Paloma (1996). "El Ciclo de la *Post-Vulgata* Artúrica y Sus Versiones Hispánicas," *VL* 7.1, pp. 5-15.
- Gracia, Paloma (1999). "Sobre el Espíritu del Primer *Amadís de Gaula*," *RLM* 11, pp. 247-253.
- Gray, Hanna (1963). "Renaissance Humanism: The Pursuit of Eloquence," *JHI* 24.4, pp. 498-502.
- Green, Lawrence D. (1994). "Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and Renaissance Views of the Emotions," in P. Mack 1994, pp. 1-26.
- Greenblatt, Stephen J. (1973). "Sidney's *Arcadia* and the Mixed Mode," *SP* 70.3, pp. 269-278. [reproduced as A. F. Kinney 1986b, pp. 347-356]
- Greene, Thomas M. (1982). *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press).
- Greenfield, Thelma N. (1982). *The Eye of Judgment: Reading the "New Arcadia"* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press).
- Greg, Walter W. (1906). *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama* (London: A. H. Bullen).
- Guardiola, Conrado (1988). "La Mención del *Amadís* en el *Regimiento de Príncipes*, Aclarada," in V. Beltrán 1988, pp. 337-345.
- Haber, Judith (1994). *Pastoral and the Poetics of Self-Contradiction: Theocritus to Marvell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Hackett, Helen (2000). *Women and Romance Fiction in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Hadfield, Andrew (1994). *Literature, Politics, and National Identity: Reformation to Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Hadfield, Andrew (2006). "King Lear and Sidney," *N&Q* n.s. 53.4, pp. 489b-490b.
- Hager, Alan (1991). *Dazzling Images: The Masks of Sir Philip Sidney* (Newark: University of Delaware Press).
- Haliczer, Stephen (1987). (ed.) *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe* (London: Croom Helm).
- Hamilton, Alastair (1992). *Heresy and Mysticism in Sixteenth-Century Spain: The Alumbrados* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press).
- Hamilton, Albert Charles (1972). "Sidney's *Arcadia* As Prose Fiction: Its Relation to Its Sources," *ELR* 2.1 [special issue on Sidney], pp. 29-59.
- Hamilton, Albert Charles (1977). *Sir Philip Sidney: A Study of His Life and Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Hamilton, Albert Charles (1996). "Problems in Reconstructing an Elizabethan Text: The Example of Sir Philip Sidney's 'Triumph'," *ELR* 26.3 (1996), pp. 451-481.
- Hamilton, Donna B. (2005). *Anthony Munday and the Catholics, 1560-1633* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Hanford, James Holly; and Sara Ruth Watson (1934). "Personal Allegory in the *Arcadia*: Philisides and Lelius," *MP* 32.1, pp. 1-10.

- Hannay, David (1898). *The Later Renaissance*, Volume 6 of *Periods in European Literature*, ed. George Saintsbury (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons); rpt. Burt Franklin Research & Source Works 55 (New York: Burt Franklin, 1964).
- Hannay, Margaret P. (1990). *Philip's Phoenix: Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Hannay, Margaret P. (2002). "The Countess of Pembroke's Agency in Print and Scribal Culture," in G. L. Justice & N. Tinker 2002, pp. 17-49.
- Harbage, Alfred C.; and S. Schoenbaum (1964). *Annals of English Drama* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).
- Hardin, Richard F. (2007). "Encountering Plautus in the Renaissance: A Humanist Debate on Comedy," *RQ* 60.3, pp. 789-818.
- Hardison, Osborne Bennett, Jr. (1962). *The Enduring Monument: A Study of the Idea of Praise in Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press).
- Hardison, Osborne Bennett, Jr. (1970). "The Place of Averroes' Commentary on the *Poetics* in the History of Medieval Criticism," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies: Proceedings of the Southeastern Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 4, pp. 57-81. [reproduced as "Aristotle and Averroes" in O. B. Hardison 1997, pp. 21-36]
- Hardison, Osborne Bennett, Jr. (1972). "The Two Voices of Sidney's *Apology for Poetry*," *ELR* 2.1 [special issue on Sidney], pp. 83-99. [reproduced in A. F. Kinney 1986b and in O. B. Hardison 1997]
- Hardison, Osborne Bennett, Jr. (1997). *Poetics and Praxis, Understanding and Imagination: The Collected Essays of O. B. Hardison, Jr.*, ed. Arthur F. Kinney (Athens: University of Georgia Press).
- Harkness, Andrea L. [2005]. "*Invidiam Viam Aut Faciam*"—"I Will Find a Way or Make One": *The Poetic Practice of Political Counsel in the Courts of Elizabeth I and James I*, Ph.D. thesis (University of New Hampshire).
- Harmon, A. G. (2004). *Eternal Bonds, True Contracts: Law and Nature in Shakespeare's Problem Plays* (Albany: State University of New York Press).
- Harney, Michael P. (2001). *Kinship and Marriage in Medieval Hispanic Chivalric Romance*, Westfield Publications in Medieval and Renaissance Studies 11 (Turnhout: Brepols).
- Harney, Michael P. (2005). "Amity and Polity in Spanish Chivalric Romances," in B. Taylor & G. West 2005, pp. 135-170.
- Harrison, Stephen J. *Generic Enrichment in Vergil and Horace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Harrison, T. P., Jr. (1926). "A Source of Sidney's *Arcadia*," *Texas Studies in English* 6, pp. 53-71.
- Harvey, L. P. (1997). "The Arms of Madrid and the Warwick Arms: Some Reflections on the Bear and Ragged Staff," in I. R. Macpherson & R. J. Penny 1997, pp. 177-187.
- Hauben, Paul J. (1967). *Three Spanish Heretics and the Reformation: Antonio del Corro, Cassiodoro de Reina, Cypriano de Valera*, *Études de Philologie et d'Histoire* 3 (Geneva: Droz).

- Hauben, Paul J. (1969). "Reform and Counter-Reform: The Case of the Spanish Heretics," in T. K. Rabb & J. E. Seigel 1969, pp. 154-168.
- Haugen, Kristine Louise (2007). "Aristotle My Beloved: Poetry, Diagnosis, and the Dreams of Julius Caesar Scaliger," *RQ* 60.3, pp. 819-851.
- Hearsey, Marguerite (1933). "Sidney's *Defense of Poesy* and Amyot's *Preface* in North's *Plutarch: A Relationship*," *SP* 30.4, pp. 535-550.
- Helgerson, Richard (1976). *The Elizabethan Prodigals* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press).
- Helgerson, Richard (1992). *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press).
- Hemholz, R. H. (1990). *Roman Canon Law in Reformation England*, Cambridge Studies in English Legal History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; rpt. 2004).
- Heninger, S. K., Jr. (1982). "'Metaphor' and Sidney's *Defence of Poesie*," *John Donne Journal: Studies in the Age of Donne* 1, pp. 117-149.
- Heninger, S. K., Jr. (1983). "Sidney and Serranus' *Plato*," *ELR* 13.2, pp. 146-161.
- Heninger, S. K., Jr. (1989). *Sidney and Spenser: The Poet as Maker* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press).
- Hernández, Francisco J. (1978) "Ferrán Martínez, 'Escrivano del Rey,' Canónigo de Toledo, y Autor del *Libro del Cavallero Zifar*," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 81, pp. 289-325.
- Herrick, Marvin T. (1946). *The Fusion of Horatian and Aristotelian Literary Criticism, 1531-1555* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press).
- Heusch, Carlos (1988). *Index des Commentateurs Hispaniques d'Aristote (XIIe-XVe Siècles)* (Paris: Université de la Sorbonne-Nouvelle).
- Heusch, Carlos (1990-1991). "Entre Didactismo y Heterodoxia: Vicisitudes del Estudio de la *Ética* Aristotélica en la España Escolástica (Siglos XIII y XIV)," *La Corónica* 19.2, pp. 89-99.
- Heusser, Martin; Claus Clüver, Leo Hoek, and Lauren Weingarden (1998). (ed.) *The Pictured Word, Word & Image Interactions 2* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi).
- Hill, Herbert Wynford (1908). "Sidney's *Arcadia* and the Elizabethan Drama," *University of Nevada Studies* 1, pp. 1-59.
- Holt, Mack P. (1986). *The Duke of Anjou and the Politique Struggle during the Wars of Religion*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Höltgen, Karl Josef (1981). "Why Are There No Wolves in England?: Philip Camerarius and a German Version of Sidney's Table Talk," *Anglia: Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie* 99.1-2, pp. 60-82.
- Homenaje al Profesor Carriazo*, 3 vols. (Seville: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1971-1973).
- Houlbrooke, Ralph A. (1979). *Church Courts and the People during the English Reformation, 1520-1570* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Houlbrooke, Ralph A. (1985). "The Making of Marriage in Mid-Tudor England: Evidence from the Records of Matrimonial Contract Litigation," *Journal of Family History* 10.4, pp. 339-352.

- Hunt, Marvin (1992). "Consorting with Catholics: Sir Philip Sidney and 'The Prayers of All Good Men,'" *Sidney Newsletter & Journal* 12.1, pp. 21-28.
- Hutson, Lorna (2007). *Invention of Suspicion: Law and Mimesis in Shakespeare and Renaissance Drama* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Ingram, Martin (1987). *Church Courts, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1570-1640*, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Irvine, Martin (1994). *The Making of Textual Culture: "Grammatica" and Literary Theory, 350-1100*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 19 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- James, Heather (1997). *Shakespeare's Troy: Drama, Politics, and the Translation of Empire*, Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture 22 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Jardine, Lisa (1988). "Humanistic Logic," in C. B. Schmitt 1988, pp. 173-198.
- Jeny, Neda (1989). *Notable Images of Virtues and Vices: Character Types in Sir Philip Sidney's "New Arcadia,"* American University Studies, Comparative Literature 24 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang).
- Jiménez Ruiz, José (2002). "De Feliciano de Silva al *Persiles*: La Metamorphosis del Hombre en Mujer Como Recurso de Estructura y Género," in G. Cabello Porras & J. Campos Daroca 2002, pp. 117-162.
- Jordan, Constance; and Karen Cunningham (2007). (ed.) *The Law in Shakespeare*, Early Modern Literature in History (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Jost, Walter; and Wendy Olmsted (2004). (ed.) *A Companion to Rhetoric and Rhetorical Criticism*, Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture 22 (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Joyce, George Hayward (1933). *Christian Marriage: An Historical and Doctrinal Study* (London and New York: Sheed & Ward).
- Justice, George L.; and Nathan Tinker (2002). (ed.) *Women's Writing and the Circulation of Ideas: Manuscript Publication in England, 1550-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Kahn, Victoria; and Lorna Hutson (2001). (ed.) *Rhetoric and Law in Early Modern Europe* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press).
- Kallendorf, Craig (1983). "The Rhetorical Criticism of Literature in Early Italian Humanism from Boccaccio to Landino," *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 1.2, pp. 33-59. [rpt. in C. Kallendorf 2007]
- Kallendorf, Craig (1988). "Virgil, Dante, and Empire in Italian Thought, 1300-1500," *Vergilius* 34, pp. 44-69. [rpt. in C. Kallendorf 2007]
- Kallendorf, Craig (1989). *In Praise of Aeneas: Virgil and Epideictic Rhetoric in the Early Italian Renaissance* (Hanover, NH and London: University Press of New England).
- Kallendorf, Craig (2007). *The Virgilian Tradition: Book History and the History of Reading in Early Modern Europe*, Variorum Collected Studies (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Kalstone, David (1965). *Sidney's Poetry: Contexts and Interpretations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Kamen, Henry (1993). *The Phoenix and the Flame: Catalonia and the Counter Reformation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press).

- Kamen, Henry (1998). *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press).
- Kay, Dennis (1987). (ed.) *Sir Philip Sidney: An Anthology of Modern Criticism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Kay, Dennis (1992). "'She was a Queen, and therefore beautiful': Sidney, His Mother, and Queen Elizabeth," *RES* 43.169, pp. 18-39.
- Keenan, Julie Eileen [1994]. *Sir Philip Sidney and the Politics of Protestant Counsel*, Ph.D. thesis (University of Maryland, College Park).
- Kelly, Douglas (1978). "Translatio Studii: Translation, Adaptation, and Allegory in Medieval French Literature," *PQ* 57.3, pp. 287-310.
- Kelly, Douglas (1985). "Romance and the Vanity of Chrétien de Troyes," in K. Brownlee & M. S. Brownlee 1985, pp. 74-90.
- Kelly, Douglas (2005). "Narrative Poetics: Rhetoric, Orality, and Performance," in N. J. Lacy & J. T. Grimbert 2005, pp. 52-63.
- Kelly, Henry Ansgar (1975). *Love and Marriage in the Age of Chaucer* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press).
- Kelly, Henry Ansgar (1979). "Aristotle-Averroes-Alemannus on Tragedy: The Influence of the *Poetics* on the Latin Middle Ages," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 10, pp. 161-209.
- Kelly, Henry Ansgar (1993). *Ideas and Forms of Tragedy from Aristotle to the Middle Ages*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 18 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Kerr, S. Parnell (1955). "Philip Sidney: Graian," *Gray: A Magazine for Members of Gray's Inn* 41, pp. 48-52.
- Kettering, Sharon (1989). "The Patronage Power of Early Modern French Noblewomen," *HJ* 32.4, pp. 817-841.
- Kimbrough, Robert (1971). *Sir Philip Sidney*, Twayne English Authors Series 114 (New York: Twayne Publishers).
- Kingdon, Robert M.; and John Witte, Jr. (2005). *Sex, Marriage, and Family in John Calvin's Geneva*, vol. 1: *Courtship, Engagement, and Marriage*, Religion, Marriage, and Family Series (Grand Rapids, MI: W. B. Eerdmans).
- Kinney, Clare R. (1991). "The Masks of Love: Desire and Metamorphosis in Sidney's *New Arcadia*," *Criticism: A Quarterly for Literature and the Arts* 33.4, pp. 461-490.
- Kinney, Clare R. (1995). "Chivalry Unmasked: Courtly Spectacle and the Abuses of Romance in Sidney's *New Arcadia*," *SEL* 35.1, pp. 35-52.
- Kinney, Arthur F. (1972). "Parody and Its Implications in Sidney's *Defense of Poesie*," *SEL* 12.1, pp. 1-19.
- Kinney, Arthur F. (1983). "Rhetoric and Fiction in Elizabethan England," in J. J. Murphy 1983, pp. 385-393.
- Kinney, Arthur F. (1986a). *Humanist Poetics: Thought, Rhetoric, and Fiction in Sixteenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press).
- Kinney, Arthur F. (1986b). (ed.) *Essential Articles for the Study of Sir Philip Sidney* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books).
- Kinney, Arthur F. (1988). "Sir Philip Sidney and the Uses of History," in H. Dubrow & R. Strier 1988, pp. 293-314.

- Kinney, Arthur F. (1989). *Continental Humanist Poetics: Studies in Erasmus, Castiglione, Marguerite de Navarre, Rabelais, and Cervantes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press).
- Kinney, Arthur F. (1990). "Puritans Versus Royalists: Sir Philip Sidney's Rhetoric at the Court of Elizabeth I," in M. J. B. Allen *et al* 1990, pp. 42-56.
- Kinney, Arthur F. (1996). (ed.) *Classical, Renaissance, and Postmodernist Acts of the Imagination: Essays Commemorating O. B. Hardison, Jr.* (Newark: University of Delaware Press).
- Kinney, Arthur F. (2004). "Continental Poetics," in W. Jost & W. Olmsted 2004, pp. 80-95.
- Kohut, Karl (2002). "Teoría Literaria Humanística y Libros de Caballerías," in E. B. Carro Carbajal *et al* 2002, pp. 173-185.
- Kraye, Jill (1999). (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Krueger, Roberta L. (2000). (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Kuin, Roger (1997). "Elective Affinities: Sidney and the New Languet Biography," *Sidney Newsletter & Journal* 15.1, pp. 61-77.
- Kuin, Roger (1999). "Sir Philip Sidney's Model of the Statesman," *Reformation* 4, pp. 93-117.
- Kuin, Roger (2002). "The Text of the Plural, The Plural of the Text," review essay on A. Stewart 2000, *Sidney Journal* 20.2, pp. 79-86.
- Lacy, Norris J.; and Joan Tasker Grimbert (2005). (ed.) *A Companion to Chrétien de Troyes*, Arthurian Studies (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer).
- Lake, Peter; and Michael C. Questier (2000). "Puritans, Papists, and the 'Public Sphere' in Early Modern England: The Edmund Campion Affair in Context," *Journal of Modern History* 72.3, pp. 587-627.
- La May, Theresa (2005). (ed.) *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women: Many-Headed Melodies*, Women and Gender in the Early Modern World (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Lamb, Mary Ellen (1990). *Gender and Authorship in the Sidney Circle* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press).
- Lamb, Mary Ellen (1997). "Exhibiting Class and Displaying the Body in Sidney's *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*," *SEL* 37.1, pp. 55-72.
- Lanham, Richard A. (1965). *The Old Arcadia*, in W. R. Davis & R. A. Lanham 1965, pp. 181-405.
- Lapesa, Rafael (1956). "El Lenguaje del *Amadís* Manuscrito," *BRAE* 36, pp. 219-225.
- Lastra Paz, Silvia Cristina (1994). "Tipología Espacial en el *Amadís de Gaula*," *Incipit* 14, pp. 173-192.
- Lawrance, Jeremy N. (1979). *Un Tratado de Alonso de Cartagena sobre la Educación y los Estudios Literarios* (Barcelona: Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona).
- Lawry, Jon S. (1972). *Sidney's Two "Arcadias": Pattern and Proceeding* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press).
- Le Gentil, Pierre (1966). "Pour l'Interprétation de l'*Amadis*," in *Mélanges à la Mémoire de Jean Sarrailh*, 2 vols. (Paris: Centre de Recherches de l'Institut d'Études Hispaniques), vol. 1, pp. 47-54.

- Lee, Sidney (1910). *The French Renaissance in England: An Account of the Literary Relations of England and France in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Levy, F. J. (1964). "Sir Philip Sidney and the Idea of History," *BHR* 26.3, pp. 608-617.
- Lewis, Clive Staples (1954). *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama*, The Oxford History of English Literature 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Les Amadis en France au XVIe Siècle*, Cahiers V. L. Saulnier 17 (Paris: Éditions Rue d'Ulm, for Centre V. L. Saulnier, Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2000).
- Lida de Malkiel, María Rosa (1953). "El Desenlace del *Amadís Primitivo*," *Romance Philology* 6, pp. 283-289.
- Lida de Malkiel, María Rosa (1959). "Arthurian Literature in Spain and Portugal," in R. S. Loomis 1959, pp. 406-418.
- Lindenbaum, Peter (1984). "The Geography of Sidney's *Arcadia*," *PQ* 63.4, pp. 524-531.
- Lindenbaum, Peter (1986). *Changing Landscapes: Anti-Pastoral Sentiment in the English Renaissance* (Athens: University of Georgia Press).
- Lindheim, Nancy R. (1972). "Vision, Revision, and the 1593 Text of the *Arcadia*," *ELR* 2.1 [special issue on Sidney], pp. 136-147.
- Lindheim, Nancy R. (1982). *The Structures of Sidney's "Arcadia"* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press).
- Linehan, Peter (1993). *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Lobato, María Luisa; and Francisco Domínguez Matito (2004). (ed.) *Memoria de la Palabra: Actas del VI Congreso de la Asociación Internacional Siglo de Oro (Burgos-La Rioja, 15-19 de Julio 2002)* (Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt: Vervuet).
- Lockey, Brian C. (2006). *Law and Empire in English Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Loewenstein, David; and Janel Mueller (2002). (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Early Modern Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Loomis, Roger Sherman (1959). (ed.) *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages: A Collaborative History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- López Bueno, Begoña (2002). (ed.) *La Égloga: VI Encuentro Internacional sobre Poesía del Siglo de Oro (Universidades de Sevilla y Córdoba, 20-23 de Noviembre de 2000)* (Seville: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla).
- López Estrada, Francisco (1956). "La Epístola de Jorge de Montemayor a Diego Ramírez Pagán (Una Interpretación del Desprecio por el Cortesano en la *Diana*)," in *Estudios Dedicados a Menéndez Pidal*, 7 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1950-1962), vol. 6, pp. 387-406.
- López Estrada, Francisco (1973). "Los Pastores en la Obra Caballeresca de Feliciano de Silva," in *Homenaje al Profesor Carriazo*, vol. 3, pp. 153-169.
- Lourdes Belchior, Maria de; and Enrique Martínez-López (1985). (ed.) *Camoniana Californiana: Commemorating the Quadricentennial of the Death of Luís Vaz de Camões* (Santa Barbara: Jorge de Sena Center for Portuguese Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara).

- Lucía Megías, José Manuel (1995). "Lector, Crítico, y Anotador (Hacia una 'Lectura Contemporánea' de los Libros de Caballerías)," *Ínsula* 584-585, fol. 17v-20v.
- Lucía Megías, José Manuel (2000). *Imprenta y Libros de Caballerías* (Madrid: Olero & Ramos).
- Lucía Megías, José Manuel (2002). "Una Nueva Página en la Recepción de los Libros de Caballerías: Las Anotaciones Marginales," in E. B. Carro Carbajal *et al* 2002, pp. 201-243.
- Lucía Megías, José Manuel (2004-2005). "Libros de Caballerías: Un Género Recuperado," *Letras* 50-51 [special issue on chivalric romances], pp. 203-234.
- Lucía Megías, José Manuel (2005). "La *Variance* Genérica del *Libro del Caballero Zifar*: Del Regimiento de Príncipes al Libro de Caballerías," in B. Taylor & G. West 2005, pp. 228-251.
- Luis Fernández, S. J. (1977). "Feliciano de Silva y el Movimiento Comunero en Ciudad Rodrigo," *Archivos Leoneses: Revista de Estudios y Documentación de los Reinos Hispano-Occidentales* 31.62, pp. 285-357.
- Luteran, Paula (2005). *The Theory of Translation in the Sixteenth Century: Analyzing Nicholas Herberay des Essarts' "Amadis de Gaule"* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press).
- MacCaffrey, Wallace T. (2004a). "Sidney, Sir Henry (1529-1586), Lord Deputy of Ireland and Courtier," in *ODNB*, vol. 50, pp. 545b-550b.
- MacCaffrey, Wallace T. (2004b). "Radcliffe, Thomas, Third Earl of Sussex (1526/7-1583), Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Courtier," in *ODNB*, vol. 45, pp. 750a-756a.
- MacCulloch, Diarmaid (2004). *The Reformation: A History* (London: Penguin / Viking).
- Mack, Peter (1994). (ed.) *Renaissance Rhetoric* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press; New York: St. Martin's Press).
- Mack, Peter (1995). "Renaissance Habits of Reading," in S. Chaudhuri 1995, pp. 1-25.
- Mack, Peter (2002). *Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice*, Ideas in Context 63 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Maclean, Ian (1991). "The Market for Scholarly Books and Conceptions of Genre in Northern Europe, 1570-1630," in G. Dauffmann 1991, pp. 16-31.
- Maclean, Ian (1992). *Interpretation and Meaning in the Renaissance: The Case of Law*, Ideas in Context 21 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Macpherson, Ian R.; and Ralph J. Penny (1997). (ed.) *The Medieval Mind: Hispanic Studies in Honour of Alan Deyermond*, Colección Tamesis, Serie A, Monografías 170 (London: Tamesis).
- Marenco, Franco (1966). "Per una Nuova Interpretazione dell'*Arcadia* di Sidney," *English Miscellany* 17, pp. 9-48.
- Marenco, Franco (1968). *Arcadia Puritana: L'Uso delle Tradizione nella Prima "Arcadia" di Sir Philip Sidney*, Biblioteca di Studi Inglesi 9 (Bari: Adriatica Editrice; rpt. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2006).
- Marenco, Franco (1969). "Double Plot in Sidney's Old *Arcadia*," *MLR* 64.2, pp. 248-263. [reproduced as A. F. Kinney 1986b, pp. 287-310]
- Marín Pina, María Carmen (1994). "El Tópico de la Falsa Traducción en los Libros de Caballerías Españoles," in M. I. Toro 1994, vol. 1, pp. 541-548.

- Marín Pina, María Carmen (1995). "La Historia y los Primeros Libros de Caballerías Españoles," in J. Paredes 1995, vol. 3, pp. 183-192.
- Marín Pina, María Carmen (1996). "La Ideología del Poder y el Espíritu de Cruzada en la Narrativa Caballeresca del Reinado Fernandino," in E. Sarasa 1996, pp. 87-105.
- Márquez, Antonio (1972). *Los Alumbrados: Orígenes y Filosofía, 1525-1559*, Colección "La Otra Historia de España" 4 (Madrid: Taurus).
- Márquez, Antonio (1980). *Literatura e Inquisición en España (1478-1834)* (Madrid: Taurus).
- Márquez Villanueva, Francisco (1973). *Fuentes Literarias Cervantinas*, Biblioteca Románica Hispánica 2, Estudios y Ensayos 199 (Madrid: Gredos).
- Márquez Villanueva, Francisco (1994a). *El Concepto Cultural Alfonsí*, Colecciones MAPFRE 1492, Colección Sefarad (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE; rpt. 1995).
- Márquez Villanueva, Francisco (1994b). "'Nascer y Morir como Bestias' (Criptojudasmo y Criptoaverroísmo)," in F. Díaz Esteban 1994, pp. 273-293.
- Márquez Villanueva, Francisco (1998). "El Caso del Averroísmo Popular Español (hacia 'La Celestina')," in A. Stoll 1998, pp. 33-51.
- Martin, Christopher (1988). "Misdoubting His Estate: Dynastic Anxiety in Sidney's *Arcadia*," *ELR* 18.3, pp. 369-388.
- Martín Lalanda, Javier (1999a). "Temas y Motivos de Origen Maravilloso en Feliciano de Silva: La *Parte Tercera de la Crónica de Florisel de Niquea* (Sevilla, 1546)," *TBICC* 54.1, pp. 217-238.
- Martín Lalanda, Javier (1999b). *Florisel de Niquea (Parte III) de Feliciano de Silva (Sevilla, Juan Cromberger, 1546): Guía de Lectura*, Guías de Lectura Caballeresca 45 (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos).
- Martín Romero, José Julio [forthcoming]. "La Práctica de la *Imitatio* Poética en la Narrativa Renacentista: Los Libros de Caballerías," in *I Jornadas Internacionales de Jóvenes Filólogos (Oviedo, 13-15 de Octubre 2004)*.
- Martínez Casado, Ángel (1984). "Aristotelismo Hispánico en la Primera Mitad del Siglo XIII," *Estudios Filosóficos* 33, pp. 59-84.
- Martínez Millán, José (1992a). (ed.) *Instituciones y Elites de Poder en la Monarquía Hispana durante el Siglo XVI*, Colección de Bolsillo 19 (Madrid: Ediciones de la Universidad Autónoma).
- Martínez Millán, José (1992b). "Grupos de Poder en la Corte durante el Reinado de Felipe II: La Facción Ebolista, 1554-1573," in J. Martínez Millán 1992a, pp. 137-198.
- Martínez Millán, José (2004). "Corrientes Espirituales y Facciones Políticas en el Servicio del Emperador Carlos V," in W. Blockmans & N. Mout 2004, pp. 97-126.
- Maslen, Robert W. (2002). "Sidneian Geographies," *Sidney Journal* 20.2, pp. 45-55.
- Matz, Robert (1995). "Sidney's *Defense of Poesie*: The Politics of Pleasure," *ELR* 25.2, pp. 131-147.
- May, Steven W. (1990). "Sir Philip Sidney and Queen Elizabeth," *EMS* 2, pp. 257-268.
- May, Steven W. (1991). *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets: The Poems and Their Contexts* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press; rpt. Asheville, NC: Pegasus Press, 1999).

- McAlindon, Thomas (1992). "Tragedy, *King Lear*, and the Politics of the Heart," *Shakespeare Survey* 44, pp. 85-90.
- McCanles, Michael (1983). "Oracular Prediction and the Fore-Conceit of Sidney's *Arcadia*," *ELH* 50.2, pp. 233-244. [reproduced as A. F. Kinney 1986b, pp. 377-389]
- McCanles, Michael (1989). *The Text of Sidney's Arcadian World* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press).
- McCoog, Thomas M. (1996). (ed.) *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press).
- McCoog, Thomas M. (2001). "The English Jesuit Mission and the French Match, 1579-1581," *Catholic Historical Review* 87.2, pp. 185-213.
- McCoy, Richard C. (1979). *Sir Philip Sidney: Rebellion in Arcadia* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press).
- McCoy, Richard C. (1989). *The Rites of Knighthood: The Literature and Politics of Elizabethan Chivalry*, *The New Historicism: Studies in Cultural Poetics* 7 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press).
- McCullough, John Stevens [2006]. *Disputable Friends: Rhetoric and "Amicitia" in English Renaissance Writing, 1579-1625*, Ph.D. thesis (University of Sussex).
- McFadden, William [1953]. *The Life and Works of Antonio del Corro*, Ph.D. thesis (Queen's University, Belfast).
- McKeon, Michael (1987). *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600-1740* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press).
- McKeon, Richard (1987). *Rhetoric: Essays in Invention and Discovery*, ed. Mark Backman (Woodbridge, CT: Ox Bow Press).
- Mears, Natalie (2001a). "Counsel, Public Debate, and Queenship: John Stubbs's *The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf*, 1579," *HJ* 44.3, pp. 629-650.
- Mears, Natalie (2001b). "Love-Making and Diplomacy: Elizabeth I and the Anjou Marriage Negotiations, c.1578-1582," *History* 86.284, pp. 442-466.
- Meerhoff, Kees (1994). "The Significance of Philip Melanchthon's Rhetoric in the Renaissance," in P. Mack 1994, pp. 46-62.
- Mehtonen, Päivi (1996). *Old Concepts and New Poetics: "Historia," "Argumentum," and "Fabula" in the Twelfth- and Early Thirteenth-Century Latin Poetics of Fiction*, *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* 108 (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica).
- Menéndez y Pelayo, Marcelino (1962). *Orígenes de la Novela*, 2nd Edition, ed. Enrique Sánchez Reyes, 4 vols., Edición Nacional de las Obras Completas de Menéndez Pelayo 13-16 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas).
- Mentz, Steven R. (2004a). "Reason, Faith, and Shipwreck in Sidney's *New Arcadia*," *SEL* 44.1, pp. 1-18.
- Mentz, Steven R. (2004b). "The Thigh and the Sword: Gender, Genre, and Sexy Dressing in Sidney's *New Arcadia*," in C. C. Relihan & G. V. Stanivukovic 2004, pp. 77-91.
- Mentz, Steven R. (2006). *Romance for Sale in Early Modern England: The Rise of Prose Fiction* (Aldershot: Ashgate).

- Mérida Jiménez, Rafael Manuel (2001). “*Fuera de la Orden de Natura*”: *Magias, Milagros y Maravillas en el “Amadís de Gaula,”* Teatro del Siglo de Oro, Estudios de Literatura 66 (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger).
- Mews, Constant J.; Cary J. Nederman, and Rodney M. Thomson (2003). (ed.) *Rhetoric and Renewal in the Latin West, 1100-1540: Essays in Honour of John O. Ward*, Disputatio 2 (Turnhout: Brepols).
- Millares Carlo, Agustín (1956). “Nota Paleográfica sobre el Manuscrito del *Amadís*,” *BRAE* 36, pp. 217-218.
- Miller, Naomi J.; and Gary F. Waller (1991). (ed.) *Reading Mary Wroth: Representing Alternatives in Early Modern England* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press).
- Moody, William Vaughn [1894]. “An Inquiry into the Sources of Sir Philip Sidney’s *Arcadia*,” Sohier Prize Essay (Harvard ms. HU 89.365.20).
- Moore, A. Percival (1909). “Marriage Contracts or Espousals in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth,” *Reports and Papers of Associated Architectural Societies* 30, pp. 261-273.
- Moore, Dennis (1982a). “Philisides and Mira: Autobiographical Allegory in the *Old Arcadia*,” *Spenser Studies* 3, pp. 125-137.
- Moore, Dennis (1982b). *The Politics of Spenser’s Complaints and Sidney’s Philisides Poems*, Salzburg Studies in English Literature, Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 101 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg).
- Morales, Helen (2004). *Vision and Narrative in Achilles Tatius’ “Leucippe and Clitophon,”* Cambridge Classical Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Mortimer, Ruth (1986). “Vergil in the Light of the Sixteenth Century: Selected Illustrations,” in J. D. Bernard 1986, pp. 159-184.
- Mukherji, Subha (2006). *Law and Representation in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Mukherji, Subha; and Raphael Lyne (2007). (ed.) *Early Modern Tragicomedy*, Studies in Renaissance Literature 22 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer).
- Murphy, James J. (1983). (ed.) *Renaissance Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press).
- Myrick, Kenneth O. (1935). *Sir Philip Sidney as a Literary Craftsman* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; rpt. [with a few extra notes (pp. 350-351)] Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965).
- Nascimento, Aires A.; and Cristina Almeida Ribeiro (1993). (ed.) *Actas do IV Congresso da Associação Hispânica de Literatura Medieval (Lisboa, 1-5 Outubro 1991)*, 4 vols. (Lisbon: Edições Cosmos).
- Nelson, Alan H. (2003). *Monstrous Adversary: The Life of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford*, Liverpool English Texts and Studies 40 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press).
- Nelson, Benjamin J. [2007]. *Tending to Empire: The Spanish Pastoral Novel and Its Reflection Upon Imperial Spain*, Ph.D. thesis (University of Chicago).

- Nerlich, Michael (1987). *The Ideology of Adventure: Studies in Modern Consciousness, 1100-1750* [*Kritik der Abenteuer-Ideologie* (1977)], trans. Ruth Crowley, 2 vols., Theory and History of Literature 42-43 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).
- Nicollier-De Weck, Béatrice (1995). *Hubert Languet (1518-1581): Un Réseau Politique International de Melanchthon à Guillaume D'Orange*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 293 (Geneva: Librairie Droz).
- Nieto, José C. (1997). *El Renacimiento y la Otra España: Visión Cultural Socioespiritual*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 315 (Geneva: Librairie Droz).
- Noble, Peter S. (1982). *Love and Marriage in Chrétien de Troyes* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press).
- Norbrook, David (2002). *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance*, Revised Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Norton, Glyn P. (1999). (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism, Volume 3: The Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- O'Callaghan, Joseph F. (2005). "The Many Roles of the Medieval Queen: Some Examples from Castile," in T. Earenfight 2005, pp. 21-32.
- O'Connor, John Joseph (1970). *"Amadis de Gaule" and Its Influence on Elizabethan Literature* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press).
- Olejniczak Lobsien, Verena (2005). "'Transformed in Show, But More Transformed in Mind': Sidney's *Old Arcadia* and the Performance of Perfection," in S. Rupp & T. Döring 2005, pp. 105-117.
- Oliveira e Silva, John de (1980). "Naming the Literary Context: Backgrounds to Sir Philip Sidney's Philisides," *Literary Onomastic Studies* 7, pp. 139-148.
- Oliveira e Silva, John de (1982a). "Recurrent Onomastic Textures in the *Diana* of Jorge de Montemayor and the *Arcadia* of Sir Philip Sidney," *SP* 79.1, pp. 30-40.
- Oliveira e Silva, John de (1982b). "Sir Philip Sidney and the Castilian Tongue," *Comparative Literature* 34.2, pp. 130-145.
- Olmsted, Wendy (2005). "The Gentle Doctor: Renaissance/Reformation Friendship, Rhetoric, and Emotion in Sidney's *Old Arcadia*," *MP* 103.2, pp. 156-186.
- Olmsted, Wendy (2008). *The Imperfect Friend: Emotion and Rhetoric in Sidney, Milton, and Their Contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press).
- Olsen, Glenn W. (2001a). (ed.) *Christian Marriage: A Historical Study* (New York: Crossroad Publishing, for The Wethersfield Institute).
- Olsen, Glenn W. (2001b). "Marriage in Barbarian Kingdom and Christian Court: Fifth through Eleventh Centuries," in G. W. Olsen 2001a, pp. 146-212.
- Orduna, Germán (1996). "La Elite Intelectual de la Escuela Catedralicia de Toledo y la Literatura en Época de Sancho IV," in C. Alvar & J. M. Lucía Megías 1996, pp. 53-62.
- Osborn, Albert W. (1932). *Sir Philip Sidney en France*, Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée 84 (Paris: Honoré Champion).
- Osborn, James M. (1972). *Young Philip Sidney, 1572-1577*, The Elizabethan Club Series 5 (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, for the Elizabethan Club).
- Outhwaite, R. B. (1995). *Clandestine Marriage in England, 1500-1850* (London and Rio Grande, OH: Hambledon Press).

- Palacios Martín, Bonifacio (1995). "El Mundo de las Ideas Políticas en los Tratados Doctrinales Españoles: Los 'Espejos de Príncipes' (1250-1350)," in J. Carrasco Pérez 1995, pp. 463-483.
- Paredes, Juan (1995). (ed.) *Medioevo y Literatura: Actas del V Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval (Granada, 27 Septiembre – 1 Octubre 1993)*, 4 vols. (Granada: Universidad de Granada).
- Parker, Robert W. (1972). "Terentian Structure and Sidney's Original *Arcadia*," *ELR* 2.1 [special issue on Sidney], pp. 61-78.
- Parkinson, E. Malcolm (1985). "Sidney's Portrayal of Mounted Combat with Lances," *Spenser Studies* 5, pp. 231-251.
- Paster, Gail Kern; Karen Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson (2004). (ed.) *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).
- Patchell, Mary (1947). *The Palmerin Romances in Elizabethan Fiction*, Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature 166 (New York: Columbia University Press).
- Patterson, Annabel M. (1982). "'Under...Pretty Tales': Intention in Sidney's *Arcadia*," *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 15.1 [special issue on Sidney], pp. 5-21. [reproduced as A. M. Patterson 1984, pp. 24-43; and as A. F. Kinney 1986b, pp. 357-375]
- Patterson, Annabel M. (1984). *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press).
- Patterson, Annabel M. (1987). *Pastoral and Ideology: Virgil to Valéry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press).
- Patterson, Annabel M. (1991). *Fables of Power: Aesopian Writing and Political History* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press).
- Pattison, Bruce (1934). "Sir Philip Sidney and Music," *Music and Letters* 15.1, pp. 75-81.
- Pattison, Bruce (1948). *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance* (London: Methuen).
- Paulson, Ronald (1998). *Don Quixote in England: The Aesthetics of Laughter* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press).
- Peck, Dwight C. (1978). "Raleigh, Sidney, Oxford, and the Catholics, 1579," *N&Q* n.s. 25.5, pp. 427b-431b.
- Pedraza Jiménez, Felipe B.; Rafael González Cañal, and Gema Gómez Rubio (2001). (ed.) "*La Celestina*," *V Centenario (1499-1999): Actas del Congreso Internacional (Salamanca, Talavera de la Reina, Toledo, La Puebla de Montalbán, 27 de Septiembre – 1 de Octubre de 1999)* (Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha / Cortes de Castilla-La Mancha).
- Pelorsen, Jean-Marc (2004). "En Torno a un Caso Histórico de Casamiento Secreto (Nápoles, 1615): Hacia una Reformulación del Problema de los Enlaces Postridentinos en Tiempos de Cervantes y de Tirso," in *P. Civil* 2004, vol. 2, pp. 1119-1148.
- Penna, Rosa E.; and María A. Rosarossa (1995). (ed.) *Studia Hispanica Medievalia III: Actas de las IV Jornadas Internacionales de Literatura Española Medieval* (Buenos Aires: Universidad Católica Argentina).

- Perdomo García, José (1942). "Las Canarias en la Literatura Caballeresca," *Revista de Historia Canaria* 8, pp. 218-233.
- Pérez González, Maurilio; and Juan Matas Caballero (1998). (ed.) *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre Humanismo y Renacimiento (1996; Universidad de León)*, 2 vols. (León: Universidad de León).
- Perkinson, Richard H. (1946). "The Epic in Five Acts," *SP* 43.3, pp. 465-481.
- Perona, José (1989). "Lenguas, Traducción, y Definición en el Scriptorium de Alfonso X," *Cahiers de Linguistique Hispanique Médiévale* 14-15, pp. 247-276.
- Pettegree, Andrew (2007). "Translation and the Migration of Texts," in T. Betteridge 2007, pp. 113-125.
- Pettegree, Andrew; Malcolm Walsby, and Alexander Wilkinson (2007). *French Vernacular Books: A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Published in the French Language before 1601*, 2 vols. (Leiden and Boston: Brill).
- Pierre, Teresa Olsen (2001). "Marriage, Body, and Sacrament in the Age of Hugh of St. Victor," in G. W. Olsen 2001a, pp. 213-268.
- Pigman, G. W., III (1980). "Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance," *RQ* 33.1, pp. 1-32.
- Pinto Crespo, Virgilio (1983). *Inquisición y Control Ideológico en la España del Siglo XVI* (Madrid: Taurus).
- Pinto Crespo, Virgilio (1984). "El Aparato de Control Censorial y las Corrientes Doctrinales," *Hispania Sacra* 36, pp. 9-41.
- Pinto Crespo, Virgilio (1987). "Censorship: A System of Control and an Instrument of Action," trans. Esther da Costa-Frankel, in Á. Alcalá 1987, pp. 303-320.
- Place, Edwin B. (1956). "Fictional Evolution: The Old French Romances and the Primitive *Amadís* Reworked by Montalvo," *PMLA* 71.3, pp. 521-529.
- Pozuelo Yvancos, José M.; and Francisco Vicente Gómez (1996). (ed.) *Mundos de Ficción: Actas del VI Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Española de Semiótica (Murcia, 21-24 Noviembre, 1994): Investigaciones Semióticas VI*, 2 vols. (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia).
- Preston, Claire (1997). "Sidney's Arcadian Poetics: A Medicine of Cherries and the Philosophy of Cavaliers," in N. Rhodes 1997, pp. 91-108.
- Preston, Claire (2007). "Ekphrasis: Painting in Words," in S. Adamson *et al* 2007, pp. 115-129.
- Prall, Stuart E. (1964). "The Development of Equity in Tudor England," *American Journal of Legal History* 8.1, pp. 1-19.
- Pyle, Fitzroy (1948). "*Twelfth Night*, *King Lear*, and *Arcadia*," *MLR* 43.4, pp. 449-455.
- Questier, Michael C. (2006). *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage, and Religion, c. 1550-1640*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Quint, David (1983). *Origin and Originality in Renaissance Literature: Versions of the Source* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press).
- Quint, David (1985). "The Boat of Romance and Renaissance Epic," in K. Brownlee & M. S. Brownlee 1985, pp. 178-202.
- Quint, David (1993). *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).

- Rabb, Theodore K.; and Jerrold E. Seigel (1969). (ed.) *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of E. H. Harbison* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Raitiere, Martin N. (1982). "Amphialus' Rebellion: Sidney's Use of History in the *New Arcadia*," *JMRS* 12, pp. 113-131. [reproduced as M. N. Raitiere 1984, pp. 19-38]
- Raitiere, Martin N. (1984). *Faire Bitts: Sir Philip Sidney and Renaissance Political Theory*, Duquesne Studies in Language and Literature 4 (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press).
- Ramos, Rafael (1994). "Para la Fecha del *Amadís de Gaula*: 'Esta sancta guerra que contra los infieles començada tienen'," *BRAE* 74.263, pp. 503-521.
- Ramsey, Paul (1996). "Justice and Renaissance Poetics," in A. F. Kinney 1996, pp. 91-104.
- Rawles, Stephen (1981). "The Earliest Editions of Nicolas de Herberay's Translations of *Amadis de Gaule*," *The Library* [6th series] 3, pp. 91-108.
- Redondo, Augustin (1965). "Luther et l'Espagne de 1520 à 1536," *Melanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 1, pp. 109-165.
- Redondo, Augustin (1985). (ed.) *Amours Légitimes Amours, Illégitimes en Espagne (XVIe-XVIIe Siècles): Colloque International (Sorbonne, 3, 4, 5 et 6 Octobre 1984)*, Travaux du "Centre de Recherche sur l'Espagne des XVIe et XVIIe Siècles" 2 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne).
- Rees, Joan (1966). "Fulke Greville and the Revisions of *Arcadia*," *RES* 17.65, pp. 54-57.
- Rees, Joan (1991). *Sir Philip Sidney and "Arcadia"* (Cranbury, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press).
- Relihan, Constance C. (1995). "The Geography of the Arcadian Landscape: Constructing Otherness, Preserving Europe," in W. Görtschacher & H. Klein 1995, pp. 167-186.
- Relihan, Constance C.; and Goran V. Stanivukovic (2004). (ed.) *Prose Fiction and Early Modern Sexualities in England, 1570-1640*, Early Modern Cultural Studies (New York: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Reynolds, Philip L. (1994). *Marriage in the Western Church: The Christianization of Marriage during the Patristic and Early Medieval Periods* (Leiden: Brill).
- Reynolds, Philip L. (2007). "Marrying and Its Documentation in Pre-Modern Europe: Consent, Celebration, and Property," in P. L. Reynolds & J. Witte 2007, pp. 1-42.
- Reynolds, Philip L.; and John Witte, Jr. (2007). (ed.) *To Have and to Hold: Marrying and Its Documentation in Western Christendom, 400-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Rhodes, Elizabeth (1985). "Jorge de Montemayor's *Diálogo Spiritual*: Prologue to Pastoral," *Pacific Coast Philology* 20.1-2, pp. 39-45.
- Rhodes, Elizabeth (1992). *The Unrecognized Precursors of Montemayor's "Diana"* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press).
- Rhodes, Neil (1997). (ed.) *English Renaissance Prose: History, Language, and Politics*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies 164 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies).
- Ribner, Irving (1952a). "Sir Philip Sidney on Civil Insurrection," *JHI* 8.2, pp. 257-265.
- Ribner, Irving (1952b). "Sidney's *Arcadia* and the Structure of *King Lear*," *Studia Neophilologica* 24.1-2, pp. 63-68.

- Ribner, Irving (1956). "Shakespeare and Legendary History: *Lear* and *Cymbeline*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 7.1, pp. 47-52.
- Rice, Eugene F., Jr. (1958). *The Renaissance Idea of Wisdom*, Harvard Historical Monographs 37 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Richards, Jennifer (1995). "The Art of Being Persuaded: Rhetoric and Effeminacy in Philip Sidney's *Old Arcadia*," *Sidney Newsletter & Journal* 13.2, pp. 3-12.
- Richards, Jennifer (1996). "Philip Sidney, Mary Sidney, and Protestant Poetics," *Sidney Newsletter & Journal* 14.1, pp. 28-37.
- Richardson, Glenn (2002). *Renaissance Monarchy: The Reigns of Henry VIII, Francis I, and Charles V*, Reconstructions in Early Modern History (London: Arnold).
- Rickman, Johanna (2008). *Love, Lust, and License in Early Modern England: Illicit Sex and the Nobility*, Women and Gender in the Early Modern Period (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Rienstra, Debra; and Noel J. Kinnamon (2002). "Circulating the Sidney-Pembroke Psalter," in G. L. Justice & N. Tinker 2002, pp. 50-72.
- Ringler, William A., Jr. (1990). "The Text of *The Poems of Sidney* Twenty-Five Years After," in M. J. B. Allen *et al* 1990, pp. 129-144.
- Río Nogueras, Alberto del (2000). "Semblanzas Caballerescas del Emperador Carlos V," in G. M. Borrás & J. Criado 2000, pp. 63-85.
- Río Nogueras, Alberto del (2001). "*El Harpa y la Chirumbela*: Notas sobre el Entretenimiento Cortesano en los Libros de Caballerías de Feliciano de Silva," in C. Strosetzki 2001, pp. 1087-1097.
- Río Nogueras, Alberto del (2002). "Las Bucólicas de Feliciano de Silva en Sus Libros de Caballerías," in B. López Bueno 2002, pp. 91-119.
- Riquer, Martín de (1987). *Estudios sobre el "Amadís de Gaula"*, Biblioteca General 3 (Barcelona: Sirmio).
- Roberts, Josephine A. (1978). "Herculean Love in Sir Philip Sidney's Two Versions of *Arcadia*," *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 14, pp. 43-54.
- Roberts, Josephine A. (1991). "'The Knott Never to Bee Untide': The Controversy Regarding Marriage in Wroth's *Urania*," in N. J. Miller & G. F. Waller 1991, pp. 109-134.
- Roberts, Katherine J. (1993). *Fair Ladies: Sir Philip Sidney's Female Characters*, Renaissance and Baroque Studies and Texts 9 (New York: Peter Lang).
- Robinson, Forrest G. (1972). *The Shape of Things Known: Sidney's "Apology" in Its Philosophical Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Roche, Thomas P., Jr. (1989). "Ending the *New Arcadia*: Virgil and Ariosto," *Sidney Newsletter* 10.1, pp. 3-12.
- Rockwell, Paul Edmund [1980]. *Comic Elements in Sidney's "Old Arcadia"*, Ph.D. thesis (University of Maryland, College Park).
- Rodríguez Moñino, Antonio (1956). "El Primer Manuscrito del *Amadís de Gaula* (Noticia Bibliográfica)," *BRAE* 36, pp. 199-216.
- Rodríguez Velasco, Jesús (1991). "'Yo Soy de la Gran Bretaña, No Sé Si la Oístes Acá Decir': La Tradición de Esplandián," *Revista de Literatura* 53.105, pp. 49-61.
- Rose, Constance Hubbard (1971). *Alonso Núñez de Reinoso: The Lament of a Sixteenth-Century Exile* (Rutherford, NJ: Farleigh Dickenson University Press).
- Rose, Mark (1964). "Sidney's Womanish Man," *RES* 15.60, pp. 353-363.

- Rose, Mark (1968). *Heroic Love: Studies in Sidney and Spenser* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Rosenberg, Eleanor (1955). *Leicester, Patron of Letters* (New York: Columbia University Press).
- Ross, Charles Stanley (2003). *Elizabethan Literature and the Law of Fraudulent Conveyance: Sidney, Spenser, Shakespeare* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Rothstein, Marian (1986). "When Fiction is Fact: Perceptions in Sixteenth-Century France," *SP* 83.3, pp. 359-375.
- Rothstein, Marian (1990a). "Etymology, Genealogy, and the Immutability of Origins," *RQ* 43.2, pp. 332-347.
- Rothstein, Marian (1990b). "Jean Lemaire de Belges' *Illustrations de Gaule et Singularitez de Troyes*: Politics and Unity," *BHR* 52.3, pp. 593-609.
- Rothstein, Marian (1994). "Clandestine Marriage and *Amadis de Gaule*: The Text, the World, and the Reader," *SCJ* 25.4, pp. 873-886.
- Rothstein, Marian (1996). "Le Genre du Roman à la Renaissance," *Études Françaises* 32.1, pp. 35-47.
- Rothstein, Marian (1998). "The Commemorative Images of *Amadis de Gaule*," in M. Heusser *et al* 1998, pp. 99-107.
- Rothstein, Marian (1999). *Reading in the Renaissance: Amadis de Gaule and the Lessons of Memory* (Newark: University of Delaware Press).
- Rothstein, Marian (2003). "Mutations of the Androgyne: Its Functions in Early Modern French Literature," *SCJ* 34.2, pp. 409-437.
- Rothstein, Marian (2006a). (ed.) *Charting Change in France around 1540* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press).
- Rothstein, Marian (2006b). "Printing, Translation, and the Paradigm Shift of 1540," in M. Rothstein 2006a, pp. 141-185.
- Rothstein, Marian (2006c). "Homer for the Court of François I," *RQ* 59.3, pp. 732-767.
- Roubaud, Sylvia (1985). "La Forêt de Longue Attente: Amour et Mariage dans les Romans de Chevalerie," in A. Redondo 1985, pp. 251-267.
- Rowe, Kenneth Thorpe (1939a). "The Countess of Pembroke's Editorship of the *Arcadia*," *PMLA* 45.1, pp. 122-138.
- Rowe, Kenneth Thorpe (1939b). "Elizabethan Morality and the Folio Revisions of Sidney's *Arcadia*," *MP* 37.2, pp. 151-172.
- Rowe, Kenneth Thorpe (1947). *Romantic Love and Parental Authority in Sydney's "Arcadia"*, University of Michigan Contributions in Modern Philology 4 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press).
- Rudenstine, Neil L. (1967). *Sidney's Poetic Development* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Ruiz Cabello, Francisco Miguel (2000). "Sobre Jorge de Montemayor, Poeta y Cantor en la Corte Española," *Philologia Hispalensis* 14, pp. 127-142.
- Ruiz de Conde, Justina (1948). *El Amor y el Matrimonio Secreto en los Libros de Caballerías* (Madrid: M. Aguilar).
- Rupp, Susanne; and Tobias Döring (2005). (ed.) *Performances of the Sacred in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, Internationale Forschungen zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft 86 (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi).

- Sainz de la Maza, Carlos (1991-1992). "Sinrazón de Montalvo / Razón de Feliciano de Silva (*Amadís de Grecia*, Cap. CXXVIII)," *Dicenda: Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica* 10, pp. 277-291.
- Sales Dasí, Emilio José (1992). "Las Sergas de Esplandián: ¿Una Ficción 'Ejemplar'?" in R. Beltran *et al* 1992, pp. 83-92.
- Sales Dasí, Emilio José (1993). "Sobre la Influencia de las *Caídas de Príncipes* en el *Amadís de Gaula* y las *Sergas de Esplandián*," in A. A. Nascimento & C. A. Ribeiro 1993, vol. 2, pp. 333-338.
- Sales Dasí, Emilio José (1995). "'Visión' Literaria y Sueño Nacional en las *Sergas de Esplandián*," in J. Paredes 1995, vol. 4, pp. 273-288.
- Sales Dasí, Emilio José (1996). "Las *Sergas de Esplandián* y las Continuaciones del *Amadís (Florisandos y Rogeles)*," *VL* 7.1, pp. 131-156.
- Sales Dasí, Emilio José (1997). "Feliciano de Silva y la Tradición Amadisiana en el *Lisuarte de Grecia*," *Incipit* 17, pp. 175-217.
- Sales Dasí, Emilio José (1998a). "Estructura y Técnicas Narrativas en las *Sergas de Esplandián*," *VL* 9.1, pp. 57-73.
- Sales Dasí, Emilio José (1998b). "El *Florisando*: Libro 'Sexto' en la Familia del *Amadís*," in R. Beltrán 1998, pp. 137-156.
- Sales Dasí, Emilio José (1999a). "'Garcí-Rodríguez de Montalvo, Regidor de la Noble Villa de Medina del Campo,'" *RFE* 79.1-2, pp. 123-158.
- Sales Dasí, Emilio José (1999b). "Algunos Aspectos de lo Maravilloso en la Tradición del *Amadís de Gaula*: Serpientes, Naos y Otros Prodigios," in S. Fortuno Llorens & T. Martínez Romero 1999, vol. 3, pp. 345-360.
- Sales Dasí, Emilio José (2001). "Feliciano de Silva, Aventajado 'Continuador' de *Amadises* y *Celestinas*," in F. B. Pedraza Jiménez *et al* 2001, pp. 403-414.
- Sales Dasí, Emilio José (2002). "Las Continuaciones Heterodoxas (el *Florisando* de Páez de Ribera y el *Lisuarte de Grecia* de Juan Díaz) y Ortodoxas (el *Lisuarte* y el *Amadís de Grecia* de Feliciano de Silva) del *Amadís de Gaula*," *Edad de Oro* 21 [special issue on chivalric romances], pp. 117-152.
- Sales Dasí, Emilio José (2003). "Princesas 'Desterradas' y Caballeros Disfrazados: Un Acercamiento a la Estética Literaria de Feliciano de Silva," *RLM* 15.2, pp. 85-106.
- Sales Dasí, Emilio José (2004). *La Aventura Caballeresca: Epopeya y Maravillas* (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos).
- Sales Dasí, Emilio José (2004-2005). "Feliciano de Silva en el Espejo de Feliciano de Silva," *Letras* 50-51 [special issue on chivalric romances], pp. 272-295.
- Sales Dasí, Emilio José (2007). "La Imitación en las Continuaciones Ortodoxas del *Amadís de Gaula*. I. Episodios Amorosos," in J. M. Cacho Blecua *et al* 2007, pp. 395-417.
- Sánchez, Jean-Pierre (2000). (ed.) *L'Univers de la Chevalerie en Castille: Fin du Moyen Âge – Début des Temps Modernes* (Paris: Editions Du Temps).
- Sánchez Cantón, Francisco Javier (1925). "Los Trabajos de los Reyes por Jorge de Montemayor," *RFE* 12, pp. 43-55.
- Santonja, Gonzalo (2001). (ed.) *Celestina: La Comedia de Calixto y Melibea, Locos Enamorados: Jornadas sobre Mitos Universales de la Literatura Española (2000, Bilbao)* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal España Nuevo Milenio).

- Sarasa, Esteban (1996). (ed.) *Fernando II de Aragón el Rey Católico* (Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico").
- Sarmati, Elisabetta (1996). *Le Critiche ai Libri di Cavalleria nel Cinquecento Spagnolo (con uno Sguardo sul Seicento): Un'Analisi Testuale* (Pisa: Giardini Editori).
- Saupe, Karen (1993). "Trial, Error, and Revision in Sidney's *Arcadias*," *Sidney Newsletter & Journal* 12.2, pp. 22-29.
- Schalk, Ellery (1986). *From Valor to Pedigree: Ideas of Nobility in France in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Schleiner, Winfried (1988). "Male Cross-Dressing and Transvestism in Renaissance Romances," *SCJ* 19.4, pp. 605-619.
- Schmitt, Charles B. (1988). (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Schneider, Regina (2008). *Sidney's (Re)Writing of the "Arcadia,"* AMS Studies in the Renaissance 43 (New York: AMS Press).
- Schurink, Fred (2008). "'Like a Hand in the Margine of a Booke': William Blount's Marginalia and the Politics of Sidney's *Arcadia*," *RES* 59.238, pp. 1-24.
- Schwarz, Kathryn (2000). *Tough Love: Amazon Encounters in the English Renaissance*, Series Q (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press).
- Sedinger, Tracey (2007). "Sidney's *New Arcadia* and the Decay of Protestant Republicanism," *SEL* 47.1, pp. 57-77.
- Seigel, Jerrold E. (1968). *Rhetoric and Philosophy in Renaissance Humanism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Shapiro, Barbara J. (2001). "Classical Rhetoric and the English Law of Evidence," in V. Kahn & L. Hutson 2001, pp. 54-72.
- Shrank, Cathy (2004). *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530-1580* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Shuger, Debora K. (1998). "Castigating Livy: The Rape of Lucretia and *The Old Arcadia*," *RQ* 51.2, pp. 526-548.
- Sierra Corella, Antonio (1947). *La Censura de Libros y Papeles en España y los Índices y Catálogos Españoles de los Prohibidos y Expurgados* (Madrid: Cuerpo Facultativo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Arqueólogos).
- Simonin, Michel (1984). "La Disgrâce d'*Amadis*," *Studi Francesi* 28.1, pp. 1-35.
- Sinfield, Alan (1979). "Sidney, Du Plessis-Mornay, and the Pagans," *PQ* 58.1, pp. 26-39.
- Sinfield, Alan (1983). *Literature in Protestant England, 1560-1660* (London: Croom Helm).
- Sinfield, Alan (1984). "The Cultural Politics of the *Defence of Poetry*," in G. F. Waller & M. D. Moore 1984, pp. 124-143.
- Skretkovicz, Victor (1976). "Sidney and Amyot: Heliodorus in the Structure and Ethos of the *New Arcadia*," *RES* 27.106, pp. 170-174.
- Skretkovicz, Victor (1980). "Hercules in Sidney and Spenser," *N&Q* n.s. 27.4, pp. 306b-310b.
- Skretkovicz, Victor (1990). "Chivalry in Sidney's *Arcadia*," in S. Anglo 1990, pp. 161-174.
- Skretkovicz, Victor (1994-1995). "Graeco-Roman Morality and Arcadian Misery," *Sidney Newsletter & Journal* 13.1, pp. 3-8.

- Skretkowicz, Victor (1995). "Categorising Redirection in Sidney's *New Arcadia*," in W. Görtschacher & H. Klein 1995, pp. 133-146.
- Skretkowicz, Victor (1999). "Algernon Sidney and Philip Sidney: A Continuity of Rebellion," *Sidney Journal* 17.2, pp. 3-18.
- Skretkowicz, Victor (2000). "Textual Criticism and the 1593 'Complete' *Arcadia*," *Sidney Journal* 18.2, pp. 37-70.
- Skretkowicz, Victor (2001). "Greville, Politics, and the Rhetorics of *A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney*," *Sidney Journal* 19.1-2 [special issue on Fulke Greville], pp. 97-124.
- Skretkowicz, Victor (2004 [2006]). "'*O Pugnam Infaustam*': Sidney's Transformations and the Last of the Samotheans," *Sidney Journal* 22.1-2 [issued in 2006], pp. 1-24.
- Skretkowicz, Victor (2008). "[excerpt from] *European Erotic Romance*: Introduction," *Sidney Journal* 26.2, pp. 111-113.
- Sokol, B. J.; and Mary Sokol (2003). *Shakespeare, Law, and Marriage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Solé-Leris, Amadeu (1959). "The Theory of Love in the Two *Dianas*: A Contrast," *BHS* 36.1, pp. 65-79.
- Sotelo Vázquez, Adolfo; and Marta Cristina Carbonell (1989). (ed.) *Homenaje al Profesor Antonio Vilanova*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, Departamento de Filología Española).
- Starke, Sue (2006 [2007]). "Love's True Habit: Cross-Dressing and Pastoral Courtship in Wroth's *Urania* and Sidney's *New Arcadia*," *Sidney Journal* 24.2 [issued in 2007], pp. 15-36.
- Steinberg, Theodore L. (1998). "Sir Philip Sidney's Tragical-Comical-Historical-Pastoral *Arcadia*," *Sidney Journal* 16.1, pp. 25-35.
- Stevens, John (1990). "Sir Philip Sidney and 'Versified Music': Melodies for Courtly Songs," in J. Caldwell *et al* 1990, pp. 153-169.
- Stewart, Alan (2000). *Philip Sidney: A Double Life* (London: Chatto & Windus, for Random House U.K. Limited; New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001).
- Stillman, Robert E. (1982). "Poetry and Justice in Sidney's 'Ye Goat-Herd Gods,'" *SEL* 22.1, pp. 39-50.
- Stillman, Robert E. (1985). "The Politics of Sidney's Pastoral: Mystification and Mythology in *The Old Arcadia*," *ELH* 52.4, pp. 795-814.
- Stillman, Robert E. (1986). *Sidney's Poetic Justice: The Old Arcadia, Its Eclogues, and Renaissance Pastoral Traditions* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press; London and Toronto: Associated University Presses).
- Stillman, Robert E. (1998). "Allegory, Poetry, and History in Sidney's *Arcadia*: Continuing the Conversation," *Sidney Journal* 16.2, pp. 80-85.
- Stillman, Robert E. (2002a). "The Scope of Sidney's *Defence of Poesy*: The New Hermeneutic and Early Modern Poetics," *ELR* 32.3, pp. 355-385.
- Stillman, Robert E. (2002b). "'Deadly Stinging Adders': Sidney's Piety, Philippism, and *The Defence of Poesy*," *Spencer Studies* 16, pp. 231-269.
- Stillman, Robert E. (2008). *Philip Sidney and the Poetics of Renaissance Cosmopolitanism* (Aldershot: Ashgate).

- Stoll, André (1998). (ed.) *Averroes Dialogado y Otros Momentos Literarios y Sociales de la Interacción Cristiano-Musulmana en España e Italia: Un Seminario Interdisciplinar* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger).
- Streitberger, W. R. (2007). "The Earl of Sussex, the Revels Office, and London Commercial Theatre, 1572-1583," *RES* 58.234, pp. 34-63.
- Stretton, Timothy (1998). *Women Waging Law in Elizabethan England*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Strier, Richard (2004). "Against the Rule of Reason: Praise of Passion from Petrarch to Luther to Shakespeare to Herbert," in G. K. Paster *et al* 2004, pp. 23-42.
- Strosetzi, Christoph (2001). (ed.) *Actas del V Congreso de la Asociación Internacional Siglo de Oro (Münster 1999)* (Frankfurt: Vervuet; Madrid: Iberoamericana).
- Stump, Donald V. (1982). "Sidney's Concept of Tragedy in the *Apology* and in the *Arcadia*," *SP* 79.1, pp. 41-61.
- Sullivan, Margaret M. (1991). "Amazons and Aristocrats: The Function of Pyrocles' Amazon Role in Sidney's Revised *Arcadia*," in J. R. Brink *et al* 1991, pp. 62-81.
- Surtz, Ronald E.; and Nora Weinerth (1983). (ed.) *Creation and Re-creation: Experiments in Literary Form in Early Modern Spain: Studies in Honor of Stephen Gilman* (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta).
- Talbert, Ernest William (1962). *The Problem of Order: Elizabethan Political Commonplaces and an Example of Shakespeare's Art* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press).
- Taufer, Alison [1988]. *From Amazon Queen to Female Knight: The Development of the Woman Warrior in the Amadís Cycle*, Ph.D. thesis (University of California, Los Angeles).
- Taufer, Alison (1991). "The Only Good Amazon is a Converted Amazon: The Woman Warrior and Christianity in the *Amadís Cycle*," in J. R. Brink *et al* 1991, pp. 35-51.
- Taylor, Barry; and Geoffrey West (2005). (ed.) *Historicist Essays on Hispano-Medieval Narrative: In Memory of Roger M. Walker*, Modern Humanities Research Association 16 (London: Maney Publishing).
- Teijeiro Fuentes, Miguel Ángel (1988). *La Novela Bizantina Española: Apuntes para una Revisión del Género* (Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura).
- Tellechea Idígoras, José Ignacio (1977). *Fray Bartolomé Carranza y el Cardenal Pole: Un Navarro en la Restauración Católica de Inglaterra (1554-1558)*, Colección Historia (Pamplona: Diputación Foral de Navarra, Institución Príncipe de Viana, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas).
- Tellechea Idígoras, José Ignacio (1979). *Melanchthon y Carranza: Préstamos y Afinidades*, Bibliotheca Oecumenica 4 (Salamanca: Centro de Estudios Orientales y Ecumenicos Juan XXIII, Universidad Pontificia).
- Tennenhouse, Leonard (1990). "Arcadian Rhetoric: Sidney and the Politics of Courtship," in M. J. B. Allen *et al* 1990, pp. 201-213.
- Thomas, Henry (1912). "The Romance of Amadís of Gaul," *TBS* 12 (1911-1913), pp. 251-297.
- Thomas, Henry (1914). "The *Palmerín* Romances," *TBS* 13 (1913-1915), pp. 97-144.

- Thomas, Henry (1920). *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry: The Revival of the Romance of Chivalry in the Spanish Peninsula, and its Extension and Influence Abroad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; rpt. New York: Kraus, 1969).
- Tieje, Arthur J. (1914). Review of S. L. Wolff 1912, *JEGP* 13.3, pp. 482-487.
- Torres, Antonio (1979). *El Realismo del "Tirant lo Blanch" y su Influencia en el "Quijote"* (Barcelona: Puvill).
- Trexler, Richard C. (1994). (ed.) *Gender Rhetorics: Postures of Dominance and Submission in History*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies 113 (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies).
- Trimpi, Wesley (1983). *Muses of One Mind: The Literary Analysis of Experience and Its Continuity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Trimpi, Wesley (1999). "Sir Philip Sidney's *An Apology for Poetry*," in G. P. Norton 1999, pp. 187-198.
- Ulreich, John C., Jr. (1982). "'The Poets Only Deliver': Sidney's Conception of *Mimesis*," *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 15.1 [special issue on Sidney], pp. 67-84. [reproduced as A. F. Kinney 1986b, pp. 135-154]
- Ungerer, Gustav (1956). *Anglo-Spanish Relations in Tudor Literature* (Bern and Madrid: Clavileño).
- Upham, Alfred Horatio (1908). *The French Influence in English Literature: From the Accession of Elizabeth to the Restoration*, Columbia University Studies in Comparative Literature (New York: Columbia University Press; rpt. Octagon Books, 1965).
- Uriarte Rebaudi, Lía Noemí; Eric W. Naylor, and Joseph Thomas Snow (1995). (ed.) *Studia Hispanica Medievalia III: Actas de las IV Jornadas Internacionales de Literatura Española Medieval (Agosto 19-20, 1993 Buenos Aires, Argentina)* (Buenos Aires: Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas de la República Argentina).
- Vaganay, Hugues (1906). *Amadis en Français: Essai de Bibliographie* (Firenze: L. S. Olschki); rpt. Burt Franklin Bibliography and Reference Series 472, Selected Essays and Texts in Literature and Criticism 190 (New York: Burt Franklin, 1974).
- Vaganay, Hugues (1923). "Les Trésors d'Amadis: Essai de Bibliographie," *RH* 57, pp. 115-126.
- Vaganay, Hugues (1928). "Les Traductions Françaises de la XIIe Partie de l'Amadis Espagnole [i.e., French cycle "Books" XIII-XV]: Essai de Bibliographie," *RH* 57, pp. 541-591.
- Vaganay, Hugues (1929). "Les Éditions In-Octavo de l'Amadis en Français," *RH* 75, pp. 1-53.
- Van Dorsten, Jan Adrianus (1967). "The Arts of Memory and Poetry," *English Studies: A Journal of English Letters and Philology* 48.5, pp. 419-425.
- Valency, Maurice (1958). *In Praise of Love: An Introduction to the Love Poetry of the Renaissance* (New York: Macmillan).
- Vaught, Jennifer C. (2008). *Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern English Literature*, Women and Gender in the Early Modern World (Aldershot: Ashgate).

- Vickers, Brian (1982-1983). "Epideictic and Epic in the Renaissance," *New Literary History* 14, pp. 497-537.
- Vilanova, Antonio (1992). (ed.) *Actas del X Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas: Barcelona, 21-26 de Agosto de 1989*, 4 vols. (Barcelona: Prensas y Publicaciones Universitarias).
- Villarino, Edith Marta; Laura R. Scarano, Elsa Graciela Fiadino, and Marcela G. Romano (1997). (ed.) *La Cultura Hispánica y Occidente: Actas del IV Congreso Argentino de Hispanistas (Mar del Plata, Argentina, 18, 19 y 20 de Mayo de 1995)* (Mar del Plata: Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata).
- Vinaver, Eugène (1971). *The Rise of Romance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Von Moos, Peter (2003). "Literary Aesthetics in the Latin Middle Ages: The Rhetorical Theology of Peter Abelard," trans. Peter Godman, ed. Ralf Stammberger and Constant J. Mews, in C. J. Mews *et al* 2003, pp. 81-97.
- Wallace, Malcolm William (1915). *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Waller, Gary F.; and Michael D. Moore (1984). (ed.) *Sir Philip Sidney and the Interpretation of Renaissance Culture: The Poet in His Time and in Ours* (London: Croom Helm).
- Wardropper, Bruce W. (1951). "The *Diana* of Montemayor: Revaluation and Interpretation," *SP* 48.2, pp. 126-144.
- Warkentin, Germaine (1980). "Sidney's *Certain Sonnets*: Speculation on the Evolution of the Text," *The Library* 2.4 [6th Series], pp. 430-444.
- Warkentin, Germaine (1990). "Sidney's Authors," in M. J. B. Allen *et al* 1990, pp. 68-89.
- Watson, A. I. (1990). "Attitudes in Spain towards Philip II's Imperialism," in P. Gallagher & D. W. Cruickshank 1990, pp. 1-18.
- Watts, John L. (1998). (ed.) *The End of the Middle Ages?: England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Fifteenth Century Series 6 (Stroud: Sutton Publishing).
- Weinberg, Bernard (1942). "Scaliger versus Aristotle on Poetics," *MP* 39.4, pp. 337-360.
- Weinberg, Bernard (1961). *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (London: William Clowes & Sons, for University of Chicago Press).
- Weiner, Andrew D. (1972). "Moving and Teaching: Sidney's *Defense of Poesie* As a Protestant Poetic," *JMRS* 2.2, pp. 259-278. [reproduced as A. D. Weiner 1978, pp. 28-50; and as A. F. Kinney 1986b, pp. 91-112]
- Weiner, Andrew D. (1978). *Sir Philip Sidney and the Poetics of Protestantism: A Study of Contexts* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).
- Weiner, Andrew D. (1990). "Sidney, Protestantism, and Literary Critics: Reflections on Some Recent Criticism of *The Defence of Poetry*," in M. J. B. Allen *et al* 1990, pp. 117-126.
- White, R. S. (1996). *Natural Law in English Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Whitenack, Judith A. (1988). "Conversion to Christianity in the Spanish Romance of Chivalry, 1490-1524," *Journal of Hispanic Philology* 13.1, pp. 13-39.
- Wiesner-Hanks, Merry E. (2000). *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World: Regulating Desire, Reforming Practice*, Christianity and Society in the Early Modern World (London and New York: Routledge).

- Williams, Franklin Burleigh, Jr. (1962). *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books Before 1641* (London: Oxford University Press, for The Bibliographical Society).
- Williams, George Huntston (1962). *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press).
- Williams, Gordon (1981). "Humanist Responses to War: Sidney's Contribution," *Trivium* 16, pp. 45-61.
- Williamson, Edward (1951). *Bernardo Tasso, Storia e Letteratura* 39 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura).
- Wilson, Derek A. (1981). *Sweet Robin: A Biography of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1533-1588* (London: Hamish Hamilton).
- Witte, John, Jr. (1997). *From Sacrament to Contract: Marriage, Religion, and Law in the Western Tradition* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press).
- Witte, John, Jr. (2002). *Law and Protestantism: The Legal Teachings of the Lutheran Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Witte, John, Jr. (2007). "Marriage Contracts, Liturgies, and Properties in Reformation Geneva," in P. L. Reynolds & J. Witte 2007, pp. 453-488.
- Wolff, Samuel Lee (1912). *The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction*, Columbia University Studies in Comparative Literature (New York: Columbia University Press).
- Wolfley, Lawrence C. (1976). "Sidney's Visual-Didactic Poetic: Some Complexities and Limitations," *JMRS* 6, pp. 217-242.
- Wood, Richard (2008). "'If an Excellent Man Should Err': Philip Sidney and Stoical Virtue," *Sidney Journal* 26.2, pp. 33-48.
- Woodbridge, Linda (1984). *Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womankind, 1540-1620* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press).
- Woolfson, Jonathan (1998). *Padua and the Tudors: English Students in Italy, 1485-1603* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press).
- Worden, Blair (1996). *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's "Arcadia" and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press).
- Worden, Blair (2007). "Delightful Teaching: Queen Elizabeth and Sidney's *Arcadia*," in P. Beal & G. Ioppolo 2007, pp. 71-86.
- Woudhuysen, Henry R. [1980]. *Leicester's Literary Patronage: A Study of the Court, 1578-1581*, D.Phil. thesis (Oxford University).
- Woudhuysen, Henry R. (1996). *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Woudhuysen, Henry R. (2004). "Sidney, Sir Philip (1554-1586), Author and Courtier," in *ODNB*, vol. 50, pp. 556b-569b.
- Yates, Frances Amelia (1957). "Elizabethan Chivalry: The Romance of the Accession Day Tilts," *JWCI* 20.1-2, pp. 4-25. [reproduced as F. A. Yates 1975, pp. 88-111]
- Yates, Frances Amelia (1966). *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
- Yates, Frances Amelia (1975). *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul).

- Ynduráin, Domingo (1999). "Historia y Ficción en el Siglo XV," in J. M. Enguita Utrilla 1999, vol. 1, pp. 183-226.
- Young, Alan R. (1987). *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (London: George Philip).
- Young, Robert V. (2001). "The Reformations of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in G. W. Olsen 2001a, pp. 269-301.
- Zandvoort, Reinard Willem (1929). *Sidney's "Arcadia": A Comparison Between the Two Versions* (Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger).
- Zeeveld, William Gordon (1933). "The Uprising of the Commons in Sidney's *Arcadia*," *MLN* 48.4, pp. 209-217.
- Zim, Rivkah (1987). *English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer, 1535-1601* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Zimbalist, Barbara (2006). "Critical Perspectives on Lady Mary Wroth's *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania*: An Annotated Bibliography," *Sidney Journal* 24.1, pp. 45-74.