Anna Schiffer: Submission for the posthumous award of a postgraduate degree for her *Sir Philip Sidney's European Tour (1572-75) and its influence on his An Apology for Poetry.*

Anna Schiffer began work on her dissertation at Southampton Solent University in September 2017. Her cousin, Dr James McKenzie-Hall, whose PhD I had recently supervised to completion, recommended she get in touch with me regarding undertaking one herself. Although Sidney's European travels fell within the area of my expertise, since I was already supervising my maximum permitted quota, Professor Tim Wilks and I accepted her as a postgraduate student but he took on the role of Anna's primary supervisor. After Tim left the University two years later, I succeeded him. When I also retired and was appointed honarary professor at UCL, given that there was no one left at Solent qualified to continue supervision on anything like this topic, in consultation with Professor Alexander Samson, I invited her to transfer her project to London. She assiduously continued with her research, attended several courses and produced successive draughts in response to our detailed feedback, working heroically hard whilst holding down a variety of teaching jobs.

She had underlying health problems about which she was stoicly discrete, their full extent only being revealed by her family to myself and Alexander after her sad and sudden demise on 8 December 2024. I was asked to speak at her funeral on 10 January 2025 and after consultation with Alexander (and in response to requests from her family) I announced on that occasion that we would do our best to obtain a posthumous post-graduate award in recognition of Anna's almost decade-long labours.

Anna's efforts and polite discretion were even more admirable than we knew. As well as her health concerns, the funeral revealed the extent of her devout Methodism. She was a pillar of the Castle Carey Methodist church and indeed an esteemed lay preacher. Her devoted approach to Sidney confirmed the significance of her expertise on (and enthusiasm for) Melanchthon and his legacy, much of which her hero accessed through his Huguenot mentor, Hubert Languet. The nature and extent of her religious (and related political?) loyalties, may have accounted for my sense of slight resistance to suggestions she might undertake further research on Sidney's relations with English Catholics or with the brilliant Dominican, Giordano Bruno. She did however, do some work on him, as well as the likes of Edward Wotton, and Pietro Bizzarri and was promising in particular to delve deeper into Bruno's writings, including those decidated to Sidney, at the time of her death.

In March 2023 she had successfully submitted a circa 20,000-word upgrade document. Alexander and I continued reading and commenting on successive drafts of new as well as heavily revised full-length chapters. Through the summer of 2024 we commented on Chapters 2 and 3 but after consultation with myself and Alexander she opted to obtain a third opinion on chapter 3 from Professor Chris Stamatakis, who had been the most relevantly qualified of her two upgrade examiners. He very kindly did so with great thoroughness. It is not clear from what Anna's cousin James, and sister, Olivia, have kindly retrieved from her flat for me, how much, if any she had been able to incorporate of our three sets of comments. There were clearly areas she needed to address to complete this piece of original research, but there is no question that Anna was making significant progress before her untimely death.

(Professor Edward Chaney, PhD, FRHistS).

Introduction

> So may I justly say who rightly travels with the eye of Ulisses, doth take one of the moste excellentest wayes of worldly wisdom. For hard it is to knowe Englande without we know it by comparinge it with others, noe more then [sic] a man can knowe the swiftness of his horse, without seeing him well matched.[1]

Philip Sidney's European tours lasted from June 1572 until May 1575. This Introduction gives the itinerary for those tours and it defines the network of friends and contacts he had in each of the places he visited. It also aims to describe some aspects of the home country that Sidney left to start his tour, and with which he would be comparing others. It offers biographical travel context to the research question of the thesis which is 'What is the influence of Sidney's European tours on his later writing?'. The sources for both the itinerary and the friendships and acquaintances, are found in Sidney's correspondence. There is no evidence from the correspondence of what the original travel plan included, other than to visit Paris for the ratification of the Treaty of Blois. Sidney's licence for travel appears as Appendix II.

Two tours in one

While researching and presenting the impact of Sidney's three-year European tour on his *Defence of Poetry*, *Old Arcadia* and *Astrophil and Stella*, it became logical to separate it into two distinct and differentiated tours. This is because each tour contributed different sets of experiences and ideas to Sidney the future poet. The Northern tour of Germany and the great cities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire revealed to Sidney, according to his correspondence, a heritage of geo-political and confessional ideas from older, more experienced men who saw his potential as a Protestant icon. His Southern (Italian) tour, on the other hand, provided him with contacts and friends from a microcosm of European elite youth and a knowledge of poetic theory that he proceeded to use in the *Defence*. Sidney's tours featured the formal court life and diplomacy of the Holy Roman Empire. His networking reached the highest levels; Charles IX of France honoured him and the Holy Roman Emperor Maximillian II received him. These formalities contrasted with Sidney's more relaxed weeks in western Hungary and Genoa and with his life of a student in Venice and Padua between October 1572 and August 1573.

The gifts that Sidney brought home with him

Sidney's father Sir Henry observed, or even complained, to Philip's younger brother Robert that Philip had not brought any gifts back from his travels for his family. In 1580, when thanking Robert (then on his own European tour) in advance for a present of marten skins, Sir Henry wrote 'it is more than ever your elder brother sent me.'[2] That may be true in a material sense; the Veronese portrait that he commissioned of his friend and mentor Hubert Languet is permanently lost and the question remains

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[1] Roger Kuin, *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford, 2012), 879. This is Sidney's letter of February 1579 to his brother Robert when Robert is setting out on a similar tour to Philip's. See also 877, n. 1.

[2] Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney Courtier Poet* (London, 1991), p.85. *HMC De L'Isle and Dudley ii. 95.*

whether Sidney brought back from Frankfurt and Venice the volumes that he bought. Notwithstanding, the first intangible gift that he brought back was his life-long friendship with Languet. It was Languet who ensured that Sidney had a serious, honest correspondent. It was Languet who engineered for Sidney a network of equally serious contacts around Europe. Languet managed for Sidney a further education that would assist and enable a career of public service, in England and abroad, for which Sidney longed and which Languet desired for him. In Kuin's words, Sidney came home to England 'one of the most travelled of young courtiers and the representative at Court of his father Sir Henry Sidney, the Vice-Roy of Ireland.'[3] While it is, as stated before, unknown what the tours would have been without the occurrence of the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 24-26 August 1572, after that event they took on dynamic and intellectual dimensions. Through Languet's introductions, Sidney met kings, emperors, botanists, soldiers, princes, reformers and philosopher-theologians. His tours of Germany, the Holy Roman Empire and Venice and Padua were managed throughout by Languet, at different points by Walsingham, Leicester and by Sidney himself when he was able to exert control of it (for example, his three weeks in western Hungary and his visit to Genoa). It was by Languet that Sidney's Northern tours were structured and planned and his southern tour was carefully watched and monitored from a distance.

These tours were a three-year campaign of education, meetings and events, including a royal visit to Venice and a potential visit by Sidney to a coronation in Poland (although this latter did not materialise). Sidney's tours gave him further knowledge of the French, German, Italian and Dutch languages; the progress in foreign languages that his passport specified should result from his travel. The Italian tour exposed Sidney to the scope of literature in the vernacular. It is safe to say that this was more than normal study-travel and that Sidney's legacy is not merely one of literature, but also one of ideas: political, diplomatic. Christian. C. Henry Warren says of Sidney and his tours, 'when he arrived back in England, in June 1575, he brought back with him an ability to read the map of contemporary European events which many a statesman twice his years might well envy.'[4] In this work connections will be made between these European events and *Defence of Poetry*, *The Old Arcadia* and *Astrophil and Stella.*

Sidney was also able to develop his second gift from the tours through his friendship and correspondence with Hubert Languet, that of writing with confidence. This is, if anything, a story of a close friendship and a meeting of minds across a generation, and was characterised by regular and faithful correspondence, albeit less regular then Languet would have liked. The correspondence between Sidney and Languet would not have happened without the tours, and it is a more consistently revealing and meaningful exchange than Sidney's surviving correspondences with any others. In addition, Sidney's time spent in Europe facilitated his book-buying at Frankfurt Book Fairs and of volumes in vernacular Italian in the famous bookshops of Venice. His Northern tour afforded him the opportunity to hone his skills of horsemanship at the Emperor's prestigious new Riding School in Vienna (founded in 1565). On its own website the school says it is:

> the only institution in the world which has practised for more than 450 years and continues to cultivate classical equitation in the Renaissance tradition of the Haute École

[3] Roger Kuin, "A League Too Far: Philip Sidney and the Holy Roman Empire II", *Sidney Journal*, vol. 42, no. 1, 2024, 34.
[4] C. Henry Warren, *Sir Philip Sidney: A Study in Conflict* (London and New York, 1936), 54.

- which can also be found on UNESCO's list of intangible cultural heritage of humanity.[5]

Sidney was also able to study at first hand the French, Hapsburg and Venetian systems of government. All of this forms a legacy from the tours that pervades *The Defence of Poetry*, *The Old Arcadia* and *Astrophil and Stella*, as will be demonstrated throughout this work.

A road map of the thesis

Chapter One is the shortest chapter, and it analyses the concept of literary influences. It explores literary influence in the ideas of causality and similarity, biographical detail and formality and temporality as propounded by Ihab H. Hassan. These are discussed with examples from Sidney's three works. Then it also applies to Sidney's works the concepts of influence in a symposium from A. Owen Aldridge, Anna Balakian, Claudio Gilén and Wolfgang B. Fleischmann. Their work addresses questions of comparison and the roles played in literary influence by authorial intuition and personal artistic experiences.

Chapter Two highlights *The Defence of Poetry* and begins with Sidney's image of Poetry as a 'great passport' to all nations. It traces the history of the passport and identifies Sidney's image of it with Poetry and his presentation of it in *The Defence* as the universal and timeless art. *The Defence of Poetry* is peppered with anecdotes from Sidney's tours; from the riding tuition at what is now known as the Spanish Riding School in Vienna to the Mountebanks of Venice to Hungarian ballads. These allusions to the tours exude the impression that the tours made on him and Sidney's wish to include their highlights in his literary theory. With *The Defence* Sidney brought to England essential principles of poetic theory that had been under discussion in Italy for decades and which he presents in a fresh and dynamic style. *The Defence of Poetry* has been the foundation text for this thesis, as it expounds his vision of a new future for poetry in the English language to reflect the confidence of its proud nation. It is the prime illustration of the impact of his European 1572-5 tours on his writings. Sidney's view in *The Defence of Poetry* is that, without Poetry as their passport, that is their 'safe conduct', History and Philosophy would not have been able to travel the world so freely. He extends this to a number of other academic disciplines and areas of knowledge such as natural philosophy and mathematics. *The Defence of Poetry* inspired a series of other derivative late Elizabethan and early Jacobean treatises in different styles and from diverse perspectives, for instance those of John Harrington, Thomas Lodge and George Puttenham. As did the *Defence*, these other treatises aimed to counter attacks on poetry such as Gosson's *The Schoole of Abuse And A Short Apologie of The Schoole of Abuse* and these other treatises are analysed in Chapter One. None of these treatises, though, is underpinned with Sidney's level of travel, cultural, religious or diplomatic experience.

Sidney's tours are seen in the conversations and interface of Sidney's tours with *The Defence;* in ideas which began with Philip Melanchthon, the late reformer and colleague of Martin Luther and mentor of Languet. Melanchthon lived on for Sidney through Languet. References to the content of Melanchthon*'s Orations* (given throughout the 1530s and 1540s) can be seen in Sidney's theories of art, language and history. Melanchthon's theory of education and learning is also laced through Sidney's *Defence*. *The Defence* is an extended letter with a first-person writer, personal stories, 'gathered flowers' from others' and the dramatic, confected, passion of its final blessing and curse. It

[5] www.srs.at.

is a fluent, enthusiastic, erudite interaction between the letter-writer and the recipient, just as Sidney asked Languet to help him achieve.

The research for *the Defence* and *The Old Arcadia* has proved that Sidney was accepted into the Imperial Court in Vienna within which he had an impressive network of contacts and friends, including one of the Emperor's chief policy planners Lazarus von Schwendi, his physician Joseph von Krafftheim and Maximillain II's first Imperial Librarian Hugo Blotius, the Imperial Botanist Charles de L'Ecluse. Maximillian II and his court appear at the very beginning of the *Defence*. It was while at Maximillian's Imperial Riding School that Sidney and his friend Edward Wotton (1548-1628) were perfecting their horsemanship, 'When the right virtuous Edward Wotton and I were at the Emperor's court together, we gave ourselves to learn horsemanship of John Pietro Pugliano [sic].'[6] This is not merely a travel anecdote. As Edward Berry rightly observes:

> The sustained analogy that follows, between Pugliano's self-interested praise of horsemanship and Sidney's self-interested praise of poetry, is a brilliant rhetorical device, as has been often observed, establishing Sidney's aristocratic persona and disarming criticism by acknowledging at the outset the extent to which all efforts at defending one's vocation are tainted by self-love.[7]

Thus, from the first page of the *Defence* Sidney is using his experience on his tours to create his authorial personality and voice. Pugliano is but the first of a cast of real characters from the Northern tour on whom Sidney calls to enliven his writing. The esteemed botanist and horticulturalist Charles de L'Ecluse (1526 -1609) with whom Sidney spent time in western Hungary in the early autumn of 1573, became head of Maximillian's Imperial Garden very soon after their trip. It was L'Ecluse who tried to obtain a portrait of Languet as a gift for Sidney.[8] Lazarus von Schwendi (1522-84) was one of Maximillian II's chief policy planners. Sidney met Andreas Dudith (1533-89) in November 1574 on his visit to Cracow. Dudith was a friend of Languet and, from 1565, Imperial ambassador to Poland.[9] Dudith corresponded with Johann Crato (1519-1585), who was ennobled to Johannes von Krafftheim (1519-1585), the imperial physician who performed dissection on the body of Maximillian II in October 1576, the first dissection to be described in print. From these contacts alone, most of whom lead back to Languet, Sidney was not merely a traveller, but an observer and a learner in the Imperial court throughout the time of his Northern tour. *The Defence* shows the literary and intellectual effect on Sidney of his encounters on his travels with Languet, Ramus and the works and spirit of Melanchthon. These first-hand meetings, for example with Ramus (or, in Melanchthon's case, secondary via his friendship with Melanchthon's disciple Languet) are powerful and precious.

The Holy Roman Empire

Chapter Three demonstrates that a close connection can be seen in content between *The Old Arcadia* and what Sidney saw, heard and experienced during his tour of the Holy Roman Empire of leadership,

[6] Sir Philip Sidney*, An Apology for Poetry:* ed. R.W. Maslen, 3rd revised ed. (Manchester, 2002), 81.
[7] Edward Berry, "The Poet as Warrior in Sidney's Defence of Poetry." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 29, no. 1, 1989, pp. 21–34. *JSTOR*, https://doi.org/10.2307/450452.
[8] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, 675-676 .
[9] Ibid., xli.

diplomacy and politique. His friendship with Languet and the encouragement Languet offered Sidney in the intellectual, political and spheres enabled Sidney to flourish when he came to write *The Old Arcadia*. The second chapter analyses the models of leadership (both positive and negative) that Sidney witnessed and demonstrates the ways in which he created the characters of the leaders, Euarchus, Basilius and Philanax, based on those models. There is also the comparison and contrast of two interpretations of Machiavelli's theories as presented in *The Prince*, there is a comparison of the structure of Arcadia with that of the Holy Roman Empire and it includes an exploration of the methods of addressing of diplomatic issues in those two territories. The friction provided by the comparison and contrast of the fictional territory of Arcadia with the Holy Roman Empire offers a significant dimension to *The Old Arcadia.*

A pivotal point for Sidney's tours was the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of August 1572 in Paris.[10] Although there is no massacre in *The Old Arcadia*, there is impending violence and popular unrest. The supposed treacherous killing of Duke Basilius by those closest to him creates a succession crisis. In Act Two appears the Amazon Cleophila (Prince Pyrocles in disguise). Her arrival triggers fear and distrust. She is potentially a Catherine De Medicis figure who has possessed Arcadia's prince and government just as Catherine 'possessed' her son King Charles XI of France at the time of the massacre. Cleophila is seen as a danger to Arcadia's sovereignty. Chapter Two follows Machiavelli's theory of hereditary princes (of whom Elizabeth I and Basilius are two). In addition, it shows that Sidney bought his copy of Macchiavelli's *The Prince* whilst in Padua, thus confirming the connection between it, *Old Arcadia* and the Southern tour. The chapter traces Machiavelli's ideas about tyranny and examines the concept of the body politic and the body physical of any monarch and how that concept is reflected in both Elizabeth I and Basilius in *Old Arcadia*. It discusses the issue of succession, in Arcadia, England and the Hapsburg Empire.

A year in Italy

Chapter Four addresses Sidney's Southern Tour in Italy (October 1572-August 15730. It examines English hostility to the young Englishman who travelled in Italy (the *Inglese Italianato*) who brought back with him decadence, bad fashion and atheism. Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* is the first sonnet sequence in the English language. There had, of course, been Chaucer's, Wyatt's and Surrey's sonnets, but these were not cohesive series of sonnets with flowing narratives as is *Astrophil and Stella*. Hilary Gatti dubs Sidney the principal English Petrarchan poet of his time.'[11] This chapter traces *Astrophil and Stella*'s origins to Petrarch via Giordano Bruno and the effect of Sidney's interest in Italy in studying Astronomy on his sonnet sequence which is based entirely on the love of a star. The third chapter examines how 'Petrarch's long deceased woes welcomed Sidney to a discursive structure which he was able to exploit.'[12] It unwraps the concept of the intertext which Sidney formed between the *Old Arcadia*, Sannazaro's *Arcadia* and de Montemayor's *Diana* and between *Astrophil and Stella* and Petrarch's *Canzionere.* Each example of intertextuality is an inextricably bound web. The idea is offered that intertextuality is a natural dimension of reading life. In Chapter Three it is shown that Sidney's *Old Arcadia* is evidence that his poetic theory and practice is sufficiently flexible to combine form and genre in literature (verse and prose) in one work and proof that he can create a new intertext. This comes from Sidney's book-buying in Venice which included Sannazaro's *L'Arcadia*, the model

[10] See Chapter Two.

[11]

[12]

for his own *Old Arcadia*. The continental literary line is traced (in Chapter Three) from Sidney's *Old Arcadia* back through Sannazaro's *Arcadia* to the *Diana* of Montemayor.

The fourth chapter draws the parallel of Stella's court with the court of Elizabeth I with Stella as the dismissive Queen, indifferent to Sidney's wish to serve her and her country. It tracks Astrophil's references to current world events and the sequence's themes of the sun, moon and stars – reminiscent of the interest in Astronomy expressed by Sidney in his letters from Italy. Sidney's Italian tour was his opportunity for him to build or cultivate his interest in fictional literature (Poesy). He was able to study Italian as a language for poetry and to speak and hear modern languages in international environments such as Venice and Padua. He could decide and make judgements about those languages, such as his dislike of German. In Italy there was liberation from the constraints of the expectations of his family, Languet and those older mentors whom Duncan-Jones calls his 'Dutch Uncles.'[13] In Venice Sidney was able to pursue his book-buying and this is followed through his letters of the time. Here Sidney met or revisited the Italian poetical theory which permeates his *Defence of Poetry*. Chapter Three speaks to how Sidney uses Giordano Bruno's concept of the Memory House in *Astrophil and Stella*. This time in Italy affected Sidney's view of writing in the vernacular and that impact would resume when he met Giordano Bruno in London. The Southern Tour was a key component of Sidney's development as a writer; the *Old Arcadia,* the *Defence of Poetry* and *Astrophil and Stella* might not exist in their present, or even any, form.

The England that Sidney left in May 1572

The England that Sidney left in May 1572 was perceived, according to John Gallagher, as 'a small island out on the edge of Europe.'[14] The Hapsburg Empire, on the other hand, Kuin suggests, 'was not an island, as England was: it was all too permeable, and foreign wars might spread, like a forest fire, into the home territories'.[15] Sidney, in his tour of the Hapsburg capitals, was entering a different system from the English one that he had known from inside and he would also become an insider of this new system. The Empire was on a different scale with different challenges, as is addressed in Chapter Three.

In the context of her research into Elizabethan studies of the mind, Helen Hackett identifies the growth of the book trade as 'one of the major cultural developments of the period.' She continues with statistics which show that:

> a count of early printed books of which copies survive today has found that in the decade to 1560, just over 1,500 books were published; but by the decade ending in 1600, this had doubled to almost 3,000.'[16]

Hackett adds specifically:

[13] Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet*, 21.
[14] John Gallagher, *Learning Languages in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2019), 1.
[15] Roger Kuin, 'Philip Sidney's Travels in the Holy Roman Empire', 824.
[16] Helen Hackett, *The Elizabethan Mind: Searching for the Self in an Age of Uncertainty* (Newhaven, 2022), 4.

> Works of different periods and origins – classical, medieval, recent, and new; English and international – coexisted in English bookshops and libraries, offering a host of diverse and competing opinions on the nature and workings of the mind.[17]

This could be applied not only to works about the workings of the mind but also about books more generally. For instance, ***Hackett's work here connects with Sidney in two ways. Firstly, it indicates that he grew up from his earliest years with this burgeoning availability of books and book trading, and that he had this background of book-buying when he arrived both in Frankfurt at the Book Fair in 1572 and in 1573 Venice to enjoy its five famous bookshops and publishers. The second link is with Sidney's personality. On 22 January 1574 Languet writes to Sidney (concerning the study of Geometry that Sidney wishes to pursue), 'you are not over cheerful by nature, and it is a study which will make you still more grave.'[18] Sidney recognises this, and in his reply of 4 February 1574, he admits, 'I readily allow that I am often more serious than either my age or my pursuits demand,' but 'I am never less a prey to melancholy than when I am earnestly applying the feeble powers of my mind to some high and difficult object.'[19] Fulke Greville Sidney's distant relative and school friend (from their first day together at Shrewsbury School) writes of him:

> Though I lived with him, and knew him from a child, yet I never knew him other than a man: with such staidnesse of mind, lovely, and familiar gravity, as carried grace, and reverence above greater years.[20]

Greville here hints at Sidney's seriousness or possibly even melancholy. According to Hackett, melancholy had 'lofty associations with elevated rank and intellect, yet at the same time anchored it very firmly in the body. As a bodily fluid, it was thought to have heavy, sinking properties and to thicken the blood.'[21] It was 'the humour that most fascinated the Elizabethans.'[22] It is hardly surprising that melancholy might feature in Sidney's self-awareness, as his great-grandfather, grandfather and two uncles had been executed for treason and, as stated above, his mother as Lady in waiting to Elizabeth I had been left horribly scarred by smallpox in 1562 (when Sidney was not yet eight).[23] Sidney caught the disease, but was not too badly disfigured. He also meets Hackett's criteria of the 'elevated rank and intellect' as a candidate for melancholy. Hackett puts a strong case for melancholy being a strong element of the backdrop of England as Sidney knew it as he left it in 1572.

At a national level, Clare Jackson evaluates England as a nation riven between its 'Virgin Queen' and her Catholic subjects who felt they were living under 'the illegitimate tyranny of a Protestant heretic bastard that simultaneously deprived Henry VIII's legitimate great-niece, Mary Stuart, of her rightful English crown.'[24] This situation had become impossible for English Catholics in February 1570 with

[17] Ibid., 5.
[18] Steuart A. Pears M.A. *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet*, (London, 1845), 25.
[19] Ibid., 29.
[20] Fulke Greville, *Life of Philip Sidney etc. First Published 1652*, intro. Nowell Smith (Oxford, 1907), 6.
[21] Helen Hackett, *The Elizabethan Mind: Searching for the Self in an Age of Uncertainty*, 35-36.
[22] Ibid., 29.
[23] James Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney 1572-1577* (New Haven and London, 1972), 4-5.
[24] Clare Jackson, *Devil-Land: England Under Siege* (London, 2021), 24.

Pope Pius V's Bull of Excommunication against Elizabeth I. The Bull in its entirety forms Appendix II). The thrust of the accusations against Elizabeth is:

> We, seeing impieties and crimes multiplied one upon another the persecution of the faithful and afflictions of religion daily growing more severe under the guidance and by the activity of the said Elizabeth -and recognizing that her mind is so fixed and set that she has not only despised the pious prayers and admonitions with which Catholic princes have tried to cure and convert her but has not even permitted the nuncios sent to her in this matter by this See to cross into England, are compelled by necessity to take up against her the weapons of justice, though we cannot forbear to regret that we should be forced to turn, upon one whose ancestors have so well deserved of the Christian community. Therefore, resting upon the authority of Him whose pleasure it was to place us (though unequal to such a burden) upon this supreme justice-seat, we do out of the fullness of our apostolic power declare the foresaid Elizabeth to be a heretic and favourer of heretics, and her adherents in the matters aforesaid to have incurred the sentence of excommunication and to be cut off from the unity of the body of Christ.
>
> And moreover (we declare) her to be deprived of her pretended title to the aforesaid crown and of all lordship, dignity and privilege whatsoever.
>
> And also (declare) the nobles, subjects and people of the said realm and all others who have in any way sworn oaths to her, to be forever absolved from such an oath and from any duty arising from lordship. fealty and obedience; and we do, by authority of these presents, so absolve them and so deprive the same Elizabeth of her pretended title to the crown and all other the above said matters. We charge and command all and singular the nobles, subjects, peoples and others afore said that they do not dare obey her orders, mandates and laws. Those who shall act to the contrary we include in the like sentence of excommunication.[25]

In other words, faithful English Catholics were called to remove Elizabeth, by implication using any means. Moreover, they were not to consider themselves under any obligation to fulfil any oaths they had made to her. In fact they should not do so for fear of their own excommunication. They were being forced to choose between their Queen (God's representative ruler in England) and their Pope (God's representative on earth). G.R. Elton takes the view that 'this explains the fears of that summer of 1570 when a Spanish armament sailed down the Channel: it was thought, with some reason, that Philip had come to put the bull into effect.' It would explain the activities of Ridolfi (as recounted below) and 'Walsingham's desire for a Protestant alliance to forestall the dreaded association of Guisard France with Habsburg Spain and Burgundy which must destroy England.'[26] Interlinked with The Bull of Excommunication, the Treaty of Blois (as discussed below), Philip II of Spain and the 'dreaded association of Guisard France with Habsburg Spain and Burgundy' was the arrival from France to what Anne Somerset calls 'a tide of adulation' of Catholic Mary Queen of Scots.

[25] www.papalencyclicals.net › Pius05 › p5regnans.
[26] G.R. Elton, *England under the Tudors*, 303-304.

Mary was the daughter of Mary of Guise and daughter-in-law of Catherine de Medici. She landed at Leith in Scotland on 19 August 1561.[27] Her husband Francis II of France, to whom she had been betrothed at the age of five (since when she had lived in France) had died in December 1560. At this stage John Guy rates Elizabeth I's attitude to her first cousin once removed as 'curiously ambivalent'. He quotes her comment of 1561 to Mary's principal secretary William Maitland that Mary would have 'a near-invincible claim as the rightful heir.' Guy adds that 'Blood mattered more to Elizabeth than particular forms of worship' and that 'Where the succession was concerned, she kept religion and politics apart.'[28] The succession question became real and present in the spring of 1562 when Elizabeth came close to death after contracting smallpox and then a chill when she went outside. Elizabeth was right about Mary's unassailable claim to the throne. As Anne Somerset says, as the granddaughter of Henry VIII's sister Margaret, 'In blood at least, Mary Queen of Scots had the best claim to be Elizabeth's successor.'[29] However, 'by the terms of Henry's will, Margaret Tudor's descendants had been bypassed in favour of the descendants of Henry's other sister Mary.' This, Somerset elaborates, posed Elizabeth with a dilemma as to whether she was legally obliged to respect her father's will so long after his death. In addition, she had no wish 'to provoke Mary by confirming that she was excluded from the succession.' On the other hand, she was not ready to recognise Mary as her heir, as Mary's position as heir presumptive would leave Elizabeth unable to control her. However, the mere possibility of succeeding Elizabeth would encourage Mary to remain on good terms with her. 'Therefore it was essential that this matter remained in suspense.'[30] Elizabeth, as so often, employed creative ambiguity in this. On July 15 1562, Elizabeth sent Philp Sidney's father Sir Henry Sidney to Scotland to postpone a meeting that had been arranged for August between Elizabeth and Mary. Peace in France had been agreed on 25 June 1562 after the massacre in Vassy on 1 March 1562 of a Protestant congregation by followers of Mary's uncle the Duc de Guise. The peace, though, had broken down by 12 July 1562. Elizabeth and Mary never met. As John Neale points out, 'the succession was not a gift which Elizabeth could lightly make and later withdraw if Mary embarked on a hostile policy. It was a right.'[31] The position of Mary Stuart was significant to the backdrop both of Elizabethan England and of the Sidney family.

On a more abstract and philosophical level, E.M.W. Tillyard posits of the Elizabethan world view that it was not simply (as it is often portrayed) 'a secular period between two outbreaks of Protestantism'.[32] He finds that:

> the greatness of the Elizabethan age was that it contained so much of the new without bursting the noble form of the old [medieval] order. It is here that the Queen herself comes in. Somehow the Tudors had inserted themselves into the constitution of the medieval universe. If they were to be preserved, it had to be part of this pattern.[33]

[27] Anne Somerset, *Elizabeth I* (London, 1997), 182.
[28] John Guy, *Elizabeth: The Forgotten Years* (London, 2016), 29-30.
[29] Anne Somerset, *Elizabeth I* (London, 1997), 132.
[30] Ibid., 132.
[31] John E. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth I* (Chicago, 2001), 123.
[32] E.M.W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (Harmondsworth, 1972), 11.
[33] Ibid., 16.

It was 'still solidly theocentric and a simplified version of a much more complicated medieval picture.'[34] Tillyard cites Hamlet's rendering of Psalm VIII, which Sidney later transposed into metrical verse, as encapsulating humankind's place in the Elizabethan world order, although Tillyard stresses that it is in 'the purest medieval tradition' and what theologians had been saying for centuries:

> What a piece of work is a man: how noble in reason; how infinite in faculty: in form and moving how express and admirable; in action how like an angel; in apprehension how like a god; the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals.[35]

For the Elizabethan mind, humanity was little lower than the angels, a creature of nobility and reason. Tillyard rates as eminent six Elizabethan writers (Spenser, Sidney, Raleigh, Hooker, Shakespeare and Johnson) for 'the earnestness and passion and the assurance with which they surveyed the range of the universe.'[36] It is this Elizabethan world picture and evaluation of the universe (addressed in Chapter Three) that Sidney took through his European tours, blended with all the experiences, meetings and reading of his travels and brought back moulded into the view that would make his writing earnest and passionate and would lead to his being eminent for two hundred years after his death.

Elizabeth's England I in 1572 was a nuanced, complex scenario of which Sidney would have been aware from an early age. His family's fortunes had been connected with those of the Tudors for three generations before him. Penshurst Place, his family home, had been a gift from Henry VIII to Sidney's grandfather William Sidney, who was tutor and steward to Edward VI, a member of the Privy Council and Knight of the Garter.[37] His father Henry had been a boyhood friend of Edward VIII (who died in his arms).[38] Henry was entrusted to represent Elizabeth as Lord Deputy of Ireland. [39] His Dudley great-grandfather Edmund, his grandfather John and uncles Ambrose and Guildford had all been executed for treason. As observed earlier, Sidney's mother Mary was Lady in Waiting to Elizabeth I.

The Treaty of Blois

From this multi-layered Elizabethan England and his family's tradition at the heart of its government, Sidney's opportunity for diplomacy and travel presented itself in a mission to Paris led by Edward Clinton, now created Lord Lincoln for that purpose.[40] Lord Lincoln's second wife was Ursula Stourton, a Dudley cousin of Mary Sidney (Philip Sidney's mother) and the Earl of Leicester (Mary's brother). Therefore, it can be presumed that Lord Lincoln was willing to accept Philip Sidney into his party. This mission was arranged to ratify the Treaty of Blois that had been sealed with France on 19 April 1572. Anne Somerset writes that the provisions of the Treaty of Blois included:

[34] Ibid., 12.
[35] Ibid., 11.
[36] Ibid., 115.
[37] James Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney 1572-1577* (New Haven and London, 1972), 24.
[38] Ibid., 4.
[39] Ibid., 4.
[40] Ibid., 3-4.

> an undertaking that if either of the signatories was attacked, the other would provide her ally with military and naval assistance, an obligation that remained binding on France even if England was invaded by another power on religious grounds.[41]

In each case, the potential attacker was Philip II of Spain (Philip Sidney's proxy godfather). France was at risk of such an attack since its King Charles IX had extended toleration to the Huguenots, and had signalled his willingness to co-operate with Queen Elizabeth I should it be in the interests of France to do so. In Osborn's view the Treaty is 'a feeble step towards preserving the balance of power in Northern Europe' and an effort by the Queen Mother of France to ally France and England after her earlier, failed effort to marry her third son the Duc d'Anjou to Queen Elizabeth.[42] For Alan Stewart it was 'a somewhat half-hearted defence pact'.[43] G.R. Elton, though, opines that the treaty, 'while rendered nearly valueless by events' (for instance the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre which is discussed in Chapter Two), it was:

> nevertheless something of an achievement. At a critical time it removed all danger of a general continental alliance against England to carry out the bull of excommunication and deprivation which the Pope [Pius V] had issued [against Elizabeth I] in 1570.[44]

It appears that there were hopes for the Treaty of Blois. Witness to this is a painting of 1572 called *An Allegory of the Tudor Succession* which can be seen at Sudeley Castle in Gloucestershire. Unusually it was a gift from Elizabeth I to Francis Walsingham her Ambassador in Paris. John Cooper notes, 'the Allegory was a handsome gift. The Queen rarely commissioned the portraits which created a cult of devotion around her, preferring to receive them in tribute from her courtiers.'[45] Its inscription reads 'The Quene. To. Walsingham. This. Tablet. Sente. Marke of. Her. Owne. Peoples. And. Her. Owne. Contente.'[46] The painting (anachronistically) shows Henry VI with his three children and Philip II of Spain, each in the fashion of their specific day. Mary and Philip are accompanied by Mars, the god of War, while Elizabeth is leading Peace by the hand. Peace is walking over the sword of discord and Elizabeth and Peace are followed by Plenty. The message is clear. *An Allegory* emphasises the strength and continuity of the Tudor line, with Elizabeth offering concord and a cornucopia of riches while her half-sister and brother-in-law offer strife and conflict. Cooper states firmly that 'the signing of the treaty of Blois was commemorated in a group portrait of the English Royal Family known as the Allegory of the Tudor Succession.'[47] Karen Hearn is more tentative, however, saying that is a gift to the 'zealous Protestant' Walsingham 'possibly in gratitude for his negotiation of the Treaty of Blois.'[48] Hearn is also hesitant to agree with Roy Strong's attribution of the painting to Lucas de Heere, as she says that 'so few works of de Heere can be identified, particularly paintings in oil.'[49] Strong had based his attribution of *An Allegory* to de Heere due to its similarity of composition to de Heere's 1559 work

[41] Anne Somerset, *Elizabeth I* (London, 1997), 338.
[42] James Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney 1572-1577*, 24-25.
[43] Alan Stewart, *Philip Sidney, A Double Life* (London, 2001), 69.
[44] G.R. Elton, *England under the Tudors* Third Edition (London and New York, 1991), 300. The Bull of Excommunication is addressed below.
[45] John Cooper, *The Queen's Agent: Francis Walsingham and the Court of Elizabeth I* (London, 2011), 85.
[46] Karen Hearn, *Dynasties*: *Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530-1630* (London1995), 81.
[47] John Cooper, *The Queen's Agent*, 84.
[48] Karen Hearn, *Dynasties*: *Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England*, 82.
[49] Ibid., 82.

Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.'[50] Nevertheless, the timing by Elizabeth I of the painting's commission, and the fact that is was unusually a gift from her to Walsingham in Paris, demonstrates *An Allegory's* significance as a marker of Tudor power at a time when England was building its protection against Philip II's Spain. It also marks the reason for Sidney's leaving England for Europe, namely, to be part of the embassy for ratification of the Treaty of Blois, and therefore the start of his tours.

For both nations a significant factor in the thinking behind the treaty was Mary Queen of Scots (who was imprisoned in England) and her collusion with Philip II. This had been illustrated by her offer to betroth her son to the Infanta of Spain. When the French discovered that Mary was so dependent on Philip, they felt free to abandon their former Queen. They modified their call for Mary to be freed and merely requested that she should not be put to death. A significant factor in this was the Ridolfi plot. Roberto Ridolfi (18 November 1531 –18 February 1612) was the son of Pagnozzo di Giovanfrancesco Ridolfi and Maddalena Gondi. His family operated one of the largest banking houses in Florence. Ridolfi settled in London in about 1562 and become a prosperous merchant and a leading member of the Italian community. His employment as a financial agent on behalf of William Cecil and other statesmen gave the Florentine a position of influence and credibility at the English court that for a time helped mask his conspiratorial activities. While he conducted business with Protestants, as an ardent Catholic he preferred to socialize with Catholics. By the late 1560s Ridolfi's commercial interests had been eclipsed by politics, and he soon became obsessed with returning England to the Catholic fold by means of foreign assistance, which he himself planned to muster. He developed contacts by supplying information to the French and Spanish ambassadors in London; he received pensions from both in return. He also began acting as an instrument of papal policy, reflected in his role as *nunzio segreto*, or secret envoy, a designation he held from Pius V from 1566. His association with dissatisfied English Catholics resulted in complicity in the 1569 rising of the northern earls, which had the dual aims of restoring the ancient worship and releasing the imprisoned Mary Stuart from her captivity in Coventry. Wishing to aid the rebels, Pius V arranged for 12,000 crowns to be forwarded to and distributed by Ridolfi. Rumours of this dispersal brought the Florentine merchant to the attention of the English government, and in October 1569 he was summoned before Francis Walsingham. Ridolfi revealed little upon interrogation except to stress that the money was only an ordinary banking transaction. The increasingly suspicious Walsingham detained Ridolfi under house arrest and ordered that the Florentine's house and effects be searched under his own supervision. Nothing incriminating was found, and a month later Elizabeth requested that clemency be shown towards Ridolfi, who was released in January 1570. The leniency of his treatment at the hands of Elizabeth and her ministers has caused some scholars to suggest that during his house arrest Ridolfi was successfully 'turned' by Walsingham into a double agent who subsequently worked for, and not against, the Elizabethan government. Regardless of where his loyalty actually lay, Ridolfi's knowledge of foreign affairs was valuable enough for Cecil and Walsingham to consult him on English relations with Spain and the Low Countries.

While Ridolfi courted those in power at the English court, he continued to strengthen relations with individuals who might support a foreign invasion of England, including John Leslie, bishop of Ross and agent of Mary Stuart. More important, Ridolfi cultivated a relationship with Thomas

[50] Ibid., 82.

Howard, duke of Norfolk, cousin to the queen and the highest ranking peer in England. After some persuasion he convinced Norfolk to sign a declaration stating that he was a Catholic and, if backed by Spanish militia, was willing to lead a revolt. Ridolfi also drew up a list of forty peers whom he believed would join the uprising. Mary's approval was acquired through her intermediary, the bishop of Ross. The plan, later to be known as the Ridolfi plot, was soon in place: a Catholic rising was to free Mary and then, with zealous Catholics as well as Spanish forces joining *en route*, bring her to London, where the queen of Scots would supplant Elizabeth. The English queen's ultimate fate was purposely left unclear for the benefit of those with tender consciences. Mary would then secure her throne by marrying Norfolk. The Ridolfi plot was ill conceived in the extreme and has been called 'one of the more brainless conspiracies' of the sixteenth century (Smith, 216). It was also destined to fail due to the personality of its originator, who, although undeniably persuasive, was also indiscreet enough to trumpet his scheme all over Europe.

The conspirators, unaware of Ridolfi's reckless streak, entrusted him to secure support in the guise of money and men from Pius V, Philip II of Spain, and the duke of Alva, governor-general of the Low Countries. Armed with letters from Norfolk and Mary Stuart authorizing him to speak on their behalf, Ridolfi left for the continent in March 1571. The English government was aware of his departure, but not of his intentions. He first arrived at Brussels and met Alva, who thought little of Ridolfi, considering him a 'new man' (*CSP Spain*, *1568–79*, 133). Alva thought even less of his estimate of 8000 Spanish troops, a number he deemed inadequate to launch a rising. Ridolfi's reception in Rome was quite different, for Pius proved enthusiastic about any scheme to rid England of a protestant ruler. The pope immediately wrote letters to Mary Stuart and Philip declaring his support. Ridolfi also was warmly welcomed at the Spanish court. Philip invited the Florentine to a council meeting, where the pros and cons of Spanish involvement in the plot were discussed in detail. While the subject of Elizabeth I's assassination was raised, the Spanish would not sanction any such action.[51]

Stewart's theory is that this opening for Sidney to join the mission to ratify the Treaty of Blois, and to travel in Europe, largely originated from the Queen's jealousy and the tactics of Leicester. The complex relationship between Elizabeth and Leicester, Stewart suggests, led to Elizabeth's mistrust of Leicester for whom she had considerable affection, but, who, due to her faith in him, was now politically influential both at home and in northern Europe. Stewart's belief is that while Elizabeth had no intention of allowing Leicester loose in Europe, she was not so worried about Sidney travelling abroad. For Leicester, tied to his life in England, it became crucial to have a personal representative on the ground in Paris. There may have seemed no one better for this than his charming, well-educated, engaging nephew and heir Philip Sidney.[52] Leicester was already an exemplum for his nephew in terms of the former's brand of Protestantism and public service. Both the choice by Sidney's father of Ludovico Bruschetto (1545-1611) or, as he will henceforth be called by his anglicised name, Lodowick Bryskett as Sidney's gentleman travelling companion and Leicester's appointment of Francis Walsingham the English Ambassador in Paris as Sidney's mentor ensured that the young man was not without exempla while he was away. Bryskett, (*c.*1546–1609), administrator and writer, probably born in Hackney, was the fifth of the eight children of Antonio Bruschetto (*d*. 1574), merchant, and his wife, Elizabeth (*d*. 1579), an Italian whose lineage remains unknown. Antonio was

[51] L.E. Hunt, *The Oxford National Dictionary of Biography* (2004). *Henceforth ONDB.*
[52] Stewart, *Philip Sidney, A Double Life*, 68.

a native of Genoa who had taken up residence in England by 1523 and was granted letters of denization on 4 December 1536. Lodowick began school at Tonbridge before the age of five, but was soon forced to withdraw owing to the onset of 'a quartaine ague'. He matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, on 27 May 1559, but left the university without taking a degree. He paid his first visit to Ireland in 1565 in the service of the lord deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, and acted as temporary clerk to the council in Ireland for a brief period in 1571. Chosen to accompany Sir Philip Sidney on his grand tour (1572–4), he witnessed the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre in Paris and visited Strasbourg, Frankfurt, Vienna, Venice, and Genoa.[53] For Osborn it was logical that, 'because of Lodowick's known character, experience in travelling and fluency in languages, Sir Henry chose him to accompany Philip on his continental journey.'[54] Stewart concurs, calling Lodowick 'the obvious choice'.[55] Bryskett would offer the balance to the older men at this time in Sidney's life whom Duncan-Jones calls the 'Dutch uncles'.[56] As the English Ambassador in Paris and one of the 'Dutch uncles', Walsingham received a letter (dated 26 May 1572, the day after Philip's licence to travel was signed) from Leicester commending his nephew to Walsingham's care. Leicester writes:

> Forasmuch my nephew, Philip Sidney, is licensed to travel, and doth presently repair to those parts with my Lord Admiral, I have thought good to commend him by these my letters friendly unto you as to one I am well assured will have a special care of him during his abode there. He is young and raw, and shall no doubt find these countries and the demeanours of the people somewhat strange unto him; and therefore your good advice and counsel shall greatly behove him for his better direction, which I do most heartily pray you to vouchsafe him. [57]

The plans were complete for this young man to begin his diplomatic career.

The itinerary and dramatis personae of the tours

Sidney was in Paris from 8 June to around 15 September 1572. Osborn cites Dudley Digges in *The Compleat Ambassador*) that on 25 May 1572 Elizabeth I both 'allowed Burghley to present the Earl of Lincoln with the instructions for his embassy and signed the licence for 'her trusty and well-beloved Philip Sidney Esq. to go out of England into parts beyond the seas'. Osborn continues:

> Exactly when Lord Lincoln's party left London and took ship is not known. Probably they were packed and waiting, and set out about Tuesday, May 27. Because a courier required about eight days to cross between London and Paris, the larger group doubtless took about twelve days before arriving in Paris on Sunday June 8.'[58]

Sidney was in Paris and witnessed the events of St Bartholomew's Day (24-26 August 1572), as Languet writes to him on 12 March 1574, about the Massacre and 'the spirits contaminated by that immense crime you and I witnessed.'[59] According to Osborn, again citing Digges, on 9 September the

[53] Richard A. McCabe, *ONDB* (2004).
[54] Osborne, *Young Philip Sidney*, *1572-1577,* 28.
[55] Stewart, *Philip Sidney: A Double Life*, 71.
[56] Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet,* (London, 1991), 21.
[57] Malcolm W. Wallace, *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney* (New York, 1967), 115.
[58] James Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney 1572-1577*, 26-27. Osborn cites Sir Dudley Digges *The Compleat Ambassador* (1655), 206-11 and 253.
[59] *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, 139.

Council wrote to Walsingham 'with the order "we desire you to procure for the Lord Wharton and Mr Philip Sidney, The King's licence and safe conduct to come thence."' The Earl of Leicester wrote on 11 September 1572, 'I bid you farewel, trusting you will be a mean for my Nephew *Sidney*, that he may repair home, considering the present state there.' Osborn continues that 'Walsingham did not receive the letter until September 17.' Sidney would have been obliged to obey the order, but he had already left Paris. Therefore, he must have left Paris at any point before 17 September 1572. On 17 October 1572, Walsingham writes to Leicester that he has had news of Sidney on his way to Heidelberg.[60]

From late September 1572 until Midsummer 1573 Sidney was in Frankfurt, from where he writes to the Earl of Leicester on 18 and again on 23 March 1573.[61] The first of these letters refers to 'the woorkes' the bearer 'doth cary into England.' These works are probably books that Sidney has bought for Leicester at the Frankfurt Spring Book Fair. Osborn observes that, 'After these letters there is no further evidence of Sidney's life in Frankfurt. Tradition has it that he departed on his way south during May, but April seems the most likely.'[62] The route favoured by John Buxton is that via Heidelberg, Strasbourg and then to Vienna through Basle 'before turning east'.[63] Thence Sidney begins his time in the Holy Roman Empire.

On 22 September 1573 Languet writes from Vienna to Sidney referring, possibly ironically, to Sidney's 'virtue and delightful manners.' However, on this occasion, the good manners had not extended to revealing to Languet that Sidney's trip to Pressburg (approximately sixty kilometres away) would be considerably longer than the stated three days, 'When you left here you said you would not be absent for more than three days.'[64] This means that Sidney was in Vienna with Languet from late May or early June 1573 until possibly August or early September 1573. There was then the three-week visit to Pressburg in western Hungary before returning to Vienna for a few weeks. From Languet's letter of 22 September 1573, it is clear that Sidney was in the company of Languet's friend the medical doctor, botanist and poet Georg Purkircher (1530-1577).[65] He also spent time on this visit with the most eminent botanist and horticulturalist of the sixteenth century. Charles de L'Ecluse (1526-1609). De L'Ecluse was also a friend of Languet's in Vienna and was about to start his post as Head of the Imperial Garden.[66] In a friendly letter from Purkircher to Sidney dated 6 June 1576, Purkircher appears to refer to the friendship shared in Hungary among them and de L'Ecluse, 'You have toasted me in French wine in de L'Ecluse's letter: I for the moment will answer you here in Viennese wine and will toast you when I get home in Hungarian.'[67] This is followed by a letter from de L'Ecluse to Sidney two days later on 8 June 1576 saying almost verbatim that he and Purkircher had dined together with Languet and Blotius two days before and, 'he toasted you in a very good Austrian wine and that as soon as he got back to his house he will do it in even better Hungarian wine.[68] From Hungary Sidney returned to Vienna for approximately a month.

[60] Ibid., 74-75.
[61] Roger Kuin, *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, 13-15
[62] James Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney 1572-1577*, 88.
[63] John Buxton, *Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance* (London, 1954), 59.
[64] Roger Kuin, *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* 22.
[65] Ibid., 22-23.
[66] Ibid., xlii.
[67] Ibid., 689.
[68] Ibid., 693.

Osborn calculates that Sidney must have left Austria about 26 October 1573 on his journey to Italy which would have taken approximately fourteen days.[69] At the beginning of Sidney's Southern tour, Languet's letter from Vienna dated 19 November 1573 reproaches Sidney again, saying ' What care and anxiety, nay, what fear had you spared me, if you had written to me only once or twice on your journey!' Sidney writes to Languet from Venice on 5 December 1573, saying that he has already sent him two letters from Venice.[70] This all indicates that Sidney had left Vienna for Italy in late October 1573. Sidney writes from Venice again on 19 December 1573 and on 25 December 1573, when he informs Languet, 'I have now taken lodgings in Padua where I will go within a week.[71] By 15 January he is writing from Padua from where he writes again on 4 and 11 February 1574.[72] On 26 February 1574 he is writing from Venice and from there once again on 15 April 1575.[73] On 16 April 1575 Languet refers to Sidney's visit to Genoa when he writes, 'Indeed, Genoa is on the Spanish side: so that I am not sure how safe it is for you to stay there longer.'[74] This trip has ended by 23 April 1575, as de Vulcob writes to Sidney then, 'to express my joy that you have returned in good health from your 'progress' – to put it *á l'anglaise* – through Italy.'[75] Sidney writes again from Padua on 7 May 1574, from Venice on 28 May 1574, on 4 June 1574 from Venice on a date in June that is not given.[76] On 5 October 1574 Jean Lobbet congratulates Sidney on his safe return to Austria from Italy. He apologises that, due to illness, he has not replied sooner to Sidney's letter of 'the second of last month' which Lobbet received a week before.[77] It is, therefore, safe to conclude that Sidney left Italy in late August or early September 1574 to return to Vienna. This is confirmed by Wolfgang Zündelin who, in a letter to Sidney dated 6 September 1574, refers to 'The letter, noble Count Philip, which you wrote to me as you were leaving Padua.'[78] By 27 November 1574, Sidney is back in Vienna from a visit to Poland and writes to the Earl of Leicester saying, I am newlie returned from my Polish jounei.'[79] According to a letter of 27 February 1575 from Francois Perrot de Mesières, Sidney had expressed his intention to be in Frankfurt for the fair in April, 'As I wrote to you, I am counting on being where you wanted to go, at the Fair, at the end of April at the latest.'[80] This wish of Sidney's to be in Frankfurt for the April Fair is supported by the Count of Hanau who writes on 30 January 1575, 'I hope with the Lord's help to see you at the coming Frankfurt Fair'[81] In addition, De Mésières writes on 27 February, 'I am counting on being where you wanted to go at the end of April at the latest.'[82] As will be seen, this meeting in Frankfurt was not to be.

In late February and early March 1575 Sidney was in Prague for a short time. On 2 March 1575 he writes to Thomas Jordan, 'Because I must leave here tomorrow, my good Jordan, I wanted to greet

[69] James Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney 1572-1577*, 104-105.
[70] Roger Kuin, *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* 33.
[71] Ibid., 45-46, 63-65, 73-74. See 74, n.4.
[72] Ibid., 91-93, 106-107, 114-115.
[73] Ibid., 131-132, 160-164.
[74] Ibid., 167.
[75] Ibid., 179.
[76] Ibid., 201-203, 231-233, 248-250.
[77] Ibid., 319.
[78] Ibid., 311.
[79] Ibid., 344.
[80] Ibid., 400.
[81] Ibid., 379.
[82] Ibid., 400.

you with these few words.'[83] Languet writes to August of Saxony on 1 March 1575 that 'The Emperor received him [Sidney] a few days ago, and showed him the greatest kindness.'[84] This was the pinnacle of Sidney's travels.

[83] Ibid., 402. Thomas Jordan (1539-1586) was a Transylvanian physician. He was part of the Faculty of Medicine in Vienna by 1566 and friends with the Imperial physician Johannes Crato von Crafftheim. He went to Brno and was state physician for Moravia. He connected with the Moravian Brethren. Ibid., xlvi.

[84] James Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney 1572-1577*, 281. Osborn quotes Languet from Huberti Langueti Epistolae (Leipzig, 1685),75. Osborn also dates Sidney's arrival in Prague as Tuesday 22 February 1575, but offers no evidence for that.

A sudden departure for home

From 6 April 1575 onwards, though, there is a sense of urgency about the end of the Northern tour and the whole continental European itinerary. On that date Jean Lobbet writes from Strasbourg expressing a wish that he could have seen Sidney when Sidney visited that town:

> However, Master Menteith, a learned man who spoke to you recently at Frankfurt and arrived here yesterday, has put me in some doubt regarding your coming. For even though he admits he found you quite in the mood to come here, he also told me that in passing through Heidelberg he talked to an English gentleman, a Secretary, who told him he had orders from the Earl of Leicester to bring you back to England and that as quickly as possible, even without going through France.[85]

Sidney was in Heidelberg on 19 April 1575, as on 31 May Lobbet writes, 'I waited to reply to the letter you were pleased to write to me from Heidelberg on the 19th of last month, until you had completed your journey.'[86]

The sense of urgency is increased when Lobbet adds, 'to beg you (in case you did not want to see us) to take the trouble to write me a brief letter to inform me of your departure, and also what is to be done with the young son of Master Thaddeus, who has been and is still waiting for you.'[87] Jean Lobbet writes again on 7 April 1575 that he has heard from Languet that Sidney will not visit Strasbourg and that Languet has sent money to cover the expenses for Johannes Hajek, son of Dr Thaddeus Hajek.[88] Thaddeus Hajek (1525-1600) was Imperial physician and professor of mathematics and astronomy and a friend of Languet, to whom he offered hospitality when the latter was in Prague. Lobbet recounts the arrangements he has made for young Johannes Hajek, who was the first of three brothers to be educated at Christ Church, Oxford under the care of Philip and then Robert Sidney. Lobbet appears to be concerned about being 'much hurried because of the short time, as much had to be done all at once.'[89] On 3 May 1575, Sidney writes to Count Hannau from Antwerp:

> I urgently beg you to forgive me for not having visited Your Highness on my way home as I had promised; ordered by the Queen and by my family, I was forced to be on my way so hurriedly that I could not only could absolutely not perform this duty, though I owed it to you, but could not even indulge the illness from which I was suffering badly.[90]

On 3 May 1575 Sidney writes to Count Hannau from Antwerp that 'Tomorrow I leave for England'. However, on 12 June 1575 Sidney reports to Hanau, 'On The last day of May (1575), 'a fair wind wafted me to this our island nest, where I found all my family well.'[91] The tours have ended safely, but with an element of mystery as to the abruptness of the return.

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[85] Roger Kuin, *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* 421. See also 421, n. 1-3.
[86] Ibid., 438.
[87] Ibid., 421. See also n. 1.
[88] Ibid., xliv.
[89] Ibid., 425.
[90] Ibid., 432.
[91] Ibid., 431-2.

A network of European illuminati

Turning now to Sidney's network of friends and contacts on his tours, in Paris Sidney met Francis Walsingham (c. 1532-1590). It was to Ambassador Walsingham that Sidney was entrusted while in Paris and whose daughter Frances Sidney later married. Anne Somerset calls Walsingham 'a Kentish gentleman who had been in royal service since 1568. Forbidding in aspect, hard-working and outspoken, Walsingham was the most militant of Protestants, and his religious views accounted for his contentious views on the conduct of foreign policy.'[92] Kuin is clear that it was Walsingham who introduced Sidney and Languet, 'it was through Walsingham that Sidney was introduced to Languet, who had known and appreciated the ambassador since 1571.'[93] For a few influential weeks in Paris, Sidney knew Pierre de la Ramée, or Ramus (1515 -1572). Ramus by then was a Huguenot. In Malcolm Wallace's words Ramus was 'the great mathematician and philosopher whose attacks on the Aristotelian logic had made his name famous throughout Europe.'[94] Osborn has decided that either Languet or Walsingham could have introduced Ramus to Sidney, as they were both supporters of Ramus.[95] Ramus was killed in the Massacre on 26 August 1572.

Andreas Wechel (died 1581) was, according to Buxton, one of the 'admirable representatives of Renaissance Europe'[96] Osborn calls him a scholar-printer and says:

> like many other printers Andreas became an active Protestant. This was in keeping with the times, for the Huguenots were mainly of the professional and middle classes. They associated Protestantism with open-mindedness, and thus found it conducive to new technologies and new ideas.[97]

Wechel printed an edition of Ramus's *Commentaries* in 1576, which was dedicated to Sidney and whose dedication was discussed in letters of 25 March 1576 and 23 April 1576 from its author Théophile de Banos to Sidney.[98] Théophile de Banos (died 1595) became a Reformed Minister in Paris and then led the French Reformed refugee church in Frankfurt until 1578. He remained in Frankfurt until he died.[99]

Of the Paris friends, the last is Philip De Plessis Mornay (1549-1623) 'The eminent Huguenot intellectual' was a close friend of Languet and of Walsingham, so, according to Osborn, either of them could have introduced him to Sidney.[100] Languet adopted De Plessis Mornay as his first protégé. The friendship led to Sidney being godfather to De Plessis Mornay's daughter Elisabeth when she was baptised in London in 1578. He wrote *De la verité de la religion chrestienne* – which Sidney began to translate.[101]

In their correspondence from 19 November 1573 onwards Sidney and Languet refer to an impressive group of influential diplomats, thinkers, scientists, leaders and military men whom Sidney either

[92] Anne Somerset, *Elizabeth I*, 340.
[93] Roger Kuin, *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* lxii.
[94] Malcolm W. Wallace, *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney,* 118.
[95] James Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney 1572-1577*, 51.
[96] John Buxton, *Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance*, 55-56.
[97] James Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney 1572-1577*, 52.
[98] Roger Kuin, *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* 654 and 661.
[99] Ibid., xxxiv.
[100] James Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney 1572-1577*, 53.
[101] Roger Kuin, *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* xli.

counts as friends or with whom he makes acquaintance. There are also letters from the friends and acquaintances which confirm that they spent time with Sidney in Venice and or Padua. Philip-Ludwig I, von Hanau-Münzenberg (1553-1580) and Paul von Welsburg are mentioned in a letter from Languet dated 4 December 1573. He says, 'I am glad you have discovered the truth of what I foretold you of the kindness of the Count of Hanau and those in his household.'[102] Hanau was also a protégé of Languet's and also had a 'spectacularly narrow' escape from the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre. Paul Von Welsburg was Hanau's Hofmeister and accompanied him on all his tours.

The Count and Baron Michael Slavata of Chlum and Koschumberg (c.1554-post-1577) came from a wealthy Bohemian Protestant family and was a student in Padua. While there he travelled around Italy. Later letters in 1576 and 1577 between Sidney and Languet reveal that not only did Slavata borrow money from Sidney and not hurry to repay it, but he also insulted Languet in the process.[103] The first meeting, though, had been positive, as on 15 January 1574 from Padua Sidney reports that he had called on Hanau and Slavata who were both 'young men of the greatest qualities.'[104] Arnaud Ferrier was the French ambassador in Venice from 1563-1567 and from 1570-1582. In a letter dated 13 February 1574 Languet tells Sidney 'I have also written to His Excellency Master Du Ferrier, the French ambassador, to thank him for the kindness he has shown you, and because he has taken the trouble to let me know that he will be happy for my sake to do what he can for you in all kinds of things.'[105] Wolfgang Zündelin (1539-1600) was at this time in Venice as a political observer and reporter. He and Languet shared religious opinions and an entire network of friends and contacts. On 12 March 1574 Languet writes 'I am delighted you have made the acquaintance of the excellent Dr Zündelin, whose learning, intelligence and integrity are praised by all who have become close to him.'[106] On 7 May and 10 May 1574 Zündelin writes warmly to Sidney from Venice.[107]

Jacob Monau (1545-1603), a 'Melanchthonian humanist' and friend of Languet's was in Padua accompanying Dohna. Fabian, Baron and Burggrave of Dohna (1550-1621) became a military commander and Prussian statesman. In Padua in the summer of 1574 he converted to Protestantism. With them as a student in Padua was Melchior, Baron von Rödern (1555-1600) who was later to be a general in the service of the Emperor. On 31 May 1574, Dohna writes to Sidney that he has given a letter of Sidney's to 'your neighbour' Rödern and Slavata to read.[108] Their friend Johann Kraft (1519-1585) or Johannes Crato or Johannes Crato von Krafftheim - as he was entitled by the Holy Roman Emperor Maximillian II - became chief physician to three emperors who had spent his younger years with Luther and Melanchthon before studying Divinity in Wittenberg and then Medicine in Padua. He was a friend and correspondent of the whole Languet circle. It was he who performed the first dissection to be reported in print This was on the body of Maximillian II and is referred to in Chapter Two. On 24 April 1574 Languet refers to Crato as being a reliable conveyor of his letters to Monau and also to Sidney.[109]

[102] Ibid., 42-43. See also xliv and lxii.
[103] Ibid., 535, 762 and 769.
[104] Ibid., 91 and 235. See also lviii.
[105] Ibid.,119. See also xlii.
[106] Ibid., 138. See also lxiv.
[107] Ibid., 205-213.
[108] Ibid., 235.
[109] Ibid., 175 and 249. See also li, xxxix and xli.

Richard Shelley is described by Sidney as 'a relative of mine' who 'is excellently learned, knows Greek, Latin and Italian well, also knows some French, but is most devoted to Papist superstition.'[110] *The Oxford National Dictionary of Biography* suggests that this was Sir Richard Shelley (*c.*1513–1587), the Grand Prior of England. However, Kuin argues that this is unlikely, given that the Grand Prior was more than forty years older than Sidney. Sidney's kinsman Richard Shelley was the Grand Prior's nephew.[111] This Richard Shelley had died by 17 July 1574, as that day Languet writes to Sidney in appreciation of Shelley:

> My love for you makes me grieve at any calamity befalling those who are related to you in any way. But I think what also deserves pity is that his country is losing him in the very flower of his age, as he was applying himself to letters and to the knowledge of many things.[112]

With Richard Shelley was Robert Corbet (died 1583) who was the older brother of Vincent Corbet, a contemporary of Sidney's at Shrewsbury School. Robert became a diplomat and, according to Kuin, was 'a Puritan more radical than Sidney.'[113] On 28 May 1574, Sidney writes from Venice, 'Corbet started getting ready for his journey to Vienna yesterday'.[114] When writing to Sidney, Languet twice refers to Shelley and Corbet as 'Your countrymen'. On 18 June 1574 he reports from Vienna, 'Your countrymen have not left here yet.' They were leaving for Prague. A week later on 25 June 1574 he expresses his wish that:

> Your countrymen will, I hope, reach Prague today. I found them a travelling companion, or rather a guide, who knows those regions well where they are going.. I gave them letters to friends I have in Prague and Nuremberg, whom I hope will show them some kindness.[115]

Naturally, Languet would want to help any friends or relative of Sidney's, but the trouble he took here seems to demonstrate that he esteemed these 'countrymen' of his young protégé.

Matthhaus Wacker von Wackenfels (1550-1619) became a Doctor of Laws in Padua in 1575. He was an active member of the Imperial humanist network. He converted to Catholicism in 1592 due to 'disgust at Reformed theological quarrels.' and he was friends with Monau and Crato.[116] 'Our friend Wacker' is mentioned by Languet on 4 June 1574 as the person who is going to help Sidney with his pronunciation.[117]

Otto I, Count of Solms-Sonnenwalde (1550-1612) is referred to in a letter from Sidney in Venice on an unspecified date in June to Languet. Evidently Hanau has not yet received a letter he was expecting from the Palatinate, but 'Count Solms, who recently arrived here, claims that it should be here soon'[118] Solms is still in Padua on 6 January 1575 when he writes to Sidney to wish him a happy New Year and to affirm his friendship and love for Sidney and his family. He refers to a decision of Sidney

[110] Ibid., 164.
[111] Ibid., lviii.
[112] Ibid., 295.
[113] Ibid., xxxix.
[114] Ibid., 254. See also xxxix.
[115] Ibid., 272.
[116] Ibid., lxi.
[117] Ibid., 245.
[118] Ibid., 279. See also lviii.

(reported to him by Wacker) that Sidney planned to go to Frankfurt that summer and then go via France back to England. As will be seen, this plan changed.[119]

François Perrot de Mésières (1537- post 1612) went as a Huguenot into exile from Paris to spend years living in Venice. He was a friend of Du Ferrier and possibly his secretary.[120] On 17 July 1574 Languet says, 'I am delighted that you have made the acquaintance of Master Perrot, the best and kindest of men: please greet him from me if he is still there.'[121] On 9 October 1574 Perrot asks to be allowed to serve Sidney, and assures him that he will not fail to send him news from wherever he is.[122] Guy de Faur Pibrac (1529-1584) was a French jurist, diplomat and poet who had made spoken and written defences of the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre. However, Languet seems to have understood the reasons for that (See Chapter Two), as on 2 July 1574 he recommends that Pibrac might effect a meeting between Sidney and King Henri III of France when the latter visited Venice on his way home from Poland, 'the long way round'.[123] Languet proposes that Ambassador Du Ferrier might also help with arranging the meeting.

Again from the Catholic perspective, Monsieur Dax (1519- 1585) is referred to in a letter from Sidney dated 29 April 1574. He was Francois de Noaille, Bishop of Dax – France's eighth Ambassador to the Sublime Porte (1572-1575). Sidney says to Languet, 'I will try to make his acquaintance, for he is (or so it is said at least) adorned with every virtue.'[124] Sidney's friendship in Venice with Catholic Edward, Lord Windsor (c. 1532-75) caused part of Sidney's trouble later – as is seen in Languet's letter of 10 March 1575 to Sidney from Prague, in which he reports:

> Two days after your departure our friend Wotton came to us, who brought me a letter from Master Walsingham, full of kindness. I see that your people have begun to have suspicions about your religion, since you are on more comfortable terms with the Venetians than is usual with those who profess a religion different from yours.[125]

In the same letter Languet offers to mediate with Walsingham on Sidney's behalf, and strongly advises Sidney 'to know the French preachers, who are learned and sagacious men, invite them to your house, and attend their services; and do the same in Heidelberg and Strasbourg.' Chapter Two analyses Sidney's ambivalent attitudes to Catholics and Catholicism. On 3 May 1574, Zündelin refers in a letter from Venice to 'The English nobleman whom you once had to a meal here with me.'[126] Zündelin writes again to Sidney on 20 June 1574 that 'I heard you were staying with that friend of yours the Baron.'[127] Kuin concludes that this was probably Windsor. On 3 February 1575 Don Cesare Carrafa writes to Sidney that he has to 'relate the death of my dear friend Windsor.'[128] In Venice and Padua Sidney associated with people who were generally more of his own age than those from the earlier days of his tours. It is no surprise that most of them were within the Languet circle and network.

In Vienna and Prague (November 1574-March 1575) Sidney was in contact with Hugo de Bloote (1533-1608) or Blotius, as Zündelin refers to him on 5 November 1574. Blotius had been tutor to the

[119] Ibid., 362-363.
[120] Ibid., lv.
[121] Ibid., 296 .
[122] Ibid., 322.
[123] Ibid., 282.
[124] Ibid., 182.
[125] Ibid., 404.
[126] Ibid., 191.
[127] Ibid., 266.
[128] Ibid., 386. See also n.1. For Carrafa, see xxxv11.

sons of Lazarus von Schwendi, and was returning with them to Vienna for Blotius to take up the chair of Rhetoric at the university there. Zündelin says that Blotius is bearing his letter to Sidney, and is 'a Dutchman, a learned man and a particularly good friend of mine.'[129] Sidney had received Blotius and Schwendi by 9 January 1575, as on that date Zündelin writes to thank Sidney for welcoming them 'with your usual but never-sufficiently-praised kindness.'[130] Lazarus von Schwendi (1522-84) served Emperors Charles V, Maximillian I and Maximillian II as statesman and general. He was also a poet, which is potentially a connection with Sidney's literary work.

In Prague Sidney was received by Jan Zerotin (1543-1583), a cultured man who served Emperor Charles V and was a 'member and powerful protector' of the Unitas Fratrum [Moravian Brethren].' For Sidney Zerotin was 'that saintly man whom I shall always honour'[131]

Edward Wotton was in Vienna at this time, as it has already been noted that he and Sidney took horsemanship instruction together at the Imperial Riding School.[132] Wotton (1548-1628) hailed from Kent, as did Sidney. He served as Secretary to the English embassy in Vienna. It was Wotton who brought Walsingham's letter to Languet about Sidney's having been on too comfortable terms with the Venetians. Languet writes on 10 March 1575 that he is 'delighted' that Wotton is travelling with Sidney, as Wootton will be 'a merry, faithful and devoted companion to lighten the journey's tedium.'[133] Wotton was devoted to the end, as he was one of the pall bearers at Sidney's funeral and in Sidney's will was bequeathed 'one fee buck, to be taken yearly out of my park at Penshurst during his life natural.'[134] This was a life-long friendship indeed.

Hubert Languet

It is fitting to end this section about Sidney's network of friends and acquaintances with its hub, Sidney's faithful friend, guide and mentor Hubert Languet, who was with him in his last stays of his Northern Tour in Vienna and Prague. Perrot writes to Sidney on 26 November 1574 that Sidney is back from his Polish trip and that,' You seem to have found Master Languet in better shape than he had been all the time you were away.'[135] On 6 January 1575 Count Soms says, 'I do not want to bother Master Languet with my trifles, as he is always busy with more important matters. But please be so kind as to greet him for me.'[136] Languet is clearly held in high esteem.

There is doubt as to whether Languet (1518-81) met Sidney in Paris between June and August 1572 or later in September 1572 in Frankfurt. Malcolm Wallace advocates Paris, 'There can be little doubt that it was at this time also that he first met Languet, his most intimate guide and friend,'[137] Henry C. Warren, though, concludes that Philip was staying in Frankfurt at the house of Andrew Wechel, the printer, and that 'It was probably here that he first met the great scholar and diplomat, Hubert Languet.'[138] Fulke Greville reports the same as Warren, writing of Languet, 'in Franckford he settles, is entertained Agent for the Duke of Saxony, and an under-hand Minister for his own King. Lodged

[129] Ibid., 339. See also 339, n. 25.
[130] Ibid., 374.
[131] Ibid., 402.
[132] Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. R.W. Maslen 3rd revised ed. (Manchester,2002), 82.
[133] Ibid., 406.
[134] *The Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney* ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and Jan Van Dorsten (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1973), 149.
[135] Roger Kuin, *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, 342.
[136] Ibid., 363.
[137] Malcolm W. Wallace, *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, 118.
[138] Henry C. Warren, *Sir Philip Sidney: A Study in Conflict* (New York, 1936), 38.

he was in Wechel's house, the printer of Franckford, where Sir Philip in travail chancing likewise to become a guest.'[139] Languet's last extant letter to Sidney is from Antwerp dated 28 October 1580. Languet's profile is one of scholarship at French and Italian universities (including Padua) and of diplomacy. It was as the official representative at the French court of the Elector of Saxony that he was in Paris in August 1572. At around the age of thirty he met Philip Melanchthon, took the reformed religion and 'for several years spent much time at Wittenberg' and it is true that 'to his wisdom and high ideals of living Sidney owed more than he owed to the influence of any other of his large number of noteworthy friends.'[140] Greville describes the relationship as the 'harmony of a humble hearer to an excellent teacher, so equally fitted them both.'[141] During the tours, though, the friendship was not always harmonious, for instance when Sidney stayed away in Hungary for three weeks instead of three days and Languet wrote on 22 September 1573, 'I did not believe you thought so ill of me that you did not dare entrust me with your plans. Perhaps you were afraid that I would set snares you're your path? Quoting Horace *Ars Poetica* , Languet continues, 'Now I fear that like a small bird that has broken the bars of the cage you are dancing about and wafting hither and yon.'[142] However, their commitment to each other lasted until Languet's death in 1581.

This Introduction has provided a road-map of the thesis, given an account of Sidney's travels in Europe from June 1572 until May 1575. It has offered background which gives a flavour of the England that In addition, it has described the community of letters, friends and acquaintances which was created for him or that he established for himself and which forms the bedrock of understanding that connection between the tours and Sidney's literary legacy. This sets in context the research question, which is how far Sidney's tours influenced the legacy of Sidney's writings and ideas. Chapter One will address the issue of literary influence; what it is and its application to Sidney's three works. It will follow themes including the parallel dialectic, comparison and authorial intuition.

[139] Fulke Greville, *Sir Fulke Greville's Life of Sir Philip Sidney, etc First published 1652 with an Introduction by Nowell Smith* (Oxford, 1907), 7.
[140] Malcolm W. Wallace, *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, 125.
[141] Fulke Greville, *Sir Fulke Greville's Life of Sir Philip Sidney,*7-8.
[142] Roger Kuin, *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, 22.

Chapter 1

Philip Sidney's European Tour (1572-5)

Philip Sidney; the young man who set out on his tour

'My cheefest honor is to be a Dudlei'

Philip Sidney (1552-1586) was on his maternal side the grandson of John, Duke of Northumberland (1504-1554) and the nephew of Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester (died 1588) and of Ambrose Earl of Warwick (1528-1590). Sidney's blue blood was of great significance to him and his hot temper especially flared when the honour of his family line or its standing was impugned in any way.[143] In his *Defence of the Earl of Leicester* he clearly states:

I am a Dudlei in blood that Duke's daughter's son and do acknowledge though in all truth I mai justli affirm that I am by my fathers syde of ancient and allwaies well esteemed and welmatched gentry yet I do acknowledge I sai that my cheefest honor is to be a Dudlei.[144]

David Starkey rightly observes that 'the history of the Dudleys and the Tudors was intertwined'.[145] This dynastic element and events within it are very probably a significant factor in the level of mistrust felt towards the Dudleys at high and even the highest levels, namely by both Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I. It is also, indeed, in all probability what impeded Philip Sidney's progress in public life at home in England. Both of these points will be developed later in this chapter.

Leicester's nephew and long-considered heir Philip Sidney died in the cause of service to his country and his faith. As will become clear, for Sidney the two were the same. Sidney died a long and painful death aged thirty-three from an infected leg wound sustained in a skirmish on the battlefield at Zutphen in the Low Countries on 17 October 1586. He sustained the fatal wound under Leicester's authority while fighting the forces of his godfather Philip II of Spain (after whom he was christened).[146] For one who died so young and who had always felt somewhat cheated of the diplomatic and national success he deserved, he was, on February 16, 1587, accorded the honour of what would today be called a state funeral in St Paul's Cathedral in London.[147] He was a candidate to be King of Poland and there were high hopes

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[143] This is clearly exemplified in an infamous incident related in detail by Fulke Greville in his Life *of Sir Philip Sidney* (pp. 64-69) regarding precedence over the use of the tennis court at Whitehall in late September 1579. Sidney clashed with the Earl of Oxford, who was his successful rival both in his marriage to Anne Cecil and in his views regarding the Queen's projected French marriage. This almost ended in a dual and had resulted from the Earl calling Sidney a puppy in a direct insult to the Sidney family. According to Fox Bourne, Sidney's refusal of the Queen's demand that he should apologise to Oxford was based on his careful study of the rule of precedence of peers over gentry. Sidney was, after all, as he defiantly stated at the time, the grandson of a duke and the nephew of two earls.

[144] Feuillerat pp 65-6 check date.

[145] Starkey

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that he would be the leader of a new Protestant League.[148] [149] He was part of diplomatic missions to in , and he was a talented tilter and linguist.[150] He was the author of *An Apologie for Poetrie*; a powerful, glittering treatise on the power of fictional writing and the need for innovation and courage in a new age of English fiction. His other great works include *Arcadia*, a pastoral, work of political fiction in prose interspersed with Eclogues, his Discourse to Her Queene's Majestie (urging the Queen not to make a marriage with a foreign, Catholic prince and his metrical translation of Psalms 1-43. Each work demonstrates his fine mind and his highly developed literary and rhetorical skills, as will be seen.

The 'intertwined' history of the Tudors and the Dudleys began with Edmund Dudley, Philip Sidney's great-grandfather, who was a 'highly trusted servant of Henry VII'.[151] David Loades explains that Edmund was one of the two Judices Fiscales who assisted the King in maximizing his revenues. After Henry VII's death his son and successor had Edmund Dudley and the other Judice Fiscale Richard Empson arrested for High Treason. Edmund Dudley was executed on August 17th 1510. David Loades posits that this was a case of Henry VIII passing on to the two lawyers the culpability for his own father's financial policy with its severe inequity.[152] Roger Howell also describes Edmund Dudley's execution as 'an offering of peace to an enraged nation by the young King Henry VIII who was busily repudiating the rapacity of his father's reign.'[153]

Edmund's son John Dudley, Earl of Warwick and later Duke of Northumberland (1504-53) and the grandfather whom Philip Sidney never knew but of whom he was so proud, was described by Robert Wingfield, albeit in a piece of propaganda for Mary Tudor, as 'an ambitious man descended of an ambitious father'. In this the beginning of an emerging pattern can be seen of ambitious, mistrusted and disliked Dudleys encountering equally ambitious Tudors.[154] This image of John Dudley's ruthless and shameless ambition survived until 1996 when David Loades attempted to redress the reputational balance in his book.[155] Even fifty years after John Dudley's death in 1603, John Hayward, the historian, lawyer and politician, wrote of John Dudley that he was:

Of great spirit and highly aspiring, not forbearing to make any mischief the means of attaining his ambitious ends.[156]

John Dudley certainly attained high national standing. He was a relatively successful Lord High Admiral (1543-7) and therefore ex-officio Privy Councillor. He was one of sixteen men to be chosen to be executors of King Edward VI's will. Dudley was also made President of the Council in the Marches in Wales, the post that Philip Sidney's father, Sir Henry later held and the Council on which Philip Sidney also sat. John Dudley was the eighth or ninth richest peer in England owing to his ownership of land. His, however, was merely a Service Peerage created by Henry VIII for Dudley, Seymour, Parr, Cromwell and Russell in gratitude for their

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151 Loades
152 Loades
153 Howell p.16
154 Loades
155 Loades
156 Quoted in Loades

service to him.[157] They were seen as valued government ministers and, in reality, they ran England for Edward VI during his minority reign. However, Princess Mary, it would appear, was disapproving of their manipulative influence over her younger brother and believed that she would be a much more appropriate Regent. She saw them as a group of wicked men of whom Dudley was the worst, and damningly reminded them in 1551 that:

My father made the more part of you almost from nothing.[158]

Another intergenerational theme in the Dudley family can be identified; that of being overlooked and undervalued. John Dudley (as did his grandson Philip Sidney later) expressed this clearly in his feeling of a 'lack of estimacion'.[159]

The root of John Dudley being undervalued may have been more accurately that he was distrusted for his overriding ambition. David Loades offers two very convincing reasons for this. The first of these is that John Dudley has been the target for almost all the blame for the failed bid to change the royal succession according to the 'device' drawn up by the sick and dying Edward VI. The second is John Dudley's retraction on the eve of his execution of the Protestant faith he had confessed.

In terms of the former reason, that of the succession, Princess Mary's skepticism concerning Dudley is perfectly understandable. John Dudley plotted against her to oust her and her step-sister Elizabeth from succeeding her brother. Edward was very clear that neither Mary as a Catholic nor Elizabeth or Mary (both of whom he saw as illegitimate) should succeed him. The charitable view would be that John Dudley was part of the minor Edward's regency and would naturally be expected to obey and fulfil his young monarch's wishes. The less charitable reaction, though, would be that this is where the element of John Dudley's ambition for himself and his family appeared. He may have been made from nothing, but he could now make very sure of his family's future dynastic strength within the Protestantism that he proclaimed by obeying the young King. John Dudley's son Guildford was married to Jane Grey, Edward's first cousin and the great grand-daughter of Henry VII. Jane was a Protestant and highly educated. In his will, Edward included 'the device' that Jane Dudley n*ée* Grey should be Queen, thus ensuring the strong Protestant succession both through her and her own future children. That, however, went against completely Edward's father's stated wishes for his daughters Mary and Elizabeth to succeed to the throne after Edward's death. In addition, Edward as a minor was not legally entitled to make a will or create any such 'device'. Edward died on July 6th 1553. For his role in the attempt to change the succession Dudley was executed for High Treason on August 22 1554. Jane Grey and Guildford Dudley were also executed. John's wife Jane (who was named as her grandson Philip Sidney's godmother a little later) was briefly imprisoned, as were their other sons John, Ambrose and Robert. John Dudley the son survived his release in October 1554 by just three days which he spent at his sister Mary Sidney's home Penshurst Place in Kent. John Dudley the Ist Duke of Northumberland had attempted to thwart Mary's succession and had therefore contravened God's law. He had, as David Loades points out, however, by attempting this also ensured a very significant constitutional strength in:

[157] Short biographical details

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his failure to uphold the express wishes of the King against the power of statute. The constitutional future of England probably owed as much to his failure as to his success.[160]

The second reason that David Loades offers for the mistrust of Northumberland was his retraction on the eve of his execution of the Protestant faith and allegiance which he had for so long proclaimed and championed. On August 21st 1554 Northumberland heard the Roman Mass and then declared:

Truly, I profess before you all that I have received the sacrament according to the true Catholic faith, and the plague that is upon our realm and upon us now is that we have erred from this faith this last sixteen years and this I profess to you all from the bottom of my heart.[161]

Clearly this declaration of Mary's own true faith was unlikely to earn him her pardon at this eleventh hour, therefore it is very probable that this was Northumberland's genuine stance as he went to his death. As with all those in his situation, he now had nothing left to lose. However, Northumberland was a key player in the attempted usurpation of Mary and Elizabeth, who had been appointed by their father. In addition, he had obviously used confession to advance his cause through Henry VIII's and Edward VIII's reigns. It is, therefore, perfectly understandable that this all in its turn earned the distrust of Elizabeth I with regard to his son Robert Earl of Leicester and later his proud grandson Philip Sidney.

John Dudley's son Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester and his daughter Mary Sidney (Philip Sidney's mother) continued the close, complex, intertwined dynamic of personal and political relationships that already existed between the Dudleys and the Tudors. Mary Sidney (died 1586) served as Lady in Waiting to Queen Elizabeth, nursing the Queen through the smallpox that nearly killed her. Mary herself was seriously disfigured in 1562 by the smallpox that she caught as a result, and for that she was shamefully rejected by the Queen.[162]

Robert Dudley and his brother Ambrose (later Earl of Warwick) had shared the same tutors as Edward VI. He had known Princess Elizabeth from childhood, and he was only two months older than she was. He grew to be physically attractive, an accomplished linguist and classicist, hunter and horseman. He was intellectually gifted with interests in cartography, geography and astronomy. He was a patron of the arts, for example he supported the writers George Gascoigne and Edmund Spenser. Dudley had his own theatre troupe and an impressive collection of paintings. Most importantly, he became Elizabeth's 'Sweet Robin', her 'eyes'.

Robert Dudley had backed his father's attempt to change the succession, and he had survived with his life. Perhaps it was only partly in jest that Elizabeth stated that the Dudley's had been 'traitors in three descents'[163] However, in the time of Mary Tudor, Robert Dudley lived quietly on his Norfolk estate and then served with some distinction in the Battle of St Quentin in 1557, Princess Elizabeth had made him Keeper of her London mansion Somerset Place in 1553 and in 1554-5 Philip II of Spain invited the Dudley brothers to participate in his Anglo-

[160] Loades p.
[161] BL Harley
[162] Guy Eizabeth pp.44-5
[163] Leicester's Commonwealth (1641).11; Cal. For. IV,158.

Spanish tournament in/at ??????. By an Act of Parliament in 1558 all the surviving Dudley siblings were 'restored and enabled in blood and name'.[164]

In addition, Anne Somerset explains that in June 1563 Kenilworth Castle near Warwick was returned to Robert Dudley having been owned briefly by his father John but taken into Crown possession after John's execution.[165] The following year Robert was created the Ist Earl of Leicester.

On Elizabeth's accession in 1558 Robert Dudley became Master of the Queen's Horse in which capacity he led the Royal Charger at her coronation and rode directly behind her on ceremonial occasions. This position included lodgings at Court which is possibly where a serious scandal began. Robert Dudley was married to Amy Robsart, though this fact did not appear to trouble him excessively. He lived apart from his wife who was ill with 'a malady' of the breast. On 8th September 1560 Amy Robsart was found dead at the bottom of some stairs where she was staying at Cumnor Hall in Oxfordshire. Sir Robert did not feign sadness, but he was insistent that his name should be cleared of any suspicion of involvement should Amy's death be proven to be murder. There was never any conclusive answer to this mystery, which itself, in turn, feeds it. The context of this is that Elizabeth had made no secret whatsoever of her attraction to Robert Dudley and from 1559 it was suggested the he was more than a trusted servant. In August 1560, just a month before Amy Robsart's death, one Anne Dowe was the first of a number to be imprisoned for suggesting that Elizabeth was the mother of Dudley's child or children.[166] The suspect death of Amy Robsart enveloped both Elizabeth and Dudley in rumour, and the scandal spread abroad as far as Vienna where the Emperor Ferdinand I was very concerned about the morality of Elizabeth, the woman he hoped would marry his son the Archduke Charles.[167]

In 1564 Elizabeth proposed the newly-created Leicester as a husband for Mary Queen of Scots, a plan which came to nothing. There was a 'wedding ceremony' in 1573 with Lady Sheffield, whose silence Leicester attempted to ensure with an offer of £700 per year. In 1578, he secretly married the Countess of Essex and succeeded in keeping that fact from the Queen for a year when Jean de Seimier told her during the negotiations for her own marriage to his close friend the Duc d'Alençon. [168]

Leicester was not helped in any way by his deep and enduring unpopularity throughout his public life. Naturally this grew in proportion to his intimacy with the Queen. According to Anne Somerset he had a genius for making enemies.[169] He was seen to be 'descended from a tribe of traitors' and 'fleshed in conspiracy'.[170] Indeed, she develops this in a very illuminating way:

His civility was held to proceed from guile than true good nature, and despite his ability to dissemble his malice, his whole being was held to be irradiated with it. His habitual impassivity was taken as a sign of a cold and calculating nature to whom neither individuals

[164] Collins, *Memoirs I: 37.*

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[169] P. 142

[170] P.143

nor ideals were of any account and try as he might to cultivate amore upright image, he could never shake off the unenviable reputation of being an unprincipled rogue.[171] While this in no way claims to be an exhaustive account of Leicester's life, it provides significant background to Philip Sidney's life as it was at the point where Philip left for his tour.

Given the facts that Philip Sidney was born after the execution of his maternal grandfather John and the death at Penshurst of his paternal grandfather William (in February 1554) and that he was clearly so protective of his Dudley lineage (as has been seen) it would not be fanciful to suggest that Philip saw his Dudley Uncles Ambrose and especially Robert as older role-models. He certainly much later almost violently sprang to his uncle Leicester's defence in writing in the face of very serious, 'anonymous' accusations against him in his *Defence of the Earl of Leicester*. [172] Philip's father Henry's messages to his children were evidently mixed. He reminded them 'that if they meant to live in order, they should ever behold whose sons, and seldom whose nephews they were'.[173]On other occasions, however, he evidently wished graphically to emphasise to Philip the glamour of their Dudley line:

Remember, my son, the noble blood you are descended of, by your mother's side; and think that only by virtuous life and good action you shall be an ornament to that illustre family; and otherwise, through vice and sloth, you may be counted *labes generis* [a spot on your family], one of the greatest curses that can happen to man.[174] Edward Berry adds that Philip Sidney's 'entire later development suggests that, to an extent exceptional among courtiers of his generation, , he internalised the expectations of his elders. These expectations are once again completely clear from a letter cited by Berry that Sidney's parents wrote to the young Philip in 1566. In it they write that neither his position nor his future role is for him to seek out or define, as it was given to him at birth as a gentleman. As such, his distinctive marks will be honesty, piety, knowledge, courtesy, moderation, obedience and carefulness in speech. He was born to be the hope of the Sidney family and of his Dudley uncles. In essence, he learned from this letter that his parents' love for him was very clearly conditional on his success in making his pre-ordained future come to pass by living in the fear of God and being a good servant to his prince and country.[175] Berry continues to suggest that Sidney's later 'unelected vocation' of poet would not have been in his parents' thoughts at the time they wrote this letter.[176]In addition, Berry claims, 'nearly everything in Philip's early education reinforced these goals and values'. The Calvinist concept of original sin combined with a regime of 'strict control' and 'rigorous training' inevitably ensured that young people were 'moulded into a pre-conceived form, not encouraged to discover or invent their own sense of identity.[177] In the face of such long-standing pressure, it would appear that Philip Sidney's tour (as it transpired in reality, rather than as it may have been planned) and later his writing gave him the opportunity, time and space precisely to discover his own identity.

Into the frankly murky background of Dudley ambition and political scheming, Philip Sidney (both Leicester's and Warwick's heir presumptive and nephew, John Dudley's grandson and

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[171] Somerset p. 143

[172] *The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney Vol. III*, Albert Feuillerat (Ed.) (Cambridge, 1912) pp. 61-71.

[173] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, 3: 1550.

[174]

[175] Berry p.10

[176] Berry p.14??

[177] Berry

Edmund Dudley's great-grandson) was born on November 30 1554 at Penshurst Place in Kent. This estate had been a gift from Henry VIII to Sir William Sidney (Philip's paternal grandfather). William Sidney was a member of the Privy Council and a Knight of the Garter who had also been tutor to, and steward of, Prince Edward (later King Edward VI), and thus it was to Edward that Philip's father Henry Sidney (1529-1586) became a childhood companion. In fact, it was in Henry's arms that Edward died on July 6 1553.[178]

By 1572, Henry Sidney's first child Philip had completed his studies at Shrewsbury School, at Christ Church in Oxford and briefly in Cambridge, and on May 25, 1572, Queen Elizabeth I gave Sidney his license:

> To go out of England into parts beyond the seas, with three servants and four horses, etc., to remain the space of two years immediately following his departure out of the realm, for his attaining the knowledge of foreign languages.[179]

It is very pertinent to examine Sidney's school education in order to evaluate how Sidney's writings are different as a consequence of his European tour from those of others who had received the same education (which Stewart describes as 'a standard grammar school education') but who had not benefited from or enjoyed the opportunity of a similar foreign tour. His education at Shrewsbury School should be examined, as indeed Stewart does, in considerable detail both in terms of the ways in which it was 'standard' and in which it differed from the normal grammar-school experience for boys such as Sidney between 1564 and 1568.[180]

In terms of a standard academic curriculum and development, from the accounts of Thomas Marshall (Sidney's steward) it can be gleaned that the process at Shrewsbury began with studies in Cicero, Terence and Cato, these studies progressed to Sallust then to Virgil and some Greek grammar. This departure almost naturally led to studying some New Testament Greek and the Cyropaedia of Xenophon. To these would have been added morning and evening prayers and, very significantly for Sidney's future political and spiritual stances, the study of Calvin's Geneva Catechism of the Doctrine of Christ; this was a simplified, children's version of the 1537 original which was produced in 1541 and consisted of 373 systematically arranged and astonishingly detailed, probing questions and answers of both doctrinal and ecclesiastical matters, for example, the final ecclesiastical one, 'Is it of importance, then, that there should be a certain order of government established in churches?'.[181] The fact that this catechism is the product of Calvin's thinking, and not that of the Church of England, is one of fundamental importance with regard to Sidney's later Philippist education.

From Brian Vickers it is clear that Shrewsbury was one of 360 such grammar schools which had appeared throughout England by 1575. These followed the curriculum that Erasmus and Colet had created at St Paul's School in London, and it was based on techniques of analytical reading that are still to some extent followed today: note-taking, and the organisation of those notes so that they are ready to be re-used in the scholar's own writing.[182] Vickers stresses the

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[178] Osborn pp.3-4

[179]

[180] Alan Stewart, *Philip Sidney a double life,* (London, 2001) *pp.41-9*

[181] John Calvin, *Geneva Catechism of the Doctrine of Christ.*

[182] Brian Vickers, *English Renaissance Literary Criticism* (Oxford, 1999) p.3

significant effect on scholars of their exposure to mainly Latin literature in its original language and the reprocessing of that literature in a process of recycling and representing it several times in both Latin and English until, the aim was, perfect reproduction of the text in both languages was attained.[183] This precise pedagogical process is described by Roger Ascham in his seminal work *The Scholemaster*.[184] It features the Epistles of Cicero and the process can be summarised as follows: the teacher reads the epistle to the scholar and in a simple, cheerful way teaches the scholar the 'cause and manner' of the Latin letter. The pupil is then allowed to 'construe' the text into English, followed by the teacher parsing it (that is, analysing it grammatically) perfectly. After this the scholar sits alone and parses the text again until he has no doubts before the teacher takes his Latin book away and the pupil alone translates his English back into Latin. The final and crucial step is when the master compares the scholar's Latin with the Ciceronian original.[185] Here is the fundamental structure of the acquisition of languages and of literary and pedagogical techniques which was created by Erasmus and Colet at St Paul's, and then emulated in grammar schools across England.[186] Vickers quotes Emrys Jones, 'Without Erasmus, no Shakespeare.'[187] This is due to the fact, he states, that the flowering of English poetry and drama from 1570-1630 was largely the product of the products of Erasmus's educational system. It could just as easily be said that, 'Without Erasmus, no Philip Sidney'.

Regarding those aspects of Sidney's education that might be classed as different from that offered by the standard grammar school; these could be divided into three: firstly, Philip's parents (and particularly his father Henry Sidney), secondly, his Headmaster Thomas Ashton and finally his own character and attitude to learning. Stewart begins his account by highlighting that in 1564 Henry and Mary Sidney broke with convention simply by sending their first-born son away to school at all.[188] He quotes Edmund Campion's evaluation of Henry Sidney as a man who was 'no more than enough liberal, learned in many languages, and a great lover of learning'.[189] Lady Sidney (née Dudley), too, was a highly-educated person.[190] They obviously had higher academic aspirations for their son than would be ensured by the traditional, merely adequate home tuition that was so often provided by aristocratic parents.

In *The Boke Named The Gouernour*, Sir Thomas Elyot gives three reasons for what he sees as a 'decay of learning' among the sons of the English nobility:[191]

Pride is the first cause of this inconuenience, For of those persons be some, which, without shame, dare affirme, that to a great gentilman it is a notable reproche to be well learned and

[183] *Ibid.*, p.3
[184] Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster.*
[185] Vickers, op.cit., p.3. Brian Vickers cites the examples of note-taking to accompany all reading and the organisation of notes according to subject and style with a strict view to this material's being later recycled in the scholar's own work.
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[187] Vickers, op.cit., p.3
[188] Stewart, op. cit., p.41
[189] Ibid., pp. 36-7
[190] Ibid., p.40
[191] Elyot

to be called a great clerke: whiche name they account to be of so base estimation, that they neuer haue it in their mouthes but whan they speke any thynge in derision.[192]

In other words, learning and study were perceived as vulgar and unfashionable. Elyot's second reason for the decline in learning that he so lamented included what he calls 'auarice', which might be paraphrased as financial meanness and (expressed with a touch of irony) risk averseness on the part of parents towards their sons:

For where theyr parents wyll nat aduenture to sende them farre out of theyr proper countrayes, partely for feare of dethe, whiche perchance dare nat approche them at home with theyr father; partely for expence of money, whiche they suppose wolde be lesse in theyr owne houses or in a village, with some of theyr tenantes or frendes; hauing seldome any regarde to the teacher, whether he be well lerned or ignorant.[193]

The third possible reason for the 'decay' was neglect of duty, in the sense that parents provided their sons with a fine education, but discontinued it at the earliest possible opportunity:

Wan they haue had of grammar sufficient and be comen to the age of xiii years, and do approche or drawe towarde the astate of man, which age is called mature or ripe, (wherein nat only the saide lernyng continued by moche experience shal be perfectly digested, and confirmed in perpetuall remembrance, but also more serious lernyng contained in other lyberall sciences, and also philosophy, wolde then be lerned) the parentes, that thinge nothinge regarding, but being suffised that their children can onely speke latine properly, or make verses with out mater or sentence, they from thens forth do suffre them to liue in idlenes , or els, putting them to seruice, do, banisshe them from all virtuous study or exercise of that which they before lerned.[194]

Elyot's *The Boke Named The Gouernour* appeared in 1531, probably nearly thirty years before the Sidneys and their relatives the Grevilles and Haringtons were making decisions regarding the later education of their sons. Roger Ascham's seminal work *The Scholemaster* was begun in 1563 but appeared posthumously rather later in 1570. However, it would appear that these enlightened parents took both Elyot's warnings and Ascham's theories to heart in that they chose schooling which would both broaden their sons' social and cultural perspectives and introduce them into an environment which nurtured a sense of public and governmental service. It is also significant that Philip Sidney's grandfather William Sidney had been tutor to Edward VI and Roger Ascham to Elizabeth I. It is therefore more than likely that these theories of education would have passed down through two generations of a tight-knit social group.

Alan Stewart offers a convincing rationale for Sir Henry's choice of Shrewsbury School.[195] Shrewsbury was a prosperous town well within Sir Henry's area of political influence in his role as President of the Council of the Welsh Marches, and it was within easy reach of his own base of Ludlow Castle. Being a scholar from outside the town (an Alienus) would potentially familiarise the young with life in the Welsh Marches and in addition might

[192] Elyot p.49
[193] Elyot p.53
[194] Elyot p.54
[195] Ibid., p.41-3

provide dynastic political opportunities for the future. It had, Vickers adds, the distinct advantage for Philip of being a long distance both from court politics and from obvious associations with the politics of his maternal Dudley family. However, in November 1564, Shrewsbury School welcomed the aristocracy for the first time in the form of Philip and two noble relatives of his Fulke Greville (a distant relative of the Dudleys) and James Harington (the son of Sir Henry Sidney's sister Lucy).

Over and above its felicitous location, it is likely that Shrewsbury School's Headmaster Thomas Ashton was a significant factor in Sir Henry and Lady Sidney's choice of school for Philip. Their selection of Ashton's Shrewsbury School would certainly confirm Philip's Protestant pedigree. Ashton had been involved with the school since 1561 and Shrewsbury had received its charter in 1554 'to advance the youth in good learning and godly education.'[196] The epithet 'godly' meant 'doctrinally sound with respect to Protestant teaching', and was represented on any list beside a deserving name with a 'G'. Ashton himself was described by his bishop as 'The only godly preacher within these parties of my diocese'.[197] This Calvinist credibility is proven in the confessional statement made by the use specifically of The Calvin Catechism in the school. Ashton also encouraged his scholars to participate, and be interested in, theatrical productions; specifically recorded are Mystery Plays, which were performed at Whitsuntide. The Catholic Mystery Plays had been banned, but the Shrewsbury scholars evidently replaced the traditional cast of guildsmen in these productions, which proclaimed a clearly Protestant message. It might well be that Sidney was in the cast of the production *Julian the Apostate* (1566) and or the *Play of the Passion* (1569). Alan Stewart details that these plays were performed in The Quarry, an area of old quarry outside the city which had once been part of the local monastery. Apparently, Ashton was especially drawn to drama as a way of outreach for the Protestant message. Stewart concludes that 'Sidney's academic knowledge was filtered through a Calvinist glass' and that Philip became the product of 'an ardently Calvinist school'.[198]

The third and final factor that makes Philip Sidney's school education different from the standard is Philip himself. His lifelong friend Fulke Greville, who started at Shrewsbury on the same day as Philip Sidney, famously said of Philip Sidney that:

> Though I lived with him and knew him from a child, yet I never knew him other than a man: with such staidnesse of mind, lovely and familiar gravity as carried grace, and reverence above greater years. His talk ever of knowledge, and his very play tending to enrich his mind: So as even his teachers found something in him to observe and learn, above that which they had usually read, or taught.[199]

Roger Howell elegantly sums up Philip's attitude to learning when he writes that:

> Learning was never to be with him either a show or a refuge. It was to be a tool, and a tool which he could use more skilfully than most.[200]

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[196] Ibid., p. 42
[197] Ibid., p. 42
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[199] Fulke Greville, *Life of Sir Philip Sidney Etc.*, (London, 1652), p.6.
[200] Roger Howell, *Sir Philip Sidney The Shepherd Knight*, *(Boston, 1968),* p.130.

While Sidney's school education at Shrewsbury was unremarkable in the Ascham-inspired curriculum it delivered, it was noteworthy in the head teacher who delivered it, in the Sidneys' educational aspirations and choices for their first son and in the qualities, both personal and academic, of Philip himself. In summary, it could well be argued that Sidney's education at Shrewsbury provided him specifically with the academic and religious nurturing in addition to the concept of serving his nation that ultimately made him an eager and very receptive young traveller. Had he simply had a considerably less academically rigorous, more pampered schooling at home at Penshurst this would have been much less likely to be the case.

A final intriguing, possibly prescient point for Sidney is that in *The Scholemaster*, Ascham recommends to serious scholars that they:

> Do as certaine wise men do ... who leaving their full and plentiful table, go to soiorne abrode from home for a while at the temperate diet of some sobre man.[201]

For Sidney, there were to be, indeed, several 'sobre men' to offer him 'a temperate diet' during his tour.

After Shrewsbury, Philip Sidney was a student at Christ Church in Oxford from 1568-71, although, as was common for young nobleman or those who did not intend to take Holy Orders, he did not graduate.[202] His uncle the Earl of Leicester was Chancellor of the university at that time. As noted below, at the time of Sidney's departure, there was an epidemic in Oxford and Sidney experienced illness. At Oxford his companions included Richard Hakluyt also of Christ Church, Thomas Bodley of Merton and Walter Raleigh of Oriel. These young men were each to be deeply involved in travel itself, documenting or financing it. As is described by Anthony Payne (co-curator of the exhibition at Christ Church to commemorate the 400th anniversary of Hakluyt's death), Richard Hakluyt (1552-1616):

Was an English geographer noted for his political influence, his voluminous writings, and his persistent promotion of Elizabethan overseas expansion, especially the colonization of North America. His major publication, *The prinicpall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English nation*, provides almost everything known about the early English voyages to North America.[203] C.S. Lewis considered it to be 'one of the most useful and delightful publications' of the sixteenth century.[204]

Mr. Payne continues to explain Hakluyt's significance to the sum of geographical knowledge by stating that, as a teaching member of Christ Church, he lectured in Geography, 'a relatively new field of study at Oxford'.[205] Besides *The principall Navigations*:

Richard Hakluyt was responsible in various ways- as author, editor, translator or encourager - for about twenty-five other books relating to overseas travel and navigation, a significant contribution, therefore to the total of roughly 160 such books published in England between

[201] Roger Ascham, op. cit., The Second book of teaching 261.
[202] Osborn p.23
[203] Payne catalogue
[204] Payne intro
[205] Payne introduction

1580 and 1616. His work, much indebted to Continental sources, introduced a mass of geographical information to English readers for the first time.[206]

With regard to Thomas Bodley,

In addition to his formative student connections at Oxford formed around an interest in travel, the wider background to Sidney's own tour is highly significant. Apart from Sidney's maternal Dudley heritage (specifically in the previous two generations), his father's public office and his own education (both at Shrewsbury and at Oxford), there are two personal factors and one national which coincide to provide the context for it. Firstly, in the year beginning May 1571, while he was still sixteen, Philip Sidney had suffered an illness that was serious enough to warrant £60 in expenses, according to accounts prepared by Sir Henry Sidney's agent William Blunt.[207] James Osborn explains that Sidney (by then a student at Christ Church in Oxford) was staying with dons and students at Wallingford at this time, as Oxford itself was subject to an epidemic.[208] It would appear that Sidney had succumbed to this sickness, as he was treated for it in nearby Reading.

The second personal circumstance was that of Philip Sidney's projected marriage to Anne the daughter of William Cecil, later Lord Burghley.[209] From Katherine Duncan-Jones, it is clear that Philip and Anne's official betrothal took place in 1569.[210] However, by the summer of 1571 the nuptial contract would appear to have expired and Anne was now to marry the Earl of Oxford. Professor Duncan-Jones offers several possible reasons for this: Sir Henry's loss of focus on the match due to his experiencing a particularly demanding period in his work and life in Ireland and losing the contract or a wish now on both Cecil's and Anne's part to make a much more prestigious and advantageous marriage for Anne than to the comparatively humble and impoverished Philip Sidney.[211] The latter was, after all, merely the heir to two earls who might themselves produce legitimate heirs, whilst Oxford was actually an earl (albeit one with a very questionable past which included an accusation of murder).[212] The failure of this marriage plan meant that Sidney's potential, special access via a close family connection to William Cecil, the Queen's most influential advisor was now lost.

However, his space to flourish as a cosmopolitan diplomat was now certainly broadened, which leads to the national circumstance. Before offering a full account in Chapter 2 of the tour itself and the significant meetings and experiences afforded to Philip Sidney by it– specifically his witnessing of the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre- it is necessary to place the whole concept of the tour within the contexts not only of his life and family but also of the usefulness of the young Sidney to his Uncle Leicester, to the English Ambassador in Paris Sir Francis Walsingham and even to Queen Elizabeth I herself.

[206] Payne introduction

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To employ Stephen Greenblatt's term and concept, there was also fertile ground within this new context of overseas travel for Philip Sidney to indulge in some 'self-fashioning'. Professor Greenblatt identifies ten conditions which can be seen in the majority of cases of self-fashioning and these are well worth analysing when specifically applied to Philip Sidney.[213]

Sidney in that, although he was not from Greenblatt's required middle class, had an essentially middle-class schooling and never inherited a title. His social identity was complex, straddling as it did his paternal landed gentry heritage and his very aristocratic maternal one. Greenblatt's second condition is also fulfilled in Sidney in that he indeed progressively from very early in his short life submitted himself to exactly those external powers that Professor Greenblatt identifies: to God, the Bible, his monarch and her court, to military service and to colonial administration. The element of the 'something alien, strange or hostile' is certainly present in Sidney's self-fashioning in the form of the military and spiritual threat to both his own nation and to the continent it inhabits in the form of Tridentine Roman Catholicism as represented by his own godfather Philip II of Spain. Regarding the fourth condition of self-fashioning, that the 'alien' brings chaos and demonic disorder, ...Certainly, concerning 'one man's authority is another man's alien', each one of Sidney's authorities as mentioned above was already proving, or would later prove to be, an alien force to others. Sidney's values, loyalties and commitments meant that he was, often intentionally, later forever in conflict with an individual or an institution and his life was almost pushed on by this. His life models Professor Greenblatt's fifth to eighth conditions for self-fashioning. Most clearly applicable to Sidney, is the ninth condition that 'self-fashioning is always, though not exclusively, in language.' Clearly, Sidney most certainly fashioned himself, and posthumously his multi-faceted image, through his writing of fiction in the form of poetry (*Arcadia, Certain Sonnets, Astrophil and Stella*) of translation (*A Worke concerning the trewnesse of the Christian Religion)*, of discourses (such as *to her Queenes Majesty*) and of the art of treatise as illustrated in *An Apologie*. The final element of self-fashioning is that:

the power generated to attack the alien in the name of the authority is produced in excess and threatens the authority it sets out to defend. Hence self-fashioning always involves some experience of threat, some effacement or undermining, some loss of self.[214]

While a description of Sidney's post-tour life and military and diplomatic service is outside the remit of this thesis, the effect of Sidney's chosen path of self-fashioning is certainly not. This will be clearly analysed in the subsequent chapters which address selected works of Sidney's. It can be legitimately suggested that this chosen path, and especially the final condition quoted above, later created the time and space for Sidney to express that same self-fashioning in his writings (the penultimate condition). It would perhaps not be unreasonable to hypothesise that Queen Elizabeth I later saw in Sidney (and, in fairness, in many of his contemporary circle) exactly the excessive power to attack her 'aliens' that could also prove to be a threat to her. F.J. Levy comments that Philip Sidney 'was ready to serve her only if she was ready to do God's evident will'.[215] Due to her refusal to offer Philip Sidney the serious diplomatic missions he so craved, he indeed had the time and opportunity to express

[213] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 2005) p.8.
[214] Stephen Greenblatt, op. cit., p.8
[215]

his self-fashioning in his writing. He without doubt, though, in parallel also experienced the threat, self-effacement and sense of loss which resulted from being denied glittering opportunities officially to prove his capacity in the sphere of international diplomatic service.

F.J. Levy explains it thus. Elizabeth and her advisors of her own generation, especially William Cecil, were very cautious:

Both had survived the difficult years between 1547 and 1560 when not only the cause of Protestantism but also their own lives were in danger.[216]

To a man of Sidney's age, these fears were chimerical, partly because he was too young to remember the events that inspired them. He later and ultimately saw England's role in the great struggle between Reformation and Counter- Reformation as that of leader in a new crusade.[217]

For Elizabeth, Philip Sidney, Fulke Greville, Francis Bacon and their circle were ideologues, Levy explains. They were decorative, but not to be trusted, and he traces this back in part to the school education they had received:

The same education that stressed service and activity also inclined them to a definite policy: it would not be too much to say that they insisted that England serve Protestantism as they themselves served England. The Queen was much too cautious for them. She used them where she could, she showered minor favours on them, but she did not trust them.[218]

Professor Timothy Wilks's words on image and exemplarity are especially apposite in terms of Philip Sidney's tour which was ultimately a fundamental point of departure for his creation of both his personal and literary image and for his status as an exemplum:

The late Tudor crisis brought about by Elizabeth I's lack of a uterine heir and the desire for a Protestant hero figure is familiar enough to us. Sir Philip Sidney, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, were all projected in this role...Of these three, it was Sidney whose exemplary life was immediately seized on by writers.[219]

Professor Wilks explains that Exemplarity:

would seem to require the following: a culture of rhetoric, suitable models, and a desire to emulate them. While these criteria would all have been very evident in England four centuries ago, their survival in the twenty-first century is somewhat harder to detect. In our Post-Modern age, characterized by scepticism, pluralism, and emphasis on the uniqueness of the individual, exemplarity has little place.[220]

For Philip Sidney the very present opportunity both for cosmopolitan diplomacy, self-fashioning, image and exemplarity presented itself in a mission to Paris led by Edward Clinton, now created Lord Lincoln for that very purpose. Lord Lincoln's second wife had been Ursula Stourton a Dudley cousin of Lady Sidney and the Earl of Leicester, and therefore, it can be presumed that he was very willing to accept Philip Sidney into his party.

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[216] F.J Levy

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The objective of this mission was to ratify the Treaty of Blois that had been sealed with France on April 19 1572. Anne Somerset explains that the provisions of the Treaty of Blois included 'an undertaking that if either of the signatories was attacked, the other would provide her ally with military and naval assistance, an obligation that remained binding on France even if England was invaded by another power on religious grounds'.[221] Clearly, in each and both cases, the potential attacker was Philip II of Spain. France was at risk of such an attack since her king Charles IX had extended toleration to the Huguenots and had signalled his willingness to co-operate with Elizabeth should it be in the interests of France to do so. James Osborn describes the Treaty as 'a feeble step towards preserving the balance of power in Northern Europe' and an effort by the Queen Mother of France to ally France and England after her earlier, failed effort to marry her third son the Duc d'Anjou to Queen Elizabeth.[222] For Alan Stewart it was 'a somewhat half-hearted defence pact'.[223] For both nations a significant factor in the thinking behind the treaty was Mary Queen of Scots (who was imprisoned in England) and her collusion with Philip II. This had been illustrated by her offer to betroth her son to the Infanta of Spain and her employment of Ridolfi to request assistance from the Spanish King. [224] When the French discovered that Mary was so dependent on Philip, they felt free to abandon their former Queen. They downgraded their call for Mary to be freed and merely requested that she should not be put to death. While the Ridolfi plot had been foiled, there was certainly no guarantee that Philip II would hesitate to take the next opportunity to invade England, especially once the Duke of Alva had crushed all resistance in the Netherlands. Some, however, felt that the Treaty of Blois was not strong enough to curb Philip II's ambitions and that the Ridolfi plot had clearly demonstrated why not. The hopes for the treaty were evidently high, since it was celebrated in 1570-1 with a portrait of the English Royal Family now known as 'The Allegory of the Tudor succession'.[225] In a piece of diplomatic theatre, the treaty was to be signed simultaneously on both sides of the Channel.

Alan Stewart suggests that this opening for Sidney specifically to join the mission, and more generally to travel in Europe, largely originated from the Queen's jealousy and the tactics of his Uncle Leicester.[226] The complex relationship between Elizabeth and Leicester, Stewart posits, led to Elizabeth's mistrust of Leicester for whom she famously had considerable affection, but, who, due to her faith in him, was now politically significant both at home and in northern Europe.[227] Stewart suggests that while Elizabeth had no intention of allowing Leicester loose in Europe, she 'was not so concerned to keep Philip at home.'[228] For

[221] Somerset p.338
[222] Osborn pp24-25
[223] Stewart p.69
[224] Between 1570 and 1571, Roberto Ridolfi, a Florentine banker, was suspected by Francis Walsingham of conspiring to enact Pope Pius V's Bull *Regnans in Excelsis* which declared that Elizabeth 's Catholic subjects were no longer obliged to vow allegiance to Elizabeth due to her heresy and illegitimate status. It indeed went further in proclaiming that Elizabeth was a valid target for a Catholic assassin. Ridolfi's plot included the plan of the Duke of Norfolk (England's highest-ranking nobleman and Catholic) to marry Mary Queen of Scots. Subsequent to this marriage, the couple would be made King and Queen of England after a Spanish invasion and the murder of Elizabeth I.
[225] Allegory of Tudor Succession.
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Leicester, tied to his life in England, it became increasingly crucial to have a personal representative on the ground in Paris. Who better for the role than his charming, well-educated, engaging nephew and heir Philip Sidney? Leicester, it could be argued, was already an exemplum (for better or worse) for his nephew Philip Sidney in terms of the former's brand of Protestantism and public service.

Moreover, the careful choice by his father of Lodowick Bryskett as Philip Sidney's gentleman travelling companion and by Leicester of Francis Walsingham the English Ambassador in Paris as his mentor would ensure that the young man was not without another exemplum while he was away. Lodowick Bryskett (Ludovico Bruschetto 1545-1611) was the London-born son of Antonio (Anthony) Bruschetto, a very wealthy, successful London merchant of Genoese origin whom Alan Stewart describes as being a 'well-recognised face at court'.[229] Lodowick entered Sir Henry's household in around 1564, did several overseas business trips for him and served him in Ireland.[230] Bryskett was later a close friend and colleague of Edmund Spenser in Ireland, and he was with Philip Sidney (nine years his junior) almost all through the European tour.[231] James Osborn states that 'Because of Lodowick's known character, experience in travelling and fluency in languages, Sir Henry chose him to accompany Philip on his continental journey.'[232] Alan Stewart concurs, calling Lodowick 'the obvious choice'.[233] Lodowick would balance the older men in Sidney's life at this time whom Katherine Duncan-Jones calls the 'Dutch uncles'.[234]

As the English Ambassador in Paris and one of Professor Duncan-Jones's potential 'Dutch uncles' Francis Walsingham received a famous letter (dated 26 May 1572, the day after Philip's license to travel was signed) from Leicester both commending his nephew Philip to Walsingham's care. Of Philip he says:

He is young and raw and no doubt shall find those countries and the demeanours of the people somewhat strange unto him. And therefore your good advice and counsel shall greatly behove him for his better direction which I do most heartily pray you to vouchsafe him, with any friendly assurance you shall think needful for him.[235]

After his education, family background the Treaty of Blois mission, the final and a fundamental dimension of the background to Philip Sidney's European tour is what Elizabeth Williamson calls 'fishing after news' or 'the intelligencing role of the educational traveller' at that time. The traveller could be 'a valuable node in the news-gathering network, able to send information back to patrons or potential patrons in domestic government'.[236] She explains that:

[229] Stewart p.71
[230] Osborn p.28
[231] Duncan-Jones p. 79
[232] Osborne p.28
[233] Stewart p. 71
[234] Duncan-Jones p.21
[235] Robert Dudley to Francis Walsingham, 26 May 1572, Court. BL Landsdowne MS 117, fo.189a.
[236]

A stay abroad carried with it an expectation that casual travellers, to protect their moral, spiritual and physical health, would make themselves useful, and thus loyal, servants of their domestic government.[237]

In other words, whatever the stated reason for it, a young gentleman's travel also had to be a form of serving one's monarch and country. Elizabeth Williamson suggests that 'one key method of doing so was by transmitting news and information'.[238] As has been seen, Philip Sidney, in his upbringing, family heritage and school education, had been primed to perform exactly such service and, once again, the Lincoln mission to Paris opened up precisely the opportunity for that type of service to accompany the ostensible target acquiring of languages. For Philip Sidney, his patron figures were clearly his father and his uncle Leicester. His sights would also certainly have been set on future potential patrons in his governmental and diplomatic career. His time at Shrewsbury instilled that into him as has already been described. Dr Williamson also highlights the essential difficulty in precisely defining a person's identity, their real reason for travelling and the ambiguity of 'the kind of information the individual is expected or is seen to gather: in reductive terms, whether it is perceived as defensible learning, infective intelligence or common news'.[239] A young student and an accredited diplomat alike could, according to others' perceptions on both counts, equally be branded with 'the hellish Judas name of an Intelligencer'.[240]

A significant, creative product of the news-gathering traveller of the late sixteenth century was the *Ars Apodemica*; the genre of the travel advice text such as the undated letter from Philip Sidney to his younger brother Robert mentioned above, letters from Lord Burghley to Edward Manners (the third earl of Rutland) in 1571, and from the Earl of Essex to each of his nephews Roger and Francis. Dr Williamson quotes an extract from one of the first treatises of this kind in English William Bourne's *A booke called the Treasure for Traueilers* (London, 1578) in which she sees this genre's characteristic balance:

between practical dealing and moral display; a focus on method, on civic duty, and on absorbing and recording information, employing a rhetoric of usefulness for both individual and state that acts as a counter to the critics of leisurely travel for its own sake.[241]

She proceeds to contend that:

This more moral and literary edge to the genre can mask- or protect- travellers' involvement in news and intelligence gathering.[242]

The extract from William Bourne's advice provides a comprehensive list of the advantages for his country of a young man's overseas travels. These are in addition to the benefits of the traveller returning as a more knowledgeable, developed individual to serve his country and monarch:

Hee is able to geve judgement by his owne Countrie of other, whether it bee as touching the governement of the common weale, in the executing of their lawes of the manner of traffick,

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241 P.543

242 P.543

and in the usage and nature of the people, bothe in their Cities and Townes, and in their countrie, and what manner of commodities they have, and of the situation of their Townes, and in their fortification, and also of what strength and force other Princes and states are of, and of the order and manner of usyng them selves in martial affayres of the warres, and what their Artillerie is, and how they are weaponed and armed, and furnished in every respect…for that they may provide them selves and their Countrie for their better safetie…[243]

This would suggest that legitimate travellers collected what today would be termed sensitive information and that this went far beyond the bounds of gaining cultural, linguistic and literary knowledge. The fact that the Earl of Leicester put the 'young and raw' Philip, into the 'special care' specifically of Francis Walsingham in Paris and requested Walsingham's 'better direction' of Philip might well have at its heart more than avuncular concern regarding a nephew's student travel.[244] As Dr Williamson observes:

With a geographically and financially limited diplomatic network, letters from travellers in the right place at the right time conveying information of the kinds listed above (by Bourne) would be a valuable resource for those constructing foreign policy.[245] This meant that travel was increasingly seen as preparatory for crown service.[246]

As has been mentioned before, Philip Sidney wrote to his younger brother Robert regarding the experience of foreign travel. Robert was abroad between 1578 and 1583. The letter is undated, but Feuillerat places it in his collection between one dated 'this laste of May 1578' and the next dated '28. August 1579'.[247] It is certainly firmly within the genre of the *Ars Apodemica* and of Bourne in particular, and as such is worth quoting in some detail. In this letter Philip explains to Robert in pure Bourne terms that 'Fer hard sure it is to knowe England, without you knowe it by compareing it with others.'[248] The dimension of service to one's nation and government is addressed in:

You cannot tell what the Queene of England is able to doe, defensivelie or offencivelie, but by through compareing what they are able to doe, with whom shee is to bee matched.[249]

Philip Sidney continues by highlighting:

One notable use of travaile, which standes in the mixed and correlitiue knowledge of things, in which kinde come in the knowledge of all leauges, betwixt Prince and Prince, the toppographicall descripcion of eache Countrie, howe the one lyes by scituacion to hurte or helpe the other, howe they are to the sea well harbowred or not, howe stored with shippes, howe with Rewenewe, howe with fortificacions and Garrisons, howe the People warlickelie trayned or kept under, with manie other such condicions.[250]

Referring to Homer, Philip Sidney also commends travel to other countries as a way of:

[243] P.544
[244] Walsingham
[245] P.544
[246] P.544
[247] Pp. 124-7
[248]
[249]
[250]

The knowing of their religions, pollicies, lawes, bringing upp of their children, discipline both for Warr, and Peace, and such like.[251]

Clearly this letter of advice was written three years after the event for Sidney and after he had had the time and opportunity to reflect on his own tour, which adds significantly to its interest and value. This would be especially true if this intelligence gathering task is what he had also committed himself to and completed. If he did so, then what is also very clear is that his tour was not simply a matter of linguistic and cultural development or the transmission of interesting news. It certainly crossed the line into intelligence gathering. In the letter he unsurprisingly specifically mentions France and Spain in constitutional and territorial terms**????**:

how they stand towards us both power and inclynacion', 'theire Courtes of Parliament, their subaltern Juriisdiccions, & their continuewall keepeing of so manie provinces under them.[252]

In addition, Dr Williamson identifies the 'Polonius-style rhetoric' of the *Ars Apodemica* and once again in his letter Philip Sidney obliges beautifully. We can hear the loud tones of his personal experience in:[253]

This point which indeede to you is the cheifest of all others, which is the choyce of what men you are to addict your selfe unto, to learne these things, for it is certaine, noe vessel can leave a worsse tast to the licqor it contains, then a wrong teacher infectes an unskillfull hearer… Be sure therefore of his knowledge whom you desire to learne, tast him well before you drinke too much of his doctrine, and when you have heard it, trie well what you haue heard, before you hold it for a principle, for one errour is the mother of a thowsand.[254]

In this letter to Robert Sidney, the voice of the older, post-tour Sidney can be heard; the voice of the man (still perhaps only twenty-four years old) who had learned from many men about a range of cultures in addition to several languages. Philip Sidney had on the tour indeed compared his own country with others and seen exactly the ways in which those other countries and their governing elites to the highest level matched that of the governing elite at home that his family, and he himself, hoped that he would join.

Having analysed Philip Sidney's maternal family background in terms of its public service, of its Christian confessional affiliations and having gained insights into Philip Sidney's education and personality, the picture of the young man who started out on his three-year tour of Europe in June 1572 is clearer. The tour and its starting point for Philip Sidney as a young member of a diplomatic mission would appear to be not only the next step in the very logical progression in the cultural and linguistic education of a young nobleman but also beginning of a life committed to the service of his nation.

In the event, however, events took a course in the form of a bloody massacre that would have been impossible to predict. This massacre would also render useless and defunct the Treaty of Blois which was the aim of the mission which formed a crucial part of Sidney's planned travel experience. Whatever his father and uncle had planned for Philip Sidney and

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whomever they had intended him to meet on his tour, it is certainly not what the tour delivered as it unfolded. It will also be seen that, with his own strength of character and his spirit, he both made and took opportunities to mold his own tour while respecting and honouring the friendship and advice of those from diverse age groups and social backgrounds.

Chapter Two

A Great Passport

> So that truly neither philosopher nor historiographer could at the first have entered into the gates of popular judgments, if they had not taken a great passport of Poetry, which in all nations at this day, where learning flourisheth not, is plain to be seen; in all which they have some feeling of Poetry.[255]

A passport to all nations

Sidney's image of Poetry as a 'great passport' to all nations is striking, as he had experience of seeking passports, passports expiring and the conditions that came with them. A passport was a licence to travel issued by Elizabeth I which followed a fixed formula. It was a one-time licence for a specific purpose and a limited duration of travel with precise terms attached. These were usually geographical restrictions concerning the area of approved travel, financial restrictions or those regarding people the holder should not meet. Sidney's licence is displayed in Appendix One. The Elizabethan passport was (as is a passport today) an essential tool for expanded physical and intellectual freedom, despite the detailed constraints. Thus, the passport metaphor encapsulates Sidney's presentation of Poetry in *The Defence of Poetry* as the uniquely global art. The *Oxford Dictionary of Etymology* offers insights into the origins of the word which at first appear to be connected with the word 'congée', 'leave to depart', and by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a 'passport' was 'a bow on taking leave', 'leave to pass', 'leave of absence', 'furlough'. This would appear from Sidney's passport to be an appropriate sense of the word, as there was a level of etiquette about gaining the Queen's permission to leave her shores. It had also come to mean 'authorisation to pass from a port or to leave a country' xv – F. passeport (cf. It. Passaporto), f. passer PASS -+-port. By Sidney's time there had developed a strong tradition of passports that Beatriz Salamanca Charria traces (within the Spanish context) back to medieval guiatges or safe conducts which:

> worked as a kind of letter of recommendation, a laissez-passer at the frontier, or a licence which identified its holder within a certain group. They were sparsely used and were granted to concrete individuals or groups to protect them from the actions of other

[255] Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. R.W. Maslen (Manchester, 2002), 83.

> authorities. The origin of safe conducts can be traced back to the Latin term guidaticum, which means to guide or to protect, so that safe passage is guaranteed.'[256]

These 'safe conducts' were often used by distinguished visitors and their retinue, but they were also used by different kind of visitors to enter a territory, transport merchandise, or even allow entry to the enemy to negotiate. At a later stage, safe conducts began to be also granted to people whose crimes had been forgiven, to debtors while they recovered their financial means, or to those who had participated in revolts but had received amnesty. In general terms, safe conducts were issued by the king or in the name of the king and were granted to 'high and low', men and women, subjects and foreigners, Christians, Muslims, and Jews. These written documents made it possible for their bearers to move around without being detained or subjected to judicial arbitrariness. Even though the monarchical powers of the early modern period were gradually gaining exclusive control over the right to grant passage, the full consolidation of this faculty was still a long way to go.' [257]

The final stage in the development of the passport was when:

> one of the most substantial transformations in the history of identification took place in the mid-fifteenth century when travel documents began to acquire a more compulsory character and their use extended to more groups of people. In 1464, the French king Louis XI implemented the use of identity documents among the couriers of the royal system. These documents, which began to be called passeports, sought to trace every single one of the couriers' journeys by keeping a register in a centralised passport office, establishing the long-lived connection between registers and travel papers.[258]

Sidney's view in *The Defence of Poetry* is that, without Poetry as their passport, that is their 'safe conduct', History and Philosophy would be unable to travel the world. He extends this to many other disciplines and scholars when he writes:

> so Thales, Empedocles and Parmenides sang their natural philosophy in verse; so did Pythagoras their moral counsels; so did Tyrtaeus in war matters, and Solon in matters of policy: or rather they, being poets, did exercise their delightful vein in those points of highest knowledge, which before them lay his to the world.[259]

In other words, Sidney is arguing that Poetry opens the world to the treasures of every kind of knowledge. Philip Sidney's *The Defence of Poetry* is the seminal text for this work. It represents his vision of a new future for poetry in the English language that would reflect a proud, confident and cultured nation. It therefore serves as the prime illustration of the influence of his European 1572-5 tours on his writings.

The Defence of Poetry

[256] Beatriz Salamanca Charria, *Placing Mobile Identities: Freedom to Wander and the Right to Travel in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America* (subsidiary supervision with Professor Alexander Samson, concluded 2019), ***

[257] Ibid., *** .

[258] Ibid., ***

[259] Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 82.

The Defence was written for private circulation in 1581-3, according to Geoffrey Shepherd who dates it based on the literary and stylistic evolution between the Old and New Arcadias.[260] R.W. Maslen, however, breaks with this in his version of Shepherd's edition. He suggests that it was begun after December 1579, as it mentions Edmund Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, published in December 1579 and dedicated to 'the Noble and Virtuous Gentleman most worthy of all titles both of learning and of chevalrie M. Philip Sidney'. As Sidney was not Master Sidney but Sir Philip after 1583, the time-frame of 1579-83 is safe. Maslen narrows it to the winter of 1579-80 since Stephen Gosson's *School of Abuse* was published then.[261] Albert Feuillerat explains that *The Defence of Poetry* appeared in two versions. The first was registered with the Stationers' Company on 29 November 1594 by William Ponsonby and entitled the *Defence of Poetry*. Feuillerat is convinced this is the more authoritative of the two versions; firstly, it contains two passages which do not feature in the second version and then he claims that it was the preferred text of the Countess of Pembroke (Sidney's sister and later self-appointed co-literary agent). Feuillerat therefore justifies this version for his own choice of that text and title. The second version was registered on 12 April 1595 by Henry Olney as *An Apology for Poetry.* This, Feuillerat concedes, is a 'somewhat purer' text.[262] Regarding the two titles for the work, Gavin Alexander chooses *The Defence of Poetry* for his edition. He explains that 'I have based my edition on Ponsonby's text, with frequent comparison to Olney's, and have made full use of the textual apparatus in the Clarendon edition in incorporating what seem authoritative readings and forms from the other texts, especially the Penshurst manuscript'.[263] The Penshurst Manuscript was owned by Sidney's brother Robert.[264] Jan Van Dorsten states that 'Ponsonby was the established printer of Sidney's literary remains, thanks to his connections with Greville and with Sidney's sister.'[265] This would give *The Defence* authority as a title. As further support for *The Defence of Poetry*, Van Dorsten points to the first paragraph of Sidney's text where Sidney uses the phrase 'a pitiful defence of poor poetry'.[266] He suggests this as the logical title for the work if Sidney had even contemplated giving it a title.[267] He had gone further in his 1966 version, saying that he had chosen *The Defence* as 'Sidney's essay is a "Defence" rather than an "Apology" in the modern sense of the word', that the title *The Defence of Poetry* is given in the Penshurst manuscript and that the 'actual defence part is concerned not only with 'poesy' (the art of making poems, but also with the general product 'poetry'.[268] G. Gregory Smith chooses *An Apology for Poetry* for his version, but concedes that 'there is bibliographical justification for either title, *Defence or Apology*. The popularity of the later editions, founded on Ponsonby's, gave greater vogue to the former'.[269] However, to justify his own choice, Gregory Smith continues that it 'was perhaps no less common among Sidney's friends and successors, for we find Harington so styling the Essay in his *Brief Apologie of Poetry* (q.v.), which was printed

[260] Sidney *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Shepherd (London, 1965), 4.
[261] Sidney *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 2.
[262] *Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney,* 4 vols., ed. Albert Feuillerat (Cambridge, 1923), 3, vi.
[263] *Sidney's The Apologie of Poesy and Selected Renaissance Literary Criticism,* ed. Gavin Alexander (London, 2004), 317.
[264] Ibid., 316.
[265] *The Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney* ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and Jan Van Dorsten (Oxford, 1973).
[266] Ibid., 73-4.
[267] Ibid., 69.
[268] Sidney, *A Defence of Poetry*, ed. J.A. Van Dorsten (Oxford, 1966), 13.
[269] *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, 1, ed. G. Gregory Smith (London, 1904), 148.

four years before Sidney's work.'[270] This work, therefore, uses the more authoritative title *The Defence of Poetry*.

As one fruit of Sidney's physical and intellectual freedom in Europe, *The Defence* has in its lifetime been seen as golden, subversive and ground-breaking. In its content and its style it is new and fresh. Katherine Duncan-Jones's view is that *The Defence* 'stands head and shoulders above all the other theoretical treatises of the Elizabethan period'.[271] She makes this contrast because, as she says, *The Defence* 'is constantly entertaining, which the others are not, and because Sidney carries the debate back to first principles - the value of the imagination itself – and tackles Plato head-on.'[272] R.W. Maslen adds to the praise with the critique that it is 'the most stylish and seductive work of literary theory written in the Renaissance'.[273] While Kent R. Lehnhof casts doubt on the effectiveness of *The Defence* as a defence of poetry, he concedes that it is 'an impressive, perhaps even unparalleled rhetorical exercise.'[274] In order to gauge how comparatively fresh and stylish *The Defence* is, it is necessary to visit other similar English poetic treatises of the time: Thomas Lodge's *Defence of Poetry, Music and Stage-Plays* (1579), William Webbe's *A Discourse of English Poetry* (1586) Puttenham's *The Art of English Poetry* (1589) and Sir John Harington's *A Brief Apology of Poetry* (1591).

Derivatives of *The Defence*

Thomas Lodge in his *Defence of Poetry, Music and Stage-Plays* (1579) supports Sidney's view by focusing on poetry rather than poets in the face of Gosson's 'pleasant invective' and facetiousness. Lodge uses direct questioning and personal challenge of the latter as his rhetorical device for so doing. He reinforces the common belief that poetry emanates 'from above, from a heavenly seate of a glorious God, unto an excellent creature man'.[275] Lodge affirms Plato's, Sidney's and others' view that 'poetry is dispraised not for the folly that is within it, but for the abuse whiche many ill writers couller by it.'[276] He then, for balance, states that, 'The Angels have sinned in heaven, Adam and Eve in earthly Paradise among the Holy Apostles ungracious Judas. I reason not that al poets are holy, but I affirm that Poetry is a heavenly gift, a perfit gift, then which I know no greater pleasure.'[277] His counter-attack continues as firstly he claims that, far from being a civic risk or a morally undesirable, undermining influence on the welfare of a town or city:

> poets were the first raysors of cities, prescribers of good lawes, mayntayners of religion, disturbors of the wicked, advancers of the well-disposed, inventors of laws and lastly the very footpaths to knowledge and understanding.'[278]

Lodge cites the story of the Lacedemonians who consulted the Oracles of Apollo after they had sustained considerable losses in battle. They followed the advice they were given which was to seek

[270] Ibid., 149.
[271] Katherine Duncan–Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney, The Major Works* (Oxford, 1989), xvii.
[272] Ibid., xviii.
[273] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 1.
[274] Kent R. Lehnhof, 'Profeminism in Philip Sidney's Apology for Poetrie', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* vol. 48, no. 1 (2008): 23-43. www.jstor.org/stable/40071320, 23.
[275] Thomas Lodge, *A Defence of Poetry, Music and Stage-plays*, (Shakespeare Society, London, 1853), 10.
[276] Ibid., 15.
[277] Ibid., 14.
[278] Ibid., 14.

a new governor from Athens. To settle old scores, the Athenians offered not a warrior but a poor poet. Fearful of a foreign leader, but trusting the Oracle, they gave the poet citizenship. He inspired them to victory with his oratory.[279] For Lodge, this is further evidence to support his belief in the link between poetry and fine civic contribution. Lodge's piece is full of energy, wit and challenge. His style is conversational, but it is also passionate and relentless, including scathing provocation and questioning directed at Gosson himself, for instance 'it pitieth me to bring a rodd of your owne making to beat you withal.'[280], and that 'your sweet selfe …since you left your College, have lost your learning.'[281] He even makes the withering comment 'No marvel though you disprayse poetry, when you know not what it means.'[282] Lodge clearly had a spirit of travel and adventure, as later in the 1580's and 1590's he joined expeditions to Terceira, the Canaries, Brazil and the Straits of Magellan. However, in his *Defence* Lodge makes neither biographical nor conceptual reference to any travel experience he had already gained.

The Defence of Poetry inspired a series of other derivative late Elizabethan and early Jacobean treatises in different styles and from diverse perspectives. These other treatises also aim to counter attacks on poetry such as Gosson's and will be analysed later. None of them, though, is underpinned with Sidney's level of travel, cultural, religious or diplomatic experience. Thomas Lodge (1558-1625) in his *Defence of Poetry, Music and Stage-Plays* (1579) supports Sidney's view by focusing on poetry rather than poets in the face of Gosson's 'pleasant invective' and facetiousness. Lodge uses direct questioning and personal challenge of the latter as his rhetorical device for so doing. He reinforces the common belief that poetry emanates 'from above, from a heavenly seate of a glorious God, unto an excellent creature man'.[283] Lodge affirms Plato's, Sidney's and others' view that 'Poetry is dispraised not for the folly that is within it, but for the abuse whiche many ill writers couller by it.'[284] He then, for balance, states:

> the Angels have sinned in heaven, Adam and Eve in earthly Paradise among the Holy Apostles ungracious Judas. I reason not that al poets are holy, but I affirm that Poetry is a heavenly gift, a perfit gift, then which I know no greater pleasure.[285]

His counter-attack continues as firstly he claims that, far from being a civic risk or a morally undesirable, undermining influence on the welfare of a town or city:

> poets were the first raysors of cities, prescribers of good lawes, mayntayners of religion, disturbors of the wicked, advancers of the well-disposed, inventors of laws and lastly the very footpaths to knowledge and understanding.[286]

To return to Sidney's response to Gosson (whom Sidney does not dignify by even naming), the concepts behind *An Apology for Poetry* inspired a series of other derivative late Elizabethan and early Jacobean treatises in different styles and from diverse perspectives. These are in similar vein and on

[279] Ibid., 15-16.
[280] Thomas Lodge, *A Defence of Poetry, Music and Stage-plays*, 11.
[281] Ibid., 7.
[282] Ibid., 6.
[283] Thomas Lodge, *A Defence of Poetry, Music and Stage-plays*, (Shakespeare Society, London, 1853), 10.
[284] Ibid., 15.
[285] Ibid., 14.
[286] Ibid., 14.

similar themes; the poet's being divinely inspired and the creators of history by how they choose to present it, poetry's being universally supported by kings and princes and distinguishing Poetry from the fallible, sometimes misguided or immoral use of it by flawed poets. Among these are William Webbe's *A Discourse of English Poetry* (1586) Puttenham's *The Art of English Poetry* (1589) and Sir John Harington's *A Brief Apology of Poetry* (1591).

As does Sidney in the *Defence*, in his *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586), Webbe (1550-1591) writes in the first person thus ensuring the authorial presence, from the outset to the epilogue. He takes a conventional stance of personal modesty in expressing his opinions, 'nowe what other Poets which followed him, and beene of greatest fame, haue doone for the moste parte in their seuerall workes I wyll briefely, and as my slender ability wyll serue me, declare.'[287] Then:

> thus farre foorth haue I aduentured to sette downe parte of my simple iudgement concerning those Poets, with whom for the most part I haue beene acquainted through myne owne reading: which though it may seeme something impertinent to the tytle of my Booke.[288]

And:

> this small trauell (courteous Reader) I desire thee take in good worth, which I haue compyled, not as an exquisite censure concerning this matter, but (as thou mayst well perceiue, and in trueth to that onely ende) that it might be an occasion to haue the same thoroughly and with greater discretion taken in hande and laboured by some other of greater abilitie, of whom I knowe there be manie among the famous Poets in London, who, bothe for learning and leysure, may handle this Argument far more pythilie then my selfe. Which if any of them wyll vouchsafe to doo, I trust wee shall haue Englishe Poetry at a higher price in short space: and the rabble of balde Rymes shall be turned to famous workes, comparable (I suppose) with the best workes of Poetry in other tongues. In the meane time, if my poore skill can sette the same any thing forwarde, I wyll not cease to practise the same towardes the framing of some apt English *Prosodia,* styll hoping and hartelie wishing to enioy first the benefitte of some others iudgment, whose authority may beare greater credit and whose learning can better performe it.[289]

Webbe's 'at a higher price' links with Catherine Bates' economics of poetry in *On Not Defending Poetry*. Regarding the *Defence*, in Chapter II of her work (*Poetry is Profitable*) Bates takes as a micro example Sidney's image of the 'brazen' world that nature offers and the 'golden' world that poets deliver:

> Nature never set forth the earth in so rich a tapestry as divers poets have done; neither with pleasant rivers, fruitful trees, sweet-smelling flowers, nor whatsoever else may

[287] William Webbe, *A Discourse of English Poetry*, In *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith (OUP, London, 1904), 235.
[288] Ibid., 247.
[289] William Webbe, *A Discourse of English Poetry*, In *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith 301-2.

> make the too much loved earth more lovely. Her world is brazen, the poets only deliver a golden.'[290]

The traditional interpretation of what Sidney is describing is a prelapsarian, innocent state of bliss that poetry create. Bates provides a different and provocative view:

> 'That Sidney's image of the poet's golden world is shot through with and deeply compromised by money becomes evident if the metaphor is looked at a little more closely, for it is 'economic' not merely in its content but also in its structure or form.'[291]

In this light, Bates posits, Poetry becomes a financial commodity to be traded, with nature's bronze currency being 'traded up' to Poetry's gold.[292] This would be a far more cynical stance for Sidney to take, and it could explain his blessing upon those poets who have read his *Defence* and no longer 'laugh at the name of poets' or 'scorn the mysteries of Poesy.' Their name will 'flourish in the printer's shops; thus doing, you shall be next of kin to many a poetical preface.'[293] While Sidney had no truck with printers for himself, it appears he understands their importance for other, less socially elite poets who had to earn a living from their art. As a patron of jobbing poets, he too understood the purely financial importance to them of the patrons whose dedications they could place as 'next of kin' to the prefaces in their books. The 'golden world' created by the poet could easily live alongside the golden financial world. While 'price' could mean 'value' or 'worth' (as in Christ's parable of the pearl of price), the use of 'price' here from Webbe creates a distinctly financial tone which can also be interpreted from Sidney here in the *Defence*.

Webbe's piece becomes technical by discussing matters of rhyme and syllabic stress. It offers a list of Horace's poetic principles and a history of poetry. Due to its lack of formal, rhetorical structure it is a less than focused work than *An Apology* and that it lacks direction. In addition, the lack of anecdotes or contemporary European perspective leave it without texture or variety. It is not golden rhetorical literature as Sidney's *An Apology* is.

The disreputable George Puttenham in his *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589) enters into a detailed analysis of rhetorical terms and technical questions regarding poetic metre from Chapter 10 to Chapter 24. This is what his title leads the reader to expect, and the treatise is a significant example of its kind due to this technical dimension. However, it is not until the end, in Chapter 25, that Puttenham explains to Her Majesty that he understands:

> these and many such like disguisings do we find in man's behaviour, and specially in the Courtiers of forraine Countryes, where in my youth I was brought up, and very well observed manner of life and conversation for of mine own country I have not made so great experience.[294]

[290] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 85.
[291] Catherine Bates, *On Not Defending Poetry* (Oxford, 2017), 35.
[292] Ibid., 35-6.
[293] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 116.
[294] George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poetrie*, eds. Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker (CUP, Cambridge, 1936), 302.

Here there is certainly a strong element of cosmopolitanism, since the younger Puttenham spent time in the courts of France, Spain and Italy. This is the point for Puttenham who comes perhaps the closest of these treatise writers to the scale of Sidney's own European experience, although Germany, Austria and Hungary did not, it would appear, form part of Puttenham's travels as they did Sidney's.

The final chapter (XXIV) of Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie* is illuminating. His approach is firstly to envisage art as 'an aid and coadjutor to nature', in that it does for nature what she cannot do for herself, such as when the gardener weeds his garden and waters and prunes his flowers or when the physician intervenes to aid the recovery of a sick body.[295] His next function of art is art as an imitator of nature; in his sixteenth-century view this is similar to the way in which a marmoset imitates the gestures of a human.[296] Puttenham finally sees art as an 'encounterer' (adversary) of nature which:

> produceth effects altogether strange and diverse, and of such form and qualitie (nature always supplying stuffe) as she never would nor could have done of herself, as the carpenter that builds a house, the ioyner that makes a table or a bedstead, the tailor a garment, the smith a lock or key, and a number of like.[297]

In selecting the image of the marmoset, Puttenham makes a negative comparison which includes low-order, mindless copying. The skilled poet, Puttenham explains, uniquely succeeds in fulfilling all these three roles of the artist and employs all three functions of art and so his work itself becomes nature:

> but for that in our maker or poet which rests only in device, and issues from an excellent sharpe and quick invention, holpen by a cleare and bright phantasie and imagination, he is not as the painter, to counterfaite the naturall by the like effects and not the same; nor as the gardener, aiding nature to worke both the same and the like; nor as the Carpenter, to worke effectes utterly unlike, but even as nature her selfe, working by her owne peculiar vertue and proper instinct, and not by example or meditation or exercise, as all other artificers do, is then most admired when he is most naturall and least artificiall.[298]

George Puttenham's treatise draws upon his travel experience and its consequently cosmopolitan impact on him. His theories are captivating and presented in a logical and readable way (which is not always the case with some of the minor treatises of the time).

Sir John Harington in his *An Apology for Ariosto* quickly identifies his remit, 'my meaning is, plainely and *bone fide*, confessing all the abuses that can truly be objected against some kind of poets, to shew you what good use there is of Poetrie.'[299] He also follows the significant pattern in these post-Sidneyan treatises of meticulously separating the concept and highest reaches of poetry from the individual artists who can (and do) bring the art into disrepute. Having referred to Sidney's *An Apology*, Harington writes in a similar vein regarding the art of Poetry that she:

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[295] George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poetrie*, eds. Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker 303-4.
[296] Ibid., 302.
[297] Ibid., 304.
[298] Ibid., 307.
[299] Sir John Harington, *Ludovico Ariosto Orlando Furiosto Translated Into English Heroical Verse by Sir John Harington (1591)*, ed. Robert McNulty (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1972), 2.

> with her sweete stateliness doth erect the mind and lift it up to the consideration of the highest matters, and allureth them that of themselves would otherwise loathe them, to take and swallow and digest the wholesome precepts of Philosophy, and many times even of the true divinity.[300]

Thus, Harington pursues and extends the now familiar Sidneyan theme that Poetry is potentially part of Man's pathway to righteousness and to God himself, due to the fact that:

> We live with men and not with saints, and sith few men can embrace this strict and stoicall divinity; or rather indeed, for that the holy scriptures in which those high mysteries of our salvation are contained are a deepe and profound study and not subject to every weake capacity, no nor to the highest wits and judgements, except they be first illuminate by God's spirit, or instructed by his teachers and preachers. Therefore we do first read some other authors, making them as it were a looking-glass to the eyes of our mind; and, then, after we have gathered more strength, we enter into profounder studies of higher mysteries, having first as it were enabled our eyes, by long beholding the sun in a basin of water, at last to look upon the sun it self.[301]

Poetry, therefore, has the special status for Christian believers of being a ground for preparing to read the Gospel itself. Harington's stating this belief effectively reduces, if not negates, the arguments of the four objections to Poetry that he proceeds to identify, namely that 'it is a nurse of lies, a pleaser of fools, a breeder of dangerous errors and an enticer to wantonness'.[302] Individual poets may choose to abuse Poetry in this way, but Poetry herself is irrefutably innocent of these charges. Harington indicates the literary esteem in which he holds Sidney and gives an indication of how Sidney was read by his contemporaries. He describes how Sidney writes 'right learnedly' of translation and of the question of whether poetry that is not in verse is proper poetry.[303] In Harington's opinion, on the matter of poetry being a gift or an art Puttenham 'doth prove nothing more plainly then that which M. *Sidney* and all the learneder sort that have written of it do pronounce, namely that it is a gift and not an art'.[304] Harington believes it is doubtless:

> a point of great art, to draw a man with a continuall thirst to reade out the whole work, and toward the end of the booke to close up the diverse matters briefly and clenly. If S. Philip Sidney had counted this a fault, he would not have done so himself in his Arcadia.[305]

Harrington writes with energy and passion in defending poetry, and writes his treatise in the first person for immediacy. His comparisons are based in the classics, e.g., Cornelius Agrippa, Virgil and Plutarch or the Bible or in English poetry and in contemporary poetic theory, e.g., Puttenham and Spenser. His work is finely crafted, learned and respectful of Sidney's thinking and writing.

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[300] Ibid., 3.
[301] Ibid., 3.
[302] Sir John Harington, *Ludovico Ariosto Orlando Furiosto,* 4.
[303] Ibid., 196.
[304] Ibid., 197.
[305] Ibid., 217.

Having compared and contrasted *The Defence* with its fellow treatises, this new section will compare *The Defence* with one of Sidney's letters to his mentor Hubert Languet during the 1573-5 period, and will prove the irreplaceable significance of his friendship with Languet, and thus of the tours, to Sidney's writing style in *The Defence*.[306] There is no doubt of Languet's deep devotion to Sidney as expressed throughout the letters in unmistakable terms. However this devotion runs parallel to his clear vision of the future the mentor wants for his pupil as he summarises on 18 December 15 1573:

> I shall think I have seen the ripe fruit of this friendship of ours if, before I die, I hear of you flourishing in your native land, promoted to dignity and authority, and enjoying the rewards that your virtue deserves.[307]

One means for Sidney to achieve the rewards Languet wishes for him is by becoming a confident writer in several languages.

Sidney's writing and the epistolary power of The Defence

Edward Berry's convincing argument is that the starting point for the epistolary power of *The Defence* was on the tours. It was in the form of Sidney's correspondence with Hubert Languet, particularly in the years 1573-5. However, the exchange of letters (written in Latin, as Languet did not know English) continued until Languet's death in 1581. Berry states that 'Sidney's correspondence with Languet gives us our first contact with Sidney as a writer'.[308] He also suggests that Sidney's correspondence in friendship with Languet 'represents his first exercise in the development of a literary persona and establishes a pattern of self-representation that recurs in different forms throughout his later works.'[309] The early correspondence was instrumental in augmenting the confidence of Sidney the later author of *The Defence*. As Berry observes of the later Sidney, 'With his increasing estrangement from court, such "scenes" became the dominant motifs of his fictions. In a deep and problematic sense, then, Sidney's friendship with Languet was crucial to his "making" as a man and poet.'[310] To summarise Berry's argument, without becoming a writer Sidney could not reciprocate Languet's friendship. Without Languet's friendship and their early correspondence, Sidney would not have developed his first literary persona.[311]

Early on in his correspondence with Languet, Sidney expresses to him a preoccupation about his own writing style and his wish for advice on how to improve it. Berry states that in this correspondence Sidney 'says nothing, not surprisingly, about the study of such things as poetry or art.'[312] Roger Kuin confirms this.[313] Sidney's exchange with Languet on this subject appears solely to concern letter-writing. While this preoccupation referred to writing in Latin, it demonstrates Sidney's general motivation to be an effective writer. The concern goes back even to 12 March 1569 in a letter to William Cecil where the fourteen-year-old Sidney says that he writes certainly not 'in order that from it you may judge my progress in Latin letters: on that score I must truly and not without grief confess

[306] See the Preface for a brief biographical profile of Hubert Languet.
[307] *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, 61.
[308] Edward Berry, *The Making of Philip Sidney* (Toronto, 1998), 28.
[309] Ibid., 28.
[310] Ibid., 48.
[311] Ibid., 35.
[312] Ibid., 29.
[313] *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, 2 vols (Oxford, 2012), I, 64.

that I can in no way satisfy either your expectation or my desire'.[314] On 8 July 1569 he again apologises to Cecil for his 'feeble skill'.[315] On 18 March 1573 from Frankfurt he apologises to his uncle Robert Dudley, 'if they ['my fewe words'] seeme unto your Lordship unworthie of which I should write unto you, I do most humblie beseche you to condemn nothing but my ignorance.'[316] The theme is continued when Sidney writes to Languet from Venice on 19 December 1573:

> The only time I practice my writing style is in writing to you, but now of course what happens to me is that in writing badly I am learning to write badly! That is why I beg you to write me something to help me correct my style.[317]

However, by 5 February 1574, Languet is able to write to Sidney that 'Hardly two months have passed since you began to write to me, and even in such a little time you seem to me to have made such progress in writing as another would barely manage in a whole year.'[318]

The rhetorical tradition of *Capatio Benevolantio* (the winning of goodwill) is at play here. Marcela Andoková explains:

The rhetorical category of captatio benevolentiae, essential to convince and persuade listeners, is one of the rhetor′s most effective tools. Cicero saw it as one of the pillars upon which the entire edifice of the art of oratory should be based and, as such, it was extensively practised by Roman orators and medieval authors. In the exordium its purpose was to make hearers attentive, receptive and well-disposed.[319]

Lucia Calboli Montefusco concurs and adds historical and scholastic context:

> Of the rhetorical methods essential to convince and persuade listeners, the *captatio benevolentiae* is one of the most effective. Cicero saw it as one of the pillars upon which the entire edifice of oratory art is based (De or. 2,115). It is concerned with a moderate incitement of feelings, with particular emphasis on the ethical qualities of the orator and his *cliens* (ibid. 182ff.; or. 128).[320]

Sidney carries *captatio benevolentiae* into his literary work. At the outset of *The Defence,* Sidney writes about 'having slipped into the title of a poet' and his 'unelected vocation'.[321] Later in the text he counts himself among the 'company of paper blurrers'.[322] To his sister he dedicates *Old Arcadia*,

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[314] Ibid., I, 8.
[315] Ibid., I, 10.
[316] Ibid., I, 13.
[317] Ibid., I, 64.
[318] *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, 111.
[319] Andoková, Marcela, *The role of captatio benevolentiae in the interaction between the speaker and his audience in Antiquity and today* (Bratislava, 2016), 1.

[320]Lucia Calboli Montefusco, (Bologna), "Captatio benevolentiae", in: *Brill's New Pauly*, Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and , Helmuth Schneider, English Edition by: Christine F. Salazar, Classical Tradition volumes edited by: Manfred Landfester, English Edition by: Francis G. Gentry. Consulted online on 12 August 2023 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e226810m First published online: 2006 First print edition: 9789004122598, 20110510

[321] Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. R.W. Maslen, 3rd revised ed. (Manchester, 2002), 8.
[322] Ibid., 109. Also see Maslen, 227, where 'paper-blurrers' are defined as 'rapid scribblers who produce blots as they write'.

'this idle work of mine' and compares it to a child whom he is ashamed to have fathered and would prefer to forget. It is 'a trifle, and that triflingly handled.'[323] He addresses her in his dedicatory letter as 'the writer who doth exceedingly love you', and he expresses his hope that she 'may long live to be a principal ornament to the family of the Sidneys'.[324] The expressions of goodwill towards the reader are frequent.

As Sidney writes, his entry into the world of writing fiction was 'unelected'; arguably the result of the thwarting of his ambitions for public service. That, though, in no way implies that he was an unskilled writer of verse, prose or letters. This skill was not achieved by accident, but by dedication and application with the help of Languet. Sidney later uses his acquired art also to write letters of defence on behalf of his father and uncle, a letter of persuasion to his queen as well as his prose work *The Arcadia* and his sonnets.

In his reply of 24 December 1573, Languet guides Sidney and affirms his wish for Sidney to write better, for the good of both his diplomatic and personal future, and exhorts him to use his tours - and his studies during them - to achieve this significant aim:

> It will be a proper and useful direction of effort if you diligently practise writing while you are away from your country; for when you are back there you will not be given time for it. But unless you have acquired a faculty for writing with ease, you will be deprived of the chief fruit of your studies and efforts, and you will less easily be able to cultivate the friendships you have made with foreigners: for as nature has made you entirely for kindness, I think you are so affected as to wish (those friendships) immortal.[325]

This poses two questions. Firstly, was this concern with writing not universal to humanist culture? Secondly, was Sidney's writing style as bad as he believed? In answer to the first point, the humanist pedagogue Roger Ascham's *The Scholemaster* is subtitled *Or plain and perfite way of teachyng children, to understand,* ***write*** *and speak the Latin tong*. Ascham, Sidney's school curriculum and the teaching methods he encountered at Shrewsbury School were discussed in detail in Chapter One. The writing of good Latin was fundamental to the humanist education he received. Henry Sidney writes to eleven year-old Philip on 12 April 1566:

> Son Phillip, I have received two letters from you, the one written in Latine, the other in French, which I take in good parte, and will you to exercise that practise of learning often, for it will stand you in most steed in that profession of lyfe that you are born to live in.[326]

It is clear that written Latin was a priority for one who wanted, or was expected to serve his nation in a diplomatic capacity or to be a courtier. Sidney was under pressure, or put himself under such pressure. Whether or not his written Latin was of a sufficiently high standard is open to debate. Languet had,

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[323] Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia: The Old Arcadia,* ed. Jean Robertson (Oxford, 1973), 4.
[324] Ibid., 3.
[325] Ibid, 69.
[326] *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, 3-5.

though, already given Sidney some advice through a model letter that he had sent him on 19 November 1573:

> I am sending you an epistle by Pietro Bizzarri of Perugia, so that in admiring it you may perpetually gaze upon it and keep it before you as an example.[327]

It is worth the time spent looking at the profile of Bizzarri, as it soon becomes clear why Languet sets him up as a model For Sidney, not only as a writer but also as a diplomat and Protestant activist. According to Kenneth R. Bartlett in the *Oxford National Dictionary of Biography*, Pietro Bizzarri (*b.* 1525, *d.* in or after 1586), historian and spy, was born probably in Sassoferrato Castello (Marche), Italy, the son of Antonio Bizzarri, a soldier who died in 1528. He must also have lived in Perugia, hence his common description as *Perusinus*. He was sent to Venice for an excellent education in classical letters. There in his eighteenth year (1542–3) he was converted to Protestantism, perhaps under the influence of Bernardino Ochino and the writings of Erasmus. Now devoted to evangelical reform, Bizzarri left Italy in the summer of 1545 for Germany, settling first in Nuremberg, and then in Wittenberg, where he sought his spiritual guide, Philip Melanchthon, with whom he planned to study. However, Charles V's victory at Muhlberg (1547) resulted in Bizzarri abandoning Germany, and after stopping briefly at several German universities he eventually crossed the channel to England, where he was resident from 1549. Bizzarri next appears in Venice in December 1558 complimenting Elizabeth I on her accession. Subsequently he returned to England, where he dedicated a beautiful manuscript, *De principe tractatus*, to the queen. In return for this treatise—essentially a collection of commonplaces on the ideal ruler, heavily influenced by Erasmian eirenic principles—he received a pension from the crown and the living of Alton Pancras, Dorset, from Bishop Jewel of Salisbury, through the mediation of Archbishop Parker, whom Bizzarri had certainly known at Cambridge. Moreover, he seems to have re-established his connection with Russell, now earl of Bedford. In February 1564 Bedford was appointed governor of Berwick and took Bizzarri north with him. Consequently, Bizzarri became associated with the court of Mary Stuart, and in the hope of acquiring the patronage of the Scottish queen as well he presented to her a Latin treatise, *De bello et pace*. This is a much more original tract than the one which he presented to Elizabeth. Bizzarri had himself seen and experienced the effects of civil and foreign conflict, both in England and on the continent, and this gives urgency to his discussion of the horrors that result from war. Peace, he argues, should be the highest ambition of any ruler, since peace is Christ's message. War, by contrast, is an affront to God, causing true religion to be neglected and making resistance to the Turks impossible.
For some reason Bizzarri left Scotland almost immediately afterwards, requesting permission from William Cecil on 12 June 1564 to settle on the continent with the continuation of his pension. That summer he left for Venice, but stopped for the autumn in Padua, where he engaged in informal studies. It is also at this time that Bizzarri began his lifelong career as an intelligencer, passing political and diplomatic information to Cecil. Although there is no clear evidence, it is possible that Bizzarri had been used at the Scottish court as an agent, and that it was Cecil who encouraged him to settle in Venice to collect and transmit information at a time when no Venetian ambassador was resident in England. Bizzarri also frequented the literary circles of Venice. He solicited poems in praise of Elizabeth for his first volume, *Varia opuscula*, printed by Aldus in 1565, which not only contained his earlier poems to English courtiers but also included the works dedicated to Elizabeth and Mary Stuart. Also, in 1566 Bizzarri edited and had printed *La santa*, a comedy by his fellow Italian exile in England, Mario Cardoini. This productive period in Venice also included the completion of his *Historia della guerra fatta in Ungheria*, which follows the events of the current Turkish-imperial confrontation in Hungary, written in an almost journalistic style.

[327] Ibid., 34.

Bizzarri, however, fled Venice almost immediately afterwards, and had the book printed at Lyons in 1568, dedicated to Bedford. Perhaps a warning from the Inquisition forced him from Italy, or Cecil may have ordered his return as a result of the flight to England of Mary Stuart, whom Bizzarri had praised and briefly served. From April 1570 until August 1572 Bizzarri was again in England, apparently in the service of Bedford. During his absence from Venice he seems to have arranged for another informer, della Roche, to send reports on European affairs, implying that he managed information for Cecil as well as collecting it. Leaving England again for Venice, Bizzarri travelled by way of Paris and found himself in danger that August during the St Bartholomew's day massacre. He sought refuge with the English ambassador, Sir Francis Walsingham, beginning a lasting association not only with the ambassador but also with Hubert Languet, and through him with Philip Sidney, with whom Bizzarri would engage in correspondence.
Once safely able to flee Paris, Bizzarri travelled to Basel, where he had printed by February 1573 a work prepared in London, his *Cyprium bellum*—Cyprus had just been conquered by the Turks. To this he added a Latin translation of his earlier history of the Hungarian war, now entitled *Pannonicum bellum*, which he dedicated to the Elector August of Saxony, probably on the advice of his new friend, Languet, who was August's representative in Paris. Bizzarri then travelled to Dresden, where the elector honoured him with an annual pension of 100 thalers.
Bizzarri then began to function as an intelligencer for August of Saxony as well, with a first report from Augsburg sent in April 1573. From The Hague on 23 November 1586 he wrote his last letter to Cecil. He must have died soon after, since no further trace of him survives.[328] Bizzarri was the perfect model for Sidney: a student of Philip Melanchthon, a seasoned and successful writer and a fellow intellectual.

Of Bizzarri's letter, Languet's advice is to 'use it without stirring up a hornet's nest and inciting people against us. You may, however, cull some flowers from it to adorn your letter.'[329] This model letter was written by Bizzarri to Jean de Vulcob on 15 October 1573. Its style is elaborate and hyperbolic – containing numerous superlatives, such as 'Illustrissimo & osseruandissimo signore', 'L'amoreuolissima lettera', 'del Clarissimo Signor Girolamo Im Hoff' and 'm'è stata grata infinitamente, et molto la ringratio di cosi gratioso et singular favore.' Sidney at the end of *The Defence* uses 'You shall dwell upon superlatives' as a blessing upon those who respect poetry and write it properly.[330] In *The Defence*, Sidney uses flowers he has culled. For example Bizzarri uses half his letter to focus on 'world news'. Sidney does this in the vast majority of his letters and at length in some. One example of this is what Sidney writes from Venice on 28 May 1574 in connection with the prevailing situation regarding the strategic city of Tunis:

> 'Rugged old Africa's shaken with terrible tremors.' I think it is the Spaniards who hold La Goletta and Tunis. In fact they say they are quite roasting in that heat. The Sultan, though, is said not to be able to mount any large attack this year for lack of oarsmen. Which likewise is widely said about our Queen.[331]

Bizzarri also touches on higher matters, writing of 'our maker and keeper' and on his personal situation with 'I find myself here, by the Lord God's pleasure, here to live out the remainder of life He grants

[328] *ODNB*, Kenneth R. Bartlett, September 2004.
[329] Ibid., 34
[330] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 116.
[331] *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, 232.

me, weary of the great expectations with which Princes' Courts commonly seduce their followers.'[332] Bizzarri uses a charming image when he changes subject:

> I will leave such a high matter and, withdrawing my little bark from such an unplumbed ocean, tell you simply that just as your infinite virtue first moved me to address you and propose myself as your servant, so your vast courtesy and goodness, which you have deigned to show me by means of your letter (a most clear sign of your noble and courteous spirit), puts me more deeply in your debt.'[333]

This is the writing style which Languet advises Sidney that he will need as part of his diplomatic soft power, and he begins to understand that. On 5 December 1573 he writes to Languet that, 'I have thoroughly read the delightful letter of Pietro Bizzarri the Perugian and picked some flowers from it, which I have imitated as I cannot easily better them.'[334]

On 19 December 1573, Sidney writes to Languet of his embarrassment when requesting a copy of Languet's account of the Polish election. He says that he is finally able to ask for this, since 'as Cicero says, a letter does not blush.' ['epistula enim non erubescit'].[335] His later, bold and outspoken writing style in *The Defence* shows how Sidney has followed this model of not blushing in his writing.

One example of a letter from Sidney to Languet which foretells the style of *The Defence* and which follows that of the Bizzarri letter recommended by Languet is that written on 4 June 1574. In reply to Languet's twenty-ninth letter since Sidney's arrival in Italy, Sidney's writing flows with gratitude, affection and feelings, 'what I had conceived to be impossible, that my affection for you, which I thought did not admit of increase, has received a great augmentation in the interval of time and space.'[336] He continues:

> although your former letters gave me such pleasure as I do not believe our merry friend Pietro found in his history of Pannonia, nevertheless, the last are so far superior in this respect that I fancy I have only sipped the former, while I quaff the latter with the draught of a Saxon'.[337]

The sipping and quaffing is a 'flower'. Both the emotion and the sparring come in with:

> I do not like the excessive politeness of that expression "You would not have troubled me about the book, if you had not believed it to be in print". Why, even if I felt only ordinary affection for you, this sort of thing is so little and insignificant, that it really does not merit thanks. But you have deserved so much of me, that I doubt whether I shall ever feel such gratitude as I ought; and as to making return, I shall be utterly unable, unless God grant me more than I dare to hope.'[338]

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[332] *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, 29, n. 5.'Bizzarri's living in Augsburg was spurred in part by his attachment to Melanchthon and his followers'.
[333] Ibid., 27-31.
[334] Ibid., 45.
[335] Ibid., 65. From Cicero's letter to Lucceius (Ad Familiares 5.12).
[336] *The Correspondence of Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet,* ed. William A. Bradley (Boston, 1912), 82.
[337] Ibid., 83.
[338] Ibid., 82.

He continues, 'And therefore use not such elegant speech any more, unless we are to have a new quarrel; and if so, be sure it will be more perilous than the former.'[339] With a far crisper sentence-structure this is fluent, skilled writing which starkly contrasts with, for example, his letter to his uncle the Earl of Leicester (referred to above), dated 23 March 1572/3. That letter is noticeably more formal and less fluent. It contains an apology for some unspecified or presumed offence caused, which would partly explain its approach. In addition, account must be taken of both the change and development that must have happened in Sidney in the two years between the two letters and the obvious difference in Sidney's relationships with Leicester and Languet. However, the twenty-six lines of the letter to Leicester contain just six long, rambling sentences and are full of humility, 'I will most lowlie leave you in his garde', 'Wherefore I have most humblie beseech your Lordshippe that in any of my proceeedinges I have erred, you will vouchsafe to impute it to the not knowing your Lordshippes' and their pleasure, by whose commaundemente I am lykewyse to be directed.'[340] Not only the content but also the writing style is much less confident than the letter of 4 June 1574.

Sidney's letters to Languet become increasingly revealing of himself and his feelings and reactions, as demonstrated in these examples. Due to the arrangement made between them to correspond regularly and Languet's constant reminder to Sidney of it, the letters are numerous and developed. The apologies in his letters to Languet for not being a diligent correspondent become a sparring game between them – on most occasions - although there are two or three times when Languet is genuinely offended, for example on 22 September 1573 when he coldly writes 'I thank you for sending me a letter from Pressburg, a witness of your goodwill to me.' In this case Sidney had hidden from Languet his plan to stay away from Vienna for three weeks instead of three days.[341] In his letter of 19 November 1573, Languet writes 'From what care and worry, from what fear indeed, you would have freed me if once in a while you had written me on your journey' (from Vienna to Italy). He goes on, 'I would rather believe that you had met no one to whom you could give letters for us, than either that you cared too little what you had promised, or that you are already weakening in your affection for me.'[342] Sidney's failure to write to people is a recurring criticism that is not limited to Languet. His replies to others' letters are almost non-existent in this period. There are several possible reasons for this. Firstly, most of the correspondents were moving around Europe regularly and the letters may have been lost, for instance on 6 April 1575, Lobbet writes in an anxious way to Sidney (who has been summoned home due to concerns about the company of English Catholics he enjoyed in Italy) that 'I wrote you my last on 17th of last month, which I addressed to Frankfurt. I hope you received it.' He urges Sidney to 'take the trouble to write me to inform me of your departure and also what is to be done with the young son of Master Thaddeus'.[343]

Secondly, Sidney at least once honestly admitted to Languet (on February 11 1574) that he had not written to Vulcob not due to lack of will, but because 'I have nothing to write'[344] It is probable that some letters were destroyed for the safety of the sender and/or the recipient. Languet writes on 27 November 1573, at the outset of his correspondence with Sidney, that:

[339] Ibid., 83.
[340] *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, I, 14-15.
[341] Ibid., 22-23.
[342] Ibid., 33.
[343] *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, 421.
[344] Ibid., 115.

> I will sometimes sprinkle my letters with some comments on public affairs, although dwelling as you will be in the light of the city of Venice, you will not be ignorant of anything that is done anywhere in the world. I wanted to warn you about some things before you left, but because you stated so definitely that you would come back I decided it would be better to leave it till your return. When I know for sure you have changed your mind I will write it, if I can find someone to whom I can safely entrust my letter.[345]

In Chapter Three the topic of travellers as intelligencers is explored. This could be a connected reason for the disappearance of letters. The theme of security of letters is continued by Languet on 15 January 1574 when he writes to Sidney 'Make sure that the letters I am writing to the Count and to Welsperg are given to them'.[346] The possibility of letters falling into hostile hands is real.

The Defence as a letter

Throughout *The Defence* and in the Preface to *Old Arcadia*, Sidney presents himself as a reluctant, incompetent writer who is self-deprecating about, and embarrassed by, his literary efforts. While this is part of a tradition of mixing such excessive and unjustified modesty with the nonchalant effortlessness of Castiglione's *Courtier*, Sidney achieves such sprezzatura by finding the balance admirably. Castiglione defines sprezzatura as, 'a certain nonchalance, so as to conceal all art and make whatever one does or says appear to be without effort and almost without thought about it.[347] Wayne Rebhorn adds that it shows the courtier's ability to demonstrate 'an easy facility in accomplishing difficult actions which hides the conscious effort that went into them.'[348] Harry Berger, Jr. illuminates irony; this is another element of sprezzatura in which Sidney excels in *The Defence.* Berger describes sprezzatura as 'a form of defensive irony: the ability to disguise what one really feels, thinks and means or intends behind a mask of apparent reticence and nonchalance'.[349] For Kent Lehnof, for instance, this underlying irony may be what makes *The Defence* unconvincing.[350]

As suggested before, *The Defence of Poetry* can be described as a letter (albeit an extended letter), with its first-person writer, its personal anecdotes and the emotion of its valedictory blessing and curse. From the outset it is an interaction between the letter-writer and his correspondent, as if Sidney were writing to Languet. 'When the right virtuous Edward Wotton and I were at the Emperor's Court together', 'If I had not been a piece of a logician before I came to him', and the direct address of 'Wherein, if Pugliano's strong affection and weak arguments will not satisfy you, I will give you a nearer example of myself'.[351] The interactive quality includes questions to the reader. An illustration of this is when enquiring 'why England (the mother of excellent minds) should be grown so hard a stepmother to poets', he asks his correspondent, 'How can I but exclaim, *Musa, mihi causus memora,*

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[345] Ibid., *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, 36-37.
[346] Ibid., *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, 89.
[347] Baldesar, Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*: *The Singleton Translation,* ed. Daniel Javitch, trans. Charles S. Singleton (New York, 2002), 32.
[348] Wayne Rebhorn, *Courtly Performances: Masking and Festivity in Castiglione's Book of the Courtier* (Detroit, 1978), 33.
[349] Harry Berger, Jr., 'Sprezzatura and the Absence of Grace'. In D. Javitch, (ed.) *The Book of the Courtier*: *The Singleton Translation,* 297.
[350] Kent R. Lehnhof, 'Profeminism in Philip Sidney's Apology for Poetrie', 23.
[351] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 81.

quo numine laeso?'[352] Another instance of a probing question to the reader is 'And may not I presume a little farther, to show the reasonableness of this word *vates*, and say that the holy David's Psalms are a divine poem?'[353]

'Musa, mihi causus memora, quo numine laeso' comes from Virgil, *Aeneid* I, 12. It means 'O Muse! The causes and the crimes relate: what goddess was provok'd, and whence her hate?'[354] Sidney's question addresses why the English appear to be so hostile to Poetry - the 'Muse'- in their own language and so resistant to any development and innovation in it. In answer to Sidney's second question, In biblical terms a prophet is one who brings the word of God to mankind. 'Among the Romans a poet was called *vates,* which is as much as a diviner, foreseer, or prophet'.[355] It is, therefore, eminently reasonable to call the holy David's Psalms 'a divine poem'.

It would be legitimate at this stage to ask who the intended recipients of this letter are. It is only at the end that this is fully revealed. There are two intended recipients who are each playfully toyed with. The first is the one who, having read 'this ink-wasting toy of mine' will now 'no more laugh at the name of poets' or no longer 'jest at the reverent title of a rhymer'. His reward is that his 'name shall flourish in the printers' shops'. His soul 'shall be placed with Dante's Beatrix, or Virgil's Anchises'. He shall 'dwell upon superlatives'.[356] The second recipient, on the other hand, is the one who has read the letter but still 'cannot hear the planet-like music of Poetry', who has 'so earth-creeping a mind that it cannot lift itself up to look to the sky of Poetry, or rather, by a certain rustical disdain, will become such a mome to be a Momus of Poetry'. His fate is to 'live in love and never get favour for lacking skill of a sonnet, and, when you die, your memory die from earth for want of an epitaph.[357] This is sparkling wit indeed.

In his letter Sidney offers opinions, value judgements and analysis of fiction, just as he did to Languet about the international situation that pertained when he was on his tours or concerning Italian people. For example, of Chaucer he opines that he, 'Undoubtedly did excellently in his *Troilus and Criseyde*; of whom, truly, I know not whether to marvel more, either that he in that misty time could see so clearly, or that we in this clear age walk so stumblingly after him. Yet had he great wants, fit to be forgiven in so reverent antiquity.'[358] and 'I account the *Mirror of Magistrates* meetly furnished of beautiful parts, and in the Earl of Surrey's lyrics many things tasting of a noble birth, and worthy of a noble mind'.[359]

Sidney's style in *The Defence* ranges from sparring and challenging to reflective and courteous, the range which is seen in his letters to Languet. The challenging comes, for example, with his talk of 'civil war among the muses' and his likening of those who 'inveigh against Poetry' to the hedgehog 'that being received into the den, drave out his host', or, on second thoughts, much worse, 'the vipers

[352] Ibid., 108.
[353] Ibid., 84.
[354] Ibid., 221.
[355] Ibid., 83.
[356] Ibid., 116-117.
[357] Ibid., 117. 'Mome' 'The term may come from the proper noun 'Momus', who is the son of Night in Greek myth and the personification of bad-tempered criticism. It was 'in fairly common use in the sixteenth century', 256, n.6.
[358] Ibid., 110.
[359] Ibid., 110.

that with their birth kill their parents'.[360] This is throwing down the gauntlet in the same way as he does in his defence of the Earl of Leicester, as will be seen later. The reflective side of the letter is demonstrated, for instance, in Sidney's declaration that:

> Nature never set forth the earth in so rich a tapestry as divers poets have done; neither with so pleasant rivers, fruitful trees, sweet-smelling flowers, nor whatsoever else may make the too much loved earth more lovely. The world is brazen, the poets only deliver a golden.[361]

Again, he reflects in:

> For poesy must not be drawn by the ears; it must be gently led, or rather it must lead; which was partly the cause that made the ancient-learned affirm that it was a divine gift and no human skill: since all other knowledges lie ready for any that have strength of wit; a poet no industry can make, if his own genius be not carried unto it; and therefore is it an old proverb, *orator fit, poeta nascitur*.[362]

Amidst the banter and bluster there are moments of reflection and quieter thought. The 'energia' (light and heat) of the letter are tempered with more spiritual, thoughtful shade, such as examples and quotations from Scripture as when Sidney cites, for instance, the story of David and Nathan and illustrations from the Apostle Paul.[363]

On the theme of 'sweet-smelling flowers', which Languet had advised Sidney to collect and use to adorn his writing, *The Defence* is brimming with literary flowers, i.e., references to, and quotations from, other authors ancient and more contemporary. Sidney mentions kings and poets, he invents words and refers to Roman politics. This is all besides his biblical and classical Roman references. Two of the named kings are Robert II of Sicily and King Francis of France.[364] Examples of Sidney's created words are to 'engarland' something and his composite name Bubonax.[365] Sidney's sweet-smelling flowers include his personal anecdotes from the tour. There are his allusions to herbarists and 'generalities' (i.e., genus or classification) from his time in western Hungary on botanical research with the eminent botanist of the day, Charles de l'Ecluse.[366] He recalls that in Hungary he heard 'songs of their ancestors 'valour, which that right soldierlike nation think the chiefest kindlers of brave

[360] Ibid., 82.
[361] Ibid., 85.
[362] Ibid., 109. 'An orator is made, a poet is born.' Van Dorsten, *Miscellaneous Prose*, 205, describes the origin of this post-classical phrase as 'uncertain', but notes that Lodge also uses it in his *Defence*, 10. Gregory Smith writes that 'The proverb does not appear to be classical, in form at least, and has not yet been traced further back than the *Lectiones Antiquae* of Coelius Rhodiginus (1450-1525), *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith (London, 1904), n., 397.
[363] Ibid., 96, 103 (for Nathan and David) and 107 (for St. Paul).
[364] Ibid., 108. See 221, n.32 and 33. Robert, King of Sicily, Robert II of Anjou (1309-43). He was the patron of Petrarch. King Francis was Francis I of France: 'an active and strongly nationalist king, whose military and cultural exploits in Italy brought the Renaissance to France.'
[365] Ibid., 108. 'Engarland', which Maslen describes as 'apparently Sidney's invention' see 220 n. 17 and Ibid., 117 n.8.
[366] Ibid., 114.

courage.'[367] There is a reference to the mountebanks in Venice.[368] These were charlatans; snake-oil salesmen who sold fake 'cures' and whose unenviable reputations were now, according to Sidney, shared by poets in England.[369] In addition, Sidney notes 'the fertileness of the Italian wit' as demonstrated by Pugliano, who used his instructing in horsemanship 'to enrich our minds with the contemplations therein which he thought most precious.'[370]

The Defence, violence and tyranny

Some of Sidney's 'flowers' in *The Defence* are not beautiful. He poses the moral dilemma about History; that it teaches the facts that some virtuous people die horrific, violent deaths, for example the valiant Militades who was left to 'rot in his fetters', 'Phocion and the accomplished Socrates put to death like traitors', 'the excellent Severus miserably murdered' and 'virtuous Cato driven to kill himself.'[371] Meanwhile History also shows brutal tyrants such as Sylla and Marius 'dying in their beds' and rebel Caesar 'so advanced that his name yet, after 1600 years, lasteth in the highest honour'.[372] It is difficult to believe that here Sidney does not have in mind his beloved Ramus who was murdered for his outspoken faith as he prayed during the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre. Poetry, on the other hand, brings moral satisfaction regarding tyrants which 'not content with earthly plagues, deviseth new punishments in hell for tyrants'. Poetry sees 'virtue exalted and vice punished'. That 'commendation' is for Poetry alone, and is far off from History'[373] Poetry receives the 'laurel crown' over both History and Philosophy.[374] One example of this is Phalaris. Phalaris was a Sicilian tyrant of the sixth century B.C. who roasted his victims in a brass bull. The victims' screams were the bellows of the bull. His name became representative of a brutally cruel leader. The legend states that Phalaris was overthrown and then burned in the bull, thus providing an uplifting, morally acceptable example from legend of a tyrant meeting justice.

The murderous tyrant – the Phalaris - who is probably in Sidney's mind is the perpetrator (or perpetrators) of the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre of the weekend of 24-26 August 1572. Robert Stillman describes the massacre as 'the watershed event of late sixteenth-century Europe' which 'hardened confessional divisions and signalled further ideological warfare in which divisions of religious ideas were as significant as divisions of nationality or class'.[375] Diarmid McCulloch writes that, 'It was a mark of the murderous tensions and deep hatreds …that these tragic events were sparked by a wedding in Paris designed to heal the kingdom's wounds' and he emphasizes the internecine

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[367] Ibid., 99.
[368] Ibid., 109.
[369] 'Performers, known as "mountebanks," found particular favour on the Streets of Venice. The term *mountebank*, meaning 'he who jumps on a bench,' was used interchangeably with the term *charlatan*; the connotations of this being a con-artist, a man who hoodwinks people into believing he is educated while knowingly selling them false medicines.' 'A Brief History of Quackery - Quackery and the Supernatural in Variety Performance' -Student Research Projects - Projects - National Fairground and Circus Archive - The University of Sheffield, 2021.
[370] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 81.
[371] Ibid., 94.
[372] Ibid., 94.
[373] Ibid., 93.
[374] Ibid., 94.
[375] Robert Stillman, *Philip Sidney and the Poetics of Renaissance Cosmopolitanism* (Aldershot, 2008), 1.

nature of the massacre. He also suggests that 'In France, …never again did the Reformed communities feel the excitement and self-confidence that had led to such expansion over the previous decade'.[376] Into this maelstrom arrived the seventeen year-old Sidney, 'young and raw' as Leicester had described him to Walsingham.[377] Sidney may well have visited the Huguenot leader Admiral Coligny on his sick bed the day that the second and successfully murderous attack on Coligny was made and he evidently saw Coligny's corpse.[378]

To his experience of the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre, when he sheltered in Walsingham's house, Sidney only refers once directly in his writings and that is in *A Letter to Queen Elizabeth*. At that time there occurred the systematic murder of Huguenots in Paris which it is believed was organised by the French Queen Mother, Catherine de Medicis and her sons, Charles IX and the Duc d'Anjou. A number of eminent Huguenot leaders and many other Huguenot visitors were in Paris for the marriage of Margaret, King Charles IX's sister, to the Protestant Henri IV of Navarre. In Paris alone three thousand people were killed, with another seven thousand massacred across the rest of France.

Christopher Marlowe's drama *The Massacre At Paris* (1593) in the compressed form in which it has survived reflects the rapidity and bloody devastation of the event.[379] It is clear from the first scene that this will be anti-Catholic propaganda and its position is that the massacre was carefully planned by Catherine de Medici. However, it possesses a complexity of several layers, for example Henri III gives his blessing to the succession of the ambivalent Henri Navarre to the French throne before Henri III is killed by a friar. Charles Nicholl notes that Henri Navarre later joined the Catholic church in July 1593 and that in this regard 'Marlowe's covert ironies proved accurate enough'.[380] The piece is written in a sweep with twenty years' hindsight and includes the succession of Henry III as King of Poland which happened a year after the massacre. In their introductory comments to *The Complete Plays* Romany and Lindsey summarise the world in which Marlow created his play.[381] They conclude that the play is at least balanced in the targets of its satire. It is 'virulently anti-Catholic; but although the text in which it survives is too poor to make certain judgements, its satire seems also to cover the anti-Guisard backlash which follows'.[382] Regarding tyrannous brutality, on 12 March 1574, Languet writes to Sidney about the Massacre, 'I am sure that the spirits contaminated by that immense crime you and I witnessed are shaken by Furies, and thrust towards their own and others' doom.[383] They need no other executioner than their own way of life – it will punish them enough.'[384] It was a 'savage and hideous deed.'[385] Here Languet shows considerable restraint and stoicism which might appear to be contradictory, as he does on 24 July 1574 in response to what was evidently a criticism from Sidney

[376] Diarmid McCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490-1700* (London, 2004), 337-9.
[377] Alan Stewart, *Philip Sidney, A Double Life* (London, 2001), 73-4.
[378] Admiral Gaspard de Coligny (1519-1572) was the 'able and respected' leader of the Huguenots. He was a 'sincere convert to Protestantism' and held in high regard by Charles IX. His stated aim of Huguenot policy was 'the establishment of Protestant religion in all of France.' James Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney 1572-1577* (New Haven and London, 1972), 33-34.
[379] Christopher Marlowe, *The Complete Plays,* Ed. Frank Romany and Robert Lindsey, (London, 2003)
[380] Charles Nicholl, *The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe* (London,1992), 170.
[381] Marlow, op. cit., 340. ' For Protestants, Catholicism was a murderous conspiracy to uphold the hegemony of Spain and the Papacy; in Catholic eyes, Protestants were merely seditious heretics. Much of continental Europe was involved in religious wars. Marlow knew this world – he had been in France as well as in Holland.'
[382] Marlow, op. cit., 354.
[383] See Preface.
[384] *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, I, 139.
[385] Ibid, 300.

of Guy du Faur de Pibrac who 'had written a controversial defence of the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre.'[386] Languet explains that:

> The day that the King claimed, in the Parliament of Paris, that the Admiral and his associates had been killed on his order and command, Pibrac made a brilliant speech to him, in which he urged him, almost more freely than those times could bear, to set a limit to the killing and to make an end.[387]

Languet writes 'I think you are a little too hard on Pibrac'. He continues, 'Pibrac has such intelligence, such learning and such eloquence that I do not know if France has his equal. He is the kindest of men'. Developing the narrative, he states that 'This was nearly the end of him: for there were many who thought he should have been done away with. He was forced to ransom his life with that letter for which you so gravely accuse him.'[388] Languet then writes that 'I do not praise him for having done it, for, as the poet says:

> Though Phalaris command you to be dishonest and dictate perjuries by applying the bull, believe this: the soul prefers the greatest evil to shame and to losing for life's sake all reason to live.[389]

Sidney has here his model of Phalaris for *The Defence.* Other illustrations of where the letters and *The Defence* converse are when Sidney writes in *The Defence* that:

> Plutarch yieldeth a noble testimony of the abominable tyrant Alexander Pheraeus from whose eyes a tragedy well made and represented, drew abundance of tears, who without all pity had murdered infinite numbers, and some of his own blood; so as he that was not ashamed to make matters for tragedies, yet could not resist the sweet violence of a tragedy. And if it wrought no further good in him, it was that he, in spite of himself, withdrew himself from hearkening to that which might mollify his hardened heart'.[390]

This vile tyrant who created such tragedy acknowledged the power of Poetry by shunning tragedy as portrayed in Poetry. That is, for Sidney, ample evidence of that power that is more than the power of any tyrant. On 19 December Sidney had written to Languet 'I wish you would send me Plutarch's works in French, if they are to be bought in Vienna; I would gladly give five times their value for them'. In the same letter Sidney asks whether Languet has *Lettere di Principe* and says 'I can easily have them sent to you'. *Lettere di Principe* (published in Venice in 1560) contains the letters of Bembo, Manuzio, Boccaccio, Lorenzo de Medici and others.[391] Petro Bembo (Bembus) and Giovanni

[386] Ibid., I, lv.
[387] Ibid., 300.
[388] Ibid., 300.
[389] Ibid., 300. 'The poet' is Juvenal and the quotation is from the 8th Satire, 81-5.
[390] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 98.
[391] *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet*, ed. Steuart A. Pears M.A. (London, 1845), 9

Boccaccio appear in *The Defence*.[392] There Sidney urges his readers 'to believe, with Bembus, that they [poets] were first bringers-in of all civility.'[393] Among the patrons of 'Sweet Poesy' Sidney counts Such cardinals as Bembus and Bibbiena'.[394] The intertextuality between the letters and *The Defence* continues with Boccacio whom Sidney includes as 'in the first in the Italian language that made it [Poetry] aspire to be a treasure-house of science'[395] From just one letter one can see the close network of references established between Sidney's correspondence with Languet and *The Defence.*

There is also a blueprint from Melanchthon through Languet for reserving judgement on others. Languet says:

> Both by my nature and by my rule of life I find such judgements foreign to me; I know many condemn that in me, and say I got it from my teacher Melanchthon. So far I have had cause to regret neither my teacher nor my rule of life, nor will I be led away from it by those who are more exacting or bitter by nature than I.[396]

Languet, with Philip Duplessis-Mornay, developed ideas about the Christian approach to dealing with tyrants in his treatise *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*: *A Defence of Liberty Against Tyrants, or of the Lawful Power of the Prince Over the People, and of the People Over the Prince* (published in 1579). As Sidney had known both men since 1572 and they were close friends and kindred spirits, it is hard to believe that he had not discussed these concepts with either or both of them. All three had witnessed at first-hand what was seen as the oppression and the horrific tyranny of the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre. Ernest Barker explains why the authorship was intentionally left ambiguous, for reasons of the risk of being identified with the authorship of such a radical text.[397] He writes:

Languet's career naturally culminated in a work such as *Vindiciae*: and *Vindiciae* is worthy of his career. He was a grave, steady, reflective, world experienced man, versed in state papers and political pronouncements, and yet of deep religious conviction and wide religious experience; and *Vindiciae,* which is the outpouring of a full mind, inspired by a passion both for religious and for civil liberty, at once reflects his character and completes his career.'[398]

He analyses the evidence on both sides for Languet or for Duplessis-Mornay being the author, and he concludes that the balance of probability lies with Languet.[399] *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos* poses four questions: 'Whether subjects are bound and ought to obey Princes, if they command that which is against the Law of God', 'Whether it is lawful to resist a Prince whice does infring [sic]the Law of

[392] Petro Bembus (1470-1547) was a priest, humanist and courtier at the courts of the Estes, Montefeltros and Medicis. He wrote a defence of the Tuscan language 'analagous to Sidney's defence of English here.' Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 222, n.33.
[393] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 116.
[394] Ibid.,108.
[395] Ibid., ed. Maslen, 82.
[396] *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, 301.
[397] Ernest Barker, "The Authorship of the Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos." *Cambridge Historical Journal*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1930, pp. 164–81. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3020705. Accessed 11 June 2023, 2.
[398] Ibid., 179-80.
[399] Ibid., 179-80.

God or ruine his Church, by whom, how and how far it is lawful', 'Whether it be lawful to resist a Prince which doth oppress or ruin a Publick State, and how far such resistance may be extended, by whom, how, and by what Right, or Law it is permitted', and 'Whether Neighbour Princes may, or are bound by Law to aid the Subjects of other Princes persecuted for true Religion, or oppressed by manifest Tyranny.'[400] The writer's conclusion to : 'Whether subjects are bound and ought to obey Princes, if they command that which is against the Law of God' is, in its first sentence, telling, and is fundamental to later ideas of religious freedom:

> That in every publicke state there is certain degrees of Duty, for those that converse and live in it, by which may appear wherein the one are obliged to the other. Insomuch that the first part of this Duty belongs to the immortal God, the second concerns the Country, which is their common Mother, the third, those which are of our Blood, the other parts leading us step by step to our other Neighbours. Now although the Crime of High Treason be very heinous, yet according to the Civilians, it always follows after Sacriledge, which properly pertains to the Lord God and his Service, insomuch that they do confidently affirm, that the robbing of a Church, is by their rules esteemed, a greater Crime, than to Conspire against the Life of a Prince.[401]

While Sidney does not directly develop the ideas of tyranny in *The Defence* beyond the examples cited, the subject features in the *Old Arcadia* and *Discourse to the Queene's Majesty*, and it will be explored in Chapter Three. It should neither be forgotten that Sidney's uncle, grandfather and great-grandfather were executed for high treason. The next step is in the form of the second question; 'Whether it is lawful to resist a Prince whice does infring the Law of God or ruine his Church, by whom, how and how far it is lawful'. The *Vindiciae* declares:

> Set then the Estates, and all the Officers of a Kingdom, or the greatest part of them, every one established in authority by the people: know, that if they contain not within his bounds (or at the least, imploy not the utmost of their endeavours thereto) a King that seeks to corrupt the Law of God, or hinders the reestablishment thereof, that they offend grievously against the Lord, with whom they have contracted Covenants upon those conditions: Those of a Town, or not of a Province, making a portion of a kingdom, let not impiety them know also, that they draw upon themselves the judgement of God, If they drive not impiety out of their Walls and Confins, if the King seek to bring it in, or if they be wanting to preserve by all means, the pure Doctrin of the Gospel, although for the defence thereof, they suffer for a time banishment, or any other misery.[402]

Regarding the third point of 'Whether it be lawful to resist a Prince which doth oppress or ruin a Publick State', *Vindiciae* clearly states:

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[400] *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*: *A Defence of Liberty Against Tyrants* (London, 1689), Title page.
[401] Ibid., 23.
[402] Ibid., 56.

> Particular and private persons may not unsheathe the sword against Tyrants by practise, because they were not establisht by particulars, but by the whole body of the People. But for Tyrants which without Title intrude themselves for so much as there is no contract or agreement between them and the People, it is indifferently permitted all to oppose and depose them; and in this rank of Tyrants may those be rang'd, who abusing the sloath of a lawful Prince, Tyrannously insult over his subjects.[403]

Finally, in answer to the fourth question - Whether Neighbour Princes may, or are bound by Law to aid the Subjects of other Princes persecuted for true Religion, or oppressed by manifest Tyranny – the writer of *Vindiciae* (be he Sidney's close friend Hubert Languet, or his other close friend Philip Duplessis-Mornay) states:

> As there hath ever been Tyrants disprest here and there, so also all Histories testify that there have been neighbouring Princes to oppose tyranny, and maintain the People in their right . The Princes of these times by imitating so worthie Examples should suppress the tyrants both of Bodies and Souls, and restrain the Oppressors both of the Common-wealth, and of the Church of Christ: otherwise they themselves may most deservedly be branded with that Infamous Title of Tyrant.[404]

The treatise concludes at the highest level of human accountability and duty thus:

> Piety commands that the Law and Church of God be maintain'd : Justice requires that Tyrants and Destroyers of the Common-wealth, be compell'd to reason: Charity challenges the right of relieving and restoring the oppressed. Those that make no account of these things, do as much as in them lies to drive Piety, Justice, and Charity out of this World, that they may never more be heard of.[405]

Vindiciae is clearly connected with the experience that Sidney, Languet and Duplessis-Mornay shared in Paris in August 1572. One might legitimately ask why Sidney left these ideas about tyrants and tyranny so undeveloped in *The Defence*. Anna Fore Waymack (in 'Paradoxes, Pibrac and Phalaris: Reading Beyond Sidney's Silence on the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre') has examined Sidney's own subsequent deafening public silence concerning the events of late August 1572 in Paris.[406] He is unwilling and or unable to refer in writing to them and to those he holds responsible for them.[407] Waymack's conclusion is feasible, that, with the massacre, Sidney faces a 'Catch 22' or 'conundrum' that he may not have resolved: whether poetry, "overthwart" can nonetheless resist the very tyrants provoking and transforming it' [408] In other words, the question is whether, with the examples he gives of tyrants who do not bear the consequences of their actions, Sidney has to doubt Poetry's efficacy in

[403] Ibid., 150.
[404] Ibid., 164.
[405] Ibid., 164.
[406]Anna Waymack, 'Paradoxes, Pibrac and Phalaris: Reading Beyond Sidney's Silence on the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre', *Sidney Journal* 36 (2018), 29-49.
[407] Anna Waymack, 'Paradoxes, Pibrac and Phalaris', 48-49.
[408] Ibid., 49.

countering tyrants and tyranny because it fans the flames of Phalaris's bronze bull and thereby perpetuates tyranny's cruelty, thus negating his theory in *The Defence* that Poetry (unlike History or Philosophy) presents the world not as it is, but as it should be, providing the unique reflection of justice and a model of morality. The support in favour of Waymack's thesis is that Sidney's silence may be an understandable personal wish to block the event from his memory. Secondly, as Waymack says, with his family background of three generations of Dudleys having been executed for treason he would have a specific awareness of tyranny. This is related in Chapter One. Then, Sidney's silence, she suggests, is possibly a form of protest, i.e. his refusal to fan the flames of Phalaris by even referring to the massacre that was committed by a contemporary Phalaris. There is also, finally, the potential part played by Sidney's temperament as it was discussed in the Introduction. However, it should not be forgotten that, in addition to the direct reference to the tyrannous massacre in the letter to Languet whose reply is quoted above, Sidney mentions tyranny directly in his *A Letter written by Sir Philip Sidney to Queen Elizabeth touching her marriage with Monsieur*.[409] He refers to it indirectly in *Lamon's Tale* in the form of Phalaris as the tyrant Love.[410] This is repeated in *Astrophil and Stella*.[411] The memory of tyranny and of the massacre is clearly one that Sidney wishes to use, but his reaction to it is, as Waymack describes it, 'elusive and complex'.

The Defence and Philip Melanchthon

Sidney's tours are seen in the conversations and intertextuality - the golden thread of ideas - between Sidney's tours and *The Defence;* ideas which began with Philip Melanchthon, the reformer and colleague of Martin Luther.[412] Melanchthon had been dead for twelve years before Sidney started his tours. However, he lived on for Sidney through his pupil (and Sidney's mentor on the tours) Hubert Languet. Traces of the content of Melanchthon*'s Orations* (given throughout the 1530s and 1540s) can be seen in Sidney's theories of art, language and history. Melanchthon's philosophy of education and learning is sewn through Sidney's piece. Illustrations of the discussions between Melanchthon's *Orations* and *The Defence* range from those about knowledge of languages, disapproval of sophistry and having knowledge which will be useful to one's state.[413] From Melanchthon, also through Languet, Sidney takes a thread of being careful in his selection of topics for study on his tour that will be useful in the future service of his country.

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[409] Philip Sidney, *Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and Jan Van Dorsten (Oxford, 1973), 48.

[410] Sir Philip Sidney, The Major Works including Astrophil and Stella, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford, 2008), 142.

[411] See *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler Jr. (Oxford, 1962), for example, 185, 187 and 188.

[412] See the Introduction for a brief biographical profile of Philip Melanchthon.

[413] The OED tracks the usage of the word 'sophistry' thus: 1340–Sophistry, n. Specious but fallacious reasoning; employment of arguments which are intentionally deceptive.
An instance of this; a sophism.
a1400–Sophistry, n. The use or practice of specious reasoning as an art or dialectic exercise.
c1385–1657 sophistry, n. sophistry, n. Cunning, trickery, craft. Obsolete.
1563 The type of learning characteristic of the ancient Sophists; the profession of a Sophist. sophistry, v.t.
1563 To maintain or argue sophistically. The meaning was always negative, implying the intent to deceive.
.

Languet passes down Melanchthon's view that nothing should be studied that is superfluous (as Languet sees it) in national and international contexts. This question had been addressed in Melanchthon's *On the order of learning* where he explains at the graduation of Masters' students in Wittenberg in 1531:

> For the thoughts of all of them (your teachers) are conveyed to you by my voice; as they want the best plan for you, they do not desist from urging you in this place to cherish those studies which they judge becoming and useful to you in private, as well as necessary for the upkeep of the state.[414]

He continues by expressing his belief in the correct order of learning and the need 'not to neglect the study of the lower arts, which, even though they have little outward appeal for the crowds, pave the way for knowing the higher arts, which sustain the administration of the state'.[415]As with the experience and delight of travel, learning is not solely for the benefit of the individual and their future, but is also to contribute to the national common good. Gathering learning and knowledge is as much a matter of national responsibility as gathering information about other countries and their people when travelling.

The tours, *the Defence* and the study of foreign languages

Fundamental to this being of service abroad to one's country was to be a competent user of other languages in their spoken form and in their paralinguistic features (body language, gestures, etc.).[416] Melanchthon ranks the knowledge of languages just below the study of religion as being of 'beneficial to theologians' as well as 'of surpassing usefulness to the other arts'. Both concern everyone.[417] Languet advises Sidney on this subject in his letter of 22 January 1574 when he writes: 'You already know four languages. If by playing around with German you learn enough to understand it more or less I think that would be worthwhile.'[418] Sidney's response to the idea is to express his distaste for the 'harsh' sound of the language, to agree to compromise by speaking German sometimes with 'our friend' Delius and to omit it from the list in *The Defence* of vernacular languages that are suitable for poetry.[419]

It is wise now to reflect on English people and their learning of other modern European languages. Henry and Philip Sidney were skilled linguists. It was 'thanks to his prowess in continental languages' that Henry met the young Spanish King Philip II.[420] When Philip was at Shrewsbury School there were 'signs of Sir Henry's influence. Philip continued to keep up his French'. For instance there was the purchase of a French grammar in September 1566.[421] Roger Howell quotes Sidney's travelling

[414] Melanchthon, *Orations*, 3.
[415] Ibid., 3.
[416] See Chapter One for the section on intelligencing.
[417] Melanchthon, *Orations*, 32.
[418] *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, 2 vols (Oxford, 2012), I, 96.
[419] *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, 2 vols (Oxford, 2012), I 106.
[420] Alan Stewart, *Philip Sidney, A Double Life* (London, 2001), 14.
[421] Alan Stewart, *Philip Sidney, A Double Life* (London, 2001), 46.

companion Ludovico Bryskett on this matter. In his *A Discourse of Civill Life* (1606) Bryskett notes that at the time of his stay in Paris in 1572 Sidney was:

> so admired by the graver set of courtiers that when they could at any time have him in their company and conversation, they would be very joyful, and no less delighted with his ready and witty answers than astonished to hear him speak the French language so well and aptly having been so short a while in the country.[422]

On 5 February 1574 Languet wrote to Sidney ' I have watched you closely when you speak our language [i.e. French] and I have hardly caught you mispronouncing even one syllable.'[423] Both these observations indicate the high level of Sidney's French-speaking skills.

John Gallagher explains that 'English in the early modern was the little-known and little-regarded language of a small island out on the edge of Europe'.[424] Gallagher quotes John Florio (the Anglo Italian author, teacher, translator and lexicographer 1552-1625) who wrote in 1578 of English that it was 'a language that wyl do you good in England , but passe Dover, it is worth nothing'.[425] Gallagher continues that 'As speakers of a practically unknown (and wholly unprestigious) vernacular, the English abroad had to become language learners'[426] This is key background to Sidney's apparently genuine wish to improve his Italian and French, the common purpose (the study of languages) that was routinely given on passports for travel and to Sidney's promotion of this 'little-known and little-regarded language' as a literary medium. In this light Sidney demonstrates and employs his skill, his knowledge and the concept of the prime role of languages in the art of Poetry in *An Apology*. He proposes that the English language is 'fit' for both types of versifying that he recognises, ancient and modern. He is technically correct in what he says regarding our unusually stress-timed language with its rare system of both syllabic and sentence stress:

> Truly the English, before any other vulgar language I know, is fit for both sorts: for the ancient, the Italian is so full of vowels that it must be ever cumbered with elisions; the Dutch so, of the other side, with consonants, that they cannot yield the sweet sliding fit for a verse; the French in his whole language hath not one word that hath his accent in the last syllable saving two, called *antepenultimae;* and little more hath the Spanish, and therefore very gracelessly may they use dactyls. The English is subject to none of these defects. Now for the rhyme, though we do not observe quantity, yet we observe the accent very precisely, which other languages either cannot do, or will not do absolutely. That *caesura*, or breathing space in the midst of the verse, neither Italian nor Spanish have, the French and we almost fail of. Lastly, even the very rhyme itself the Italian cannot put in the last syllable, by the French named the masculine rhyme, but still in the

[422] Roger Howell, *Sir Philip Sidney The Shepherd Knight (*Little, Brown, Boston*,* 1968)*,*140.
[423] *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, 111.
[424] John Gallagher, Learning Languages in Early Modern England (Oxford, 2019), 1.
[425] Ibid., 1.
[426] Ibid., 1.

> next to last, which the French call the female, or the next before that, which the Italians term *sdrucciola*.[427]

Sidney does not give examples of *antepenultimae*, but it is a common syllabic pattern in longer English words, e.g., '**sy**llable' '**grace**lessly,' '**con**sonants,' 'con**ser**vative', co**in**cidence and 'lab**or**ious'. In three-syllable words a *Dactyl* is a stressed syllable followed by two unstressed ones, as in '**sy**llable'. '*Sdrucciola*', or 'slippery' rhymes, are those 'in which there are several unstressed syllables after the last stressed syllable.'[428] Sidney's example of it is 'motion, potion' (which in Sidney's time each had three syllables, thus 'mo-ti-on and po-ti-on).[429] A *Caesura*, Maslen explains, is Sidney's adaptation for English of a classical technique for the division of a foot, especially in the middle of a line – the breathing space or natural pause in a long line in English.[430] Maslen cites Puttenham's precision that the pause should come strictly after the fourth syllable.[431] Examples of successful *Caesura* come from lines of Sidney's own work are in the first stanza of his metrical version of Psalm XXII:

> My God my God || why hast Thou me || forsaken?
> Woe me, from me || why is Thy presence taken?
> So farr from seeing || myne unhealthful eyes,
> So farr from hearing || to my roaring cries.[432]

The Caesura increases the dramatic effect and ensures the emphasis of key words with the pause before them, e.g., before 'Why,' and after them, e.g., 'me.' In the paragraph quoted above from the *Defence*, Sidney has explored both where the technical features of other vernaculars are also contained in English and where they could be adapted to use the English language in verse. If he had not left English shores and stayed in international cities like Frankfurt, Padua, Prague and Vienna on his tours, it is unlikely that Sidney would have gained the linguistic confidence and competence to perform such analysis.

The Defence, Melanchthon, parables and fables

Turning now from the English language of Poetry to its use of fables and parables. Since Melanchthon and Sidney devote significant attention to fables and parables as both moral lessons and legitimate literary forms, it is right to approach them from both these perspectives. They are also speaking pictures which Sidney believes make poetry so memorable as compared with Philosophy and History, 'Poesy therefore is an art of imitation, for so Aristotle termeth it in his word mimesis, that is to say, a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth – to speak metaphorically, a speaking picture – with this end, to teach and delight.'[433] The Oxford English Dictionary defines a parable as a 'narrative of imagined events used to typify moral or spiritual relations' (from the Latin 'parabola' meaning

[427] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Maslen, 115-116.
[428] Ibid., 252-3.
[429] Ibid., 253.
[430] Ibid., 252.
[431] George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poetrie*, eds. Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker (Cambridge, 1936), 75.
[432] *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler Jr. (Oxford, 1962), 298.
[433] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Maslen, 86.

'placing alongside', 'comparison'). The parables of Christ are that; they are extended similes or small allegories (sweet-smelling flowers).

Concerning fables and parables, in *On Fables* Melanchthon writes that they entice children's – and adults' - attention as if with sugar and that is how the truth is made agreeable:

> Thereafter both the words and the meanings of the arguments which we heard with wonder remain rooted more deeply, and, so to speak, leave spines behind in the mind by which we are inflamed with a concern to investigate these things which are taught to us by the novel device.[434]

And that:

> Just as those who want to be loved by children must attract them with sugar and similar things, so the truth needs to be made agreeable with some allurements, and needs to be introduced into uncultivated minds.[435]

Melanchthon's observation and conclusion regarding what he calls 'fables' appears in his 1526 oration *On Fables* is that:

> There are so many fables in the Holy Scriptures that it is sufficiently clear that the Heavenly God himself considered this kind of speech most powerful for bending the minds of men. I ask you what greater praise can fall to fables than that the Heavenly God also approves of them?[436]

For *The Defence* Sidney selects the examples of Christ's parables of Dives and Lazarus and 'that heavenly discourse of the lost child and the gracious father.'[437] The first 'could as well have given the moral commonplaces of uncharitableness and humbleness' and the second addresses the spiritual sin of disobedience and the mercy of God.[438] For Sidney the parable of Dives and Lazarus- with 'Dives burning in hell and Lazarus being in Abraham's bosom – 'would more constantly (as it were) inhabit both the memory and judgement.' Sidney also sees 'before mine eyes the lost child's prodigality, turned to envy a swine's dinner: which by the learned divines are thought not historical acts, but instructing parables.'[439]

In *The Defence* Sidney echoes Melanchthon's thought that Poetry (including parables and fables) makes messages of morality palatable and memorable, 'even as the child is often brought to take the most wholesome things by hiding them in such other as have a pleasant taste'.[440] Sidney continues

[434] Melanchthon, *Orations*, 56.
[435] Ibid., 55.
[436] Melanchthon, *Orations*, 58.
[437] The parable of Dives and Lazarus appears in Luke 16:19-31 and that of the Prodigal Son is found in Luke 15: 11-32.
[438] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 95.
[439] Ibid., 91.
[440] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 95.

this idea when he writes that Poetry also makes moral messages sweet and memorable not only for children but also for adults:

> So it is in men (most of which are childish in the best things, till they be cradled in their graves): glad they will be to hear the tales of Hercules, Achilles, Cyrus and Aeneas; and, hearing them, must needs hear the right description of wisdom, valour, justice; which, if they had been barely, that is to say philosophically, set out, they would swear they be brought to school again.[441]

That is to say that Sidney believes that it is Poetry and not Philosophy that guides moral rightness and development throughout a person's life. Thus, in addition to the examples already given of intertextuality between Melanchthon and Sidney regarding literature in the form of biblical parables, there are the uplifting exempla from the fables of Homer and Aesop. *The Oxford Dictionary's* definition of a fable (from the Latin 'fabula', a discourse), however, is different from that of 'parable'. It is 'a short story, especially with animals as characters, conveying a moral'. There is an example of an image, though, that straddles the function and identity of both New Testament parable and secular fable.

For culling his flowers, Sidney includes the Old Testament example of the prophet Nathan whose story about the rich man, the poor man and the lamb speaks truth to power in the form of King David, and brings the latter to repentance for his sins of adultery and murder. The story of King David and Nathan the Prophet is found in 2 Samuel 12: 1-13. King David had stayed at home when his men were in battle and had committed adultery with Bathsheba the wife of Uriah - his most faithful soldier. Bathsheba became pregnant by David who then gave explicit instructions that Uriah should be abandoned on the front line to be killed. God inspired Nathan the prophet to visit David and challenge him with the story of a rich and a poor man. The rich man needed to prepare a meal for his visitor. Instead of taking one of his own animals, he took a lamb belonging to the poor man, a lamb that had lived as a beloved member of his family. On hearing this story:

> David burned with anger against the man and said to Nathan, 'As surely as the Lord lives, the man who did this must die! He must pay for that lamb four times over, because he did such a thing and had no pity.' Then Nathan said to David, 'You are the man.'

For Sidney, Nathan's parable is the micro-model which he says made King David see his wickedness and repent.[442] The first two stanzas of the Countess of Pembroke's metrical Psalm 51 of David (as she continued and completed her brother Philip Sidney's work of versifying the Psalms) testify to David's penitence and his wish to be cleansed of his sin:

> And wipe O Lord, my sins from sinful me,
> O cleanse, O wash my foul iniquity:
> Cleanse still my spots, still wash away my stainings,

[441] Ibid., 95.
[442] Ibid., 96.

> Till stains and spots in me leave no remainings.[443]

The heading to Psalm 51 in the Myles Coverdale Bible directly connects this psalm with David's confession of these sins, as does the Geneva Bible. The Coverdale Bible says: 'David prayeth for remission of sins, whereof he maketh a deep confession' and the Geneva Bible calls this: 'A Psalm of David, when Nathan the prophet *TO reprove him, because he had committed horrible sins, and lain in the same without repentance more than a whole year*. came to him, after he had gone in to Bathsheba.

The Coverdale original of the Mary Sidney extract in her versified translation is:

> Have mercy upon me (o God) after thy goodness, and accordinge unto thy greate mercies, do awaye myne offences. Wash me well fro my wickednesse, and clense me fro my synne.[444]

The equivalent original text in the Geneva Bible [including 'the marginal notes of the Reformers'] is:

> Have mercy upon me, O God, [As his sins were so many and so great, so he requires that God would give him the feeling of his excellent and abundant mercies] according to thy lovingkindness: according unto the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions. Wash me [my sins strike so fast in me, that I have need of some singular kind of washing.] thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin.[445]

Nathan's parable of the rich man, the poor man and the lamb and Psalm 51 are significant in the Defence in two respects. Firstly Sidney employs them as examples of the effectiveness of Poetry being used to point someone towards repentance and righteousness. The poetry of the parable made David … as in a glass to see his own filthiness.' While the discourse itself was 'feigned', its application was 'most divinely true.'[446] Secondly, Nathan, as a poet-prophet, 'though he recount things not true, yet because he telleth them not for true, he lieth not.'[447] This is crucial to his argument that poets do not lie, as they never claim that their art is true.[448]

Moreover, in the New Testament, Christ also uses parables (fiction) for the teaching of His Gospel. He also uses them to expose hypocrisy on the part of those in religious power who fail to see their own imperfections while they highlight those of others and burden them with laws that are impossible for any human to keep. This, for Sidney, is proof that poetry comes from and leads to God:

> Certainly, even our Saviour Christ could as well have given the moral commonplaces of uncharitableness and humbleness as the divine narration of Dives and Lazarus; or of disobedience and mercy, as that heavenly discourse of the lost child and the gracious father.

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[443] Mary Sidney (and Philip Sidney), *The Sidney Psalms*, ed. R.E. Pritchard (Carcarnet, Manchester, 1992), 48.
[444] *Myles Coverdale Bible* (2012 First Gospel edition), Psalm 51, verses 1-2.
[445] *Geneva Bible* (1587 edition), Psalm 51, verses 1-2.
[446] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Maslen, 96.
[447] Ibid., 103.
[448] Ibid., 103.

St. Matthew explains this as Christ's deliberate use of the parable form in Scripture:

> Jesus spoke all these things to the crowd in parables. He did not say anything to them without using a parable. Thus was fulfilled what was spoken through the prophet, "I will open my mouth in parables, I will utter things hidden since the creation of the world."[449]

Christ's poetry (his unique parables), just as the prophet Isaiah prophesied, reveals God's hidden truth for the first time since creation. Christ is what Sidney calls a vates, namely a poet who is 'a diviner, foreseer or prophet.'[450] His poetry brings the word and teaching of God to mankind. Melanchthon's observation and conclusion regarding Christ's parables, or what he calls 'fables', appears in his 1526 oration *On Fables* is that:

> There are so many fables in the Holy Scriptures that it is sufficiently clear that the Heavenly God himself considered this kind of speech most powerful for bending the minds of men. I ask you what greater praise can fall to fables than that the Heavenly God also approves of them?[451]

Sidney writes of divine poetry that it is the excellent teacher of virtue:

> By these, therefore, examples and reasons, I think it may be manifest that the poet, with that same hand of delight, doth draw the mind more effectually than any other art doth. And so, a conclusion not unfitly ensueth: that, as virtue is the most excellent resting place for all worldly learning to make his end of, so Poetry, being the most familiar to teach it, and most princely to move towards it, in the most excellent work is the most excellent workman.[452]

His conclusion in *The Defence* is that Poetry, in the form of parables and fables, is acceptable to God, who uses it from the mouth of His prophets such as Nathan and His ultimate prophet and own son Jesus Christ for the guidance of a person back to virtue. God sees Poetry as a legitimate means of spiritual and moral teaching.

In *On Fables* Melanchthon writes that they entice children's – and adults' - attention as if with sugar and that is how the truth is made agreeable:

> Thereafter both the words and the meanings of the arguments which we heard with wonder remain rooted more deeply, and, so to speak, leave spines behind in the mind by which we are

[449] Matthew 13:34-5. Matthew here is quoting Psalm 78:2.
[450] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Maslen, 83.
[451] Melanchthon, *Orations*, 58.
[452] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 96.

> inflamed with a concern to investigate these things which are taught to us by the novel device.[453]

And that:

> Just as those who want to be loved by children must attract them with sugar and similar things, so the truth needs to be made agreeable with some allurements, and needs to be introduced into uncultivated minds.[454]

Sidney in *The Defence* echoes Melanchthon's thought that Poetry (including parables and fables) make messages of morality palatable and memorable, 'even as the child is often brought to take the most wholesome things by hiding them in such other as have a pleasant taste'.[455] Melanchthon chides thinkers (such as the Epicureans) who distort and pervert previous teachings. This links with the reverence for, and faithfulness to, the Gospel of Christ and its ordered, truthful holiness for which Melanchthon, Sidney and the Reformation movement in Northern Europe stood. In 1540 Melanchthon wrote of God:

> Since he has ordered: 'Thou shalt not bear false witness' [Matthew 19:18], He will also severely punish sophistry by which the arts are thrown into disorder, a matter from which great calamity for morals follows. These games and tricks of sophisms give me no pleasure, and I do not wish to be a 'lover of horses' as much as a 'lover of truth.'[456]

Sidney responds to this with a loud 'Hear, hear!' when he castigates 'versifiers,' 'prose-printers' 'and (which is to be marvelled) among many scholars, and (which is to be pitied) among some preachers.' He charges them with such sophistry that 'Truly they have made me think of the sophister that with too much subtlety would prove two eggs three, and though he might be counted a sophister, had none for his labour.'[457] The sophist would attempt to trick the unlearned person by telling him that 'two eggs were thre, because that there is one, and there be twayne, and one and twayne make three.' The origin of the egg fallacy is explained by Maslen who sources it back not only to Thomas More's *Confutation of Tyndale's Answer* (1532 and 1533) but to other schoolboy stories.[458] 'Sophistry' is often defined with the word 'clever', which indicates a touch of admiration. For Sidney, though, such playing with eloquence and 'far-fetched words' is not only ludicrous but morally wrong, as it can become the sin of bearing false witness. A highly ornate style – with excessive use of repetition, assonance or simile, for example - should not override the paramount need for a written or spoken text to be persuasive. This should be set against the sixteenth century backdrop of scepticism about any slavish devotion to the complex style of the giant orator Cicero. Such scepticism is presented and

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[453] Ibid., 56.
[454] Ibid, 55.
[455] Ibid., 91.
[456] Melanchthon, *Orations*, 151. Here is Philip Melanchthon playing on his own name (which means 'lover of horses') as Philip Sidney later plays on his name within his Pugliano anecdote in *An Apology,* 'I think he could have persuaded me to have wished myself a horse.' Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Maslen, 81.
[457] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Maslen, 113-114.
[458] Ibid., 245-6.

lampooned in Erasmus's *Ciceronianus.* In it, to the amused exasperation of Bulephorus and Hypologus, the brainwashed Ciceronian Nosoponus declares:

> There is no exception. A Ciceronian he will not be in whose books there is found a single little word which he cannot show in the writing of Cicero: and a man's whole vocabulary I deem spurious just like a counterfeit coin if there is in it even a single word which has not the stamp of the Ciceronian die.[459]

The discourse continues until Bulephorus (representing Erasmus) uses the analogies from nature of bees who gather their pollen from different plants to give their honey a variety of tastes and she-goats who eat diverse types of leaves which results in diverse flavours of milk. By the end of the conversation when Hypologus says that he has been cured of the Ciceronian disease, Nosoponus can say 'And I too, except that I still feel some remnants of that long familiar illness'. Hypologus reassures Nosoponus that those remnants will disappear, but, if necessary the physician reason can be called on to help.[460] In respect both of sophistry and excessive eloquence, Sidney allies himself firmly with Melanchthon and Erasmus, as his example of the three eggs demonstrates. In his edition of *Ciceronianus* Paul Monroe sums it up thus, 'to Erasmus style was subordinate to the ends to be accomplished; to the Ciceronian, style was the ultimate goal'.[461] Monroe highlights Erasmus's concern about the spiritual wrongness of such 'misplaced devotion' to Cicero and this tendency of the Renaissance to turn back towards paganism.[462]

[459] Erasmus, *Ciceronianius; or A Dialogue on the best way of Speaking*, Scott, Izora, Monroe, Paul (New York, 1908), 19.
[460] Ibid., 106.
[461] Ibid., 5.
[462] Ibid., 4.

The Defence and Petrus Ramus

From the tours, the third powerful influence on Sidney and on *The Defence* was Petrus Ramus (Pierre de La Ramée: 1515-72).[463] Maslen describes Sidney's 'lifelong interest in the work of the Protestant logician Peter Ramus', and Sidney describes himself at the outset of *The Defence* as 'a piece of a logician' – a Ramusian logician.[464] Sidney knew Ramus for around two months in Paris before the latter's murder in the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre. Ramus's influence on the young Sidney is evident from an observation by Ramus's biographer Théophile De Banos that Philip 'not only loved Ramus as a father when alive, but esteemed and reverenced him after death'.[465] In his *The Logike* Ramus describes three 'documents or rules keept, which in deede ought to be observed in all artes and sciences.[466] These rules of logic pertain to focus, truth and the difference between general and specific rules. Within the first is that 'we gather only together that which doth apartaine to the Arte which we intreate of, leaving to all other Artes that which is proper to them'.[467] While *The Defence* refers to many other arts, it is on Poetry that it is focused. The concentration is on Poetry's history, its techniques and its whole value to mankind, from the skill of the fore-conceit to linguistic details to its unique ability to guide mankind to virtue by appealing to its highest 'wit'. In *The Defence* Sidney addresses History and Philosophy, but while he never suggests that these arts do not have their use or should not be studied, he concentrates on why Poetry makes a unique and superior contribution to human civilisation by comparing the creative breath of poetry with God's creative and regenerative breath – bringing beauty into being:

> Neither let it be deemed too saucy a comparison to balance the highest point of man's wit with the efficacy of nature; but rather give right honour to the heavenly Maker of that maker, who having made man to His own likeness, set him beyond and over all the works of that second nature: which in nothing he showeth so much as in Poetry, when with the force of a divine breath he bringeth things forth far surpassing her doings, with no small argument to the incredulous of that first accursed fall of Adam: since our erected wit maketh us know what perfection is, and yet our infected will keepeth us from reaching unto it.[468]

The second of Ramus's 'documentes' is that 'all the rules and preceptes of thine arte be of necessitie true'. It continues, 'thou shalt violate this document, whensoever amongst thy preceptes in writing or teaching thou shalt mingle any false, ambiguous or uncertaine thing. This happens when 'thou shouldst begin to tell me some trickes of poysonable sophistry'. Sidney has learned from Ramus in his writing of *The Defence*, as was seen earlier, regarding sophistry and manipulating the truth.

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[463] See the Preface for a brief biographical profile of Petrus Ramus.
[464] Ibid., 121 n.19 and 81.
[465] John Buxton, *Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance* (London, 1954), 46.
[466] P. Ramus, *The Logike of the Most Excellent Philosopher P. Ramus Martyr Newly Translated, and in Divers Places Corrected, After the Minde of the Author [*1581*]* (London, 1581), 8-10.
[467] Ibid., 8.
[468] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Maslen, 85-6.

> Ramus's final rule is 'that thou intreate of thy rules, which be generall generally, and those which be speciall specially, and at one time, without any vaine repetitions, which doth nothing but fill up the paper. In *The Defence*, Sidney carefully follows this rule of addressing the general and the specific separately. For example, his detailed, specific section about versification and the suitability of various European languages for Poetry is a self-contained unit, as is his division of poetry into its different types. His writing also moves out from the specific to the general, for example the whole work moves outwards from the anecdote about Pugliano.[469] He also uses his own specific feeling, 'my burden is great' to launch his section about Plato.[470]

The Defence shows the literary and intellectual effect on Sidney of his encounters on his travels with Languet, Ramus and the works and spirit of Melanchthon. It would be legitimate to argue that Sidney did not need to travel around Europe to encounter these influences, that he could have stayed and read about them in the well-established library in his home at Penshurst Place in Kent. However, the counter-argument would be that first-hand meetings, for example with Ramus (or, in Melanchthon's case, a meeting with his disciple Languet) are more powerful and precious.

Without the tours *The Defence* would be considerably the poorer, as would Sidney's versified and epistolary writings. The thesis will continue this close reflection of the tours in his other works, for example through Sidney's extensive book-buying in Italy, the influences of Pietro Bizzarri (1525–1586), Giordano Bruno (1548-1600) and his experience of the Habsburg Empire. This will answer its research question as to how far Sidney's European tours of 1572-5 provided him with a legacy of ideas and writing techniques for his later works, as has been demonstrated in *The Defence*. Chapter Three will take the Northern Tour (Frankfurt, Vienna and Prague) and view Sidney's works through the prism of the Holy Roman Empire.

[469] Ibid., 81.
[470] Ibid., 106-107.

Chapter Three

> My dearest Languet, in one of whose conversations I would certainly take much more pleasure than in all these magnificents magnificoes' magnificences.[471]

For the university year 1573-4 Sidney was in Venice and Padua. This chapter will outline the English prejudices that faced young Englishmen who came home after travelling in Italy (as exemplified in the writing of Roger Ascham), and will briefly describe Sidney's time there. Next it will analyse Sidney's ambivalent view of Catholicism (including the duty of intelligencing). It will then explore Sidney's prolific book-buying in Venice and show how that expanded on the reading that had been available to him in his library at home in Penshurst Place before his travels. It will follow the influence of his Italian sojourn on the development of Sidney's *Old Arcadia,* The *Defence of Poetry* and his sonnet sequence *Astrophil and Stella* and how Sidney's works are a product of both intertextuality and *imitatio* resulting from his wider reading. The chapter will address the question of how the Italian friar and mystic Giordano Bruno and his ideas were also significant in those works.

Roger Ascham (1514/15–1568) was an author and royal tutor to Princess Elizabeth (later Queen Elizabeth I), Prince Edward (later Edward VI) and possibly Lady Jane Grey (the wife of Sidney's uncle Guildford Dudley and installed as queen by her father-in-law (Sidney's grandfather) John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland) [472] As tutor to Princess Elizabeth he:

> contrived a classical and Christian curriculum for the princess that was designed to - equip her for a leading role in the state. In the morning they studied Greek (the *New Testament* as well as classical authors such as Sophocles, Isocrates, and Demosthenes), and in the afternoon Cicero and Livy and the early fathers such as St Cyprian. With her he pioneered his method of teaching languages by double translation, which he was to make famous in *The Scholemaster*. [473]

Ascham's stark words in *The Scholemaster* about the contaminating effect on an Englishman of travel in Italy sum up an attitude held by? some towards? their young compatriots travelling in Italy and what they are like when they return from their tours. In his heated opinion, Roger Ascham thanks God that he only spent nine days in Italy, but for such a brief stay somehow he knows a great deal about it; he shares this knowledge for a whole page. He declares, 'I saw in that little tyme, in one Citie, more libertie to sin, than ever I hard tell of in our noble Citie of London in ix. yeare' and that ' I sawe, it was there, as free to sinne, not onlie without all punishment, but also without any man's marking'.[474] How far this is the product of personal religious bigotry on Ascham's part is to be debated. He believes of young Englishmen that:

> Our Italians bring home with them other faultes from Italie, though none so great as this of Religion, yet a great deale greater, than many good men can well bear. For commonlie

[471] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin (Oxford, 2012), 64.
[472] Rosemary O'Day, *ONDB* (2004).
[473] Ibid.
[474] Roger Ascham, *The Schoolmaster Or, Plaine and Perfite Way of Teachyng Children the Latin Tong* (Oxford, 2007), 56.

> they come home, common contemners of marriage and readie persuaders of all other to the same, not because they love virginitie, but being free in Italie, to go whither so everlust will carry them, they do not like, that lawe and honestie should be soch a barre to their like libertie at home in England.'[475]

John Hale examines the young cross-gartered *Inglese Italianato* who returns home with his supposed atheism, whoring, poisoning, sodomy and his 'foreign-bought ribbon that led straight from the tailor to the bawdy house and the Pit.'[476] A well-known literary allusion to the contempt for the cross-garter fashion is Countess Olivia in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, who hates it, as attested by her maid Maria, 'tis a fashion she detests.'[477] Malvolio is deceitfully persuaded that he will gain Olivia's love by appearing before her wearing cross-garters. He reads in the trick letter 'remember who commended thee thy yellow stockings and wished to see thee ever cross-gartered.[478] Malvolio concludes that ' she did praise my leg being cross-gartered.'[479] However, Olivia's view is that 'this is very midsummer madness' and that Malvolio should be locked up.[480] Keir Elam says that Malvolio is 'wearing what Junius in 1595 defines as "fasciae crurales…Hose garters going acrosse, or overthwart, both above and beneath the knee."'[481] He adds that by 1602 cross-garters were probably old-fashioned.[482] This question is complex, though, as M. Channing Linthicum classifies the types of men who wore cross-garters as 'persons who desired to present an especially neat appearance - such persons as Puritans, pedants, servingmen, footmen, lovers and gallants or courtiers.'[483] Linthicum decides that 'A consideration of the evidence in Twelfth Night eliminates the probability of Malvolio's costume having any meaning except those of puritanism, courtly affectation, or love.'[484] As the Puritan label is difficult to attach to Olivia or Malvolio, the horror for Olivia must have been at the thought of the association of the lover, which possibly held the decadent Italian connotation.

The *Inglese Italianato* is a moral, spiritual and social subversive and a real and present threat to his home nation by bringing back to it from Italy every vice known to mankind. Hale concludes that 'Only one book can advisedly be read, the *Courtier* of Castiglione.'[485] The opinions of Languet (himself an alumnus of Padua University) are mixed. On 12 December 1573, he writes to Sidney about the Italians that 'you will admire the intelligence and wit of the people. Mind you, while there are clever and intelligent men, there are also many among them who are more show than substance, and most of them spoil their wisdom with too much ostentation and become revoltingly affected.'[486] This, though,

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[475] Ibid., 56-57.
[476] John Hale, *England and the Italian Renaissance*, 4th ed. E. Chaney (Oxford, 2005), 8-9.
[477] William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, ed. Keir Elam (London, 2014), 209.
[478] Ibid., 207.
[479] Ibid., 208.
[480] Ibid., 222.
[481] Ibid., 425.
[482] Ibid., 425. Hadrianus Junius - also known as Adriaen de Jonghe (1511-1575). Elam is quoting from Junius's *Nomenclator,* trans. John Higgins (1585), 168. De Jonghe is described by Ilja M. Veldman as 'a classical philologist, historian, poet and physician who was regarded by his contemporaries as the most erudite man after Erasmus.' 'Maarten van Heemskerck and Hadrianus Junius: The Relationship between a Painter and a Humanist', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (1974), 20.
[483] M. Channing Linthicum, "Malvolio's Cross-Gartered Yellow Stockings." *Modern Philology*, vol. 25, no. 1, 1927, 7.
[484] Ibid., 7.
[485] John Hale, *England and the Italian Renaissance*, 9.
[486] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, 55.

Kuin comments, 'shows a very moderate condemnation of Italians from a Transalpine Protestant.'[487] Sidney was, with his travels to Italy, entering a controversial and suspect culture and society.

Sidney's license to travel effectively prohibited him from visiting Rome, as this was a territory of 'any prince or potentate not being with us in amity or league.' Sidney's correspondence with Languet, though, indicates that he was ready to risk doing so, as on 2 July 1574 Languet states 'what I fear much more [than that Sidney has not written due to illness] is that the plan for a Roman journey which you have been pondering for some time is now suddenly leading you astray.'[488] Languet elaborates on his reasoning:

> If one of those who profess the reformed religion, driven by no necessity, puts himself in danger of falling into the hands of those whom he knows to be the most ardent enemies of the religion he professes, and do everything in their power to oppress those of his religion, or to drag them to Mass…For a sagacious man, reputation and a good name will be dearer than life itself, and he should take the greatest care not to entrust it to the uncertain dice of chance.[489]

Languet is, without doubt, concerned about Sidney's health, but more with his spiritual well-being. On 17 July 1574, though, the matter is resolved. Languet writes that 'the letter in which you write that you have completely abandoned the idea of a journey to Rome has freed me from a huge worry.'[490] In this case, Languet's obsessive insistence was justified (See footnote 10 above citing Kuin's views). Kuin is correct. For Languet, if Sidney had visited Rome and met with exiled English Catholics, he would have broken the terms of his passport, thus risking both his whole diplomatic future and his potential as a pan-European Protestant figure of leadership. Far more importantly, though, Languet, in his letter of 2 July 1574 (quoted above) demonstrates concern for the spiritual, Christian welfare of a young man who intentionally and needlessly walks into a trap of 'those whom he knows to be the most ardent enemies of the religion he professes, and do everything in their power to oppress those of his religion, or to drag them to Mass.'[491] Nevertheless, it was not forgotten, since even on 14 June 1577 Languet recalls 'how often you have reproached me that it was my fault you had given up your trip to Rome.'[492] Given the nature of their correspondence frequently being a sparring contest, it is impossible to tell whether this exchange might be rhetorical flourish.

As a result of this limitation, Sidney's year in Italy was spent in Venice and Padua which, as the alma mater of both Hubert Languet and Francis Walsingham would have interested him. The licence was clear that Sidney:

> Doth not haunt nor repair into the territories or countries of any prince or potentate not being with us in amity or league, nor do wittingly haunt and keep with any person our subject born, that is departed out of our realm without our licence or that contrary to our

[487] Ibid., 55. See n. 6.
[488] Ibid., 281. In n.2, Kuin gives plausible reasons for Languet's adamant objection to Sidney's planned visit to Rome. They are (a) a genuine concern for Sidney's spiritual and reputational welfare and (b) worry about the youth and inexperience of his would-be companions, especially Bryskett. An added specific worry could be the fear of what damage such a defiant act against the terms of his licence could do to Sidney's future. See the Introduction for details of how this links with the end of Sidney's tours.
[489] Ibid., 282.
[490] Ibid., 296.
[491] Ibid., 282.
[492] Ibid., 745.

> licence doth remain in the parts of beyond the seas, and doth not return into his realm as he ought to.[493]

As Alan Stewart observes, 'in effect Philip was barred from visiting Spain or Italy, and from consorting with Englishmen in exile, who were usually perforce recusant Catholics.'[494] In fact, technically Sidney broke two of the three terms. He visited Italy, he consorted with at least one Catholic Englishman in exile - Edward Windsor, and he extended his two-year license ('the space of two years next') into three.

Sidney's expectations of Venice were not matched by the reality, as can be gleaned from Hubert Languet's dry response in his letter of 21 December, 1574:

> I judge from your letter that the splendour of Venice does not equal your expectation: nevertheless, Italy has nothing fit to be compared to it, so that if this does not please you, the rest will disgust you.[495]

There was reason for Sidney to feel the need to protect himself and his companions in Venice. On 30 April, 1574 he was granted a license by the Council of Ten for them to carry arms. Alan Stewart relates an incident, which did not involve Sidney himself, but which proves that all was not always peaceful among the 'nations' of students in Padua. This environment might, nevertheless, have made him feel vulnerable and shown him how fragile Padua's liberal, multi-denominational, multi-factional life was. The incident occurred on 31 May, 1574. The German 'nation' in Padua gave a party to mark the departure of two of its number. The party included Baron von Rödern and Sidney's friends Michael and Albert de Slavata. In the street the high spirits of the party annoyed a group from Vicenza, who, believing the German group to be hated Burgundians, drew their swords. The Germans retaliated and the situation escalated to the point where French and German reinforcements were called in and the Germans had sustained serious wounds.[496]

Despite this violent episode, James Osborn suggests that two features of the Venetian state would have had a profound appeal to Philip Sidney: its constitution and its strategic position as a centre for world news and for intelligence. He writes that Venice: 'was considered the "academy of politics'.[497] Not only did its oligarchy (alias "republic") represent the only government in any major state other than a hereditary monarchy (or aristocracy), but it functioned as a centre of international diplomacy and intelligence. Venice was still the listening post for news of the Turk and other oriental powers…Equally important, Venice served as 'the vent through which news from Rome passed to most of the world. Hence reports from the ambassadors at Venice to their governments were a primary source of foreign intelligence. These topics appear quite often in Sidney's correspondence.'[498] An example of this is when Languet writes to Sidney on 27 November 1573 that 'dwelling as you will be in the light of the city of Venice you will not be ignorant of anything that is done in the world.'[499] These months in Venice must have developed both Sidney's diplomatic interests and ambitions alongside his wish to serve his country by providing it with as much of the best quality international

[493] Licence for Philip Sidney, 25 May 1572, St James. New College, Oxford MS 328-2, fo.40.
[494] Alan Stewart, *Philip Sidney, A Double Life* (London, 2001), 70.
[495] Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet, *The Correspondence of Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet,* ed. William A. Bradley (Boston, 1912), 14.
[496] Alan Stewart, *Philip Sidney, A Double Life*, 123.
[497] James Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney 1572-1577* (New Haven and London, 1972), 106.
[498] Ibid., 106-7.
[499] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Kuin, 36-37.

information as possible. He had been the protégé in Paris of the Queen's own Spymaster Francis Walsingham whom John Cooper names 'The Queen's Agent' in the title of his book.[500] On 21 September 1583, Sidney was to become Walsingham's son-in-law by marrying Walsingham's daughter Frances.[501] This is why the idea of gathering intelligence while travelling is likely to be significant in Sidney's case, as Walsingham was a strong influence on Sidney for the rest of Sidney's life. It would explain Sidney's interest in Geometry for the purposes of understanding fortress design and military planning. This (and references to fortresses in *Old Arcadia* and his correspondence with Languet) was addressed in Chapter Two.

Away from Venice and Padua, a part of Sidney's Italian sojourn which should not be omitted from this account was his journey from Venice to Genoa and back, travelling to Florence on either the outward or return journey. Osborn locates Sidney's decision to do this at the time he was in Venice sitting for his portrait. He legitimately questions why Sidney would undertake such a physically exhausting schedule (approximately five hundred and seventy miles in thirty days) and says that 'Sidney's letter to Languet of about 5 March, 1574 would have cleared up the enigma, but it has not survived.'[502] One possibility, apart from the simple interest in travel, is that Genoa was the hometown of his companion Lodowick Bryskett's family. The trip was, therefore, likely to have been of personal interest or a private invitation (or both).

While his letters from Venice give no reaction from Sidney to its architecture or fine arts, one aspect of his stay stands out; that of the portrait he commissioned by Paolo Veronese on the request made by Languet for a portrait of Sidney. In his letter to Sidney dated 22 January, 1574. Languet writes:

> I already foresee what pain I shall suffer in parting from you, and I would gladly find some remedy for it; but nothing occurs to me, unless a portrait of you might perhaps be a relief to me…I beg you to indulge me so far as to send it to me, or bring it when you come back…But I hope you will consider yourself at liberty to say no, without offending me; for I should be sorry to make a request that could be disagreeable to you.[503]

From his letter of 4 February, 1574, Sidney would appear to be touched by, and ready to agree to, the request.[504] He answers, 'I am both glad and sorry that you ask me so urgently for my portrait: glad, because a request of this kind breathes the spirit of that sweet and long-tried affection with which you regard me; and sorry, that you have any hesitation in asking me so mere a trifle…As soon as ever I return to Venice, I will have it done either by Paul Veronese, or by Tintoretto, who hold by far the highest place in the art.' True to his word, on 26 February, 1574, from Venice Sidney was able to report nonchalantly of this 'trifle' that 'This day one Paul of Verona has begun my portrait, for which I must stay here a few days longer.'[505] Leading Sidney biographers agree that this portrait itself was later lost. Only Roger Kuin offers a solution; that the portrait went to Du Plessis Mornay's daughter Elisabeth and was subsequently lost.[506] David Rosland discusses Sidney's *Dialogues and Apologies*

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[500] John Cooper, *The Queen's Agent: Francis Walsingham and the Court of Elizabeth I* (London, 2011).
[501] C. Henry Warren, *Sir Philip Sidney: A Study in Conflict* (London and New York, 1936), 151.
[502] Stewart, *A Double Life,* 157.
[503] *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet*, ed. Steuart A. Pears M.A. (London, 1845), 27.
[504] Ibid., 29-30.
[505] Ibid., 46.
[506] Stewart, op. cit., 126-7. 'Recent detective work by Sidney scholar Roger Kuin may be leading us towards it. An inventory of Languet's belongings, taken after his death, revealed a *'counterfeit van Languet ende van een Jonghen'* (a picture of Languet and one of a young man). Kuin argues the picture might have been bought at auction by another of Languet's protégés, Philippe Du Plessis Mornay, who was living on the same street in Antwerp at the same time. This would explain the presence of a portrait of M. Sidnei [is this how Stewart spells

with Venice and his choice of Veronese as his painter. On 18 July 1573, Veronese had been summoned before the Inquisition on account of the 'indecorum' of his painting *Last Supper* with its scurrilous 'buffoons, drunkards, Germans and dwarfs'. He was reminded that 'in Germany and other places infected with heresy it is customary with various pictures full of scurrilousness and similar inventions to mock, vituperate, and scorn the things of the Holy Catholic Church to teach bad doctrines to foolish and ignorant people.' Veronese was ordered, at his own expense and within three months, to remove the offending material. Rosland puts forward the idea that, as cosmopolitan Venice was suspected by Rome of harboring Protestant heresy, that 'Philip Sidney and Veronese may have shared more than just a portrait commission.'[507] They may have shared a wish to counter Papal authority. Michael Brennan's view is that the ultimate loss of Sidney's Veronese portrait, of Philip Sidney's personal library and of so much of his correspondence from Venice (especially to the Earl of Leicester) leave gaps in the true picture of Sidney's relationship with Venice.[508] The gap concerning the missing portrait has been at least partly filled.

From a Venetian portrait to a book collection. A key facet of Philip Sidney's year-long contact with Venice was his relationship with its bookshops; this is explored in detail by Michael G. Brennan.[509] Brennan traces the artistic and bibliophilic connection between Philip Sidney's purchasing of books from the many Venetian bookshops with not only his own family library at Penshurst Place in Kent, but also the ideas and work of his later circle of literary colleagues. The purchasing of books, it would appear, began at the Frankfurt Book Fair back in March 1573 with reference in a letter which refers to some books bought for his uncle, the Earl of Leicester.[510] Brennan and Kuin observe that these may have included controversial works.[511] Sidney said as much in his letter to his uncle from Frankfurt on 18 March 1573 that the courier of the books had been strictly instructed that, 'No man see that which he carrieth until he have shewed them unto your Lordshipp'.[512]

Six book purchases that Sidney made for Hubert Languet in mid-December show that Sidney had begun his connection with the bookshops of Venice within a few weeks of his arrival there.[513] All these volumes were printed in Venice and Michael Brennan notes that five of them were found in the catalogues of the library at Penshurst (compiled from 1652 and 1665), but there is no evidence at all that these are the same volumes that Sidney bought in Venice.[514] He adds, however, that the details of these purchases are 'sketchy'.[515] It must be conceded, then, that the connections between the copies

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it?] in the gallery of Du Plessis' chateau at Saumur in 1619. Kuin further conjectures that Du Plessis may have left the portrait to his daughter Elisabeth, who was Phillip's [correct spelling?] goddaughter: her belongings were sold at auction in Lower Normandy in 1697. There the trail runs cold.'

[507] David Rosand, "Dialogues and Apologies: Sidney and Venice." *Studies in Philology*, vol. 88, no. 2, 1991, 241-242. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4174394. Accessed 21 Apr. 2024.

[508] Ibid., 40. Brennen writes that there are now 'only tantalizingly shadowy hints of the potential importance of the Venetian book trade and visual arts, as well as its political and religious tolerance and its importance as a centre for trade and international intelligence, to the enlightened pan-European ambitions of the Dudley and Sidney families.'

[509] Michael Brennan, 'Philip Sidney's Book-Buying at Venice and Padua, Giovanni Varisco's Venetian editions of Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (1571 and 1578 and Edmund Spenser's *The Shephearde's Calender* (1579)', *Sidney Journal* 36 Number 1 (2018), 19-40.

[510] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Kuin, 13-15.

[511] Michael Brennan, *Philip Sidney's Book-buying at Venice*, 20 and *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Kuin, 13-15.

[512] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Kuin, 13-15.

[513] Ibid., 25.

[514] Ibid., 25.

[515] Ibid., 21. 'No specific consideration has previously been given to which printers or booksellers Sidney may have frequented or who may have accompanied him … Unfortunate [typo?] his letter to Languet does not make

found later in the Penshurst Library and the copies that Sidney purchased are tenuous. Nevertheless, that does not apply to Sidney's reading of those works and his later thinking and writing.

In the week of 10 January, 1574, Sidney arrived in Padua, whose importance, Osborn states, 'on the intellectual map of sixteenth century Europe is difficult to exaggerate'.[516] The chief reason for its renown, according to Osborn, was its tradition of open intellectual tolerance and acceptance of questioning:

> In the whole of authoritarian, orthodox, and even totalitarian Europe, the Venetian state of which Padua was a part, existed as an island of tolerance. Here varying religious creeds and intellectual convictions were accepted and accommodated. Students who sought a free forum for discussion, an opportunity for unshackled examination for dogmas, and an open area for the exploration of new ideas flocked to Padua. Some might seek converts to their notions, but most came to learn new concepts and to exercise their minds against those of other eager intellectuals.'[517]

Sidney could certainly be described as an 'eager intellectual' and, while Venice was a focus for his political, diplomatic and intelligencing interests, Padua would be a fine environment in which his intellectual and spiritual abilities might flourish. Osborn adds that there is no evidence to suggest Sidney ever enrolled at Padua University, but simply being in that atmosphere might have sufficed for Sidney. The only certainties are the dates of his stay from around 10 January 1574 until the date of his last letter from there dated 4 June 1574 (although in that letter he explained that he would stay there three weeks more until Count Hannau left). James Osborn adds the detail that Sidney 'rented all or part of the house of one Hercole Bolognese at the Pozzo della Vacca.'[518]

These are some details of Sidney's Southern Tour, but from where in this year's stay in Italy did Sidney's *An Apology*, *Arcadia* and *Astrophil and Stella* come? Warkentin, Black, and Bowen write of Sidney, 'Few of his extant letters are to persons with whom Sidney might have shared specifically literary interests.'[519] They add, 'nowhere do we get any sense that literature as we conceive that term, indeed as Sidney helped us to conceive it in *The Defence*, is of central importance in the formation of the mind of a gentleman'[520] They conclude that Sidney 'had a statesman's interest, the classical culture of a brilliant schoolboy, and like everyone else he read the latest books in areas of interest to him.'[521] There is no clear evidence from his surviving letters of any particular interest for Sidney at his pre-tours stage in English poetry (i.e. fictional writing). Nevertheless within four or five years of his return he wrote *The Defence*, *Old Arcadia* and *Astrophil and Stella*.[522]

Concerning Sidney's reading during his school days, it is gleaned from the accounts of Thomas Marshall (Sidney's steward) that, at Shrewsbury School, the academic process began for Sidney with studies in Cicero, Terence and Cato. A replacement for a lost copy of Cato was bought in September 1566, a Sallust for fourteen pence in June 1566, a Tigurinius manual on syllables and quantities in

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clear whether he had found these volumes in several different shops or in a single one; nor does it suggest whether he was referring to new or second-hand copies.'

[516] Osborn, *The Young Philip Sidney*, 133.

[517] Ibid., 133.

[518] Ibid., 134.

[519] G. Warkentin, J. Black, and W. Bowen, *The Library of the Sidneys of Penshurst Place*, 17.

[520] Ibid., 17.

[521] Ibid.,

[522] For the dating of *The Defence* see Chapter One.

Latin verse for eight pence and a Virgil for twenty pence.[523] These studies progressed to Sallust then to Virgil and some Greek grammar, which led to studying some New Testament Greek and the Cyropaedia of Xenophon. This according to Roger Ascham in *The Scholemaster*, would appear not to be with a specifically literary but rather a linguistic focus and to develop good writing and translation styles.

The Headmaster of Shrewsbury at the time, Thomas Ashton (died 1578), encouraged his scholars to participate, and be interested in, theatrical productions; specifically recorded are Mystery Plays, which were performed at Whitsuntide.[524] The Catholic Mystery Plays had been banned, but the Shrewsbury scholars evidently replaced the traditional cast of guildsmen in these productions, which proclaimed a clear Protestant message. It is probable that Sidney was in the cast of the production *Julian the Apostate* (1566) and or the *Play of the Passion* (1569). Stewart details that these plays were performed in The Quarry, an area of old quarry outside the town which had once been part of the local monastery. Apparently, Ashton was especially drawn to drama as a way of outreach for the Protestant message.[525] This would indicate Sidney's early exposure to, and possibly interest in, English drama. In addition, Katherine Duncan-Jones notes:

> Hints of Sidney's own dawning interest in literature are given by his tendency to illustrate his letters to Languet with literary analogies, often from the plays of Terence, or from Virgil, Xenophon, Ovid or Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.[526]

However, closer examination of the correspondence reveals that it is Languet who quotes Virgil and Xenophon – in a political context – and Sidney does not quote them. This is a more complex matter than Duncan-Jones describes, although essentially, she is right. Languet quotes Terence's *Eunuch* 5.1087 on 22 January 1574 when he says, 'I am prepared to pass myself on to you as a laughing stock.'[527] Duncan-Jones, though, identifies that Languet's references are 'more often to philosophers and historians'. Examples of this are in Languet's letters written on 24 December 1573, 'referencing Virgil's 'rising walls.'[528] On 28 January 1574 Languet quotes Virgil to remind Sidney of his civic duty, 'you have to guide the nations by your authority.'[529] Xenophon appears from Sidney on 22 May 1580, but is merely listed as recommended reading for Edward Denny**.** In contrast, Sidney's quotations are set in a literary context, for instance on 26 February 1574 he alludes to Davus, the

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[523] Alan Stewart, Alan, *Philip Sidney, A Double Life* (London, 2001), 45.

[524] *ONDB*, Martin E. Speight, 2004. 'Ashton was educated at St John's College, Cambridge, being elected to a fellowship about 1520, shortly after graduating with BA. He proceeded to MA in 1521 and BTh in 1531. He was appointed headmaster of Shrewsbury School in 1561, and was known to be a strong protestant.
Ashton successfully raised the prestige of the school, which Camden described as the largest in England. Between 1562 and 1569, 875 boys were admitted, with a total of 266 on the roll at the end of 1562, half of whom boarded at houses in the town. Pupils were drawn from the sons of the gentry from surrounding counties, and from as far away as Buckinghamshire. Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Fulke Greville were among those who studied there during Ashton's headmastership. Ashton made notable contributions to the school in the field of drama, and in securing important endowments from the crown. St John's, the headmaster's old college, had a notable dramatic tradition, and this may have influenced the bailiffs of Shrewsbury, who had their own interest in theatrical productions, in his appointment. Under Ashton the highest form of the school was required to perform one act of a play each Thursday, and much effort was put into the annual Whitsuntide production in the open space known as the Quarry. These productions were written by Ashton and took religious themes, and included *Julian the Apostate* (1566) and *The Passion of Christ* (1569), the latter of which lasted all the holidays and attracted a large audience of nobles and gentry.'

[525] Alan Stewart, Alan, *Philip Sidney, A Double Life*, 46.

[526] Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* (London, 1991), 76.

[527] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Kuin, 98.

[528] Ibid., 98.

[529] Ibid., 69.

clever slave in Terence's *Andria and Phormio*.[530] Sidney quotes Davus as saying 'in tempore veni' ('I came just in time').[531] Kuin clarifies that Sidney is mistaken and that the allusion is to Andria 4.4 and that it was Chremes who said this. This is in the context of banter from Sidney about not having received a letter from Languet as scheduled. Sidney was just about to complain when the letter from Languet arrived and stopped him in his tracks.[532] On 12 June 1575 in a letter to the Count of Hanau two weeks after Sidney's return to England, Sidney references Ovid's Metamorphosis 8.269-525. He reports that he has found the Queen 'although somewhat advanced in years, so far healthy in body', for which he thanks God, as her health is the slender thread on which the nation's safety hangs. His citation from Ovid refers to Althaea and the firebrand which acts as a deterrent to anyone who endangers her son, until her son kills his brothers when she then uses it on him. The Queen's presence ensures the safety of her nation and her foreign policy has kept it at peace for nearly seventeen years.[533] These are set in a rhetorical, rather than a political context. From this, Duncan-Jones concludes one can infer that 'Sidney's literary interests were wider than Languet's, and it may be that 'the works he (Sidney) cited apparently for rhetorical purposes often meant as much to him as the political and historical writings which he explicitly discussed with Languet.[534] It is conceivably just a few steps (especially from an overseas vantage point) for Sidney to go from an interest in literature to a specific interest in the possibility of a new English literary movement.

Turning to confessional matters, Sidney took not only his reformed faith but also his ambivalent view of Catholicism with him to Italy. He had sympathies with individual Catholics rather than with Catholicism itself. Indeed his grandfather John Dudley Duke of Northumberland, on the eve of his execution, retracted the Protestant faith and allegiance which he had long proclaimed and championed. On 21 August 1554, Northumberland heard the Catholic Mass and then declared:

> Truly, I profess before you all that I have received the sacrament according to the true Catholic faith, and the plague that is upon our realm and upon us now is that we have erred from this faith this last sixteen years and this I profess to you all from the bottom of my heart.[535]

Northumberland's declaration of Queen Mary I's own faith was unlikely to earn him her pardon at this eleventh hour and therefore this was probably his genuine confessional stance as he went to his death. Although Sidney was not born until three months after John Dudley's death, this would inevitably be in the background of his thoughts and part of his family lore.

Sidney's friend Edward Wotton was, as Albert Loomie counts him, a crypto-Catholic.[536] Long after Sidney's death, in 1624, Wotton was summoned to the Maidstone assizes on a charge of recusancy. Until then his age—seventy-six years—and 'a protracted illness of twelve years' had excused his attendance at the parish of Broughton Manor (Loomie). To the surprise of the JPs, Wotton admitted that he was indeed a Catholic and was relieved to say it openly, and concluded by reminding them of his previous and current services to the crown. No doubt out of respect for his long service and high standing, the assizes demurred from passing judgment. On 20 May 1624 George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, presented to the House of Lords a petition from the Commons against Catholics in public office. Among those named was Wotton: 'for he and his wife do forbear the church and are

[530] Ibid., 131.
[531] Ibid., 131.
[532] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, 131, notes 2 and 3.
[533] Ibid.,459, n.2.
[534] Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet,* 76.
[535] Ibid.,78, BL Harley MS284, f128v; The Greyfriars Chronicle of London, ed, J.G. Nichols, (Camden Society, 1852), p. 83.
[536] A. J. Loomie, 'A Jacobean crypto-Catholic: Lord Wotton', *Catholic Historical Review*, 53 (1967), 328–45.

justly suspected to affect the Roman Religion', but the Lords deferred further action at that time.[537] His widow Margaret installed a memorial in Broughton Manor church which read, 'To her beloved husband, Lord Edward Wotton, Baron of Marley, a Catholic. His grieving wife, Lady Margaret Wotton, daughter of Lord Wharton of Wharton, a Catholic'.[538] Given that Sidney and Wotton were close friends from at least 1574 in Vienna and that his friend Wotton was a pallbearer for Sidney and beneficiary of Sidney's will (as stated in the Introduction), it is difficult to believe that Sidney did not know about Wotton's hidden Catholic beliefs and accepted them in friendship. This lies in stark contrast to his views on Catholicism (and specifically Tridentine Catholicism) which are evidenced below.

Edmund Campion (1540–1581) was an academic, orator, Jesuit and martyr (St Edmund Campion). He left England for Ireland in August 1570. His patron was the Earl of Leicester to whom he dedicated his *History of Ireland*, which may also have been intended as a defence of the policies and practices of Sir Henry Sidney, who was Elizabeth's chief governor of Ireland between 1565 and 1571.[539] From 1573 he served first as a novice in Brünn (Brno) then as teacher of philosophy and rhetoric and a Latin preacher in Prague. On his way to Prague with Languet in 1575, Sidney stopped at Brno. While there is no evidence that Sidney met Campion in Brno, it would seem likely Sidney visited Campion in 1577 in Prague. Campion was ordained deacon and priest by the Archbishop of Prague in 1578.[540] On 24 June Campion arrived in Dover to be part of the Pope's mission. In November 1581 Campion was charged with treasonable conspiracy, 'first hatched in Rome and Rheims, to raise rebellion, invite foreign invasion, overthrow and kill the queen, and alter both the government and religion.' On 1 December 1581, he was executed. The Catholic Thomas Alfield, who was 'present and very near', reported that 'Campion was asked for which queen he prayed … [H]e answered, yea for Elizabeth your queen and my queen … And so he meekly and sweetly yielded his soul unto his Saviour, protesting that he died a perfect catholic.'[541] In a letter to his old tutor in Rome in the summer of 1578, Campion describes Sidney as a plant which, if watered, could be ripe for conversion. He writes, 'if this young man, so wonderfully beloved and admired by his countrymen, chances to be converted, he will astonish his noble father, the Deputy of Ireland, his uncles the Dudleys, and all the young courtiers, and Cecil himself. Let it be kept secret.'[542] Campion clearly saw some potential in a converted, Catholic Sidney – with his family and 'royal' connections - as an instrument of the Counter-Reformation.

Edward Windsor (c.1532-1575) was third Baron Windsor of Stanwell, a Catholic whose friendship with Sidney - when Windsor was spending his last years in Venice - was one of those that made Sidney suspect to some people (see the Introduction). Despite this he was in correspondence with Lord Burghley, sent the Queen a 'lewd' book which mentioned the government and offered to be the Queen's 'trustworthy' agent or maybe more accurately a double-agent.[543] In this light, a dimension of the context of Sidney's European tours which connects with his diplomatic aspirations and his contact with English exiled Catholics is what Elizabeth Williamson calls 'fishing after news' or 'the intelligencing role of the educational traveller' at that time. The traveller could be 'a valuable node in

[537] Albert Loomie, *ONDB* (2013).
[538] Ibid,. (2013).
[539] Michael A. R. Graves, *ONDB*, 2008.
[540] Ibid.
[541] Ibid.
[542] James Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney 1572-1577* (New Haven and London, 1972), 467-468.
[543] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Kuin, lxiii.

the news-gathering network, able to send information back to patrons or potential patrons in domestic government'.[544] She explains that 'a stay abroad carried with it an expectation that casual travellers, to protect their moral, spiritual and physical health, would make themselves useful, and thus loyal, servants of their domestic government.'[545] In other words, whatever the stated reason, a young gentleman's travel had to be a form of serving his monarch and country. Williamson suggests that 'one key method of doing so was by transmitting news and information'.[546] She also highlights the difficulty in defining the traveller's identity, his true reason for travelling and the ambiguity of 'the kind of information the individual is expected or is seen to gather: in reductive terms, whether it is perceived as defensible learning, infective intelligence or common news'.[547] A young student and an accredited diplomat alike could, according to others' perceptions on both counts, equally be branded with 'the hellish Judas name of an Intelligencer'.[548] Any evidence that Sidney was an intelligencer would be difficult to come by. Nevertheless, his family background and, as has been seen in the Catholic company he kept, could and did lead at least to that suspicion or perception.

Sidney's connection with English Catholics (or crypto-Catholics) in Italy continued. According to Brennan and Kinnamon, on 7 June 1574 Sidney (with his companion Griffin, Maddox and five others) attended the *vive voce* examination? of John Hart, an English student at Padua University. Hart later became a Jesuit priest.[549] He was the son of William Hart, a recusant gentleman living in the precincts of the former abbey at Eynsham, Oxfordshire. Hart received minor orders at the English Hospice in Rome in May 1575 and graduated from the University of Douai in 1578. He was ordained at Cambrai on 29 March 1578. He went to Rome, where he was formally received into the Society of Jesus on 14 November 1585, In April 1586 he was sent by his superiors to Poland, where he died at Jarosław on 19 July 1586.[550]

In light of his associations, Sidney's views on Catholicism are not simple. This is demonstrated by a later complex reaction of Sidney, when Elizabeth I offered him much-needed financial aid which would be funded by fines imposed on recusant Catholics, in other words a share in the patent for the 'seizure of recusants' forfeited goods. His reply to the offer to the Earl of Leicester on 28 December 1581 stated, 'truly I like not their persons and much worse their religions, but I think my fortune very hard that my reward must be built upon other mens [sic] punishmentes.'[551] He wrote 'without it bee 3000ll never to trouble yowr self in it. For my cace is not so desperate that I woold get clamor for less.'[552] There are three interpretations for this. Firstly, as Kuin suggests, if Sidney accepted this help, he could expect such negative reactions from his Catholic friends and acquaintances that would not

[544] Elizabeth Williamson, *Fishing after News and the Ars Apodemica: The Intelligencing Role of the Educational Traveller in the Late Sixteenth Century*, *News Networks in Early Modern Europe* edited by Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham, (Leiden and Boston, 2016), 543.
[545] Ibid., p. 542.
[546] Ibid., p. 542.
[547] Ibid., p. 542.
[548] Ibid., pp. 542. This phrase is from Thomas Nashe's *Have with you to Saffron-Walden* (1596) where it is a description of Thomas Bodley (1545-1613), 'Thorius, being of that modesty and honesty I ascribe to him, cannot but be irksomely ashamed to be resembled so hyperborically, and no less aggrieved than Master Bodley (a gentleman in our commonwealth of singular desertive reckoning & industry, being at this present her Majesty's agent in the Low Countries) ought he to be at the hellish detested Judas name of an intelligencer, which the Doctor in the way of friendship hath thrown upon him.' Trans. Nina Green (www.oxford-shakespeare.com, 2011).
[549] Michael G. Brennan, and Noel J. Kinnamon, *A Sidney Chronology* (Basingstoke and New York, 2003), 42.
[550] G. Martin Murphy, *ONDB* (2004).
[551] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Kuin, 980-985.
[552] Ibid., 980-985.

be worthwhile for less than £3000.[553] Regarding his 'fortune' and profiting from the punishment and hardship of others, he could mean that morally he could not do it. Alternatively, it might be saying that he could not profit from any goods of Catholic provenance. Sidney held strong views about Papism, and the despotic Catholicism as demonstrated in Paris in 1572 and by Philip II in the Low Countries. These are stated in Chapter Two and on 28 December 1581 as quoted above. It is clear, though, from the examples of Sidney's friendships with Catholics that these views did not extend to a significant number of individual Catholics with whom he had cordial – and in some cases very close - contact through his travels and which led to 'suspicions about your religion, since you are on more comfortable terms with the Venetians than is usual with those who profess a religion different from yours.'[554] Sidney could have been using these contacts with English Catholics abroad for intelligence purposes. However, it would then have to be asked what the reason was for the hasty end to his travels in Europe. Additionally, Sidney's associations with English Catholics in Italy throws into question how suitable and loyal he would ultimately have been as a pan-European, Protestant warrior.

Regarding book-buying in Venice, Michael Brennan suggests 'it seems that Sidney's personal pleasure in book-browsing and purchasing was aroused by Venice's numerous booksellers.'[555] Five of these are mentioned in the first of only two letters that Sidney wrote in depth about books. This was to Languet on 19 December 1573:

> I beg you to send me the French version of Plutarch's minor works. Please write me by return whether you own Tarcagnota's *L'Historia del mondo, the Lettere di principi and the Lettere de tredici illustri homini, imprese di Girolamo Ruscelli; il stato di Vinegia scritto da Contareni*, and Donato Gianotti, which are all elegant books; or if there are any others you want, I can easily have them sent to you.[556]

These works, offered to Languet on 19 December 1573, suggest that Sidney had begun to frequent Venetian bookshops soon after his arrival the previous month.[557]

Sidney's interest in book-buying had been demonstrated in a letter to the Earl of Leicester earlier that year on 18 March which refers to 'the woorkes' the bearer 'doth cary into England.' These works are likely books that Sidney has bought for Leicester at the Frankfurt Spring Book Fair. He planned to return to the Frankfurt Book fair at Easter 1575. In a letter dated 27 February 1575 from Francois

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[553] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Kuin, 1049.

[554] Ibid., 404.

[555] Michael, Brennan 'Philip Sidney's Book-Buying at Venice and Padua, Giovanni Varisco's Venetian editions of Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (1571 and 1578 and Edmund Spenser's *The Shephearde's Calender* (1579)', *Sidney Journal* 36 Number 1 (2018), 19-40, 20.

[556] *Correspondence*, ed. Kuin, 64-65. These works were 'from the stock of five well-known Venetian printers and had all been published within the previous twenty years: Tramezzino (1526-1571), Ziletti 1550s-early 1580s), Valerio Dorico (1539-1555), Francesco Rampazetto (1553-1576), Domenico Giglio (1537-1567) and their details are: Giovanni Tarcagnota, *L'Historia del mondo,* Venice, Michele Tramezzino, 1562, Girolamo Ruscelli, *Lettere di principi*, Venice: G. Ziletti, 1562, Girolamo Ruscelli, *De le Lettere de tredici illustri homini,* Venice: Valerio Dorico 1554, Girolamo Ruscelli, Le *imprese illustri con espositione et discorsi del Sr Ieronimo Ruscelli*, Venice: Francesco Rampazetto, *1566,* Gasparo Contareni *La Repubblica e I magistrati di Vinegia*, tr. From Latin into Italian, Ludovico Domenichi, Venice: D. Giglio, 1564, Donato Gianotti *Libro della Repubblica de'Viniziani*, Domenico Giglio, 1564.1572.

[557] Michael Brennan, 'Philip Sidney's Book-Buying at Venice and Padua, Giovanni Varisco's Venetian editions of Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (1571 and 1578 [missing closed parenthesis here?] and Edmund Spenser's *The Shephearde's Calender* (1579)', *Sidney Journal* 36 Number 1 (2018), 19-40, 21.

Perrot de Mesières, Sidney had evidently expressed his intention to be in Frankfurt for the fair in April, 'as I wrote to you, I am counting on being where you wanted to go, at the Fair, at the end of April at the latest.'[558] This wish of Sidney's to be in Frankfurt for the April Fair is supported by the Count of Hanau who writes on 30 January 1575, 'I hope with the Lord's help to see you at the coming Frankfurt Fair'[559] In addition, De Mésières writes on 27 February, 'I am counting on being where you wanted to go at the end of April at the latest.'[560] Sidney's travels, both to Frankfurt and to Venice, appear to have awakened and inspired a new interest in book-buying, which can only have had an impact on his own awareness of the art of writing and literature in the vernacular.

While Languet uses classical literature as political and historical evidence, he is rich in classical literary knowledge and willing to use that knowledge with Sidney. He refers to Virgil and Seneca, for example in a letter of 24 December 1573 when describing how the King of Poland greeted the walls of Pfalzburg, 'Thence he left for Phalsbourg (whose rising walls he greeted)'[561] On 13 May 1574 Languet quotes Horace's *Ars Poetica* l.139, 'In the North of Spain a fleet is being fitted out so powerful that they believe neither the *Gueux* nor the English nor the French will be able to bear even the sight of it. What do you say to that? *Paturient montes*…'[562] In the same letter, Languet says (from Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.129) that 'it is not so hard to call up great armies, but to feed them for any length of time – *hoc opus, hic labor est.*'('that is the task and that is the toil').[563] Duncan-Jones sums it up thus, 'Languet took Sidney's career extremely seriously, and his plans for him probably left little room for pastoral and amorous poetry in a language with which he was unfamiliar.'[564] This is confirmed when Languet writes on 28 January 1574 'You need to think about your condition in life, which does not allow you to grow old reading books. Remember that that word of the Poet, "You have to guide the nations by your authority" etc., applies to you.'[565] This is also a reference to Virgil's *Aeneid* 6.851-3, 'tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.'[566]

Languet refers to Virgil and Seneca, for example in a letter of 24 December 1573 when describing how the King of Poland greeted the walls of Pfalzburg, 'Thence he left for Phalsbourg (whose rising walls he greeted).' In the Aeneid l. 437 Aeneas looks up at the city's buildings and exclaims 'ah, fortunate people! Your walls are already rising,'[567] On 13 May 1574 Languet quotes Horace's *Ars Poetica* l.139, 'in the North of Spain a fleet is being fitted out so powerful that they believe neither the Gueux nor the English nor the French will be able to bear even the sight of it. What do you say to that? Paturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus' (the mountains will labour, and a laughable mouse will be born). Languet is putting the power (or lack of it) of the new Spanish fleet into humorous perspective. [568] In the same letter, Languet says (from Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.129) that 'it is not so hard to call up great armies, but to feed them for any length of time – 'hoc opus, hic labor est.'. These are the words to Aeneas of Sibyl concerning the retracing of steps upward that one has descended, 'that is the task and that is the toil.' Languet is referring to the army that Spain has recruited for war in the

[558] Correspondence, ed. Kuin, 400.
[559] Ibid., 379.
[560] Ibid., 400.
[561] Ibid., 69, n.4.
[562] Ibid., 216, n.3. '*Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.*' (The mountains will labour, and a laughable mouse will be born).
[563]Ibid., 216, n. 4.
[564] Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* 77.
[565]*Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Kuin, 101.
[566] Ibid., 101. n.4.
[567] Ibid., 69, n.4.
[568] Ibid., 216, n.3.

Netherlands, but which is then revolted against unpaid wages.[569] Duncan-Jones concludes thus, 'Languet took Sidney's career extremely seriously, and his plans for him probably left little room for pastoral and amorous poetry in a language with which he was unfamiliar.'[570] This is confirmed when Languet writes on 28 January 1574 'You need to think about your condition in life, which does not allow you to grow old reading books. Remember that that word of the Poet, "You have to guide the nations by your authority" etc., applies to you.'[571] This is also a reference to Virgil's Aeneid 6.851-3, 'tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.' Languet is reminding Sidney of his duty, if not obligation, to his future as a national or even continental leader. [572]This apposite citation by Languet demonstrates the vision he has for Sidney as a leader, since the reference is to Anchises reminding his son:

> You, Roman, must remember that you have to guide the nations by your authority, for this is to be your skill, to graft tradition onto peace, to shew mercy to the conquered, and to wage war until the haughty are brought low.

This is a suggested manifesto for a young man who, it is hoped and intended, will lead a union of Protestant princes into political and philosophical battle with the powerful forces of the Counter-Reformation.

It is true that Sidney and Languet do not discuss in their correspondence literature in vernacular languages, but as seen above, Sidney offers to send Languet five texts which are in the vernacular – albeit they are not 'Poetry'. The 'classical culture of a brilliant schoolboy' theme reappears later, as there are no open references to literature of English origin either in a letter of 22 May 1580 from Sidney to his friend Edward Denny (1547-1600), although The *Defence* had been started by then.[573] This is the second of the two extant letters of substance that Sidney wrote on the subject of books. Denny and Sidney may have met as students at Oxford, however, Kuin believes it is more likely they met in Ireland where Denny was serving with Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex.[574] They have a warm friendship, judging from the 'My Ned' greeting. In this letter Sidney congratulates Denny that 'yow doe yet keepe your selfe awake, with the delight of knowledge.'[575] Sidney's reading suggestions for Denny show exactly 'a statesman's interest, the classical culture of a brilliant schoolboy.'[576] The Holy Scriptures take priority, as these are 'certainly the incomparable Lanterne in this fleshly darkness of ours,' the 'wisdome of wisdome's', and 'diligently to be read'. Aristotle's Ethickes, some of Plutarke's discourses, and Machiavelli are added to the mix. There should also be some contemporary astronomy from Ortelius (1527-98). His revolutionary *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* had been published in Antwerp in 1570.[577] 'Philip Melanthons [sic] Chronology' is also recommended.[578] Of interest here, as Kuin points out, is Sidney's rare reference in his letters to his own poetry in his request that Denny 'remember with your good voyce, to singe my songes.' It also testifies that Sidney's songs were set to music, for example *Astrophil and Stella* Song vi ('O that you hear his voice'), set by William Byrd

[569]Ibid., 216, n. 4.
[570] Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* 77.
[571]*Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Kuin, 101.
[572] Ibid., 101. n.4.
[573]Ibid., xl.
[574] Ibid., xl.
[575] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Kuin, 981.these studies
[576]G. Warkentin, J. Black, and W. Bowen, *The Library of the Sidneys of Penshurst Place*, 17.
[577] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Kuin, 983, n.10.
[578] Ibid., 980-985.

in 1587 in *Psalms, Sonets and songs.*[579] Sidney's active interest in writing in English is therefore emerging by 1580. Otherwise, in this letter full of literary advice, Sidney is silent about his own literary endeavours.

Concerning Sidney's personal reading as an adult, Warkentin, Black, and Bowen wonder that 'given the intersection between Philip Sidney's interrupted life and the still-evolving concept of the gentleman's private library, it is surprising that we know anything at all about his reading and his books.'[580] They add 'it is doubtful he ever managed to assemble in one place what we could call a personal library.'[581] This is true, given that he did not live at Penshurst Place much after he went to school at the age of ten, or have a home of his own in his adulthood. Penshurst Place near Sevenoaks in Kent was Sidney's birthplace on 30 November 1554 and his family home. It had been a gift from Henry VIII to his grandfather William Sidney 'as recently as 1552.'[582] Later Sidney stayed at Wilton House near Salisbury with his sister and at Leicester House in London with his uncle. After his marriage, he and his wife Frances lived at Barn Elms, which belonged to his father-in-law Francis Walsingham.[583] Warkentin, Black, and Bowen speculate that 'in the 1650s when the catalogue was prepared, and perhaps even in 1743 when the actual volumes were auctioned off, some of the titles Sidney referred to in his literary works may have been in the library at Penshurst.' They lament that 'we may never know if any of them were sold off in 1743.'[584] During Sidney's school days and his reading, it is gleaned from the accounts of Thomas Marshall (Sidney's steward) that, at Shrewsbury School, the academic process began for Sidney with studies in Cicero, Terence and Cato.

Brennan posits that 'Sidney's extended residence at Venice and Padua from early November 1573 until early August 1574 provides an important landmark in the Anglo-Italian cultural relations and political affairs of the Dudley and Sidney family networks'.[585] He laments that 'Sidney's lost portrait by Paolo Veronese, coupled with the loss of his personal library and the probable loss of his other correspondence from Venice (especially to the Earl of Leicester), can now provide only tantilizingly shadowy hints of the potential importance of the Venetian book trade and visual arts, as well as its political and religious tolerance and its importance as a centre for trade and international intelligence to the enlightened pan-European ambitions of the culturally dynamic Dudley and Sidney families.'[586] Duncan-Jones points to Guicciardini's *History of Italy* – bought in Padua on 20 June 1574 – as an indication of Sidney's serious purchasing of books in the vernacular. This is now in the Widener Library, Harvard, and she concludes that 'numerous allusions to book buying indicate that the collection Sidney gathered during his Grand tour must have been substantial.'[587] Duncan-Jones continues 'according to a recent theory, another elegant book that Sidney purchased in Venice was Jacopo Sannazaro's verse and prose romance *Arcadia*,' since 'This purchase was momentous for Elizabethan 'Golden' literature, for it determined the title and genre of Sidney's own *Arcadia*. Duncan- Jones takes Sidney's failure to mention Sannazaro and his *L'Arcadia* to Languet as further proof that Sidney did not wish to share with his mentor 'large areas of literary and aesthetic

[579] Ibid., 985, n.36. See also *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler Jr. (Oxford, 1962), 215-217.
[580] G. Warkentin, J. Black, and W. Bowen, *The Library of the Sidneys of Penshurst Place*, 16.
[581] Ibid., 16.
[582] Alan Stewart, Alan, *Philip Sidney, A Double Life* (London, 2001), 15.
[583] Malcolm W. Wallace, *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney* (New York, 1967), 294.
[584] Warkentin, G., Black, J., and Bowen, W., *The Library of the Sidneys of Penshurst Place*, 18.
[585] Ibid., 40.
[586] Ibid., 40.
[587] Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet*, 76.

experience.'[588] Sannazaro's *L'Arcadia* was a key part of that literary experience for Sidney. Jacopo Sannazaro (1457–1530) was an Italian poet born into a noble Neapolitan family.

In The *Defence* Sidney includes Sannazaro when he writes of Poetry:

> in his parts, kinds or species (as you term to list them), it is to be noted that some poesies have coupled together two or three kinds, as tragical and comical, whereupon is risen the tragi-comical. Some, in the like manner, have mingled prose and verse, as Sannazaro and Boethius.[589]

This combining of two or three kinds of species of poetry and the combining of prose and verse is what Sidney borrows from Sannazaro. The reference to 'kinds' and 'species' is reminiscent of Sidney's late summer 1573 tour in western Hungary with the eminent Imperial botantist Charles De L'Ecluse, and the gathering of diverse flowers (in this case genres of Poetry) to include in one's writing. This is reminiscent of Bizarri's letter and Languet's advice.[590] That Sidney's poetic theory is open enough to accept the blending of both form and genre in literature and his *Old Arcadia* is proof of his ability to accept this and to create a new intertext. This question is addressed later in the chapter.

David Kalsone states 'the printer's preface to the Venetian edition of Sannazaro's *L'Arcadia* in 1502 refers to its poems as "canzone et aegloghe" thereby declaring a double ancestry.'[591] Sidney's *Old Arcadia* continues this dual heritage with its five books (or acts) and with an eclogue after each of the first four acts.[592] Kalstone suggests that 'the Italian work set of waves of pastoral poetry in Italy and Spain, in France and England, capturing the imagination of poets as different in spirit as Ronsard and Philip Sidney. Regarding the eclogues, he concludes his analysis by saying that:

> Sidney's poem must be taken, I think, as a criticism of the uncomplicated happiness of Sannazaro's Arcadia, and should give us some indication of why the pastoral sections of the English romance strike a reader so often as un-Arcadian. The same poetic sensibility behind Astrophel's sudden cry, "But ah, Desire still cries, give me some food," provides insight into the operatic lovers of Sannazaro's world.[593]

In 1590 'Let Arcadians altogether sing a woeful song' was the cry from Thomas Watson in *Meliboeus*.[594] Thomas Watson (1555/6–1592) was a poet and translator. His life is parallel with Sidney's in that he travelled in Europe (France and Italy) for seven years, absorbing the languages and cultures of both countries. He was acquainted with Sir Francis Walsingham, from whose Paris embassy he like Sidney would have embarked on his long tour, and from where he seems finally to have left for England in August 1581. In his two-thousand line Latin pastoral *Amintae gaudia* (which Marlowe saw through the press in November 1592) he narrates the earlier relationship

[588] Ibid., 77.
[589] Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry:* ed. R.W. Maslen (Manchester, 2002), 97.
[590] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Kuin, l, 34.
[591] David Kalstone, "The Transformation of Arcadia: Sannazaro and Sir Philip Sidney." *Comparative Literature*, vol. 15, no. 3, 1963, pp. 234–49, 2. *JSTOR*, https://doi.org/10.2307/1768311. Accessed 20 Apr. 2024.
[592] OED, 'A short poem of any kind, *esp.* a pastoral dialogue, such as Virgil's Bucolics.' a1586 'In eclogue-wise', Sir Philip Sidney, 1596 *Arcadia* (1590).
[593] David Kalstone, "The Transformation of Arcadia: Sannazaro and Sir Philip Sidney.", 249.
[594] *OED*, Arcadian is defined as 'Belonging to Arcadia; ideally rural or rustic.'

of his lover, Phillis, now alive and so virtuously addressed that it seems almost that she is the dedicatee, Mary Herbert, Sidney's sister.[595] The interconnection of Sidney, Mary Herbert, Watson, Walsingham and the Arcadia story within the European context is too clear to ignore.

Sannazaro's *Arcadia* contains twelve chapters interspersed with twelve eclogues. The *Oxford Dictionary of Italian Literature* offers this analysis: Arcadia, it emerges, stands for the poets and writers belonging to the Accademia Pontaniana in Naples. There, bonds of friendship surpass social class, titles, and, above all, wealth, inherited or earned. The shepherd Sincero is Sannazaro himself.[596]

Sidney's *Old Arcadia* takes and adapts these same themes of leadership, a perfect Golden Age in the history of a nation, festivities, grief and mourning. Sincero the shepherd as the voice of Sannazaro becomes Philisides the shepherd as the voice of Sidney. They are each a one-person chorus. The alternative word 'acts' used for the five books of Sidney's *Old Arcadia* is appropriate, Jean Robertson connects *Old Arcadia* with the classical five-act structure of early sixteenth-century Italian plays which frequently contained *intermezzi* between the acts. She also cites Ringler in saying, 'Sidney produced in prose a pastoral tragi-comedy before the earliest examples of the genre, the *Aminta* and *Pastor Fido* of Tasso and Guarini, were available in print.' Robertson adds that *Aminta* was first performed at the Este estate on the Isola Belvedere by the Gelosi company. They were also in Venice in February 1574 and in July 1574, as, on both occasions, was Sidney.[597] He is likely to have heard about, if not seen, this company. Aminta is a young shepherd and poet who is scorned by his childhood companion Silvia in favour of the hunt. Silvia is also courted by the Satyr, who attempts to rape her but is chased off by Aminta. She flees and is reported killed by a wolf, whereupon Aminta flings himself from a cliff. But Silvia is safe and is touched with pity to hear of Aminta 's attempted suicide. She determines to die too but is prevented by the arrival of a messenger with news of Aminta 's safe landing from his fall, and the two are united.[598] The intertextual echoes between *Aminta* are unmistakable. In addition to the parallels that have already been made, there is the theme of imminent death, in this case by suicide and not murder and the echo of the long-standing friendship of Aminta and Silvia in *Aminta* and that of the cousin princes in Sidney's work.

In focussing on the title, narrative and structure of Sannazaro's *L'Arcadia* in the genesis of Sidney's *Old Arcadia*, the role of another European pastoral, idyllic romance should not be neglected: Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana* (c.1559). Jean Robertson's view is that for *The Old Arcadia* Sidney 'turned to another imitation of Sannazaro, the *Diana* of Montemayor.'[599] She adds, however, that 'the structure seems to reflect the influence of Gil Polo's continuation rather than Montemayor's work, not only in the division into five books, but also in the didactic opening of each book and in the grouping and function of the poems.' Duncan-Jones is of the opinion that Sidney 'drew on [*Diana*] in considerable detail' for 'many descriptive passages.'[600] Further evidence of *Diana*'s impact on the hybrid genre is Rosanna M. Mueller writing that, 'Los siete libros de la Diana, as well as on its numerous versions and continuations by Gaspar Gil Polo and Alonso Perez, became so popular that soon a "Diana" came

[595] *ONDB*, Albert Chatterley, 23 September 2004.
[596] *Oxford Dictionary of Italian Literature*, ed. P. Hainsworth and D.Robey (Oxford, online, 2005).For a synopsis of Sidney's *Old Arcadia* see Chapter Two.
[597] Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia: The Old Arcadia,* ed. Jean Robertson (Oxford, 1973), xxi.
[598] *Oxford Dictionary of Italian Literature*, Peter Brand, 2005.
[599] Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia: The Old Arcadia,* ed. Jean Robertson, xx.
[600] Sidney, *The Old Arcadia,* ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford, 2008), xii.

to mean any pastoral romance of this kind.'[601] While Sidney never went to Spain, Montemayor (c.1520-1561), a Castilianised Portuguese writer, came to England in 1554 (the year of Sidney's birth) as part of Philip II of Spain's (Sidney's proxy godfather) wooing of Mary Tudor.[602] *Diana's* connection with the Sidney circle continued, since the translation of it by Bartholomew Yong was dedicated to Lady Rich (Stella). Of prime interest is the influence of Sannazaro's *L'Arcadia* on Montemayor's *Diana* and then on Sidney's *Old Arcadia*, and this has been proven here in order to demonstrate the close triangular association of the three works and the impact of Sidney's purchase in Italy of Sannazaro's *L'Arcadia* on his own *Old Arcadia*.

As with Sidney's *Old Arcadia*, there is significant Italian influence on his *Defence of Poetry* from the poetic theorists Bembus, Scaliger, and Minturno. According to J.E. Springarn, at a time when English? literary criticism was 'neither so influential nor so rich as the contemporary criticism of Italy and France', Sidney's *Defence* is 'the most charming critical monument of this period.'[603] He continues, though, that 'the doctrines discussed by Sidney had been receiving very similar treatment from the Italians for over half a century', and 'it can be said without exaggeration that there is not an essential principle in *The Defence of Poetry* which cannot be traced back to some Italian treatise on the poetic art.'[604] He posits therefore, that 'the age of which Sidney is the chief representative, is therefore the first period of the influence of Italian critics.'[605] Einstein suggests 'the classical influence in English literature came largely from Italy. Classical metres, which Tolomei had long before attempted to revive in Italy, were tried by Sidney and Spenser.'[606] This leaves in little doubt the impact that Italian poetics and criticism made on the *Defence of Poetry.* Once again, while Sidney does not write about this at the time, this effect can only have been enriched by his reading and book-buying in Venice and his discussions with the European student community in Padua.

Jan van Dorsten, however, says that 'it should still be stressed that the actual context in which the English experiments of the 1570s originated derived from England's nearest neighbours rather than Italy.' In support of this he cites, for instance, the most fundamental paragraph of *The Defence* which

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[601] RoseAnna M. Mueller,"Montemayor's "Diana": A Translation and Introduction" (1977), 11. PhD *CUNY* (recommended citation) https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds/3934

[602] Ibid., 63. Mueller summarises the narrative of *Diana* thus, 'In the fields of the ancient and capital city of Leon on the banks of the River Ezla, lived a young shepherdess named Diana, who was more beautiful than all the others of her time. She loved and was loved by a shepherd named Sireno, in whose love resided all possible purity and honesty. And at the same time, another shepherd named Sylvano loved her more than he loved himself, but he was so hated by the shepherdess that there was nothing in life she hated more. It happened, then, that while Sireno was forced to be out of the kingdom, on matters from which he could not be excused, the shepherdess was saddened by his absence, time and Diana's heart underwent changes, and she married another shepherd named Delio, casting into oblivion the one she had loved so much. He, returning after a year's absence, with great desire to see his shepherdess, learned of her marriage before he arrived.'

[603] J.E. Spingarn, J.E., *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance* (London, 1899), 155.

[604] Ibid., 157-158.

[605] Ibid.,158.

[606] Lewis Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England* (London, 1902), 357. 'Claudio Tolomei (1492-1555) was an Italian poet, born in Siena, from which he was banished in 1526 because of his support for the Medici family. Thereafter he lived in Rome, Piacenza, and Siena (of which he became bishop in 1549), before returning to Siena as an honoured citizen; he subsequently led a Sienese diplomatic mission to France. Tolomei's poems were avowedly Tuscan in language, and in the debate known as the *questione della lingua* he attempted to demonstrate the suitability of Tuscan as a literary language by applying Latin metres to'vernacular poetry, as is evident in his *Versi e regole della nuova poesia toscana* (1539) and his *Il Cesano* (1555).' *Oxford Dictionary of the Renaissance* (2005)

he calls 'an essentially northern transformation of mannerist art theory in its heavily postlapsarian Platonizing.'[607] That paragraph is:

> Neither let it be deemed too saucy a comparison to balance the highest point of man's wit with the efficacy of nature; but rather give right honour to the heavenly Maker of that maker, who having made man to his own likeness, set him beyond and over all the works of that second nature: which in nothing he showeth so much as in poetry, when with the force of a divine breath he bringeth things forth surpassing her doings – with no small arguments to the credulous of that first accursed fall of Adam, since our erected wit maketh us know what perfection is, and yet our infected will keepeth us from reaching unto it. But these arguments will by few be understood, and by fewer granted.'[608]

Geoffrey Shepherd, though, cites the southern, Italian painters Lomazzo and Zuccaro as late mannerists and their designs for 'that New Paradise on earth' as a parallel for Sidney's 'golden world', and he suggests that the epithet 'mannerist' may be borrowed for Sidney.[609] References to Italy and to relatively recent Italian theorists abound in *The Defence* as will be seen.

Sidney's use of personal anecdotes was discussed in Chapter Two and Sidney's first reference in *The Defence* is to an Italian connection on his tour. He relates the horsemanship lessons he took with his friend Edward Wotton when they were at the Emperor's court. The Imperial Riding School where they learned it had recently been founded in 1572. Their teacher was John Pietro Pugliano who displayed 'the fertileness of the Italian wit' in his logic and argument 'in the praise of his faculty' and then again to demonstrate 'what a peerless beast a horse was.'[610] He also names from his experience of Italians 'Horshemanshypp' among 'their fine certaine qualityes.'[611] This Italian wit had clearly made enough of an impression on Sidney for him to use it as a launch-pad for his own logical treatise which has both logic and wit as the threads running through it, for instance, on an unknown date in 1579, Sidney writes to his brother Robert (from personal experience with Pugliano and in Italy, one can safely assume) about the Italians that 'from a Tapster upwards they are all discoursers'[612]. During his year in Italy he would have met a number of Tapsters.[613] Kuin explains that 'discoursers' means great talkers (in a negative, sarcastic sense) and that Sidney uses it in a less pejorative sense in the context of writing, also to Robert, on 18 October 1580, 'The last poynt which tends to teach profite is of a *Discourser* which name I give to whosoever speakes *non simpliciter de facto, sed de qualitatibus et circumstantijs factj*; and that is it which makes me and many others rather note much more with owr penn then with our mind.*'* [614] It seems, therefore, that later Sidney grew to admire discoursers and that his *Defence* is the product of that art. In it he not only states facts about language and literary history as analysed in Chapter One, but also provides context for those facts in the form of his experience in Italy and his reading, for example, his reference to the popularity of English poets being

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[607] Philip Sidney, *Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and Jan Van Dorsten (Oxford, 1973), 64.
[608] Ibid., 79.
[609] Sir Philip Sidney*, An Apology for Poetry or The Defence of Poesy*, ed, Geoffrey Shepherd (London, 1965), 66.
[610] Sir Philip Sidney*,* Sir Philip Sidney*, An Apology for Poetry:* ed. R.W. Maslen, 109.
[611] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Kuin, 882.
[612] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Kuin, 882.
[613] Oxford English Dictionary 'A man who draws the beer, etc. for the customers in a public house; the keeper of a tavern.'
[614] Ibid., 1007. A discourser ' speaks not only of the facts, but of the quality and the circumstances of the facts.'

lower than that of the charlatan Mountebanks in Venice.[615] In *The Defence* Sidney refers to a number of Italian influences. He alludes to Baldesar Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* published in April 1528 by Aldine Press in Venice. *Book of the Courtier*. Castiglione (1478-1529), in a striking parallel with Sidney, was, according to George Bull, a 'courtier and diplomat, poet, scholar and soldier, is generally thought of as typifying the gentlemanly virtues expounded and extolled in *The Book of the Courtier*.'[616] The work is in four books and, in the form of group discussions, analyses the qualities and actions of the perfect courtier. In his dedicatory letter to the Bishop of Viseu, he hopes of other courtiers that:

> If, for all that, they are unable to attain to that perfection, such as it is, that I have tried to express, the one who comes nearest to it will be the most perfect; as when many archers shoot at a target and none of them hits the bull's eye, the one who comes the closest is surely better than the rest.[617]

Michael Brennan uses Sidney's letter to Languet of 15 January 1574 to support his belief that Sidney admired and had access to this and other publications by The Aldine Press.[618] This would seem to be valid, as Sidney states his intention to improve his Latin, French and Italian language skills with the help of a volume of Cicero's letters translated into Italian by Paolo Manuzio (also a book-shop owner). This volume was indeed published in 1545,1551 and 1552 in Venice by the Aldi Filii [i.e. sons of Aldus, namely Paolo and Antonio Manuzio]. However, in his note Kuin writes that Sidney is 'probably' referring to Manuzio's translation.[619]

Sidney begins *The Defence* with his account of his horsemanship lessons with Pugliano and Castiglione includes horsemanship as an essential attribute of the perfect courtier. It should be remembered that Sidney became an accomplished horseman and tilter, and 'may have begun his career as a tilter at Woodstock or in the Accession day tilt of 17 November' (1575).[620] He followed Castiglione's wish for any courtier:

> So would I have this Courtier of ours excel all others in what is the special profession of each. And as it is the peculiar excellence of the Italians to ride well with the rein, to manage wild horses especially with great skill, to tilt and joust, let him be among the best of Italians in this.[621]

Roger Howell uses the contemporary chronicle of Henry Goldwell to describe in detail the famous 1581 Whitsun Monday tournament.[622] This was to welcome and honour French commissioners, and was called 'the Fortress of Perfect Beauty'.[623] Goldwell writes of Sidney's 'sumptuous manner', his blue armour engraved with gilt, his thirty gentlemen and yeoman, his four spare horses and four

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[615] Sir Philip Sidney*, An Apology for Poetry:* ed. R.W. Maslen, 109. See Chapter One, n.114.
[616] Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier,* trans. with introduction by George Bull (London,1967), 9.
[617] Baldesar,Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*: *The Singleton Translation,* trans. Charles S. Singleton, ed. D. Javitch (New York, 2002), 28.
[618] Michael Brennan, 'Philip Sidney's Book-Buying at Venice and Padua,', *Sidney Journal* 36 Number 1 (2018), 22-23. The letter appears in *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Kuin, 92.
[619] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Kuin, 92, n.5.
[620] *ODNB,* H. R. Woudhuysen, 25 September 2014.
[621] Baldesar,Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*: *The Singleton Translation,* trans. Charles S. Singleton, ed. D. Javitch (New York, 2002), 7.
[622] Roger Howell, *Sir Philip Sidney The Shepherd Knight (Boston,1968*), 86-87.
[623] Ibid., 85.

trumpeters. In *Astrophil and Stella* Sonnet 104, Sidney echoes the 'stars upon mine armour.'[624] Sonnet 49 is a celebration of horsemanship and of love riding the lover, which, as Ringler comments, is a Petrarchan theme, points out:

> I on my horse and *Love* on me doth trie
>
> Our horsemanships, while by strange worke I prove
>
> A horseman to my horse, a horse to love. [625]

Sidney's tuition from the persuasive Italian Pugliano and Castiglione's wish for any courtier regarding tilting and jousting clearly made a strong impression on him. Another example of Castiglione's influence on *The Defence* is when Sidney writes of Pugliano and himself, 'the scholar is to be pardoned that followeth the steps of his master.'[626] Castiglione states, 'therefore, whoever would be a good pupil must not only do things well, but must always make every effort to resemble and, if that be possible, to transform himself into his master.'[627] Again, Sidney with 'And for the lawyer, though *jus* be the daughter of justice, and justice the chief of virtues.'[628] This echoes Castiglione's 'of the duties that fall to the prince, the most important is justice, and 'from justice springs that piety toward God which all men must have, and especially princes, who ought to love Him above all else, and direct all their actions to Him as to the true end.'[629] If Sidney bought a copy of the Italian *Book of the Courtier* from the Aldine press or from any of the five bookshops mentioned before (which is likely) and read it for the first time (which is also likely), these examples demonstrate a credible link between *Book of the Courtier* and *The Defence.* A key figure with *Book of the Courtier* is Pietro Bembo (1470-1547). Bembo corrected the proofs of *Book of the Courtier* as Castiglione was in Spain. He claimed that he was 'of a noble Venetian family', and he was 'one of the most famous men of letters of the Italian Renaissance.' Bembo was considered an authority on language and style. He became a cardinal in 1539.[630] He wrote 'poems and prose, including a defence of the Tuscan language which was 'analagous to Sidney's defence of English here.'[631] Bembo is used by Sidney as an example of the 'great captains' who have championed 'sweet poesy.'[632] It is difficult to believe that Sidney did not encounter Bembo's work and influence whilst he was in Venice. The same is true of Julius Caesar Scaliger (1426-1503), who was an Italian scholar, physician, and literary theorist in France. He claimed to be a descendant of the Veronese della Scala family. As a young man he entered the Franciscan Order, and later became a soldier:

> His best-known works were *Oratorio pro M. Tullio Cicerone* (1531), an embittered attack on Erasmus, and *Poetices libri septem* (1561), an Aristotelian treatise on literary theory which proved to be a seminal influence on notions of decorum in seventeenth-century French drama.[633]

His *Poetices libri septem* 'which Sidney knew well, is the most comprehensive of all sixteenth-century treatises on poetry.'[634] Sidney writes 'one may be a poet without versing, and a versifier without

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[624] *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler Jr., 233.
[625] Ibid., 189. See n., 476.
[626] Sir Philip Sidney*, An Apology for Poetry:* ed. R.W. Maslen, 81.
[627] Baldesar, Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*: *The Singleton Translation, 31.*
[628] Sir Philip Sidney*,* Sir Philip Sidney*, An Apology for Poetry:* ed. R.W. Maslen, 89.
[629] Baldesar, Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*: *The Singleton Translation,* 228-229.
[630] Baldesar, Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*: *The Singleton Translation,* 263.
[631] Sir Philip Sidney*, An Apology for Poetry:* ed. R.W. Maslen, 222, n.33.
[632] Ibid., 108.
[633] Oxford Dictionary of the Renaissance, 2005.
[634] Ibid., 223.

poetry.'[635] Jan Van Dorsten refers this to Scaliger's *Poetices*, I:ii.[636] Sidney wonders when he is mounting his defence of poetry 'is it the Lyric that most displeaseth, who with his tuned lyre and well-accorded voice, giveth praise, the reward of virtue, to virtuous acts; who gives moral precepts, and natural problems ; who sometimes raiseth up his voice to the heights of the heavens, in singing the lauds of the immortal God?'[637] He is echoing Scaliger, who in *Poetices*, I:xiv, defines the Lyric as poetry 'chiefly of praise and (originally) sung with musical accompaniment.'[638] The connection is precisely and word for word between Sidney's lyric of praise performed by lyre and voice and Scaliger's lyric as the poetry of praise, also sung with a musical accompaniment. With regard to Plato and poets in his Republic, Sidney quotes Scaliger's *Poetices* directly, 'Qua authoritate Barbari quidam atque hispidi abuti velint ad poetas e republica exigendos; but only meant to drive out those wrong opinions of the deity.'[639] Sidney states that Poesy 'is an art of imitation, for so Aristotle termeth it in the word μίμησις – that is to say, a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth – to speak metaphorically, a speaking picture - with this end, to teach and delight.'[640] Scaliger influenced both the definition and the classification in his *Poetices*, I:I and ii.[641] Many of Sidney's essential thoughts on art and nature are based on the opening paragraphs of Scaliger's *Poetices*, VII.[642] Among his most well-known defences is that only the poet 'doth grow in effect another nature, in making things either better than nature bringeth forth, or, quite anew, forms such as never were in nature,' since 'nature never set forth the earth in so rich a tapestry as divers poets have done; neither with so pleasant rivers, fruitful trees, sweet-smelling flowers, nor whatsoever else may make the too much loved earth more lovely. Her world is brazen, the poets only deliver a golden.'[643] At the very end of *The Defence* Sidney refers to Scaliger's *Poetices*, III. xix and urges his reader 'to believe, with Scaliger, that no philosopher's precepts can make you more of an honest man than the reading of Virgil.'[644]

Antonio Minturno (Antonio Sebastiani) (1500–74) 'was named after his birthplace north of Naples. He was a bishop in Calabria, a poet in the Petrarchist mode, and a literary theorist and critic. Two treatises, *De Poeta* (1559) and *L'arte poetica* (1564), present his views on literary matters. The latter is shorter but includes valuable discussion on aspects of vernacular poetry. His position is strongly Aristotelian, and critical of the vernacular romance.'[645] Maslen, to whose research this section is indebted, has traced the conversation between *De Poeta* and Sidney's *The Defence*. We have both used the 1559 edition of *De Poeta* in this task. Sidney offers a list of writers who had made poetry

[635] Philip Sidney, *Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and Jan Van Dorsten (Oxford, 1973), 100.
[636] Ibid., 201. See Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetices Libri Septum* (Heidelberg, 1586), 23-26.
[637] Ibid., 97. See Scaliger, *Poetices*, 116-11. ' Proxima Heroicae Lyrica nobilitataut illa cantu Rapsodia, & Eposita haec Ode. Neque enim ea fine cantuatque lyra.'
[638] Ibid., 200.
[639] Ibid., 108. Scaliger, *Poetices*, 10.
[640] Ibid., 79-80.
[641] Ibid., 190, 'Both the definition and the classification are derived from Scaliger *Poetices*, I:I and ii', and 'Poetry as Sidney defines it, therefore, is the verbal representation (in memorable images) of ideas, in order to teach and delight.'
[642]Philip Sidney, *Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and Jan Van Dorsten, 189, n. 78.2
[643] Ibid., 78.
[644] Ibid., 121. See Scaliger, *Poetices*, 261-262, 'ex locis maximam prestantissimaque scribendi tationem ex illius divini viri prudential mutuabere.'
[645] Oxford Dictionary of Italian Literature.

'treasure houses' of science and knowledge and Minturno, among eulogists of poetry, does this.[646] Minturno associates prophecy with poetry, as does Sidney with:

> Among the Romans a poet was called *vates*, which is as much as a diviner, foreseer, or prophet, as by his conjoined words *vaticinium* and *vaticinari* is manifest: so heavenly a title did that excellent people bestow upon this heart-ravishing knowledge.[647]

'For the philosopher, setting down with thorny arguments the bare rule, is so hard of utterance and so misty to be conceived.'[648] Sidney's term 'thorny argument' (spino sus) is described by Maslen as one that humanists, for example Minturno, used for academic arguments or problems. Sidney's 'Now for the poet, he nothing affirms, and therefore never lieth,' echoes Minturno.[649] G. Gregory Smith expands on this contact between Sidney and Minturno – although he does not cite which edition of *De Poeta* he is using. He quotes, for example, a passage from *De Poeta* (I.p.38) 'Sed tamen docendus erat populus, & ad virtutem informandus, non praeceptis philosophorum, sed exemplis, quae non historici, sed poetae protulissent.'[650] This is closely echoed when Sidney writes 'Now dooth the peerless Poet performe both: for whatsoever the Philosopher sayth should be done, hee giveth a perfect picture of it in some one, by whom hee presupposeth it was done.'[651] Sidney describes the poet 'indeed the right popular philosopher, whereof Aesop's tales give good proof,' which resonates with Minturno.[652] 'There rests the Heroical [Lyric poetry], whose very name (I think) should daunt all backbiters; for by what conceit can a tongue be directed to speak evil of that which draweth with it no less champions than Achilles, Cyrus, Aeneas, Turnus, Tydeus, and Rinaldo?'[653] References to Scaliger and Minturno run throughout the *Defence*, leaving the reader in no doubt of the evidence in support of the Italian literary theory that underpins Sidney's treatise.

Another significant Italian influence on Sidney's writing is Giordano Bruno. While the evidence is that Bruno and Sidney did not meet until Spring 1583 in London, some three years after the writing of *The Defence*, it is possible that Sidney had heard about this strange, controversial figure and read his work while he was staying in Venice and Padua; and that he added facets of Bruno's thinking to *The Defence*. He could easily have adapted and edited his *Defence* while socialising and in discussions with Bruno. John Buxton posits that 'to judge from the evidence of many writers of the time, in most of western Europe if a cultivated or learned man were to mention that he intended to visit England someone would almost certainly advise him to make the acquaintance of Philip Sidney.'[654] Bruno says that he has heard of Sidney before meeting him at Greville's dinner party, but does not say from whom.

> There is one person, however, who must be mentioned, already well known to me by reputation when I was in Milan and in France, and then by experience here in his own country, where I have seen him: that is, the very illustrious and excellent knight, Sir Philip Sidney, whose remarkable mind and much-praised manners are so unique and

[646] Sir Philip Sidney*, An Apology for Poetry:* ed. R.W. Maslen, 82 and 124. See also Minturno, *De Poeta* (Venice, 1559), 10.
[647] Ibid., 82 and 130. See also Minturno, *De Poeta,* 15.
[648] Ibid., 90 and 160. See also Minturno, *De Poeta,* 39.
[649] Ibid., 103 and 204. See also Minturno, *De Poeta,* 68.
[650] *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith (London, 1904), 389, n. 25.
[651] Ibid., 164.
[652] Sir Philip Sidney*, An Apology for Poetry:* ed. R.W. Maslen, 92 and 166, The poet as popular philosopher was a 'commonplace' with sixteenth century writers. See Minturno, 38-40.
[653] Ibid., 99 and 192 n. 26, 'Minturno too concludes after some discussion that the epic is the greatest of all genres.' See Minturno, *De Poeta*, 105.
[654] John Buxton, *Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance* (London, 1954), 161.

> rare that they are difficult to equal in any company, however brilliant it may be. Nobody can be compared to him, either inside or outside of Italy itself.[655]

These are the words of a potential beneficiary indeed, although they fit well with other European opinions of Sidney, for example those of Charles IX of France. Giordano Bruno (1548-1600) was also known as 'Nolano' after his birthplace, Nola, at the foothills of Vesuvius. Frances Yates states that in 1563 he entered the Dominican Order and was in the Dominican convent in Naples. However, in 1576 he ran from the convent as he was in trouble for heresy. Thus began 'his life of wandering through Europe'.[656] After time spent in Geneva and Toulouse, he reached Paris 'some time late in 1581'. There he gave lectures and published two books on the art of memory which 'reveal him as a magician.' This caught the attention of King Henri III. [657] Bruno's self-confidence is demonstrated in his introductory Epistle to his *Seal of Seals* – addressed to the Vice Chancellor and Faculty of Oxford on the topic of Copernican heliocentrism. He declares himself 'doctor of a more obtuse theology, professor of a purer and more innocuous wisdom, noted in the highest academies of Europe, an approved and honourably received philosopher, a stranger nowhere save the barbarous and ignoble.'[658] This confidence may have had adverse consequences, as Bruno's description of a lecture visit to Oxford in June 1583 (in the company of Polish Prince Albert Laski and Sidney) is as negative as the Oxford teachers' view of him. In Dialogue IV of *The Ash Wednesday Supper* Bruno recounts (through the character Frulla) how on this visit he encountered 'pedantic and obstinate ignorance and arrogance, mixed with rustic incivility'. He continues that Nolan:

> answered their arguments, and how that poor doctor was floored by him fifteen times with fifteen syllogisms, like a chick in the chaff. Have them tell you how uncivil and rude that swine was, and how much patience and humanity was shown by his opponent, who behaved like a true Neapolitan, born and raised under a more gentle sky.[659]

The other side of the story is revealed by Robert McNulty.[660] He quotes George Abbot (1562-1633), who remembers and writes about the same visit in 1604. Abbot had been Master of University College at the time, was three times Vice- Chancellor of the University and Archbishop of Canterbury from 1611-1633.[661] His reminiscences of Bruno are of an arrogant, self-publicising plagiarist. He calls him 'the Italian Didapper' with 'a name longer than his body' 'whose heart was on fire , to make himself by some worthy exploit to become famous in the celebrious place'. Evidently Bruno rolled up his sleeves 'like some Iugler.' Abbot mocks Bruno's English pronunciation and declares that far from the opinion of Copernicus that Bruno 'set on foot', 'it was his own head which rather did run round, and his braines did not stand still.' There is even an accusation that Bruno's two lectures were 'taken almost verbatim' from the works of Marsilius Ficinus.[662] Bruno never gained his desired teaching post at Oxford.

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[655] Giordano Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, trans. Hilary Gatti (Toronto, 2018, Kindle version), location 2570.
[656] Frances Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Abingdon, 2002), 210.
[657] Ibid., 210.
[658] Ibid., 227.
[659] Giordano Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, trans. Hilary Gatti (Toronto, 2018, Kindle Edition), location 3973.
[660] Robert McNulty, "Bruno at Oxford." *Renaissance News*, vol. 13, no. 4, 1960, pp. 300–05.
[661] Kenneth Fincham, *ONDB*, 06 January 2011.
[662] Robert McNulty, "Bruno at Oxford.", 302-303.

On the other hand, Hilary Gatti writes that Bruno 'covered in London a diplomatic position as a gentleman attendant to the French ambassador.[663] Bruno was by no means the obscure upstart that English and American commentators depict him as.'[664] The French Ambassador from 1575-1586) was Michel Castelnau, seigneur de Mauvissière (1518-1592).[665] Castelnau's household was in Salisbury Court, between Fleet Street and the Thames.[666] This role took Bruno frequently to the English Court as Castelnau's 'gentilhuomo'.[667] Bossy describes the relationship that developed between Sidney and Bruno as 'intense.'[668] In *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair* John Bossy traces Bruno's intelligencing role for Secretary Francis Walsingham, focused on French Catholics in London. Bossy writes of the times that 'In the heavy atmosphere which prevailed before lightning finally struck , the traitor, the spy, the counter-spy, and the *agent-provocateur* were a normal recourse of governments.'[669] It would appear from Bossy's research that Bruno was as useful to the Walsingham-Sidney set in London as they were to him. That is to say that the arrangement was mutually advantageous; Bruno gained his wished-for contacts at Oxford University and Walsingham his cohort gained in return John Bossy's productive, convincing 'Catholic' mole within the French Embassy.

Some of Bruno's works were published by Sidney's friend Andreas Wechel.[670] Two of the seven books he published while in London, *Spaccio De La Bestia Trionfante* and *Heroici Fuori*, are dedicated to Sidney and Lewis Einstein acclaims him as 'the greatest of all the Italians who came to England in the sixteenth century.'[671]. Einstein immediately adds, though, the contradiction that 'His visit, however, left only doubtful traces on contemporary literature, and was barely noticed even by his English friends.' Whether true or not, his mark regarding his theories of memory on Sidney's *The Defence* is clear, where:

> Even they that have taught the art of memory have showed nothing so apt for it as a certain room divided into many places well and thoroughly known. Now, that hath the verse in effect perfectly, every word having his natural seat, which seat must needs make the words remembered. But what needeth more in a thing so known to all men? Who is it that ever was a scholar that doth not carry away some verses of Virgil, Horace or Cato, which in his youth he learned, and even to his old age serve him for hourly lessons?
>
> But the fitness it hath for a memory is notably proved by all delivery of arts: wherein for the most part, from Grammar to Logic, Mathematic, Physic and the rest, the rules chiefly to be born away are compiled in verses. So that verse being in itself sweet and orderly, and being best for memory, the only handle of knowledge, it must be in jest that any man can speak against it.[672]

As far as textual research has revealed, it is Van Dorsten and Maslen who elaborate on the connection between Bruno's Art of Memory and Sidney's *Defence*. Van Dorsten places weight on the connection when he comments that 'throughout the *Defence* the stress on memory is unusually great.' He develops

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[663] John Bossy, *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair* (New Haven and London, 1991),10.
[664] Hilary Gatti, *Essays on Giordano Bruno* (New Jersey, 2011), 119.
[665] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Kuin, I, 1024.
[666] John Bossy, *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair*, 10.
[667] Ibid., 23.
[668] Ibid., 23.
[669] Ibid., 6.
[670] Robert E. Stillman, *Philip Sidney and the Poetics of Renaissance Cosmopolitanism* (Aldershot, 2008), 226.
[671] Lewis Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England* (London, 1902), 192.
[672] Sir Philip Sidney*, An Apology for Poetry:* ed. R.W. Maslen, 102.

this by stating that 'to Sidney the poet's method depends heavily on his ability to conceptualize ideas in such a way that they become memorable, and thereby useful, to his readers.' Van Dorsten highlights the example of the 'speaking picture' to which Sidney refers as the 'perfect picture.' This, according to Van Dorsten, is a mnemonic that contains an entire concept which the philosopher can describe only circumstantially.[673] This is what Sidney says, that it 'yieldeth to the powers of the mind an image of that whereof the philosopher bestoweth but a wordish description, which doth neither strike, pierce, nor possess the sight of the soul so much as that other doth.' [674]Maslen informs his reader that memory was called the 'threasure of the mind.' And that 'most Renaissance scholars paid serious attention to the art.' It 'had been the fourth of the five branches of study in the traditional art of rhetoric, but in the later Middle Ages it came to be developed as a separate subject, notably by members of the Dominican and Franciscan orders.' Bruno had been a Dominican and included sections on memory in several of his works, for example *The Seal of Seals* and so the link with the *Defence* and the scholarship of Van Dorsten and Maslen is clear.[675]

In the Art of Memory there are basic rules. To remember anything, 'convert it into images and then distribute those images in a set of places around a building or other structure in a particular order.' To recall those images, you 'retrace your steps through the sequence of places, viewing and decoding each of the images as you go.'[676] This, from the paragraph above in *The Defence*, is arguably what Sidney has in mind, for example with *Astrophil and Stella* where each sonnet of the sequence constitutes a room. The themes of the sun, moon and stars constitute rooms of a memory place (as is examined below). The themes of ink and writing, Astrophil's wit and the Muses are others, 'While tears powre out his ink, and sighs breathe out his words', ' Thus write I while I doubt to write, and wreake My harmes on Ink's poore losse', 'My verie ink turns straight to *Stella's* name' and 'What inke is blacke inough to paint my wo?'[677] The conceit of writing appears in 'from the outset, "'Foole', said my Muse to me, looke in thy heart and write'.", "'Come let me write, 'And to what end?'", 'Thus write I while I doubt to write.', 'As good to write as for to lie and grone.', 'So that I cannot chuse but write my mind, And cannot chuse but put out what I write.', 'And love doth hold my hand, and makes me write.', and 'It is but love, which makes his paper perfit white/To write therein more fresh the story of delight.'[678] 'My wit' recurs as an aide memoire throughout the sequence, 'And now employ the remnant of my wit, /To make my selfe believe that all is well', 'Thou sets a bate between my will and wit' and 'And as a Queene, who from her presence sends whom she imployes, dismiss from thee my wit.'[679] The final example here of an object in several of Sidney's memory rooms are the Muses, 'Some Lovers speake when they their muses entertain', 'Muses, I oft invoked your holy ayde, With choicest flowers my speech to engarland so.' , 'And Muses scorne with vulgar braines to dwell, Poor layman , for sacred rites unfit.', and 'The new *Pernassus*, where the Muses bide, /Sweetner of musicke, wisdome's beautifier.' These few illustrations are more than essential themes of the sequence, they become memory objects throughout it as a memory palace: Sidney's ink, his writing, his wit and his inspiration. His muses are all rooms in the memory palace of *Astrophil and Stella*.

[673] *The Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney* ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and Jan Van Dorsten (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1973), 194.
[674] Ibid., 85.
[675] Sir Philip Sidney*, An Apology for Poetry:* ed. R.W. Maslen, 199-200.
[676] Giordano Bruno, *Thirty Seals and the Seal of Seals*, trans. Scott Gosnell (Huggin, Munnin and Co., 2016), 1-2.
[677] *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler Jr. (Oxford, 1962), *Sonnets 6, 19, 34, 93,* pp. 168, 174, 182 and 227 respectively.
[678] Ibid., *Sonnets 1,34,40, 50, 90 and 102*, pp. 165,181, 182 184, 190 224 and 232 respectively.
[679] Ibid., *Sonnets 2, 4, 64 and 107*, pp. 166, 236 and 198 respectively.

Astrophil (Sidney) is the rhetorician of *Astrophil and Stella*, but his orator's memory palace helps to provide the structure which also helps his reader.

Another link in addition to memory between Bruno and Sidney's *The Defence* is where Sidney reports that 'they say the Lyric is larded with passionate sonnets, the Elegaic weeps the want of his mistress, and that even to the Heroical Cupid hath ambitiously climbed'.**[680]** Maslen notes that Bruno in *Gli heroici furori* (published in 1585 and dedicated to Sidney) writes about 'Love having taken to itself wings and become heroical.'[681] As far as the Sonnet form is concerned, Hilary Gatti traces the lineage from Sidney's sonnets through Brunos' and back to Petrarch's. She says that Bruno firstly 'brings a long Italian experience of Petrarchan and anti-Petrarchan debate to the banks of the river Thames, developing it in terms of a direct confrontation with the principal English Petrarchan poet of his time, Sir Philip Sidney.'[682] Bruno's second contribution, Gatti proposes, is that he wants to 'maintain the sonnet as a valid form of expression in the early modern world.'[683] This force could partly account for what Duncan-Jones calls the 'great Elizabethan vogue for sonneteering, in the wake of Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella.*'[684] The Italian Renaissance in England would have been less powerful without the visit of Giordano Bruno to London and his association with Sidney and his circle.

Bruno's trials for heresy started in Venice in 1592 and ended with his being burned at the stake on the Campo di Fiori in Rome on 17 February 1600, having retracted his earlier recanting of his heresies.[685] Yates recounts that in one of his early interviews during the trial with the Inquisition in Rome (1599-1560), Bruno gave an honest account of his beliefs - which Yates cites from the *Documenti*:

> The universe is infinite, for the infinite divine power would not produce a finite world. The earth is a star, as Pythagoras said, like the moon and other planets and worlds which are infinite in number. In this universe is a universal providence in virtue of which everything in it lives and moves, and this universal nature is a shadow or vestige of the divinity, of God, who in his essence is ineffable and inexplicable. The three attributes of the divinity he understands – together with theologians and the greatest philosophers – to be all one. The three attributes of Power, Wisdom and Goodness ("Potenzia, Sapienza e Bontà"), are the same as *mens*, *intellectus,* and *amor*.[686]

This goes against the bible-based Christian teaching that Sidney would have believed and followed. Gatti writes that Bruno's strategy is 'to adapt the Petrarchan linguistic and metrical code to a far larger subject, which Bruno himself calls "the contemplation of divinity". She adds that 'by this Bruno means something quite different from a quest for a Christian vision of God.'[687] This is true. Regarding an eternal universe, Christ says that 'Heaven and earth shal passe, but my words shall not passe.'[688] The universe is therefore not 'eternal' according to Christian teaching. The apostle Paul honours God, and not a universal providence, as the one 'For in him we live, move and have oure being'.[689] The three

[680] Sir Philip Sidney*, An Apology for Poetry:* ed. R.W. Maslen, 104.
[681] Ibid., 207.
[682] Hilary Gatti, *Essays on Giordano Bruno* (New Jersey, 2011), 116.
[683] Ibid., 116.
[684] William Shakespeare, *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, ed. K. Duncan-Jones (London, 1997), 29.
[685] Frances Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Abingdon, 2002), 384.
[686] Ibid., 384. Yates cites the *Documenti della vita di Giordano Bruno*, (Florence, 1933), 93-98.
[687] Hilary Gatti, *Essays on Giordano Bruno*, 117.
[688] *Coverdale Bible*, Luke 21:23.
[689] Ibid., Acts 17:28.

attributes of the Christian God are not Power, Wisdom and Goodness, but God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. 'This universal nature is a shadow or vestige of the divinity, of God, who in his essence is ineffable and inexplicable' is a concession from Bruno to intelligent design and the overall majesty of the Christian God. While Bruno's work on astronomy and his sonneteering are logical influences on Sidney, it would be difficult to understand how Bruno's surreal theology could be.

In the light of Sidney's later contact with Bruno, it is significant that Languet writes to Sidney on 22 January 1574 that 'You were absolutely right to study the rudiments of Astronomy; but I do not advise you to go further into that discipline: it is very complicated and would not give you much that is useful in return'.[690] Sidney had written from Venice on 19 December 1573 that 'at the moment I am learning the sphere.'[691] This leads directly to Sidney's *Astrophil Stella*, which is, according to Duncan-Jones, 'the first sonnet sequence in English and formed the model for many that were to follow during the 1590's.'[692] The sequence comprises 108 sonnets and nine longer songs. The 'I' (Astrophil) is identified as Sidney in Sonnet 30 by way of Sir Henry Sidney, 'How *Ulster* likes of that same golden bit, Wherewith my father once made it half tame.'[693]

In *The Defence* Sidney cites Dante and Petrarch as poets who were 'in the Italian language the first that made it (poetry) aspire to be a treasure-house of science': 'science' in the sense of knowledge.[694] This ostensibly refers to poetry as the favoured form of presenting science as he writes, 'Thales, Empedocles, and Parmenides sang their natural philosophy in verses.'[695] Here, though, the science of poetry examined is that of the sonnet verse form. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the term 'sonnet' thus:

> A poem of fourteen lines using any of a number of formal rhyme schemes, in English typically written in iambic pentameter, and usually having a single theme.
> The invention of the sonnet is usually credited to the Sicilian court poet Giacomo da Lentini (fl. 1233–40); the form was made famous in the 14th cent. by Petrarch. In English, the sonnet form was much used and developed during the Elizabethan period. Sonnets were often composed as part of a sequence.

Ringler dates the writing of *Astrophil and Stella* to between the marriage of Penelope Devereux ('Stella') to Robert, Lord Rich on 1 November 1581 and the end of 1582.[696] Ringler says, though, after discussing the astronomy and the seasons that are described in the sequence, 'Sidney was composing a poem, not a calendar.'[697] 'Stella' is a married woman - identified in Sonnet 24 by the repeated, pejorative use of the words 'rich' and 'richest' and unmistakably in Sonnet 37 with 'Rich in all beauties which man's eye can see', 'Rich in the treasure of deserv'd renown', 'Rich in the riches of a royal heart', 'Rich in those gifts which give th'eternal crown; who though most rich in these and everie part, which make the patents of true worldly blisse, hath no misfortune, but that Rich she is.'[698]

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[690] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Kuin, (Oxford, 95-96.
[691] Ibid., 64. Kuin says in n.1 that 'this is almost certainly the famous *Tractatus de sphere* by Johannes de Sacrobosco (John of Holywood, d. c. 1256), printed from 1493 on.'
[692] Sir Philip Sidney, *The Major Works* ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford, 2002), 357.
[693] *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler Jr., 179-180.
[694] Sir Philip Sidney*, An Apology for Poetry:* ed. R.W. Maslen, Sir Philip Sidney*,* 82.
[695] Ibid., 82.
[696] *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler Jr., 439.
[697]*The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler Jr., 438-439.
[698] Ibid, 183.

Sidney's study of astronomy in Italy would not directly have seen a return on Sidney's future diplomatic or international religious-political careers as Languet told him. His sonnet sequence *Astrophil and Stella* is, though, solidly based on the love of a star. 'And yet my Starre, because a sugred kiss / In sport I suckt, while she asleep did lie/ Doth lower, nay chide; nay threat for only this.'[699] In the Eighth song, Astrophil (Sidney the lover of Stella the star) calls out to Stella 'soveraigne of my joy', 'starre of heavenly fier', 'loadstar of desire.' In Stella's shining eyes 'are the lights of Cupid's skies/Whose beames, where they once are darted/ Love therewith is streight imparted.'[700] Moving away from Astronomy, Sonnet 26 refers to the 'dustie wits who dare scorn Astrologie', whose objections Astrophil answers with:

> For me, I do Nature unidle know,
>
> And know great causes , great effects procure:
>
> And know those bodies high raigne on the low.
>
> And if these rules did faile, proof makes me sure,
>
> Who oft fore-judge my after-following race,
>
> But only those two stars in Stella's face.[701]

Sonnet 48 opens with Astrophil imploring 'Soule's joy, bend not those morning stars from me', and Sonnet 88 questions 'When the sun is hid, can starres such beames display?' The theme of the power of the stars is over-arching in the sequence. It is accompanied by that of the moon, for example in Sonnet 30 where the 'Turkish new-moone' has the power to make global political decisions concerning such matters as the Polish King and 'fire-cold Muscovy', Holland and its royal 'Orange tree', Ulster and the Scottish Court. The first three of these issues would have come directly from his personal experiences and encounters on the tours. Sidney tells Stella he politely answers all these questions of international significance (however intellectually challenging they are) without knowing how, because 'still I think of you'.[702] Thoughts of Stella, for him, eclipse the force of the moon on the 'Christian coast'; he can only conclude in the Fourth Song that 'this small light the Moone bestows, / Serves thy beames but to disclose'.[703] Sonnet 31 starts with the moon climbing the skies with 'sad steps', silently and with a 'wanne' face. Astrophil asks the moon whether in heav'nly place 'then ev'n of fellowship, ô Moone, tell me/ Is constant Love deem'd there but want of wit'.[704] The stars, sun and moon form the backdrop to the sequence, and this would relate closely to Sidney's study of Astronomy when he was in Italy. As quoted above, Sidney's declared interest in, and study of, Astronomy in Italy was seen by Languet as worthy, but superfluous to Sidney's future as a diplomat and leader. It was, however, fundamental to Sidney the future writer of *Astrophil and Stella.*

As noted above, in Sidney's view Petrarch was one of the first who made the Italian language 'aspire to be a treasure-house of science'. His *Canzoniere* and its status as a model for *Astrophil and Stella* is explored below. *Canzoniere*, and its beginning on the day of Christ's self-sacrificial death for our sins, the Catholic Christian faith is imprinted on it. Poem 4 is devoted to God's creation, Christ's origin in a small town rather than in Rome, John and Peter being taken from their fishing to 'share with Him the heavenly kingdom.' There is the allusion to Christ's invitation in Matthew 11:28, 'O you who

[699] *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler Jr, 203.
[700] Ibid., Eighth Song, 218.
[701] Ibid., 178.
[702] Ibid., 179-130.
[703] Ibid., 210.
[704] Ibid., 180.

labour… Come you to me' and to Psalm 55:6 with the reference to 'what destiny will give me to make me like a dove, that I may rest and rise up from the earth.'[705] With a touch of blasphemy Petrarch strongly implies that, just as with Jesus, Laura. 'the sun' is from a small town and 'makes us thank nature.'[706] Thomas P. Roche Jr quotes Katherine M. Wilson who states that 'Taken seriously sonnet talk would be blasphemous.'[707] He agrees and adds a helpful definition of 'blasphemy' as 'quite simply parody of the deity' and then offers the context to sonnets and blasphemy. The human confusion, he says, is between St Augustine's *caritas* which is 'the love of God and second the love of all his created things because he created them' and *cupiditas* which is 'the love of any created thing for itself alone.'[708] All is thereby resolved for Roche, though he warns 'us as readers to be careful of what we call "Petrarchan parody."' He concedes that 'Neither Dante nor Petrarch resorts to such naked blasphemy, but the threat of blasphemy and parody inheres in their work, especially when they have conveniently killed off their ladies.'[709] Sidney does not kill Stella off, but Roche classifies his sonnets among the Parodies and Replays of Petrarch, presumably believing that Sidney's inherent blasphemy is also playing on the confusion between *caritas* and *cupiditas*. Sidney's sonnets are a rewriting of what Gary Waller calls 'the diversities and contradictions of the languages of his time'[710] In The *Defence of Poetry* (as discussed in Chapter One) Sidney reviews the major modern European languages that he knows (English, French, Italian, Dutch, Spanish and German) and the suitability of each for its poetry to be written in the vernacular.[711] The connection of Sidney's sonnets with Petrarch's, Waller argues, is not merely linguistic and literary, but also cultural. Waller suggests that 'Petrarch's long deceased woes' provided Sidney with an extraordinarily hospitable discursive structure.'[712] In *Astrophil and Stella* 'Petrarch's long deceased woes' appear in Sonnet 15. [713]According to Waller, Sidney used 'the codes that had dominated European love poetry for over 200 years. Part of its power was that it was never, merely, a poetical style and it allowed Sidney very easily to include wider cultural as well as personal concerns.'[714] Sidney adapted Petrarch's *Canzoniere* to his purposes, i.e. he created a personal narrator Astrophil, and his sonnets are a coherent sequence with a flowing narrative. Petrarch's coherence is provided by the referenced date that Petrarch met Laura - 6 April 1327 which he says was Good Friday.[715] 'It was the day on which the sun's rays lost all color at their maker's suffering' although 6 April 1327 was not Good Friday.[716] The earthly circle of Laura and Petrarch is closed by the fact that Laura dies at the same hour on 6 April 1348.[717]

The 'hospitable discursive structure' is set by Petrarch for Sidney to use. However, his context is different. As will be seen, he adapts it, but he interacts with it to create an intertext – as he did with *Old Arcadia* and the *Defence*. Judith Anderson's definition of the intertext is worth quoting in full:

> The intertext is a convenient term for a relationship or series of relationships with a single text or multiple of texts that enrich and reorient the signification and reception of

[705] Ibid., 40.
[706] Ibid., 4.
[707] Thomas P. Roche, *Petrarch in English* (London, 2005), 288. Roche quotes Katherine M. Wilson, *Shakespeare's Sugared Sonnets* (1974), 34.
[708] Ibid., 288.
[709] Ibid., 288.
[710] Gary F. Waller, and Michael D. Moore, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Interpretation of Renaissance Culture* (Totowa N.J., 1984), 69.
[711] Sir Philip Sidney*, An Apology for Poetry:* ed. R.W. Maslen, 115-116.
[712] Gary F. Waller, and Michael D. Moore, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Interpretation of Renaissance Culture*,
[713] *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler Jr, 172.
[714] Ibid., 69.
[715] Petrarch, *The Essential Petrarch*, ed. Peter Hainsworth (Hackett: Indianapolis, 2010), 3.
[716] Ibid., x.
[717] Ibid., x.

> the text in question. The intertext can be imagined on a continuum between deliberate imitation and intentional allusion, on the one hand, and on the other, an intertextuality in which the unlimited agency of the signifier operates virtually without regard for context, whether sentential and textually specific or broadly cultural, societal, and historical.[718]

Sidney's intertextuality from Petrarch and Sannazaro and his intertexts *Old Arcadia* and *Astrophil and Stella* operate in the centre of Anderson's continuum. Each of these texts of Sidney's is in relationship with multiple others. Sidney deliberately alludes to these other texts and imitates them as has been demonstrated, but he does so with the freedom of the first person narrator and - in the cases of *Old Arcadia* and *Astrophil and Stella* – the named narrators Astrophil and Philisides. That is what gives him extra agency. This is how he uses the μίμησις (mimesis, imitatio) which he addresses in the *Defence*, 'Poesy, therefore is an art of imitation, for so Aristotle termeth it in his word *mimesis*, that is to say , a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth – to speak metaphorically, a speaking picture – with this end, to teach and delight.[719] Thomas Greene opens his work with a declaration of context surrounding the depth of the impact of *imitatio* during the Renaissance era in Italy, France and England, 'The imitation of models was a precept and an activity which during that era embraced not only literature but pedagogy, grammar, rhetoric, esthetics, the visual arts, music, historiography, politics, philosophy. It was central and pervasive.'[720] Greene introduces Roger Ascham as the advocate of imitation's not only 'bridging distance', but 'being sensitive to light and shade and of 'precise calculations'. The imitator learns to distinguish the sublime (*sublime*) from the pompous (*tumidium*) and the dry (*siccum*) from the arid (*aridium*). Greene evaluates Ascham's contribution of precision and 'hitting the mark' as his contribution to the English Renaissance.[721] Sidney would have known the theory of these skills from his school days, and would have used them in parallel with Languet's advice about gathering flowers to use in his writing. Sidney with *Arcadia* and *Astrophil and Stella* has taken from Italian two works and imitated, represented and counterfeited them. He has kept a labyrinth of connections between those pieces and his own. Graham Allen 's argument is that:

> The act of reading, theorists claim, plunges us into a network of textual relations. To interpret a text, to discover its meaning, or meanings, is to trace those relations. Reading thus becomes a process of moving between texts. Meaning becomes something which exists between a text and all other texts to which it refers and relates, moving out from the independent text into a network of textual relations. The text becomes the intertext.[722]

With *Old Arcadia* and *Astrophil and Stella* Sidney does precisely this. As has been demonstrated, each of the texts flows in and out of the Italian texts which it is imitating and counterfeiting. Each text moves towards the Italian texts to form those close bonds with them and then pulls back to become its own text, which then repeats the process of imitating and counterfeiting. This forms a network of intertextuality.

In the light of Petrarch's 'hospitable discursive structure' and of intertext and *imitatio*, Astrophil *and Stella* introduces the unattainable, married woman Stella - with her cruel indifference, dark eyes and

[718] Judith H.Anderson, *Reading the Allegorical Intertext* (New York, 2008), 1-2.
[719] Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry:* ed. R.W. Maslen, 86.
[720] Thomas M.Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (London, 1982), 1.
[721] Ibid., 269-270.
[722] Graham Allen, *Intertextuality* (Abingdon, 2000), 1.

fair hair. Petrarch's Laura has 'fair eyes' and 'ringlets of pure shining gold.'[723] It could be debated whether Stella's unattainable status is due solely to her being married, or to her being an untouchable, indifferent Protestant English queen who is refusing to give Sidney the opportunities that he craved to serve her abroad, as in Sonnet 107, 'and as a Queene, who from her presence sends whom she imployes, dismisse from thee my wit'.[724] In Sonnet 9 some call Stella's face 'Queene Virtue's court.'[725] Leonard Forster notes 'It has often been pointed out that there are countless poems which could be interpreted either as courtly homage to Elizabeth or as 'straight' love poems to unknown – or even known – ladies.'[726] He takes it a step further when he writes, 'Elizabeth is connected with the renewed vogue of petrarchism in literature not simply by an accident of chronology, but because she herself wished to have it so. And she wished to have it so because it was politically expedient. She was the only sovereign in Europe who was fitted to assume the character of the petrarchistic ideal.'[727] Forster offers extra literary historical context when he says:

> The new Petrarchan impulse, which came with Wyatt and Surrey, fitted into it (the 'Game of Love') at court very well. But the years between the death of Henry VIII and the accession of Elizabeth I were not well suited to the exercise of this game at court. There is a gap.[728] Petrarchism had to be rediscovered and re-assimilated; it does not come to the fore again until revived by Sidney and Spenser under the shadow of Elizabeth and in celebration of her.[729]

Sidney's Protestant English sonnet sequence is arguably a declaration of loyalty to Queen Elizabeth I from Sidney who has never entirely convinced her of his reliability – as he comes from a line of three traitors. There is no substantive reference in *Astrophil and Stella* to Christian doctrine (as there is in Petrarch's *Canzoniere*). In the light of Roche's comments about blasphemy and parody, however, this is understandable, coming from Sidney the reformed Protestant in the environment of his reformed Protestant England. *Astrophil and Stella's* references are classical, for example Ovid's Morpheus in Sonnet 32 and the Aganippe well in Sonnet 74.[730] *Astrophil and Stella* is the first English sonnet sequence adapted from the fourteenth century Italian for the environment of Elizabeth I's England and created to be appropriate for the nation to which he returned in 1575 which is described in the Conclusion.

In summary, Sidney's Italian tour can be seen as having been an opportunity for him to create or nurture an interest in fictional literature (Poesy), to study Italian perhaps for the first time when used as a language for poetry and to hear modern languages spoken within international environments like Venice and Padua. He was able to make decisions and judgements about those languages, for example concerning his dislike of German. In a practical sense he was also relatively free for a while from those older men who manoeuvred his travels and studies; those whom Duncan-Jones calls his 'Dutch Uncles.'[731] In Venice Sidney pursued his book-buying which included Sannazaro's *L'Arcadia*, the model for his own *Old Arcadia*. This time gave Sidney the opportunity to encounter or re-encounter the Italian poetical theory which filtered into his *Defence of Poetry*.

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[723] Petrarch, *The Essential Petrarch*, ed. Peter Hainsworth 3 and 108.
[724] *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler Jr, 236.
[725] Ibid., 169.
[726] Leonard Forster, *The Icy Fire: Five Studies in European Petrarchism* (Cambridge, 1969), 138.
[727] Ibid., 147.
[728] Ibid., 133.
[729] Ibid., 133.
[730] *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler Jr, 138.
[731] Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet*, 21.

This chapter has also analysed two literary concepts. Firstly, the concept of intertextuality - the conversation between a newly created text (in this case *Defence of Poetry*, *Old Arcadia* or *Astrophil and Stella*) and earlier literary creations (in this case Sannazaro's *Arcadia* and Petrarch's *Canzoniere*). Intertexuality involves the intertext (the new text) being in relationship or relationships with the earlier texts and Sidney's works fall in the middle of a scale between intentionally mimicking the original text and a completely new text which takes no account of context, be that context historical, textual or cultural. The second technique is μίμησις (mimesis, imitatio), which is in Sidney's words 'a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth' and whose aim is to teach and to delight. The act of reading is to follow the relationships between the intertext and its forebears and to be taught and delighted by the speaking picture that has been newly worked.

Sidney's year and experiences in Italy affected his view of writing in the vernacular and that impact continued later with his relationship with Giordano Bruno. The Southern Tour was formative for Sidney's literary development and *Old Arcadia, Defence of Poetry* and *Astrophil and Stella* would be much poorer, or maybe would not exist, without that travel experience.

Chapter Four

So that truly neither philosopher nor historiographer could at the first have entered into the gates of popular judgments, if they had not taken a great passport of poetry, which in all nations at this day, where learning flourisheth not, is plain to be seen; in all which they have some feeling of Poetry.[732]

Sidney's image of Poetry as a 'great passport' to all nations is striking, as he had experience of seeking passports, passports expiring and the conditions that came with them. A passport was a licence to travel issued by Elizabeth I and it followed a fixed formula. It was a one-time licence for a specific purpose for a limited duration of travel, and it had precise terms attached. These conditions were usually geographical restrictions within the area of the licence of travel, financial restrictions or those regarding people the holder should not meet. Sidney's licence is displayed in Appendix One and discussed in previous chapters. Two other examples of the formula are those issued to Nicholas Throckmorton on 28 April 1565 and Anthony Mildmay on 6 June 1595.

Throckmorton's passport is for use in different circumstances from Sidney's, but it also follows key steps of the formula. His licence to travel is to facilitate his task as Elizabeth I's agent in preventing Mary Queen of Scots' marriage to Lord Darnley and it states that Elizabeth's:

> Will and straight commaundment is that youe and every of youe do not only see him furnished for himself and his servants of hable post horses from place to place between this and Barwyck at our price but also suffre hym and his said servants with his money jewels bagges bagguages and all other his and their utensils and necessaryes quietly to pass you w[i]thout any manner your lett s[ea]rch trouble or contradiction as ye tendre our ples[u]re and will answer for the contrary at your perills.[733]

[732] Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry:* ed. R.W. Maslen (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2002), 83.
[733] https://www.passport-collector.com/passport-signed-by-elizabeth-i-queen-of-england-1595.

The similarities between Mildmay's passport, which lies in the University of St Andrews archives, and Sidney's are striking. Mildmay's passport gave him a year-long licence to travel to receive healing treatments in Germany:

> To repair to certaine Bathes in the parts of Germanie three servants three horse and one hundred pounds in money together with all other his necessarie Carriages and utensils, provided he does not 'haunte or resort into' the territories of hostile foreign powers, and 'use not the companie of anie Jhesuite or other evil afflicted person.[734]

The Elizabethan passport was (as it is today) an essential tool for expanded physical and intellectual freedom – albeit with detailed constraints. Thus, the passport metaphor encapsulates Sidney's presentation of Poetry in *An Apology for Poetry* as the uniquely global art.

As one fruit of Sidney's physical and intellectual freedom in Europe, *An Apology* has in its lifetime been seen as golden, subversive and ground-breaking. In its content and its style, it is new and fresh. Katherine Duncan-Jones' view is that *An Apology* 'stands head and shoulders above all the other theoretical treatises of the Elizabethan period'.[735] As is explored in this chapter, Duncan-Jones makes this contrast because, as she says, *An Apology* ' is constantly entertaining, which the others are not, and because Sidney carries the debate back to first principles - the value of the imagination itself – and tackles Plato head-on.'[736] R.W. Maslen adds to the superlatives with the critique that it is 'the most stylish and seductive work of literary theory written in the Renaissance'.[737] While Kent R. Lehnhof casts doubt on the effectiveness of *An Apology* as a defence of poetry, he concedes that it is an impressive, perhaps even unparalleled rhetorical exercise.[738] Sidney's *Apology* is believed to be a refutation of Stephen Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*. In his introduction to his 1868 edition of the *Schoole of Abuse*, Edward Arber states that 'it is highly probable, if not absolutely demonstrable that to Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse* we are indebted for Sidney's *Apologie for Poetrie*'.[739] Stephen Gosson (1554-1624) dedicated this *The School of Abuse containing a*

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[734] https://www.passport-collector.com/passport-signed-by-elizabeth-i-queen-of-england-1595.
[735] Katherine Duncan–Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney, The Major Works* (OUP, Oxford, 1989), xvii.

[736] Ibid., xviii.
[737] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 1.
[738] Kent R. Lehnhof , 'Profeminism in Philip Sidney's Apology for Poetrie', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* vol. 48, no. 1 (2008): 23-43. www.jstor.org/stable/40071320, 23.
[739] Gosson, Stephen, [? August 1579.] *The Schoole of Abuse And A Short Apologie of The Schoole of Abuse [?* November 1579], ed., Edward Arber (London, 1868), 13.

pleasant invective against poets, pipers, plaiers, jesters, and such like caterpillers of a co[m]monwelth; setting vp the hagge of defiance to their mischieuous exercise, [and] ouerthrowing their bulwarkes, by prophane writers, naturall reason, and common experience: a discourse as pleasaunt for gentlemen that fauour learning, as profitable for all that wyll follow virtue to: The right noble gentleman, Master Philip Sidney, Esquier, Stephen Gosson wisheth health of body, wealth of minde, reward of virtue, advauncement of honour and good successe in godly affayres. [740]

The School of Abuse was published in 1579. According to John Hutchinson, Stephen Gosson (1554–1623/4?) was 'a Kentish man educated at Oxford and was Rector of Great Wigborow, in Essex (1591) and St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate (1601) where he died. He was an imitator of his contemporaries, Spenser and Sidney, and excelled in pastoral poetry. He wrote several plays, and a sermon entitled "The Trumpet of War."'[741] Gosson is variously described as a satirist and an anti-theatrical polemicist and it is difficult to know exactly where the satire and provocation ends and where his sincere, heart-felt disgust about the theatre and poets begins. Gosson was baptised at the Church of St George the Martyr in Canterbury on 17 April 1554, the second child of Cornelius Gosson. By 1568 he was a King's Scholar at the Cathedral School, Canterbury and in 1572 he was at Corpus Christi College Oxford, although there is no evidence of his having completed the final 'Determination'.[742] Gosson went to London to find a successful living, but this was difficult, given that his father had encouraged him to take the path of education rather than trade.[743] His options were to be a private tutor or to enter the Church, both of which he did. *The School of Abuse* was registered with the Stationers' Company on 22 July 1579. William Ringler offers a tantalising theory (for which he has six reasons) that Gosson was hired to write *The School of Abuse,* and that after its publication Gosson's fortunes quickly took an upward turn, with a position as tutor in the country and a series of church benefices. It was, in Ringler's view, 'a piece of hack work done to order'. This is since the 'City Fathers were much annoyed at the conditions and abuse in the theaters without the walls and in the innyards where plays were given inside London'. Who better, Ringler asks, than a disgruntled poet and playwright such as Gosson to deliver

[740] Stephen Gosson, *The School of Abuse*, *(*London, 1579*)*, 2.
[741] John Hutchinson, *Men of Kent and Kentish Men: A Manual of Kentish Biography* (Cross and Jackman, Canterbury,1892), 56.
[742] William Ringler, *Stephen Gosson; a biographical and critical study* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1942), 7.
[743] Ibid., 18.

such propaganda to stir public opinion in their favour?[744] Ringler also casts a different and feasible light on the literary relationship between Gosson and Sidney, to whom he also dedicated his *Ephemerides*. Given that in 1579 when *The School of Abuse* was published, there was no public knowledge of Sidney's interest in belles lettres and that other books dedicated to Sidney indicated his tastes in writing – Henri Estienne's *New Testament in Greek* (1576), Banos's *Commentariorum de Religione Christiana, Libri quartuor (1577)* and John Stell's *Beehive of the Romische Church* (1576) – it would be logical that Sidney would appreciate *The School of Abuse.*[745]

In *An Apology*, Sidney's criticisms regarding the tragic plays of his time are for the form of the art and do not express Gosson's concern for the moral standards surrounding the entertainment. Immediately after his praise of Chaucer and his faint praise of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* of 1579 (dedicated to 'The Noble and Vertyous Gentleman most worthy of all titles both of learning and chevalrie M. Philip Sidney'), he laments that English drama, even *Gorboduc*, falls far short of even basic Aristotelian standards. It is worth a brief reminder as to what those standards are. It is in *The Poetics* Chapter V that Aristotle expounds his theory of the Dramatic Unities which should be respected if a dramatic tragedy is to be perfectly beautiful and satisfying. The plot of a tragic drama is unified when 'it is concerned with a single action, not with a single person'.[746] It is clear, therefore that 'the transposition or removal of any one section dislocates and changes the whole'.[747] The action also possesses a certain magnitude. 'Magnitude' presumes 'a series of events occurring sequentially in accordance with probability or necessity' and this 'gives rise to a change from good fortune to bad fortune or from bad fortune to good fortune'. It has a beginning (which comes from nothing) a middle (which comes both after and before other elements of the narrative) and an end (which is not followed by anything).[748] Concerning the unities of time ('tragedy endeavours to confine itself, as far as possible to one revolution of the sun') and place (confining the action to one place), Louis Friedland argues that 'in the Greek

[744] William Ringler, *Stephen Gosson; a biographical and critical study* 26-8.
[745] Ibid., 36-7.
[746] Aristotle, *Poetics,* Tr. Malcolm Heath (Penguin: London, 1997), 15.
[747] Ibid., 15.
[748] Ibid., 15.

observance of the unities there is little, if any, thought of "verisimilitude", of restricting the time and place for the purpose of producing the semblance of reality'[749]

Sidney's description of English theatre in his time is that it observes 'rules neither of honest civility nor of skilful poetry'.[750] In Aristotelian terms, even Norton and Sackville's *Gorboduc* with its 'stately speeches and well sounding phrases' and its 'notable morality which it doth most delightfully teach' is 'very defectious in the circumstances', because it is:

> faulty both in place and time, the two necessary companions of all corporal actions. For where the stage should always represent but one place, and the uttermost time presupposed in it should be, both by Aristotle's precept and common reason, there is both many days, and many places, inartificially imagined.[751]

This is true. *Gorboduc* clearly takes place over a vague but significant period and in five, perhaps six, locations.[752] It is arguable that it has no satisfactory conclusion, as the kingdom is still in a state of civil war at the end.[753] Sidney cites other examples of such general artistic confusion of place, where the stage is at the same time a garden, the scene of a shipwreck, a monster's cave and a battlefield.[754]

To return now to Gosson. The irony is not lost on him that he is writing this 'pleasant invective' (which is an intriguing oxymoron in itself) against poets and players having himself been a playwright. The first paragraph of his 'To the Reader' faces the inevitable charge of hypocrisy head-on and with considerable wit and brazenness:

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[749] Louis Sigmund Friedland, "The Dramatic Unities in England." *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, vol. 10, no. 1, University of Illinois Press, 1911, pp. 56–89, http://www.jstor.org/stable/27700071, 58.

[750] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry* ed. Maslen, 110.

[751] Ibid., 110.

[752]Louis Sigmund Friedland, "The Dramatic Unities in England.", XVII. 'The time covered is vague, but it must intend several months, perhaps years, from the first council held by the king to take advice as to the division of his kingdom till the final slaughter of the king and queen and the rebellion of the people against the nobles- The places too are but vaguely indicated, but there appear to be at least five or six intended to be represented, as follow: 1 The Palace, Videna's room. 2 The king's Council chamber. 1 Court of prince Ferrex (see 1. 850). 2 Court of prince Porrex. The king's Council chamber. 1 The Palace (11. 979—981). 2 The King's Court (1. 1055). 1 Council of lords after murder of King and Queen.'

[753] *The Tragedie of Gordubuc, by Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville* (1565), is a five-act tragedy which sees King Gorboduc unwisely share his kingdom during his lifetime between his two sons Ferrex and Porrex. Porrex (the younger son) murders his brother in the ensuing dispute. His mother Videna – who favoured Forrex- kills him and the citizens kill Gorboduc and Videna, leaving a power vacuum and civil war. It is a tale of warning against weak kingship, contravening the tradition of primogeniture and ignoring one's advisors.

[754] *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 111.

> I take upon me to deterre you from Playes, when mine owne workes are dayly to be seen on stages, as sufficient witnesses of mine owne folly, and severe judges against my selfe. But if you sawe howe many teares of sorrowe my eyes shed when I behold them, or howe many drops of blood my heart sweates when I remember them, you would not so much blame me for misspending my time when I knew not what I did, as commend me at the laste for recovering my steppes with graver counsell.[755]

The 'when I knew not what I did' is reminiscent of Jesus's plea from the cross for his father God to forgive those who were, in their ignorance, crucifying him. The whole treatise carries the burden of the newly forgiven.[756]

The treatise reads like a sermon with a heavily satirical tone. It includes a personal testimony of faith and a confession of sins. 'If anyone asks me why I myself have penned comedyes...I have sinned, and am sorry for my fault: he runnes far that never turnes: better late than never.'[757]

Maslen refers to Gosson as having been a member, with Gascoigne, Lyly, Whetstone and Pettie, of a group named the 'Prodigal' poets; sons who are returning to the true path after wayward forays into the wasteful and superficial world of poetry.[758] The Prodigal Son in Jesus's parable had to come 'to his senses' after his abandonment of his father and his wild living. There was a change of direction and a desire to confess his wrongdoing against God and against his father. Richard Helgerson also includes Sidney in his *The Elizabethan Prodigals* as he sees in Sidney's deathbed requests a wish to expunge his poetical works so that he will be remembered for more serious literary and other achievements.[759] More significantly, Sidney wishes to be forgiven for his rebellion and his past weaknesses of character and Christian example that he displayed in his poetic writings.[760]

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[755] Stephen Gosson, *The School of Abuse*, 18.
[756] Luke 23:34.
[757] Stephen Gosson, *The School of Abuse*, 41.
[758] Sidney, *Apology for Poetry*, ed. Maslen, 23.
[759] Helgerson, The Elizabethan Prodigals, 153-4.
[760] *The Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney* ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and Jan Van Dorsten (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1973), 192.

Lehnhof's view of *An Apology* is that 'as a refutation it is evasive and off point'.[761] To support this he calls on Jacob Bronowski and Helgerson. Bronowski, Lehnhof reports, says that Sidney 'pervasively shifts, distorts and shirks the accusations against poetry of Gosson's *School of Abuse*.[762] Gosson's accusation is against poets more than poetry and is that poets' whole practice 'either with fables to show their abuses, or with playne tearmes to unfold their mischeefe, discover their shame, discredite themselves, and disperse their poison throughout the world.'[763] There is no surprise for Gosson that 'Plato shut (poets) out of his schoole, and banished them quite from his common wealth, as effeminite writers, unprofitable members, and utter enemies to vertue.'[764] In addition, he reminds his readers that Cicero (Tully) moved away from reading poets once he was older, more serious and had wiser judgement, as he had shared Gosson's experience that 'pul off the visard that poets maske in, you shall disclose their reproach, bewray their vanitie, loth their wantonnesse, lament their folly, and perceive their sharp sayings to be placed as perles in dunghills.'[765]

It is, therefore, surprising that Bronowski says that 'if we place *The Apologie* alongside the *Schoole of Abuse*, we see that Sidney's theory of poetry and Gosson's are the same'.[766] On the surface they are diametrically opposed, with Sidney's focus on the divinely inspired art of poetry that is sometimes abused by the occasional rogue poet and Gosson's emphasis on the decadence of the poet as the dissolute agent of poetry the effeminising, toxic art. Lehnhof quotes Helgerson's negative opinion that 'as a defence of the poetry that was actually written in the last decades of the sixteenth century Sidney's *Apology* fails… the shots are poorly aimed and the victory hollow.[767] The main argument of Lehnhof's article is that, far from disagreeing with Gosson on every point, Sidney merely disagrees with Gosson's misogyny.[768] *An Apology* is elusive and it has the potential to polarise opinions, particularly

[761] Lehnhof, Kent R. "Profeminism in Philip Sidney's 'Apologie for Poetrie'. *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* vol. 48, no. 1 (2008): 23-43. www.jstor.org/stable/40071320, 23.

[762] Ibid., 23. Lehnof quotes from Jacob Bronowski, *The Poet's Defence: The Concept of Poetry from Sidney to Yeats* (Cleveland and New York, 1966), 20-33.
[763] Gosson, The School of Abuse, 19.
[764] Ibid., 10-11.
[765] Ibid., 10.
[766] Lehnhof, 23. Lehnof quotes from Jacob Bronowski, *The Poet's Defence: The Concept of Poetry from Sidney to Yeats* (Cleveland and New York, 1966), 41.
[767] Ibid., 23. Lehnof quotes from Richard Helgerson, *The Elizabethan Prodigals,* (University of California Press, Berkeley,1976), 128-9.
[768] Ibid., 25.

regarding its skill as a counter-argument to Gosson. The latter issue - whether *An Apology* is intentionally answering *Schoole of Abuse* - is where most criticism of it seems to be.

More recently in *On Not Defending Poetry* Catherine Bates has presented a radical view of *An Apology* in a move away from the idealised view of the poet and poetry associated with it towards a vision of a 'de-idealist', commodified poetry that fits better with Sidney's realistic (if not pessimistic) view of human nature.[769] She says that her book puts right the fact as she sees it that no reader who has spoken about the two "voices" in *An Apology* 'has suggested that one of these "voices" is directly contravening - indeed terminally disrupting – the argument for an idealistic aesthetic that the treatise officially makes'.[770] Bates analyses poetry as an economic force that yields a profit with respect to intellectual, moral and spiritual capital.[771] In "Energic Pillow Talk: Philip Sidney's Defence in bed with Sweet Poesy" Christian Anton Gerard focuses on *energia* as the force that he puts forward as the physically intimate lover-to-lover relationship between poet, poetry and reader. This becomes the way in which a faith in poetry, be it sacred or secular, comes to resemble a faith in God.[772] Gavin Alexander also develops this theme relating to intimacy through Sidney's metaphors which, he writes, lead to a 'richly dynamic model of reading, where the relationship between text and reader is like that between two lovers. Like the lovers, the reader and text idealise and make demands of each other.[773] Three of Sidney's metaphors exemplify fore-conceits, or "ideas", where, as Alexander suggests, the reader can become a participatory creator in how they use the image or idea in their own creative reading. The idea should not be accepted in a passive way, but with inquiry and critical thought. 'The reader must ask questions, must want to learn both the why and the how' and that we must 'accept that in practice it requires more effort from the reader' than they might have been used to making.[774] The first and best-

[769] Catherine Bates, *On Not Defending Poetry: Defence and Indefensibility in Sidney's Defence of Poetry* (OUP, Oxford, 2017), vii.

[770] Ibid., vii.
[771] Ibid., vii.
[772] Christian Anton Gerard, "Energic Pillow Talk: Philip Sidney's Defence in bed with Sweet Poesy", *Sidney Journal* 38 (2020), 71–100.

[773] Gavin Alexander, "Loving and Reading in Sidney." *Studies in Philology*, vol. 114, no.1 (University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 39–66, https://www.jstor.org/stable/90000847, 65.

[774] *Sidney's The Apologie of Poesy and Selected Renaissance Literary Criticism,* ed. Gavin Alexander (Penguin, London, 2004), lxii.

known metaphor illustration or fore-conceit is that of Nature as a creator of a tapestry, a painstaking and precise task, and of the poet who improves on Nature's work:

> Nature never set forth the earth in so rich tapestry as divers poets have done; neither with pleasant rivers, fruitful trees, sweet-smelling flowers, nor whatsoever else may make the too much loved earth more lovely. Her world is brazen, the poets only deliver a golden.[775]

The reader must be ready for a new world that is brighter and more beautiful than nature itself. They should be prepared for that possibility. They are certainly required to use skills of evaluation and appreciation, to use the mind rather than merely the heart. The second is a metaphor for how Tragedy in literature can deter those in a position of power from abusing it:

> that openeth the greatest wounds, and sheweth forth the ulcers that are covered with tissue; that maketh kings fear to be tyrants, and tyrants manifest their tyrannical humours; that with stirring the affects of admiration and commiseration, teacheth the uncertainty of this world, and upon how weak foundations gilden roofs are builded.[776]

One response is that the anatomy students are in the lecture hall watching the dissection. They may be kings, tyrants or neither (i.e., merely people who want to be both entertained and possibly improved by the experience). The readers must choose which route they take after the gory demonstration of the body and face the fragility of human life and power. They are challenged to do so, to take the opportunity to be affected.

The third metaphor is that of the human memory for verse being 'a certain room divided into many places well and thoroughly known'.[777] The reader is challenged with an image of order where every word has 'a natural seat, which seat must needs make the words remembered'.[778]

This concept of the memory house connects to one of the techniques of both memorising and oratory expounded by Giordano Bruno (1548-1600). Bruno is described by Robert McNulty as 'a strange and important figure' and 'with equal possibility of accuracy we may view him as charlatan and as martyr to learning'.[779] Bruno was a wandering Dominican brother,

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[775] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 85.
[776] Ibid., 98.
[777] Ibid., 102.
[778] Ibid., 102.
[779] McNulty, Robert, 'Bruno at Oxford' McNulty, Robert. "Bruno at Oxford." *Renaissance News*, vol. 13, no. 4, [University of Chicago Press, Renaissance Society of America], 1960, https://doi.org/10.2307/2857769, 300.

teacher, astronomer and philosopher born in Nola, Italy in 1548 (as he later said 'so some people tell me').[780] He was burnt at the stake as an unrepentant apostate and heretic in Campo dei Fiori in Rome on 17 February 1600.[781] Between 1583 and 1585, Bruno was in London on the recommendation of Henri III of France who had been intrigued by Bruno's teaching on memory.[782]

In 1583, when he was in England, Bruno published his *Seal of Seals* in which he expounds to the Oxonian Academy (in what might be seen as an act of self-promotion via its Dedicatory Epistles to the Earl of Leicester and the Oxonian Academy) his theory of thirty 'seals' (images). With ambition Bruno explains that the seals are for 'the invention, disposition and memorisation of all the Arts and Sciences'. Two examples from the thirty seals illustrate how the seals work (much as mind-maps do today, although the seals are far more complex). The first seal is the Field 'in which are brought together all potential species contained within that most extensive embrace of the imaginative power.' The field is divided into four: north, south, east and west, then the number of sides multiplied by twelve. Each of its gates is subdivided in three, then into twelve 'courts'. Each court comprises twelve chambers, each organised into four rows. Those become twelve which together make up a chamber. Each chamber has four corners and four places in the middle of the four sides which 'make for a certain order'.[783] From here the poet or speaker can easily retrieve the concept or idea that he has mentally attached to any 'place' within the field. The fourth seal is the Tree, which is simpler. It is like 'the trunk of a tree making branches'.[784] This is not unlike the modern device of mind mapping. Once again, each idea is collected from its place on any branch of the tree. Professor Jan Van Dorsten suggests that throughout *An Apology* 'the stress on memory is unusually great.'[785] He remarks that 'Sidney suggests that 'the way in which verse is related to the placing of ideas is comparable to the way in which mnemonic images are stored in their 'places'. Concerning the power of memory, Sidney claims for the poet the ability to combine what the historian and the philosopher attempt to achieve, but do not, i.e.,

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[780] Dorothea Waley Singer, *Giordano Bruno: His Life and Thought* (Constable, London, 1950), 4.

[781] John Bossy, *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair* (Yale, New Haven and London, 1991), 179.

[782] Singer, *Giordano Bruno: His Life and Thought,* 17 and 26.

[783] Bruno, Giordano, *Thirty Seals and The Seal of Seals* (1583), tr. Scott Gosnell (Huggin, Munnin and Co, 2016), 15.

[784] Ibid., 16.

[785] *The Miscellaneous Prose*, 192.

create a memorable example of what 'should be done'. While the philosopher teaches by precept and the historian by example, the peerless poet 'Giveth a perfect picture of it in someone by whom he presupposeth it was done, so as he coupleth the general notion with the particular example. A perfect picture I say.'[786]

The memorable speaking picture is exemplified by Christ's parables, Aesop's fables and the image of Aeneas carrying old Anchises on his back. Sidney calls it:

> This purifying of wit- this enriching of memory, enabling of judgement, and enlarging of conceit-which commonly we call learning, under what name soever it come forth, or to what immediate end soever it be directed, the final end is to lead and draw us to as high a perfection as our degenerate souls, made worse by their clayey lodgings, can be capable of.[787]

It can be seen from *An Apology* that Sidney was attached to, and a believer in, Bruno's art of memory. His confidence was that 'verse being in itself sweet and orderly, and being best for memory (is) the only handle of knowledge.'[788]

John Bossy calculates that Bruno in London 'was posing in public as a favourer of the Catholic League, which he certainly in his heart abhorred'. Bruno was, according to Bossy throughout *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair*, the fictional character of Henry Fagot who passed information to Walsingham about Catholic activity in Salisbury Court London, the house of the French Ambassador Michel de Castelnau.[789] Bossy also suggests that a few days after his arrival on 13 April 1583 at Salisbury House, Bruno was sent to meet Francis Walsingham who probably arranged a meeting for Bruno with Sidney. Bruno explains in Dialogue II of his *Cena de Ceneri* (1584) that Sidney was already well-known to him 'by reputation when I was in Milan and in France'. On meeting Sidney in London, Bruno found him to be of 'remarkable mind' and manners 'so unique and rare that they are difficult to equal in any company, however brilliant it may be'. For Bruno 'nobody can be compared to him, either inside or outside of Italy itself'.[790] This from Bruno is praise indeed, and

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[786] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 90.
[787] Ibid., 88.
[788] Ibid., 102.
[789] Bossy, *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair*, 16, 21-37, 54-61 64-9, 75-9 83-183.
[790] Giordano Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, tr. Hilary Gatti (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2018), 2570.

confirms almost every other report of Sidney. However, it should be remembered that Bruno wished to fare well in the University of Oxford whose Chancellor was Sidney's uncle. Hilary Gatti confirms in her footnote to this that 'No references to Bruno have so far come to light in the papers of Sir Philip Sidney or his circle'.[791] A dinner-meeting between them is dramatized in the Bruno's dialogues, being hosted by Sidney's close friend Fulke Greville.[792] Moreover, Bruno's *Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante* is dedicated to Sidney in what Bossy describes as 'another piece of deference' to him.[793]

Bruno was in the company of Sidney in attendance on Count Laski during an infamous and (for Bruno) humiliating visit to the University of Oxford in 1583. Olbracht Laski (1533-97) was Palatine of Sieradz and the head of a rich and powerful Polish family'.[794] Sidney later mentions Laski and his political involvement in Poland in letters dated 5 January, 14 February and 8 September 1576.[795] Laski was a scholar and alchemist - mentor and friend of John Dee. He was (after the defection of Henri III of France) suspected of raising a private army to seize the Polish crown.[796]

Laski was received warmly by the University Chancellor, Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester and therefore, by association, by the Queen. Bruno describes this visit in Dialogue IV of *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, where the fruits of England are 'pedantic and obstinate ignorance and arrogance mixed with rustic incivility which would try the patience of Job.' That poor doctor' who was put forward as the star of the academy was floored 15 times. He was an uncivil swine, but his opponent Nolan behaved like a true Neapolitan who showed patience and humanity.[797]

The other side of the story is given by Robert McNulty in "Bruno at Oxford." McNulty cites George Abbot the Master of University College and later to be Archbishop of Canterbury. Abbot was in Oxford as a Masters' student in 1583. He witnessed Bruno's visit

[791] Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper*, 2378 n.46.
[792] Ibid., 2378.
[793] Bossy, op.cit., 51.
[794] James Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney 1572-1577* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1972), 113.
[795] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, 707,596, 610, 66, 633,634, 641-2 and 677.
[796] Ibid., n.45.
[797] Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper,* Dialogue Four.

and describes it in 1604 in *The Reasons which Doctour Hill hath Brought for the Upholding of Papistry, which is falsely termed the Catholicke Religion: Unmasked and Shewed To Be Very Weake, and Upon Examination Most Insufficient For That Purpose.* Abbott names Bruno the Italian Diapper, and describes him stripping up his sleeves like a juggler. He writes that Bruno's heart was 'on fire to make himself by some worthy exploite to become worthy in that celebrious place... Rather than the opinion of Copernicus, that the earth did go round and the heavens did stand still. It was his (Bruno's) own head that ran around and his braines did not stand still.' Abbot also recounts an accusation of verbatim plagiarism against Bruno in his lecture.[798]

Bruno was, according to Bossy throughout *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair*, also identifiable as the fictional character of Henry Fagot who passed information about Catholic activity in Castelnau's household to Walsingham.[799]

To return to Sidney, whose literary relationship with Bruno was close after 1583. Alexander's claims are that, firstly Sidney 'had real ambitions for the future of English literature' and secondly that 'his own works show him exploring every kind of writing and taking English literature forward by leaps and bounds.'[800] That leads him to conclude that by that time Sidney was 'genuinely interested in the theory of literature and in the prospects for English literature'.[801] It was not merely a hobby. This offers another view of what is often seen as Sidney's playfulness at the start of *An Apology* when he writes of his 'unelected vocation' and having 'slipped into the title of poet'.[802] By the time he wrote *An Apology* Sidney may have all but lost hope of serving his country in a serious career as a diplomat, but poetry in

[798] Robert McNulty, "Bruno at Oxford." *Renaissance News*, vol. 13, no. 4, [University of Chicago Press, Renaissance Society of America], 1960, pp. 300–05, https://doi.org/10.2307/2857769.

[799] Bossy, *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair,* 21-37, 54-61, 64-9, 75-9, 83-183.

[800] *Sidney's The Apologie of Poesy and Selected Renaissance Literary Criticism,* ed. Gavin Alexander, liii.

[801] Ibid., lv.

[802] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 81.

English provided an attractive alternative or parallel outlet for his diligence and his national pride.

The multi-faceted effect of *An Apology* (the traditional idealising of the poet and poetry and the more controversial modern interpretations) is not only a result of Sidney's personality as seen throughout previous chapters and his writing style but also a consequence of the range and depth of ideas that Sidney met with on his tour. *An Apology* was written for private circulation in 1581-3, according to Geoffrey Shepherd who dates it according to the literary and stylistic evolution that he sees between the Old and New Arcadias.[803] R.W. Maslen, however, breaks with this in his version of Shepherd's edition. He suggests that it was begun after December 1579, as it makes mention of Edmund Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar which was published in December 1579 and dedicated to 'The Noble and Virtuous Gentleman most worthy of all titles both of learning and of chevalrie M. Philip Sidney'. As Sidney was not Master Sidney but Sir Philip after 1583, the time frame of 1579-83 would seem to be safe. Maslen narrows it down to the winter of 1579-80 after Gosson's *School of Abuse* was published in 1579.[804] Albert Feuillerat explains that *An Apology* appeared twice in 1594 and 1595 in two versions. The first was registered with the Stationers' Company on 29 November 1594 by William Ponsonby and entitled the *Defence of Poetry*. Feuillerat is convinced that this is the more authoritative of the two versions; firstly, it contains two passages which do not feature in the second version and then he claims that it was the preferred text of the Countess of Pembroke (Sidney's sister and literary agent). Feuillerat therefore justifies this version for his own choice of that text in 1923. The second version was registered on 12 April 1595 by Henry Olney as *An Apology for Poetry.* This, Feuillerat concedes, is a 'somewhat purer' text.[805] In his registration rubric (cited by Feuillerat) Olney refers to 'an agrement' made 'whereby Master Ponsonby is to enjoy the copie according to the former entrance'.[806]

There are two questions to begin with. Firstly, what are the distinctive contrasts between *An Apology* and other English literary treatises of the time, and secondly how far are these differences a result of Sidney's tour?

[803] Sidney *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Shepherd (Nelson, London, 1965), 4.
[804] Sidney *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 2.
[805] *Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney, 4 vols.,* ed. Albert Feuillerat (CUP, Cambridge, 1923), Vol. 3, vi
[806] Ibid., vi.

Gosson's sermon style of *The School of Abuse* includes a range of classical references and the normal gracious address to the queen's majesty.[807] The latter appears to be the only reference in the treatise to contemporary political matters. Far more urgent for Gosson is the state of the nation's morals. On this subject he is clear from where a significant part of the threat to those collective morals comes, from poets, pipers and players. Poets' poison features again later with their poysoning the spring with their amorous layes, whence the whole common wealth should fetch water.[808] From the outset poets are relentlessly and viciously attacked.

Was Gosson's dedication of his *School of Abuse* to Sidney intended to be a direct challenge to him? Sidney took up the gauntlet to respond with *An Apology for Poetry*, especially with regard to the famous charge that Plato had branded poets to be liars and had therefore excluded them from his Republic. To Gosson's argument regarding Plato that is quoted above, Sidney robustly counter-argues using Plato and St. Paul, the founder of the Christian church. St Paul himself:

> 'who yet, for the credit of poets, allegeth twice two poets, and one of them by the name of a prophet), setteth a watchword upon philosophy- indeed upon the abuse. So doth Plato upon the abuse, not upon Poetry.'[809]

Here is the difference between Gosson and Sidney. Gosson focuses on poets and their corrupt failings and expends energy on what are almost always ad hominem attacks on poets. His sub-title *Containing a pleasant invective against poets, pipers, plaiers, jesters, and such like caterpillers of a co[m]monwelth; setting vp the hagge of defiance to their mischieuous exercise, [and] ouerthrowing their bulwarkes, by prophane writers, naturall reason, and common experience* is clear in that regard. In contrast, Sidney addresses the art of poetry; poetry as it was before its fall into human hands that at times abuse its beauty and purity. True poetry is the pre-lapsian, perfect ideal, just like the original, perfect garden that God created.[810]

Plato's thoughts on Poetry as they are expressed in *The Republic* are fourfold and, as with Gosson, Plato is mainly concerned with Poetry in its dramatic form. Firstly, he believes that

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[807] Stephen Gosson, *School of Abuse*, 28-9.
[808] Ibid., 14. 'the whole practise (sic) of poets, either with fables to shewe their abuses, or with playne tearmes to unfolde their mischeefe, discover their shame, discredite themselves, and disperse their poison through the world.'

[809] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Maslen, 107.
[810] Genesis 2:8-14.

all artists are 'third in succession from the truth.' 'The three kinds of bed belong respectively to the domains of these three: painter, carpenter and god.' In his example of a bed, the god creates the original bed as a concept and the carpenter makes an earthly version of it. It is the god and carpenter who are the creative agents. The artist merely represents an imperfect embodiment of the imperfect bed.[811] Here is where the poet tells lies and, for Plato, it cannot be otherwise. Next, the dramatic poet, according to Plato, is a jack of all trades who is 'clever' enough to 'assume any character and give imitations of anything and everything. He is a dilitante.[812] Then dramatic poetry 'has a most formidable power of corrupting even men of high character with few exceptions' so that 'when we listen to a Homeric hero lamenting his sorrows, the best of us surrenders ourselves to follow the performance with 'eager sympathy.'[813] Dramatic poetry makes women and children of men who would normally 'bear any stroke of fortune, such as the loss of a son, or anything else he holds dear, with more equanimity than most people.'[814] Dramatic poetry turns the man instead into 'a child who goes on shrieking after a fall and hugging the wounded part.'[815] Plato's final objection to poetry is that it is subversive to law, order and social stability, since 'If you go further and admit the honeyed muse in epic or in lyric verse, then pleasure and pain will usurp the sovereignty of law and of the principles always recognised by common consent as the best.'[816] For all these reasons Plato insists that:

> For our own benefit we shall employ the poets and storytellers of the more austere and less attractive type, who will reproduce only the manner of a person of high character, and, in the substance of the discourse, conform to those rules we laid down when we began the education of our warriors.[817]

For any other type of poet 'we shall tell him that we are not allowed to have any such person in our commonwealth', for 'we can admit into our commonwealth only the poetry which celebrates the praises of the gods and of good men.'[818] However, in a turnaround and in the

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[811] Plato, *The Republic of Plato,* Translated with Notes and Introduction by Francis M. Cornford (OUP, Oxford and London, 1945), 326-7.

[812] Ibid., 85.
[813] Ibid., 337.
[814] Ibid., 335.
[815] Ibid., 335.
[816] Ibid., 339.
[817] Ibid., 85.
[818] Ibid., 339.

interests of fairness Plato concedes that poets and Poetry should at least have a fair chance to prove their worth before they are banished. He writes:

> If the dramatic poetry whose end is to give pleasure can show good reason why it should exist in a well-governed society, we for our part should welcome it back, being ourselves conscious of its charm.[819]

In a spirit of further compromise to poetry, Plato is willing to 'suppose we should allow her champions who love poetry but are not poets to plead for her in prose, that she is no mere source of pleasure, but a benefit to society and to human life'.[820] There is a sense of Poetry and poets as the Prodigals returning home to the Republic to justify themselves and to be given a welcome and a second chance, and with *An Apology* Sidney keenly avails himself of that opportunity and 'make a pitiful defence of Poor Poetry'.[821]

In response to Plato's allegation that 'all artists are 'third in succession from the truth', Sidney is scathing and dismissive:

> What child is there that, on coming to a play, and seeing *Thebes* written in great letters upon an old door, doth believe that it is Thebes? If then a man can arrive at that child's age, to know that the poet's persons and doings are but pictures what should be, and not stories what have been, they shall never give the lie to things not affirmatively but allegorically given.[822]

He reinforces this with the analogy from chess that 'he were a very partial champion of truth that would say we lied for giving a piece of wood the reverend title of a bishop'.[823] Plato's theory of the poet as a liar is swiftly dispatched. Heroical poetry is 'the best and most accomplished kind of poetry. For as the image of each action stirreth and instructeth the mind with desire to be worthy, and informs with counsel how to be worthy.[824] Answering Plato's issue of poetry 'which celebrates the praises of the gods and of good men,' Sidney asserts that far from depraving youths with negative portrayals of the gods, poets of Plato's time merely reflected such opinions that were 'already induced'.[825] Furthermore, Sidney believes, Plato 'only meant to drive out those wrong opinions of the Deity (whereof now, without

[819]Plato, *The Republic of Plato,* Tr. Francis Cornford, 339.
[820] Ibid., 340.
[821] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Maslen, 85.
[822] Ibid., 103.
[823] Ibid., 103.
[824] Ibid., 99.
[825] Ibid., 107.

further law, Christianity hath taken away all the hurtful belief, perchance (as he thought nourished by the then esteemed poets).'[826] Sidney affirms his admiration for Plato, whom he has 'esteemed most worthy of reverence and with great reason: since of all philosophers he is the most poetical.'[827] Sidney confronts Plato's objections to poetry while maintaining respect for Plato himself.

Sidney has no prodigal poetic youth for which at this stage to reproach himself or to justify to Plato. At the end of *An Apology,* he expresses his pride in poetry, the art into which he has unexpectedly and unwillingly fallen as he writes:

> Since the ever praise-worthy Poesy is full of virtue-breeding delightfulness, and void of no gift that ought to be in the noble name of learning; since the blames laid against it are either false or feeble; since the cause why it is not esteemed in England is the fault of poet-apes not poets; since, lastly, our tongue is most fit to honour Poesy and to be honoured by Poesy.[828]

The most penitence that he can manage is his tongue in cheek self-defining as having been admitted into the company of the paper-blurrers.[829]

Sidney's explanation in *An Apology*, though, is that he is 'in these my not old years and idlest times having slipped into the title of a poet'.[830] Sidney rails against the 'bastard poets' and the base men with servile wit who undertake it (poetry), who think it enough if they can be rewarded of the printer.[831] He asks whether the abuse of anything makes the right use of it odious and challenges poetry's critics to accept that it is more accurate to state that 'man's wit abuseth Poetry' rather than that 'Poetry abuseth man's wit'.[832]

There is no evidence from his treatise that Gosson travelled abroad or of how he knew, other than by hearsay, about the vices of the theatres of Rome that he condemns in *The School of Abuse*. His, in sharp contrast to Sidney's, is an apparently very categorical view that the

[826] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Maslen, 107.
[827] Ibid., 106.
[828] Ibid., 116.
[829] Ibid., 109.
[830] Ibid., 81.
[831] Ibid., 109.
[832] Ibid., 104.

abuses committed by poets 'cannot stand uppe in the sight of God' because 'they bring us to pleasure, slouth, sleepe, sinne and without repentaunce'.[833]

Gosson takes a negative moral and social stand against poets. The *Schoole of Abuse* is compelling in its ferocity and visceral contempt and guilt. Sidney's response is within a more extended political religious and artistic context in which he addresses the whole sweep of the history and depth of Poetry's influence for moral and spiritual good and its divine credibility and affirmation.

Thomas Lodge (1558-1625) in his *Defence of Poetry, Music and Stage-Plays* (1579) supports Sidney's view by focusing on poetry rather than poets in the face of Gosson's 'pleasant invective' and facetiousness. Lodge uses direct questioning and personal challenge of the latter as his rhetorical device for so doing. He reinforces the common belief that poetry emanates 'from above, from a heavenly seate of a glorious God, unto an excellent creature man'.[834] Lodge affirms Plato's, Sidney's and others' view that 'Poetry is dispraised not for the folly that is within it, but for the abuse whiche many ill writers couller by it.'[835] He then, for balance, states that, 'The Angels have sinned in heaven, Adam and Eve in earthly Paradise among the Holy Apostles ungracious Judas. I reason not that al poets are holy, but I affirm that Poetry is a heavenly gift, a perfit gift, then which I know no greater pleasure.'[836] His counter-attack continues as firstly he claims that, far from being a civic risk or a morally undesirable, undermining influence on the welfare of a town or city, 'Poets were the first raysors of cities, prescribers of good lawes, mayntayners of religion, disturbors of the wicked, advancers of the well-disposed, inventors of laws and lastly the very footpaths to knowledge and understanding.'[837] Lodge cites the story of the Lacedemonians who consulted the Oracles of Apollo after they had sustained considerable losses in battle. They followed the advice they were given which was to seek a new governor from Athens. To settle old scores, the Athenians offered not a warrior but a poor poet. Fearful of a foreign leader, but trusting the Oracle, they gave the poet citizenship. He ultimately inspired them to victory with his oratory.[838] For Lodge, this is further evidence to support his belief in the link between poetry and fine civic contribution. Lodge's piece is full of energy, wit and challenge. His style is

[833] Stephen Gosson, *School of Abuse*, 32.
[834] Thomas Lodge, *A Defence of Poetry, Music and Stage-plays*, (Shakespeare Society, London, 1853), 10.
[835] Ibid., 15.
[836] Ibid., 14.
[837] Ibid., 14.
[838] Ibid., 15-16.

conversational, but it is also passionate and relentless, including scathing provocation and questioning directed at Gosson himself, for instance 'It pitieth me to bring a rodd of your owne making to beat you withal.'[839], and that 'your sweet selfe …since you left your College, have lost your learning.'[840] He even makes the withering comment 'No marvel though you disprayse poetry, when you know not what it means.'[841] Lodge clearly had a spirit of travel and adventure, as later in the 1580's and 1590's he joined expeditions to Terceira, the Canaries, Brazil and the Straits of Magellan. However, in his *Defence* Lodge makes neither biographical nor conceptual reference to any travel experience he had already gained.

There is a connection between exotic travel, exploration and poetry in Tudor and Early Stuart times which relates to the earlier discussion about travel and intellectual and physical freedom. Creativity is freedom. For example take Barnabe Googe's (1540-94) *Goying towards Spayne* where 'Fancy dryves me forth abrode, and byds me take delight, In levyng thee and raungyng far, to se some straunger syght'.[842] Michael Drayton (1563-1631) in his *To the Virginian Voyage* (1606) refers to the famous explorer of the day Richard Hackluyt, and urges 'Britans, you stay too long , Quickly aboord bestow you, And with a merry Gale Swell your stretch'd Sayle, with Vowes as strong, As the Winds that blow you.[843] The anonymous writer of *On Francis Drake*, eulogises upon the most renowned English traveller of the day and his achievements, saying, 'If men here silent were, the Sun himself cannot forget His fellow traveller', and 'The stars above would make thee known.' 'Sir Drake' (1540-96), 'whom all the world's end knew and 'both Poles of heaven once saw' is worthy of cosmic poetic praise.[844] In his *Bermudas*, Andrew Marvell (1621-78) sets travel in a specifically Christian context. God must be praised and exalted, for he has (among much else) 'led us through the watry maze', has hung in shades the Orange bright' and has provided the delights of figs, Melons and apples. Most importantly, He has cast 'The Gospel's Pearl upon our coast. The exhortation to 'let our Voice his Praise exalt, Till it arrive at Heavn's Vault' is

[839] Thomas Lodge, *A Defence of Poetry, Music and Stage-plays*, 11.
[840] Ibid., 7.
[841] Ibid., 6.
[842] Barnabe Googe, *Eclogues, Epitaphs, and Sonnets*, ed. Judith M. Kennedy (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1989), 100-101.
[843] Michael Drayton, *Poems 1619*, eds. J William Hebel, Kathleen Mary Tillotson, Bernard H Newdigate (Oxford, Blackwell, 1961), no. 138, 295-6.
[844]

verse inspired through travel.[845] Travel is lauded and marvelled at through poetry and the link between the two is strong.

To return to Sidney's response to Gosson (whom Sidney does not dignify by even naming), the concepts behind *An Apology for Poetry* inspired a series of other derivative late Elizabethan and early Jacobean treatises in different styles and from diverse perspectives. These are in similar vein and on similar themes; the poet's being divinely inspired and the creators of history by how they choose to present it, poetry's being universally supported by kings and princes and distinguishing Poetry from the fallible, sometimes misguided or immoral use of it by flawed poets. Among these are William Webbe's *A Discourse of English Poetry* (1586) Puttenham's *The Art of English Poetry* (1589) and Sir John Harington's *A Brief Apology of Poetry* (1591)

In his *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586), Webbe (1550-1591) writes in the first person thus ensuring the authorial presence, from the outset to the epilogue, Webbe takes a conventional stance of personal modesty in expressing his opinions, 'Nowe what other Poets which followed him, and beene of greatest fame, haue doone for the moste parte in their seuerall workes I wyll briefely, and as my slender ability wyll serue me, declare.'[846] Then:

> Thus farre foorth haue I aduentured to sette downe parte of my simple iudgement concerning those Poets, with whom for the most part I haue beene acquainted through myne owne reading: which though it may seeme something impertinent to the tytle of my Booke.[847]
>
> And:
>
> This small trauell (courteous Reader) I desire thee take in good worth, which I haue compyled, not as an exquisite censure concerning this matter, but (as thou mayst well perceiue, and in trueth to that onely ende) that it might be an occasion to haue the same thoroughly and with greater discretion taken in hande and laboured by some other of greater abilitie, of whom I knowe there be manie among the famous Poets in London, who, bothe for learning and leysure, may handle this Argument far more

[845] Andrew Marvell, *Miscellaneous Poems*, 1681, ed. Elizabeth Story Donno (Harmondsworth-Baltimore, 1972). 116-7.
[846] William Webbe, *A Discourse of English Poetry*, In *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith (OUP, London, 1904), 235.

[847] Ibid., 247.

> pythilie then my selfe. Which if any of them wyll vouchsafe to doo, I trust wee shall haue Englishe Poetry at a higher price in short space: and the rabble of balde Rymes shall be turned to famous workes, comparable (I suppose) with the best workes of Poetry in other tongues. In the meane time, if my poore skill can sette the same any thing forwarde, I wyll not cease to practise the same towardes the framing of some apt English *Prosodia,* styll hoping and hartelie wishing to enioy first the benefitte of some others iudgment, whose authority may beare greater credit and whose learning can better performe it.[848]

Webbe's 'at a higher price' links neatly with Bates's economics of poetry in *On Not Defending Poetry*. While 'price' could mean 'value' or 'worth' (as in Jesus's parable of the pearl of price), the use of 'price' here creates a distinctly financial tone.

His piece becomes technical by discussing matters of rhyme and syllabic stress. It offers a list of Horace's poetic principles and a history of poetry. Arguably, due to its lack of formal, rhetorical structure it is a less than focused work than *An Apology* and lacks direction. In addition, the lack of anecdotes or contemporary European perspective leave it without texture or variety. It is not golden rhetorical literature as Sidney's *An Apology* is.

The disreputable George Puttenham in his *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589) enters into a detailed analysis of rhetorical terms and technical questions regarding poetic metre from Chapter 10 to Chapter 24. This is what his title leads the reader to expect, and the treatise is a significant example of its kind due to this technical dimension. However, it is not until the end, in Chapter 25, that Puttenham explains to Her Majesty that he understands:

> These and many such like disguisings do we find in man's behaviour, and specially in the Courtiers of forraine Countryes, where in my youth I was brought up, and very well observed manner of life and conversation for of mine own country I have not made so great experience.[849]

Here there is certainly a strong element of cosmopolitanism, since the younger Puttenham spent time in the courts of France, Spain and Italy. This is the point for Puttenham who comes perhaps the closest of these treatise writers to the scale of Sidney's own European

[848]William Webbe, *A Discourse of English Poetry*, In *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith 301-2.
[849] George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poetrie*, eds. Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker (CUP, Cambridge, 1936), 302.

experience, although Germany, Austria and Hungary did not, it would appear, form part of Puttenham's travels as they did Sidney's.

The final chapter (XXIV) of Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie* is illuminating. His approach is firstly to envisage art as 'an aid and coadjutor to nature', in that it does for nature what she cannot do for herself, such as when the gardener weeds his garden and waters and prunes his flowers or when the physician intervenes to aid the recovery of a sick body.[850] His next function of art is art as an imitator of nature; in his sixteenth-century view this is similar to the way in which a marmoset imitates the gestures of a human.[851] Puttenham finally sees art as an 'encounterer' (adversary) of nature which:

> Produceth effects altogether strange and diverse, and of such form and qualitie (nature always supplying stuffe) as she never would nor could have done of herself, as the carpenter that builds a house, the ioyner that makes a table or a bedstead, the tailor a garment, the smith a lock or key, and a number of like.[852]

In selecting the image of the marmoset, Puttenham makes a negative comparison which includes low-order, mindless copying.

The skilled poet, Puttenham explains, uniquely succeeds in fulfilling all these three roles of the artist and employs all three functions of art and so his work itself becomes nature:

> But for that in our maker or poet which rests only in device, and issues from an excellent sharpe and quick invention, holpen by a cleare and bright phantasie and imagination, he is not as the painter, to counterfaite the naturall by the like effects and not the same; nor as the gardener, aiding nature to worke both the same and the like; nor as the Carpenter, to worke effectes utterly unlike, but even as nature her selfe, working by her owne peculiar vertue and proper instinct, and not by example or meditation or exercise, as all other artificers do, is then most admired when he is most naturall and least artificiall.[853]

[850] George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poetrie*, eds. Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker 303-4.
[851] Ibid., 302.
[852] Ibid., 304.

[853] Ibid., 307.

George Puttenham's treatise draws upon his travel experience and its consequently cosmopolitan impact on him. His theories are captivating and presented in a logical and readable way (which is not always the case with some of the minor treatises of the time).

Sir John Harington in his *An Apology for Ariosto* quickly identifies his remit, 'My meaning is, plainely and *bone fide*, confessing all the abuses that can truly be objected against some kind of poets, to shew you what good use there is of Poetrie.'[854] He also follows the significant pattern in these post-Sidneyan treatises of meticulously separating the concept and highest reaches of poetry from the individual artists who can (and do) bring the art into disrepute. Having referred to Sidney's *An Apology*, Harington writes in a similar vein regarding the art of Poetry that she:

> With her sweete stateliness doth erect the minde and lift it up to the consideration of the highest matters, and allureth them that of themselves would otherwise loathe them, to take and swallow and digest the wholesome precepts of Philosophy, and many times even of the true divinity.[855]

Thus, Harington pursues and extends the now familiar Sidneyan theme that Poetry is potentially part of Man's pathway to righteousness and to God himself, due to the fact that:

> We live with men and not with saints, and sith few men can embrace this strict and stoicall divinity; or rather indeed, for that the holy scriptures in which those high mysteries of our salvation are contained are a deepe and profound study and not subject to every weake capacity, no nor to the highest wits and judgements, except they be first illuminate by God's spirit, or instructed by his teachers and preachers. Therefore we do first read some other authors, making them as it were a looking-glass to the eyes of our mind; and, then, after we have gathered more strength, we enter into profounder studies of higher mysteries, having first as it were enabled our eyes, by long beholding the sun in a basin of water, at last to look upon the sun it self.[856]

Poetry, therefore, has the special status for Christian believers of being a ground for preparing to read the Gospel itself. Harington's stating this belief effectively reduces, if not negates, the arguments of the four objections to Poetry that he proceeds to identify, namely that 'it is a

[854] Sir John Harington, *Ludovico Ariosto Orlando Furiosto Translated Into English Heroical Verse by Sir John Harington (1591)*, ed. Robert McNulty (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1972), 2.
[855] Ibid., 3.
[856] Ibid., 3.

nurse of lies, a pleaser of fools, a breeder of dangerous errors and an enticer to wantonness'.[857] Individual poets may choose to abuse Poetry in this way, but Poetry herself is irrefutably innocent of these charges. Harington indicates the literary esteem in which he holds Sidney and gives an indication of how Sidney was read by his contemporaries. He describes how Sidney writes 'right learnedly' of translation and of the question of whether poetry that is not in verse is proper poetry.[858] In Harington's opinion, on the matter of poetry being a gift or an art Puttenham 'doth prove nothing more plainly then that which M. *Sidney* and all the learneder sort that have written of it do pronounce, namely that it is a gift and not an art'.[859] Harington believes it is doubtless:

> a point of great art, to draw a man with a continuall thirst to reade out the whole work, and toward the end of the booke to close up the diverse matters briefly and clenly. If S. Philip Sidney had counted this a fault, he would not have done so himself in his Arcadia.[860]

Harrington writes with energy and passion in defending poetry, and writes his treatise in the first person for immediacy. His comparisons are based in the classics, e.g., Cornelius Agrippa, Virgil and Plutarch or the Bible or in English poetry and in contemporary poetic theory, e.g., Puttenham and Spenser. His work is finely crafted, learned and respectful of Sidney's thinking and writing.

Having examined other treatises of Sidney's time, let us return to the question of how Sidney's tour made *An Apology* different from them. Robert Stillman deems the impact of the education that Sidney received on his tour from Languet and other Melanchthon followers, and by deduction the tour itself, 'nothing short of determinative'. Why? Stillman's rationale is that the tour 'helps explain' Sidney's bold theory and why he advanced it. The theory is that poetry is the superior of the human sciences ('knowledges') and has a vast zodiacal range. Poetry is therefore the most necessary knowledge for governing oneself and governing society.[861]

Significantly, in addition, the meaning of 'cosmopolitan' as the word is used today as an adjective – i.e., 'well-travelled' or 'including many diverse nationalities' only dates to the

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[857] Sir John Harington, *Ludovico Ariosto Orlando Furiosto,* 4.
[858] Ibid., 196.
[859] Ibid., 197.
[860] Ibid., 217.
[861] Robert, E. Stillman, *Philip Sidney and the Poetics of Renaissance Cosmopolitanism* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2008), vii.

nineteenth century.[862] Stillman employs the term 'cosmopolitanism' (including in the title of his book *Philip Sidney and the Poetics of Renaissance Cosmopolitanism*) in the sense of 'all inclusiveness'.

In Sidney's case 'cosmopolitanism' involves not only the extensive travel he accomplished but also the 'travel' offered by the 'knowledges' he gained from his close association with Languet specifically but also other followers of Melanchthon who formed a diverse group both in terms of nationality and profession – as was discussed in Chapters Two and Three.[863] The group was cosmopolitan in both the international and the universal, inclusive senses. Stillman reminds his reader that not only was Melanchthon the reformer who 'struggled most persistently and energetically for the reunification of a once-universal church' and – as will be discussed in a subsequent chapter - that he was 'the spokesman for a cosmopolitan (inclusive) version of Christianity'. [864] From Melanchthon's Augsburg Confession (1530) there is clear context for his brand of ecumenism. He begins his Articles with 'Our churches with common consent'.[865] He proceeds throughout to unite those churches by using 'they teach' and 'they condemn' (noticeably, though, not 'We'). In his Preface To the Emperor Charles V he sets the background for this plea for Christian unity as 'measures against the Turk, that most atrocious, hereditary, and ancient enemy of the Christian name and religion'.[866] He urges that:

> concerning dissensions in the matter of our holy religion and Christian Faith, that in this matter of religion the opinions and judgements of the parties might be heard in each other's presence; and considered and weighed among ourselves in mutual charity, leniency, and kindness.

Melanchthon acknowledges with honesty that there are 'such things that have been treated and understood in a different manner in the writings on either side', but suggests that these:

> May be settled and brought back to one simple truth and Christian concord, that for the future one pure and true religion may be embraced and maintained by us, that we

[862] *Oxford English Dictionary*
[863] Stillman, *Philip Sidney and the Poetics of Renaissance Cosmopolitanism*, 12. They included Camerarius (German father and son philologists), Johannes Crato (a Silesian physician), Charles de L'Ecluse (the French botanist), Johannes Sambucus (a Hungarian emblemmatist, Charles Danzay
[864] Ibid., 12. Stillman describes this as a result of Melanchthon's 'deliberate cultivation of an international network of associates…and his doctrine of universally available grace'.
[865] Philip Melanchthon, *The Augsburg Confession: The Confession of Faith: Which was submitted to His Imperial Majesty Charles V At the Diet of Augsburg in the Year 1530* (Dodo Press), 1.
[866] Ibid., Preface.

> are all under one Christ and do battle under Him, so we may be able also to live in unity and concord in the one Christian Church.[867]

While this could be seen as a mere attempt to unify the Christian Churches in the face of a common enemy (the Turk), in Articles I-XXI Melanchthon focuses on the common ground shared by the organised Christian churches, e.g., What the Church is, Of Baptism, and in Articles XXII -XXVIII he focuses in a positive way on those areas of disagreement (or Catholic 'Abuses' which have been corrected. Examples of this are Of Confession and Of the Marriage of Priests. Melanchthon's ecumenism in the Preface and the Articles is conciliatory, international, inclusive (cosmopolitan) and positive.

In a similar vein, Sidney's *An Apology* is also cosmopolitan (inclusive) in that it encompasses a range of 'knowledges' that includes linguistics, moral philosophy, rhetoric, history, geometry, classical literature, Christian learning, and nature. From a cosmopolitan (international) viewpoint, Sidney's tour furnished him with a continental European and more specifically Austro-Hungarian cosmopolitan perspective from which to reflect before writing *An Apology for Poetry*. Later a wider cosmopolitan perspective would include an interest in the opportunity (albeit ultimately thwarted) for him for travel and benefit from trading in the New World. Without his European tour, for instance, Sidney would not have achieved the fluency that he did in the French and Italian languages. This enabled him to make a technical and favourable comparative analysis of the English vernacular with others in terms of its fitness as a tool for writing poetry. He is able to write with confidence about syllabic patterns, elisions and rhyme in French, Italian and Spanish.[868] It could also be mooted whether the tour awoke in Sidney a previously dormant, or gave him a completely new, interest in poetry in general and English poetry in particular. His letters from the times that he was touring do not allude to such an interest.

By the time of writing *An Apology*, literature was Sidney's 'unelected vocation', and he felt inspired to make 'a pitiful defence' of it. He counts himself among the 'company of paper blurrers'[869] Besides linking *An Apology* with the tour, a discussion regarding the qualities of Sidney's *An Apology* must address, as this has done, a selection of those poetical treatises which followed, and appear to have been considerably influenced by its ideas, if not *An*

[867] Philip Melanchthon, *The Augsburg Confession,* Preface.
[868] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Maslen, 115-116.
[869] Ibid., 109.

Apology itself. Sir Brian Vickers analyses Sidney's *Apology* in simple terms when he says that it:

> Rehearses all the traditional arguments for literature, giving them fresh emphases, and organising the whole – thanks to rhetoric – into the most unified, concise and verbally brilliant treatise in Renaissance Literary criticism.[870]

The work moves at a breath-taking pace, and by the end it has taken the reader (as Maslen is careful to remind them) to Vienna (at the very start of his work), Venice, Hungary and it has made references to Scotland, Ireland, Wales and Turkey. Maslen also posits that Sidney's views on the power of poetry and the dire contemporary state of English poetry 'are couched in terms that vividly evoke the central concerns of late sixteenth-century European politics'.[871] He continues by saying that it is a controversial political document, a daring intervention in international affairs which more or less covertly criticises the government of the day for its foreign and domestic policies.[872] Maslen summarises these, as one would expect but with validity on his part, as a crisis of identity for England at a time when her independence was threatened.[873] The existential threat came from the north (Scotland), from the East (France through the Queen's projected marriage to the Catholic Duc d'Alençon) and from Catholic Spain in the south (by way of any Spanish alliance with France or from the influence of the French- educated Mary Queen of Scots (1542 –1587). The danger was perceived as not military alone but also from 'foreign cultural values'.[874] These included the effeminising influence of knowledge and poetry that worked against military power and personal discipline.[875] The 'policies' would have included the Queen's strategy of non-intervention in the defensive operations in the Netherlands and her failure to deal with Mary Queen of Scots earlier.

The primary thesis of this paper is that arguably the European and international viewpoint in *An Apology* that Sidney gained from his tour is what contributes to its unique quality. There are the maligned printers' shops which he knew very well from his months in Frankfurt when he stayed with his friend the famous printer Andreas Wechel.[876] It is also possible to link

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[870] Vickers, *English Renaissance Literary Criticism* (OUP, Oxford, 1999), 55.
[871] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 1.
[872] Ibid., 1.
[873] Ibid., 3.
[874] Ibid., 3.
[875] Ibid., 2-3.
[876] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 81, 99, 109 and 116 respectively.

Sidney's allusions to herbarists and 'generalities' (i.e., genus or classification) with the time he spent in western Hungary on botanical research with the eminent botanist of the day Charles de L'Ecluse.[877] Sidney also notes 'the fertileness of the Italian wit' as demonstrated by Pugliano, who used the opportunity of tuition in horsemanship 'to enrich our minds with the contemplations therein which he thought most precious.'

The personal anecdotes in *An Apology* are told not simply as anecdotes, but they are used as rhetorical instruments to integrate Sidney's biographical detail into his literary theory. One example is at the beginning, and it concerns Pugliano and the horse. Later, another is the reference to the feasts and songs of ancestors in Hungary. Yet another is a swift reference to Venice rather than an anecdote, but it speaks volumes about a specific travel detail which is now useful to make a point about the reputation of poets in England.

The anecdote of the horse is an intricate description of an exercise in attempted persuasion. Pugliano was determined to convince his students Sidney and Wotton of the supreme noblesse and strength of the horse.[878] Sidney uses a long paragraph containing very long sentences. We read the repeated 'He said'… 'He said', which highlights in the reporting of Pugliano's speech his wordiness and unwillingness to finish talking. This is reinforced by 'But with none I remember my ears were at any time more loaden'. 'He exercised his speech' might describe both the length of his monologue and his attempts at the oratory of persuasion, while the hyperbole of 'Nay to so unbelieved point he proceeded, as that no earthly thing bred such wonder to a prince as to be a good horseman' proves the essential nature of his profession. The tedium felt by Sidney and Wotton is palpable, as is the irony of 'With his no few words he drave into me, that self-love is better than any gilding to make that seem gorgeous wherein ourselves are parties'.[879]

The rhythm and balance are strong throughout the oratory of the narrator's anecdote. 'He said soldiers were the noblest estate of mankind, and horsemen the noblest of soldiers'. 'He said they (horses) were the masters of war and ornaments of peace', 'speedy goers and strong abiders', 'triumphers both in camps and courts'.[880] Thus, from the outset, Sidney the raconteur-narrator blends with Sidney the poet and rhetorician. When describing the effect of lyric poems, Sidney recalls 'In Hungary I have seen it the manner at all feasts, and other such

[877] Ibid., 114.
[878] Ibid., 81.
[879] Ibid., 1.
[880] Ibid., 95.

meetings, to have songs of their ancestors' valour, which that right soldierlike nation think the chief kindlers of brave courage', thereby mixing the anecdote with his literary point. Lyric poetry can inspire fortitude – referred to in three different ways for emphasis: 'valour', 'brave' and 'courage'.[881] The Venice reference is to the mountebanks.[882] These were charlatans; snake-oil salesmen who sold fake 'cures' and whose unenviable reputations were now shared by poets in England.[883] Sidney equates English poets of his day (those who are not 'right poets') with quack doctors who were dishonest and unscrupulous in the 'poetry' they sold. The references to Sidney's personal reading also perform the function of anecdote to reinforce his literary point, 'I account the *Mirror of Magistrates* meetly furnished of beautiful parts, and in the Earl of Surrey's lyrics many things tasting of a noble birth'.[884] Sidney writes that 'I never heard the old song of Percy and Douglas that I found not my heart moved more than with a trumpet'. In this short anecdote he confesses his own barbarousness and explains that this is despite the song being sung by 'some blind crowder, with no rougher voice than rude style'.[885]

Stephen Greenblatt describes anecdotes as being among the 'principal products of a culture's representational technology, mediators between the undifferentiated succession of local moments and a larger strategy toward which they can only gesture'.[886] It may be countered that of these examples only the Pugliano story is technically an anecdote and that the others are mere refences to Sidney's real experience. However, they all exemplify Sidney's gift for combining his own experience with his poetic theory. In Greenblatt's phrase, Sidney provides references to himself that his reader can seize 'in passing from the swirl of experiences and given some shape, a shape whose provisionality still marks them as contingent…but also

[881] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 118.
[882] Ibid., 131.
[883] 'Performers, known as "mountebanks", found particular favour on the Streets of Venice. The term *mountebank*, meaning 'he who jumps on a bench', was used interchangeably with the term *charlatan*; the connotations of this being a con-artist, a man who hoodwinks people into believing he is educated while knowingly selling them false medicines.' 'A Brief History of Quackery - Quackery and the Supernatural in Variety Performance' -Student Research Projects - Projects - National Fairground and Circus Archive - The University of Sheffield, 2021.

[884] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 110.
[885] Ibid., 99. Maslen explains two points about this. The first is that this 'old song' is likely to be a version of the Ballard of Chevy Chase that even in 1711 Addison called 'the favourite Ballad of the people of England'. Secondly, he notes that in Thomas Marshall's accounts for the boy Sidney in September 1566 'Itm gevenne by Mr Philipps commandment to a blind harper who is Sr Willm. Holles man of Nottinghmshier. This is cited in Malcolm W. Wallace, *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney* (New York, 1967), 421.
[886] Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (OUP, Oxford,1991), 3.

makes them available for telling and retelling'.[887] Sidney does this with a subtle sweep of the hand.

Beneath the glittering good humour, Sidney's post-tour alienation pervades his words in *An Apology* about the current lamentable state of (or total lack of) development in English poetry, his despair about the mediocre attitude towards poetry and the lack of ambition in the writings of English poets in the centuries since Chaucer, of whom he writes that he:

> undoubtedly did excellently in his Troilus and Criseyde; of whom, truly, I know not whether to marvel more, either that he in that misty time could see so clearly, or that we in this clear age walk so stumblingly after him. [888]

Sidney the poet's prevailing abysmal opinion about the level of poetry appreciation in the England of his day is almost violently negative. This rhetoric builds to the theatrical crescendo of *An Apology's* final paragraph. These are the words of a man who has travelled and compared his country with others in this respect and who is almost disgusted by the difference. To those who 'cannot hear the planet-like music of poetry, if you have so earth-creeping a mind that it cannot lift itself up to look to the sky of poetry' Sidney says:

> thus much curse I must send you, in the behalf of all poets, that while you live, you live in love, and never get favour for lacking skill of a sonnet, and when you die, your memory die from the earth for want of an epitaph.[889]

Sidney was a European man by the time he wrote An Apology and this shines through his treatise in a way in which is missing from others' later treatises. These, however, also aim to counter attacks on poetry such as Gosson's and will be analysed later. None of these treatises, though, is underpinned with Sidney's level of travel, cultural, religious or diplomatic experience.

How is Sidney's tour seen in the textile of his *An Apology*? It is seen in the conversations and intertextuality - the golden thread of ideas - between Sidney's tour and *An Apology;* ideas which began with Philip Melanchthon. The significance of Melanchthon's spiritual thought on Sidney will be addressed in Chapter Five. Melanchthon had died twelve years before Sidney met Languet. It is Languet who was Sidney's direct connection with Melanchthon, as

[887]Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions*, 3.
[888] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 110.
[889] Ibid., 117.

Languet had been Melanchthon's student and colleague. Traces of the content of Melanchthon*'s Orations* (given throughout the 1530s and 1540s) can be seen in Sidney's theories of art, language and history. Melanchthon's philosophy of education and learning is sewn through Sidney's piece. Illustrations of the discussions between Melanchthon's *Orations* and *An Apology* range from those about knowledge of languages, disapproval of false sophistry and having knowledge which is of use to one's state.

From Melanchthon, also through Languet, Sidney takes a thread of being careful in his selection of topics for study that will be useful in the future service of his country. During the tour Languet guided and advised Sidney on how he should devote his time and effort to seeking to gain only the appropriate knowledge to be worthy of his status so to be of maximum use to England as a diplomat and as a Protestant leader on the European stage. Sidney's and Languet's references to Ascham and the English view of an Englishman who has been transformed by travel in Italy, 'an awry-transformed traveller' and 'monsters...strangers...poor Englishmen', offer insight into the experience (cultural, intellectual and emotional) of one who comes home after an extended period of travel and living abroad. This experience is not unknown today; the returned traveller's being misunderstood, being a voice in the wilderness while also having the positive gift of a wider cosmopolitan perspective on the world are all present from Sidney in his *An Apology*. One can presume Sidney's honesty in his letter to his brother Robert in which he explains the benefits and the pitfalls of travel. This letter is also referred to in more detail in Chapter One concerning Sidney's offer to arrange Robert's tour. He writes with wisdom at the end of the letter that his brother should take away one life lesson above any other from it:

> Which is choice of what menn you are to direct your self unto, to learne these things, for it is certaine no vessell can leave a worse taste in the licour it contaynes, then a wronge teacher infectes an unskillfull hearer with that which hardly will ever after out.[890]

[890] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, (Oxford, 2012), 877-882. Kuin 'tentatively' dates this letter to February 1579 when Robert Sidney set off on his travels with Stephen Powle (c.1553-1630). Kuin also explains that the date could be it might be 1581, as it was in the autumn of that year that Powle and Robert Sidney travelled from Strasbourg to Paris. Powle refers to this journey in his introduction to the letter. However, Feuillerat notes that the letter comes from the Penshurst Papers and is endorsed 'Mr Philip Sidney to me,

In the context of this advice of Sidney's it is worth remembering the words of Roger Ascham (also quoted in Chapter One) about the contaminating effect on an Englishman of travel in Italy, that 'some *Circes* shall make of him, of a plaine English man, a right Italian. And at length to hell, or to some hellish place, is he likelie to go.'[891]

Ascham was right to a certain extent with Sidney. Sidney, while not being over-impressed with Italy or the Italians, courted danger and controversy due to the English Catholic contacts he made there, for example lodging with Lord Edward Windsor in Venice. This matter brought an early end to his tour and was addressed in Chapter Three. On 10 March 1575, after Sidney had left Prague, Languet wrote that Sidney's friend Edward Wotton had arrived too late to see Sidney, and had brought worrying news:

> I see that your friends have begun to suspect you on the score of religion, because at Venice you were so intimate with those who profess a different creed from your own. I will write to Master Walsingham on this subject, and if he has entertained such a thought about you I will do what I can to remove it…Meantime I advise you to make acquaintance where you now are, with the French ministers, who are learned and sensible men; invite them to visit you and hear their sermons, and do the same at Heidelberg and Strasburg.[892]

While Languet was often over-protective of Sidney, this open discussion of the alleged corrupting effect of Italy on Sidney was obviously of sufficient concern for Wotton to have tried to reach Sidney and for Languet to offer to plead Sidney's case with Walsingham. Wotton was himself privately a Catholic, as was discussed in Chapter One.

There should be nothing studied that is superfluous - as Languet sees it - in national and international contexts. This question had been addressed in Melanchthon's *On the order of learning* where he explains at the graduation of Masters' students in Wittenberg in 1531:

> For the thoughts of all of them (your teachers) are conveyed to you by my voice; as they want the best plan for you, they do not desist from urging you in this place to

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browght 1578 by my L. Chauncellor and dated the last of May.' Sidney, Philip, *Complete Works, 4 vols.,* ed. Albert Feuillerat (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1923), Vol. 3, 396-7.

[891] Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* Book 1.
[892] Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet, *The Correspondence of Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet,* ed. William A. Bradley, 105-6.

> cherish those studies which they judge becoming and useful to you in private, as well as necessary for the upkeep of the state.[893]

He continues by expressing his belief in the correct order of learning and the need 'not to neglect the study of the lower arts, which, even though they have little outward appeal for the crowds, pave the way for knowing the higher arts, which sustain the administration of the state'.[894] Learning and knowledge are as much civic duties as Sidney's tour is a matter of national responsibility, as was discussed in Chapter One. Melanchthon ranks the knowledge of languages just below the study of religion as being of 'beneficial to theologians' as well as 'of surpassing usefulness to the other arts'. Both concern everyone.[895]

In his letters to Sidney in Italy Languet follows the same line of argument in accordance with his ambitions for his protégé. Sidney's future in public life and his social and political status are fundamental considerations for Languet. On 22 January 1574 Languet recommends Sidney 'to learn first what is most necessary and most suitable to your condition'.[896] In addition he admonishes Sidney:

> you must consider your condition in life, how soon you will have to tear yourself from your literary leisure, and therefore the short time which you still have should be devoted entirely to such things as are most essential. I call those things essential to you which it is discreditable for a man of high birth not to know, and which may, one day, be an ornament and a resource to you.[897]

Languet pressed this utilitarian view of study and knowledge which, it can be deduced, was largely the influence of Melanchthon and this is a baton which Sidney later passed to his brother Robert. Sidney wrote to Robert on 18 October 1580 recommending that Robert read the chronologies of Melanchthon and Languet, take a delight in music, swordsmanship and horsemanship.[898]

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[893] Melanchthon, *Orations*, 3.
[894] Ibid., 3.
[895] Ibid., 32.
[896] Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet, *The Correspondence of Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet,* ed. Bradley, 29.
[897] Ibid., 28.
[898] Philip Sidney, *Complete Works, 4 vols.,* ed. Albert Feuillerat (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1923), vol. 3, 130-133.

Sidney took after his father Henry in that he was a skilled linguist. Roger Howell quotes Sidney's travelling companion Ludovico Bryskett on this matter. In his *A Discourse of Civill Life* (1606) Bryskett notes that at the time of his stay in Paris in 1572 Sidney was:

> so admired by the graver set of courtiers that when they could at any time have him in their company and conversation, they would be very joyful, and no less delighted with his ready and witty answers than astonished to hear him speak the French language so well and aptly having been so short a while in the country.[899]

Howell continues that there is no evidence that Sidney graduated from the University of Padua after his year in Italy, but that 'he certainly had the facility in language to become a student there, for he spoke Italian reasonably well.'[900] However, this year of study is within the spirit of the explicitly stated objective of Sidney's passport 'the knowledge of foreign languages'. [901] This was officially presumably to enable him to fulfil a diplomatic role later). Languet, in the letter of 22 January 1574, hesitates to advise Sidney regarding his wish to add Greek to his portfolio of languages, as 'you already know four languages. If, in the course of amusing yourself, you learned enough German to understand it more or less you would not be wasting your effort.'[902]

Sidney's response to the idea of learning German is to express his distaste for the 'harsh' sound of the language, to agree to compromise by speaking German sometimes with 'our friend' Delius and to omit it from the list of vernacular languages in *An Apology* that are suitable for poetry.[903] This opinion was probably underpinned by experience from his stays in Frankfurt, Heidelberg and Vienna. These are but samples of the insights that can be gleaned from Sidney's correspondence regarding what studied during his European travel experience.

Sidney demonstrates and employs his skill, his knowledge and the concept of the prime role of languages in the art of Poetry in *An Apology*. He proposes that the English language is 'fit' for both types of versifying that he recognises, ancient and modern. He is technically correct in what he says regarding our unusually stress-timed language with its rare system of both syllabic and sentence stress:

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[899] Roger Howell, *Sir Philip Sidney The Shepherd Knight (*Little, Brown, Boston*,* 1968)*,*140.
[900] Ibid.*,* 147.
[901] Alan Stewart, *Philip Sidney, A Double Life* (Pimlico, London, 2001), 70.
[902] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, (Oxford, 2012), 96.
[903] Ibid., 106.

> Truly the English, before any other vulgar language I know, is fit for both sorts: for the ancient, the Italian is so full of vowels that it must be ever cumbered with elisions; the Dutch so, of the other side, with consonants, that they cannot yield the sweet sliding fit for a verse; the French in his whole language hath not one word that hath his accent in the last syllable saving two, called *antepenultimae;* and little more hath the Spanish, and therefore very gracelessly may they use dactyls. The English is subject to none of these defects. Now for the rhyme, though we do not observe quantity, yet we observe the accent very precisely, which other languages either cannot do, or will not do absolutely. That *caesura*, or breathing space in the midst of the verse, neither Italian nor Spanish have, the French and we almost fail of. Lastly, even the very rhyme itself the Italian cannot put in the last syllable, by the French named the masculine rhyme, but still in the next to last, which the French call the female, or the next before that, which the Italians term *sdrucciola*.[904]

Sidney does not give examples of *antepenultimae*, but it is a common syllabic pattern in longer English words, e.g., '**sy**llable' '**grace**lessly', '**con**sonants', 'con**ser**vative', co**in**cidence and 'lab**or**ious'. In three-syllable words a *Dactyl* is a stressed syllable followed by two unstressed ones, as in '**sy**llable'. '*Sdrucciola*', or 'slippery' rhymes, are those 'in which there are several unstressed syllables after the last stressed syllable.'[905] Sidney's example of it is 'motion, potion' (which in Sidney's time each had three syllables, thus 'mo-ti-on and po-ti-on).[906] A *Caesura*, Maslen explains, is here Sidney's adaptation for English of a classical technique for the division of a foot, especially in the middle of a line – the breathing space or natural pause in a long line in English.[907] Maslen cites Puttenham's precision that the pause should come strictly after the fourth syllable.[908] Some suggested examples of successful *Caesura* from lines of Sidney's own work are in the first stanza of his metrical version of Psalm XXII:

> My God my God || why hast Thou me || forsaken?
>
> Woe me, from me || why is Thy presence taken?

[904] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Maslen, 115-116.
[905] Ibid., 252-3.
[906] Ibid., 253.
[907] Ibid., 252.
[908] George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poetrie*, eds. Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker (CUP, Cambridge, 1936), 75.

So farr from seeing || myne unhealthful eyes,

So farr from hearing || to my roaring cries.[909]

The Caesura increases the dramatic effect and ensures the emphasis of key words with the pause before them, e.g., before 'Why', and after them, e.g., 'me'. In the paragraph quoted above from *An Apologie*, Sidney has explored both where the technical features of other vernaculars are also contained in English and where they could be adapted to use the English language in verse.

It is logical to move from language as it can be used positively in vernacular literature to its misuse in false or confused sophistry. This also connects with the simplicity of Logic expounded by Ramus, as is explored below. Melanchthon chides thinkers (such as the Epicureans) who distort and pervert previous teachings. This also directly links with the reverence for, and faithfulness to, the Gospel of Christ and its ordered, truthful holiness for which Melanchthon, Sidney and the Reformation movement in Northern Europe stood. In 1540 Melanchthon wrote:

> For I believe that religion needs to be applied in teaching, in order that we do not wantonly overthrow what has been taught correctly by others – as some believe that is the greatest success of [their] intelligence to overturn craftily what others have said, correctly, and they do not consider that they have God as observer and judge of their wantonness. Since he has ordered: 'Thou shalt not bear false witness [Matthew 19:18], He will also severely punish sophistry by which the arts are thrown into disorder, a matter from which great calamity for morals follows. These games and tricks of sophisms give me no pleasure, and I do not wish to be a 'lover of horses' as much as a 'lover of truth.'[910]

Sidney responds to this with a loud 'hear, hear!' when he castigates 'versifiers', 'prose-printers' 'and (which is to be marvelled) among many scholars, and (which is to be pitied) among some preachers.' He charges them with such sophistry that 'Truly they have made me think of the sophister that with too much subtlety would prove two eggs three, and though he might be counted a sophister, had none for his labour.'[911] The sophist would attempt to trick

[909] *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler Jr. (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1962), 298.
[910] Philip Melanchthon, *Orations*, 151. Here is Philip Melanchthon playing on his own name (which means 'lover of horses') as Philip Sidney later plays on his name within his Pugliano anecdote in *An Apology,* 'I think he could have persuaded me to have wished myself a horse.' Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Maslen, 81.
[911] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Maslen, 113-114.

the unlearned person by telling him that 'two eggs were thre, because that there is one, and there be twayne, and one and twayne make three.' The origin of the egg fallacy is explained by Maslen who sources it back not only to Thomas More's *Confutation of Tyndale's Answer* (1532 and 1533) but to other schoolboy stories.[912] 'Sophistry' is often defined with the word 'clever', which indicates a touch of admiration. For Sidney, though, such playing with eloquence and 'far-fetched words' is not only ludicrous but morally wrong, as it can become the sin of bearing false witness. A highly ornate style – with excessive use of repetition, assonance or simile, for example - should not override the paramount need for a written or spoken text to be persuasive. This should be set against the sixteenth century backdrop of scepticism about any slavish devotion to the complex style of the giant orator Cicero. Such scepticism is presented and lampooned with no doubt in Erasmus' *Ciceronianus.* In it, to the amused exasperation of Bulephorus and Hypologus, the brainwashed Ciceronian Nosoponus declares:

> There is no exception. A Ciceronian he will not be in whose books there is found a single little word which he cannot show in the writing of Cicero: and a man's whole vocabulary I deem spurious just like a counterfeit coin if there is in it even a single word which has not the stamp of the Ciceronian die.[913]

The discourse continues until Bulephorus (representing Erasmus) uses the analogies from nature of bees who gather their pollen from different plants to give their honey a variety of tastes and she-goats who eat different types of leaves which results in diverse flavours of milk. By the end of the conversation when Hypologus says that he has been cured of the Ciceronian disease, Nosoponus can say 'And I too, except that I still feel some remnants of that long familiar illness'. Hypologus reassures Nosoponus that those remnants will disappear, but, if necessary the physician reason can be called on to help.[914] In respect both of sophistry and excessive eloquence, Sidney allies himself firmly with Melanchthon and Erasmus, as his example of the three eggs demonstrates.

In his edition of *Ciceronianus* Paul Monroe sums it up thus, 'to Erasmus style was subordinate to the ends to be accomplished; to the Ciceronian, style was the ultimate goal'.[915]

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[912] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Maslen, 245-6.
[913] Erasmus, *Ciceronianius; or A Dialogue on the best way of Speaking*, Scott, Izora, Monroe, Paul (New York, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1908),

[914] Ibid., 106.
[915] Ibid., 5.

Monroe highlights Erasmus's concern about the spiritual wrongness of such 'misplaced devotion' to Cicero and this tendency of the Renaissance to turn back towards paganism.[916]

Since Melanchthon and Sidney devote significant attention to fables and parables as both moral lessons and legitimate literary forms, it is right to approach them in detail from both these perspectives. They are also speaking pictures (as discussed before) which Sidney believes make poetry so memorable as compared with Philosophy and History.

The Oxford Dictionary defines a parable as a 'narrative of imagined events used to typify moral or spiritual relations' (from the Latin 'parabola' meaning 'placing alongside', 'comparison'). The parables of Jesus are that; they are extended similes or small allegories.

Sidney employs the Old Testament example of the prophet Nathan whose story about the rich man, the poor man and the lamb speaks truth to power in the form of King David, and brings the latter to repentance for his sins of adultery and murder. The story of King David and Nathan the Prophet is found in 2 Samuel 12: 1-13. King David had stayed at home when his men were in battle and had committed adultery with Bathsheba the wife of Uriah - his most faithful soldier. Bathsheba became pregnant by David who then gave explicit instructions that Uriah should be abandoned on the front line to be killed. God inspired Nathan the prophet to visit David and challenge him with the story of a rich and a poor man. The rich man needed to prepare a meal for his visitor. Instead of taking one of his own animals, he took a lamb belonging to the poor man, a little lamb that had lived as a beloved member of his family. On hearing this story:

> David burned with anger against the man and said to Nathan, 'As surely as the Lord lives, the man who did this must die! He must pay for that lamb four times over, because he did such a thing and had no pity'. Then Nathan said to David, 'You are the man'.

For Sidney Nathan's parable is the micro-model which he says made King David see his wickedness and repent.[917] The first two stanzas of the Countess of Pembroke's metrical

[916] Erasmus, *Ciceronianius; or A Dialogue on the best way of Speaking,* 4.
[917] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Maslen, 96.

Psalm 51 of David (as she continued and completed her brother Philip Sidney's work of versifying the Psalms) testify to David's penitence and his wish to be cleansed of his sin:

> And wipe O Lord, my sins from sinful me,
>
> O cleanse, O wash my foul iniquity:
>
> Cleanse still my spots, still wash away my stainings,
>
> Till stains and spots in me leave no remainings.[918]

The heading to Psalm 51 in the Myles Coverdale Bible directly connects this psalm with David's confession of these sins, as does the Geneva Bible.[919]

Moreover, Jesus the Son of God uses parables (fiction) for the teaching of His Gospel and to highlight hypocrisy on the part of those in religious power who fail to see their own imperfections while both highlighting those of others and burdening others with laws that are impossible for any human to keep. This, for Sidney, is proof that poetry comes from and leads to God:

> Certainly, even our Saviour Christ could as well have given the moral commonplaces of uncharitableness and humbleness as the divine narration of Dives and Lazarus; or of disobedience and mercy, as that heavenly discourse of the lost child and the gracious father.

St. Matthew explains this as Jesus's deliberate use of the parable form in Scripture:

> Jesus spoke all these things to the crowd in parables. He did not say anything to them without using a parable. Thus was fulfilled what was spoken through the prophet, 'I will open my mouth in parables, I will utter things hidden since the creation of the world.[920]

Sidney's conclusion in *An Apology* is that poetry - in this case in the form of parables and fables - is acceptable to God, who uses it from the mouth of His prophet and His own son for the guidance of a person back to virtue:

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[918] Mary Sidney (and Philip Sidney), *The Sidney Psalms*, ed. R.E. Pritchard (Carcarnet, Manchester, 1992), 48.

[919] Coverdale Bible: 'David prayeth for remission of sins, whereof he maketh a deep confession'. Geneva Bible: 'A Psalm of David, when Nathan the prophet *TO reprove him, because he had committed horrible sins, and lain in the same without repentance more than a whole year*. came to him, after he had gone in to Bathsheba.

[920] Matthew 13:34-5. Matthew here is quoting Psalm 78:2.

> By these, therefore, examples and reasons, I think it may be manifest that the poet, with that same hand of delight, doth draw the mind more effectually than any other art doth. And so a conclusion not unfitly ensueth: that, as virtue is the most excellent resting place for all worldly learning to make his end of, so Poetry, being the most familiar to teach it, and most princely to move towards it, in the most excellent work is the most excellent workman.[921]

Melanchthon's observation and conclusion regarding what he calls 'fables' appears in his 1526 oration *On Fables* that:

> There are so many fables in the Holy Scriptures that it is sufficiently clear that the Heavenly God himself considered this kind of speech most powerful for bending the minds of men. I ask you what greater praise can fall to fables than that the Heavenly God also approves of them?[922]

Concerning fables and parables, in *On Fables* Melanchthon writes that they entice children's – and possibly adults' - attention as if with sugar and that is how the truth is made agreeable.

> Thereafter both the words and the meanings of the arguments which we heard with wonder remain rooted more deeply, and, so to speak, leave spines behind in the mind by which we are inflamed with a concern to investigate these things which are taught to us by the novel device.[923]

And that:

> Just as those who want to be loved by children must attract them with sugar and similar things, so the truth needs to be made agreeable with some allurements, and needs to be introduced into uncultivated minds.[924]

Sidney follows Melanchthon's thought in *An Apology* that Poetry (including parables and fables) make messages of morality and righteousness palatable and memorable, 'even as the child is often brought to take the most wholesome things by hiding them in such other as have a pleasant taste'.[925]

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[921] Sidney*, An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 96.
[922] Melanchthon, *Orations*, 58.
[923] Ibid., 56.
[924] Ibid, 55.
[925] Sidney*, An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 95.

In addition to these examples of biblical intertextuality between Melanchthon and Sidney regarding literature in the form of biblical parables inculcating righteousness there are the fables of Homer and Aesop. *The Oxford Dictionary's* definition of a fable (from the Latin 'fabula', a discourse), however, is somewhat different from that of 'parable'. It is 'a short story, especially with animals as characters, conveying a moral'. There is an example of an image, though, that straddles the function and identity of both New Testament parable and secular fable. Melanchthon asks, 'what of the fact that fables were beneficial not only for children, but also for the most famous cities?'. He then cites the fable of Agrippa in his speech to the rebelling Roman people about the connectedness of each part of the body: the stomach and the limbs. This prompted the people to seek resolution with the Senate.[926] Sidney too employs this tale in *An Apology*.[927] The same fable features in Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* (Act 1: Scene 1), again as a fable for civic unity and obedience.[928] It also appears in the New Testament's 1 Cor.12:12 where the Apostle Paul uses it to exhort the early church to see each Christian and their gifts as unique and indispensable to the life of Christ's church and thus to His glory.[929]

In around 1526 Melanchthon cites Homer's fable of the war between the frogs and the mice, saying that Homer:

> wrote for the children everywhere in Greece, in order both to delight the delicate minds with a very beautiful fable and to teach how much better it is to ignore a wrong than to avenge it, how uncertain is the outcome of all quarrels or wars, and that it happens not infrequently that the stronger is defeated by the weaker, and that often all ill turns itself on the instigator.[930]

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[926] Melanchthon, *Orations*, 57.

[927] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Maslen, 96.

[928] William Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, The Arden Shakespeare, ed, Philip Brockbank (London, Routledge, 1976), 102-6.

[929] Holy Bible, Geneva version 1 Corinthians 12 vv. 12-20 'For the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ. For by one spirit are we all baptised into one body, whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one spirit. For the body is not one member, but many. If the foot shall say, because I am not the hand, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body? If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling? But nowe hath God disposed the members euery one of them in the bodie at his owne pleasure. For if they were all one member, where were the body? But now there are many members but one body.'

[930] Melanchthon, *Orations*, 56. 'For when the mice - provoked by some wrong - preferred to avenge that wrong with arms rather than ignore it, and trusted too much in their own strength against the unwarlike frogs, the gods

Sidney's defence of the fable form is robust, but his main attention is on Aesop whose tales equally prove that the poet is the 'right popular' philosopher. Aesop's '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.[931]

Here, with 'dumb speakers' Sidney delves with impact into the Petrarchan tradition of what Leonard Forster calls 'Petrarch's wide range of antitheses', his 'delicate balance of opposites'.[932] Forster cites as an example of Petrarch's use of antitheses and oxymora *Canzionere* Sonnet 132 *S'amor non è, che dunque è quel ch'io sento.* Peter Hainsworth translates the oxymora in the sonnet as 'torment so nice' ('si dolce ogni tormento'), 'death alive' (O viva morte'), 'pleasurable evil' ('dilettoso male) and to 'shiver in midsummer, burn all winter' ('E tremo a mezza state, ardendo il verno').[933] Sidney's 'dumb speakers'- the talking pictures of the fables – are used by the poet to provide 'food for the tenderest stomachs'.

There is, though, a conflicting view of Aesop's fables from Robert Temple in his introduction to them. His description could hardly be further from Sidney's:

> The fables are not the pretty purveyors of Victorian morals that we have been led to believe. They are indeed savage, coarse, brutal, lacking in all mercy or compassion, and lacking also in any political system other than absolute monarchy.[934]

Temple continues to take a pessimistic view of the flawed nature of the human condition, making it almost irredeemable when he states, 'The law of the jungle seemed to prevail in the world of men as of animals for Aesop. Perhaps that is why animal stories were so appropriate.'[935] Sidney also recognises the reality of the human condition when he refers to 'many, more beastly than beasts.' The key words, though, from Sidney's endorsement of Aesop's fables as quoted above are 'begin to'. Imperfect humans hearing the sound of virtue is normally a process. The idea of hearing 'the sound of virtue' from 'dumb speakers' should

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gave the victory to those who were less warlike, and the instigators of the war received a just punishment for their obstinacy'.

[931] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 92.

[932] Leonard Forster, *The Icy Fire: Five Studies in European Petrarchism* (CUP, Cambridge, 1969), 4-5.

[933] Peter Hainsworth, *The Essential Petrarch* (Hackett, Indianapolis, 2010), 57.

[934] Aesop, *The Complete Fables*, trans. Olivia Temple and Robert Temple (Harmondsworth, 1998), xvi.

[935] Aesop, *The Complete Fables*, xvii.

not be possible. It is possible, nevertheless. Aesop the poet makes it so. As a poet, on occasions, in his fables he presents what Sidney calls a 'golden world'; the world as it could and should be. As a poet he does not lie by implying that animals speak, since he has never claimed that to be the truth. Sidney's strongest defence of the poet and poetry is that:

> I think that of all writers under the sun the poet is the least liar…he nothing affirms, and therefore never lieth… The poet never maketh any circles about your imagination, to conjure you to believe for true what he writes. He citeth not authorities of other histories, but even for his entry calleth the sweet Muses to inspire into him a good invention; in truth, not labouring to tell you what is or is not, but what should or should not be.[936]

The message of Aesop's fables divides neatly into four types. The first includes those fables that are realistic observations about humanity and the world as it is. These are warnings, examples of which are *The Astronomer* who fell into a well because he was not focusing on everyday practicality and was looking up to the sky, and the famous *Fox and the Bunch of Grapes*, 'which represents inefficient people who blame their circumstances and not themselves for their failure.'[937]

Second are those that aim to edify and improve human behaviour. *The Frog Doctor* cannot cure his own limp, so he should not claim to know and instruct others.[938] There are also the farmer's children who looked for their late father's treasure in his vineyard as he had instructed them to do. They found no treasure except the well-kept vineyard itself and its plentiful fruit. The message there is 'for men, work is the real treasure'.[939]

The third category of fables are those which address people and their place in the state. *The Fisherman who beat the water*, when asked why he was beating the water answers that it is to disturb the fish otherwise he cannot then catch and eat them. 'It is like this in a city state; the demagogues thrive by throwing the state into discord.'[940] Of politicians, *The Kithara-player* hears the echo of his own singing voice in a house with thick walls as a beautiful voice. When he sang on stage in a theatre, his voice was so bad that he was driven off the stage by

[936] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Maslen, 103.
[937] Aesop, *The Complete Fables*, 52 and 27 respectively.
[938] Ibid., 54.
[939] Ibid., 66.
[940] Aesop, *The Complete Fables*, 22.

the furious audience. ‘Certain orators, who at school, seem to have some talent, reveal their incompetence as soon as they enter the political arena.’[941]

Finally, there are those fables that address humanity’s dealings with the gods. One such fable is significant because it can be linked directly with the Letter of James in the New Testament, and thus from classical Greek to Christian thinking. It is *The Two Cockerels and the Eagle* where one cockerel triumphed over another in a fight over some hens. The defeated cockerel hid in a thicket while the victor paraded on a high wall, crowing loudly. An eagle swooped on the victor and carried him away, leaving the loser in possession of all the hens.[942] Temple cites S.A. Handford who highlights the similarity between this salutary story and James 4:6, ‘Do ye think that the scripture saith in vain, The spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy? But the Scripture offereth more grace, and therefore sayth, God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble’.[943] These fables (literary works) in all four categories thus fit well thematically into Sidney’s vision of poetry in which it instructs by warning, delights (through the machinations and interactions of animals) and motivates people to be better, more reflective and self-aware. The story told by Nathan and the parables of Jesus are poetry and fulfil poetry’s divine role of challenging an individual to the point of both shaking their moral complacency and inspiring them to a new level of righteousness. Anna Schiffer posthumous submission for postgraduate award March 2025

Anna Schiffer began work on her dissertation at Solent University about a decade ago. Philip Sidney’s travels abroad were undertaken between June 1572 until May 1575. This Introduction gives the itinerary for those tours and it defines the network of friends and contacts he had in each of the places he visited. It also aims to describe some aspects of the home country that Sidney left to start his tour, and with which he would be comparing others. It offers biographical travel context to the research question of the thesis which is ‘What is the influence of Sidney’s European tours on his later writing?’. The sources for both the itinerary and the friendships and acquaintances, are found in Sidney’s correspondence. There is no evidence from the correspondence of what the original travel plan included, other than to visit Paris for the ratification of the Treaty of Blois. Sidney’s licence for travel appears as Appendix II.

[941] Aesop, *The Complete Fables*, 115.
[942] Ibid., 18.
[943] Geneva Bible, James 4:6.

Two tours in one

While researching and presenting the impact of Sidney's three-year European tour on his Defence of Poetry, Old Arcadia and Astrophil and Stella, it became logical to separate it into two distinct and differentiated tours. This is because each tour contributed different sets of experiences and ideas to Sidney the future poet. The Northern tour of Germany and the great cities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire revealed to Sidney, according to his correspondence, a heritage of geo-political and

Gosson, for instance, makes no reference to them, neither does Webbe. Thomas Nash in 1589 alludes briefly to 'the Kidde in Aesop, who, enamored with the Foxes newfangles, forsook all hope of life to leape into a new occupation'.[944] E.K. in 1579 compares English speakers being ashamed or ignorant of their mother tongue with ' the Mole in Aesop's fable, that, being blynde her selfe, would in no wise be perswaded that any beast could see'.[945] Thomas Lodge in 1590 writes of the authority of writers that ' Though Aesop's crafty crowe be never so deftlye decked, yet is his double dealing esely desiphered.'[946] Lodge also invokes Christ's parable of the workers in the vineyard (via St Paul) when he calls on poets to 'lament with the Apostle the want of laborers in the Lords vineyards.'[947] These are, though, rare examples. On the other hand, Sidney's seriousness about fables as inspiring tales in poetic form – probably partly because of his studies in Melanchthon's work – is witnessed as shown by the prominence that he affords them in *An Apology*. These stories offer guidance, admonishment and, as will be seen, a safe and anonymous means from which to speak truth to power. The stakes for the poet are high, but parables and fables - with their unidentifiable creatures - or characters - provide a way for him to deny that his message was ever political. For example, Jesus's critics knew that he was telling his parables against them, but they could never prove it.[948]

[944] Thomas Nash, A General Censure (1589) in *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith (OUP, London, 1904), 312.

[945] Spenser, Edmund, *Poetical Works*, ed. J.C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (OUP, Oxford, 1977), 417.

[946] Thomas Lodge, *A Defence of Poetry, Music and Stage-plays* (London, 1853), 3.

[947] Thomas Lodge, *A Defence of Poetry, Music and Stage-plays*, 17.

[948] For example, after Jesus tells the Parable of the Tenants 'Then the hie Priests and the Scribes the same houre went about to lay hands on him: (but they feared the people) for they perceived that he had spoken this parable against them.' Luke 20:19, The Geneva Bible.

From studying parables and fables to the subject of studying Geometry, Sidney wrote on 4 February 1574: 'I long greatly to be acquainted with it, and the more so because I have always felt sure that it is of the greatest service in the art of war'.[949] In Languet's letter of 22 January 1574, he had advised Sidney that 'Geometry may, indeed, be of great use to a man of rank, in the fortification or investment of towns, but to understand it sufficiently would certainly require much time.'[950] It is possible that Sidney had been inspired in this interest in geometry by Petrus Ramus and his work *The Way to Geometry*. Ramus met and made an impression on Sidney in the few weeks of their friendship in Paris between June and Ramus's death in August 1572. In his *Geometry* Ramus writes that:

> The end or scope of Geometry is to measure well. Therefore, it is defined of the end, as generally all other arts are. To measure well therefore is to consider the nature and affections of everything that is to be measured: to compare such like things one with another: And to understand their reason and proportion and similitude.[951]

Sidney's *Apology* is an exercise in measuring poetry well. Firstly, it is a geometrical artwork in its structure. Secondly it measures the relative affect and effect of Poetry, Philosophy and History as subjects of study and measures their value as spiritual and moral guides. Next it measures poetry into its different genres and evaluates them. Then it measures the comparative merits of English literature at that time against the ideal. Finally, it measures the English vernacular against other vernaculars (especially Italian) as a natural language for verse poetry.

To address the first point of its measured form, *An Apology* is both concerned about Art and is itself a work of art. Its construction is geometrical in the form of a classical legal defence argument. Maslen breaks down its structure to demonstrate how.[952] The pivotal section is section six - the Digression - which is a speech within a speech and concerns the state of poetry in Tudor England. Maslen calls this the 'raison d'être' of *An Apology*.[953] It measures the reality of Tudor English poetry against what it could and should be. The benchmarking is

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[949] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, 106.
[950] Ibid., 96.
[951] Petrus Ramus, *The Way to Geometry* (London, 1636), 10.
[952] *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Maslen, 31-34. The steps of the defence are the Introduction, the Narration (facts), the proposition (summary of the argument), the Division (naming of the different genres of poetry), the Confirmation or Proof (of Poetry's superiority over Philosophy and History in its power to convince), the Refutation (of the case against poetry), the Digression (a speech within a speech about sixteenth century English poetry and the Conclusion.
[953] Ibid., 108-116.

of England compared with other nations in the Tudor present when 'Poesy, thus embraced in all other places, should only find in our time a hard welcome in England'. It is also of England in the present compared with the past when poets flourished and whose soil was decked with many more 'laurels' than now.[954]

Secondly *An Apology* measures poetry into its different categories and sub-classifications and evaluates them. The highest level of Poetry imitates 'the inconceivable excellencies of God', such as David's Psalms, Solomon's Proverbs and Homer's hymns (though these are in 'a full wrong divinity').[955] This type of poetry brings comfort and consolation in grief as well as in joy, as illustrated by St James when he advocates singing Psalms.[956] Below the divine poetic art are those poems which 'deal with matters philosophical' (either moral or astronomical). Sidney concedes that it is controversial whether these are poems at all, 'because this second sort is wrapped within the fold of the proposed subject, and takes not the course of his own invention'.[957] Its fore-conceit or idea is not original or may even be non-existent. The third level of Poetry is closely related to the first in that their maker can be called a 'Vates', and they:

> move men to take that goodness in hand which without delight they would fly from as a stranger, and teach, to make them know that goodness whereunto they are moved: which being the noblest scope to which ever any learning was directed.[958]

The measurement here is the 'noblest scope', the target of all learning which can only be reached with the unique help of Poetry.

Next, *An Apology* measures the relative affect and effect of Philosophy, History and Poetry as subjects of study and measures their value as spiritual and moral guides. Sidney measures the impact of the philosopher in terms of his 'sullen gravity' and 'contempt of outward things'.[959] The philosopher speaks 'sophistically' (which, as is seen elsewhere in the chapter, is probably not a compliment) and with 'a scornful interrogative'. He questions not only the possibility of finding a way to guide men to virtue, but also what virtue is.[960] The historian with his 'old mouse-eaten records and his "table-talk" tyranny is cut off from present reality

[954] Ibid., 108-9.
[955] Ibid., 86.
[956] James 5:13.
[957] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 86.
[958] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 87.
[959] Ibid., 87.
[960] Ibid., 88-89.

and is better acquainted with a thousand years ago. His knowledge is built upon the knowledge of 'hearsay' and therefore he has 'to pick truth out of partiality' (which is, of course, the nature of all true scholarship). In his defence, the historian claims that he is the 'lux veritam' and the 'vita memoriae' and that he teaches an active rather than the philosopher's disputative virtue.[961] The poet, however, performs both the task of the philosopher and that of the historian. They each want to hit the target (the scope) of the attainment of knowledge and thus virtue; the philosopher by using precept and wordiness and the historian with cold example. The 'peerless' poet gives the perfect picture (the scope of the philosopher) by using specific example.[962]

An Apology measures the comparative merits of English literature at that time against the ideal. Sidney writes with scathing confidence about what poetry in English is and what it could and should be. His companions among the English 'paper-blurrers' suffer from 'want of desert'. That is because they forget or lack the three wings of Daedalus that are needed for the 'highest-flying wit': Art, Imitation and Exercise. He includes himself in 'we', or does he?

> Exercise indeed we do, but that very fore-backwardly: for where we should exercise to know, we exercise as having known: and so is our brain delivered of much matter which never was begotten by knowledge. For there being two principal parts – matter to be expressed by words and words to express the matter – in neither we use Art or Imitation rightly…never marshalling it [our matter] into an assured rank, that almost the readers cannot tell where to find themselves.[963]

With respect to logic and reason, the poetry of Sidney's day is measured and fails largely in its order and ranking of matter (ideas and content). Two of the three columns of Poetry – Art and Imitation – are not used correctly to ensure the correct ordering (ranking) of the matter of the work. The third column – exercise (or practice) – is used 'very fore-backwardly', i.e., Sidney says that instead of practising writing with the intention of learning and gaining knowledge, practice is used to rehearse and reinforce what is already known. Thus, there is no evolution or progress.

[961] Ibid., 89.
[962] Ibid., 90.
[963] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 109-110.

Lastly, as discussed in detail earlier in the chapter, *An Apology* measures the English vernacular against other vernaculars (especially Italian) as a natural language for verse poetry. In each of these five ways Sidney 'measures' poetry carefully and 'well'.

Regarding Ramus and his Geometry it is pertinent to examine how Sidney employs Ramusian Logic in *An Apology*. In his *Logik* Ramus describes three 'documents or rules keept, which in deede ought to be observed in all artes and sciences.[964] These rules of logic pertain to focus, truth, the difference between general and specific rules and (within the third rule) avoiding repetition. Sidney's *An Apology* respects all three of Ramus's documents. The first is 'we gather only together that which doth apartaine to the Arte which we intreate of, leaving to all other Artes that which is proper to them'.[965] While *An Apology* refers to many other arts, it is on Poetry that it is focused. The concentration is on Poetry's history, its techniques and its whole value to mankind, from the skill of the fore-conceit to linguistic details to its unique ability to guide mankind to virtue by appealing to its highest 'wit'. In *An Apology* Sidney addresses History and Philosophy, but while he never suggests that these arts do not have their use or should not be studied, he concentrates on why Poetry makes a unique and superior contribution to human civilisation:

> Neither let it be deemed too saucy a comparison to balance the highest point of man's wit with the efficacy of nature; but rather give right honour to the heavenly Maker of that maker, who having made man to His own likeness, set him beyond and over all the works of that second nature: which in nothing he showeth so much as in Poetry, when with the force of a divine breath he bringeth things forth far surpassing her doings, with no small argument to the incredulous of that first accursed fall of Adam: since our erected wit maketh us know what perfection is, and yet our infected will keepeth us from reaching unto it.[966]

These are Sidney's core claims for Poetry. It is to the honour of God and it is the result of man's highest intellectual and creative potential. If humanity cannot attain perfection (the perfection he is capable of recognising), it is due to his fallen and rebellious nature.

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[964] P. Ramus, *The Logike of the Most Excellent Philosopher P. Ramus Martyr Newly Translated, and in Diuers Places Corrected, After the Minde of the Author [*1581*]* (London, 1581), 8-10.

[965] Ibid., 8.

[966] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Maslen, 85-6.

Thus, it can be said in Sidney's defence that *An Apology* respects Ramus's first rule that 'we gather only together that which doth apartaine to the Arte which we intreate of, leaving to all other Artes that which is proper to them'. The 'Arte' here is, without doubt, Poetry.

The second of Ramus's 'documents' is that 'all the precepts of thine arte be of necessitie true'.[967] In his defence of Poetry Sidney proves that all the allegations against it are false and thereby that his thesis is true that Poetry is, as he claims it is, honest and the highest form of human intellectual activity. The poet is 'not labouring to tell you what is or is not, but what should or should not be'.[968] The logic here is clear; a person who never claims to be telling a forensic version of the truth can ever be accused of lying. Therefore, what Sidney the poet is saying in *An Apology* cannot be lies. He also gives copious examples to support whatever he claims. He therefore appears to observe the rule of Ramus's second document that 'all the precepts of thine arte be of necessitie true'.

The third 'document' is that 'thou intreate of thy rules which be general generally and those which be special specially and at one time, without any vain repetition'.[969] *An Apology* would not be able to move at the pace it does within forty pages of text if it indulged in 'vain repetition'. In *An Apology* Sidney respects Ramus's principle of the general and special rules. The 'general' rule is, for instance, the definition of poetry as 'an art of imitation…that is to say a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth', while the specific rule is the division of poetry into its genres; that which 'did imitate the inconceivable excellencies of God, that which deal with matters philosophical and 'they which most properly do imitate to teach and delight'.[970] Another demonstration of Ramus's third document in *An Apology* is the general proposition in the Digression that poets should be humble about their own mistakes that they should 'especially look themselves in an unflattering mirror' and immediately afterwards the specific rule of the elements of writing good poetry, the three wings of 'Art, Imitation and Exercise'.[971] The interaction between *An Apology* and *Logik* continues with Dialectic (also called Logic) that is divided into two: inventio and judgement (disposition).[972] Inventio 'teacheth to invente argumentes', and *An Apology* is clear about its argument in its second paragraph:

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[967] Ibid., 9.
[968] Ibid., 103.
[969] Petrus Ramus, *The Logike*, 10.
[970] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 86-7.
[971] Ibid., 109-110.
[972] Petrus Ramus, *The Logike,* 17.

> I have just cause to make a pitiful defence of poor Poetry, which from almost the highest estimation of learning is fallen to be the laughing-stock of children.[973]

In Ramus's terms the argument of *An Apology* is 'artificial'; an argument that 'of it selfe declare and is either first 'naturally bente to prove or disprove any thing, such as be single reasons separately and by themselves considered.'[974] It is also 'agreable' in that it 'agreeth with the thing that it proveth: and is agreable absolutely, or after a certaine fashion.'[975]

What is the argument? It is that poetry brings humanity closer to God and to moral righteousness than any other art form and the fact that individual poets abuse the poetic form does and should not mean that Poetry is tainted. The judgement is that the English language is capable of being used to much greater effect in Poetry's service than it has been since Chaucer's day. Sidney concedes that *Mirror of Magistrates* is 'meetly furnished of beautiful parts' and Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* - dedicated to Sidney- 'hath much poetry in his eclogues, indeed worthy the reading.'[976] Notwithstanding, Sidney continues the withering attack (worthwhile quoting in full) by stating that otherwise:

> I do not remember to have seen but few (to speak boldly) printed that have poetical sinews in them: for proof whereof, let but most of the verses be put in prose, and then ask the meaning, and it will be found that one verse did but beget another, without ordering at the first what should be at the last: which becomes a confused mass of words, with a tingling sound of rhyme, barely accompanied by reason.'[977]

Given the context of 'confused mass' and 'without ordering at first what should be the last', the word 'reason' here would appear to mean 'logic' or 'order', as in the phrase 'there is no rhyme nor reason to it' rather than 'reason' as in 'a rationale'. As if this were not bad enough and far enough from Ramus's logic, for Sidney the poetry of his time is unconvincing; the indefensible sin of any oratory – spoken or written:

> But truly many of such writings come under the banner of unresistible love; if I were a mistress, would never persuade me they were in love; so coldly they apply fiery speeches…we miss the right use of the material point of Poesy.[978]

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[973]Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 82-3.
[974] Petrus Ramus, *The Logike,* 17.
[975] Ibid., 19.
[976] Ibid., 110.
[977] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 110.
[978] Ibid., 113.

'The right use of the material point of Poesy' is to persuade and to move someone into reactions and feelings and reactions that are yet dormant or even unknown to them. Sidney's complaint is that his contemporaries are poets who appear to write of what they do not know, a grave mistake and insult to their readers. They have no hope of affecting their readers with such soulless efforts. His advice is that which he gives himself at the start of *Astrophil and Stella* when he was 'helplesse in my throwes, biting my trewand pen, beating my selfe for spite, "Foole", said my muse to me, "looke in thy heart and write."'[979] In other words, follow your muse and what comes from your own heart and experience and then the poetry will flow and be true.

In his *Logik* Ramus explains 'The method'. This is:

> a disposition by the which among many propositions of one sorte, and by their disposition known, that thing which is absolutely most clear is first placed and secondly that which is next: and therefore it continually procedeth from the most generall to the speciall and singuler. By this method we procede from the antecedent more absolutely known to prove the consequent, which is not so manifestly known.[980]

Sidney's lens zooms in and out in each section. For instance, after using a specific anecdote (Pugliano and his badly stated argument for horses) to catch the attention of his reader, Sidney gives his definition of Poetry as an art form: that it is ancient, global and divine with the task 'to teach and to delight':

> Poesy is therefore an art of imitation, for so Aristotle termeth it in his word *mimesis,* that is to say, a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth – to speak metaphorically, a speaking picture – with this end, to teach and to delight.[981]

This is arguably the crux paragraph of Sidney's text. As seen earlier, he then narrows the focus again, as defined before, to give the categories of Poetry: 'the excellencies of God' (e.g., the Psalms of David), then the philosophical or moral and lastly those that 'most properly do imitate to teach and to delight.'[982]

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[979] *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler Jr. (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1962), 165.

[980] Petrus Ramus, *op. cit.,* 94.
[981] Sidney*, An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen*,* 86.
[982] Ibid., 86-7.

It is evident through *An Apology* that Sidney is, as he says, a 'piece of a logician'.[983] An illustration of this is a passage where he forensically mocks fake logicians with the disdain of one who is confident in his own authenticity. According to Ramus, there are:

> universal and general gifts to man by nature, reason and speech. The first is the concern of dialectic, the latter of grammar and rhetoric. Dialectic seeks to establish the all-round strength of the human reason in the discovering and disposing of matter. Grammar seeks the purity of speech in words and syntax to speak or write well. Rhetoric demonstrates how to ornament an oration with tropes and figures and the dignity of proper delivery.[984]

In *An Apology* Sidney directly takes his beloved Ramus's baton of measurement and the simple clarity of the dual gift to mankind with:

> For if *oratio* next to *ratio,* speech next to reason, be the greatest gift bestowed on mortality, that cannot be praiseless which doth most polish that blessing of speech; which considers each word, not only (as a man may say) by his forcible quality, but by his best measured quantity, carrying even in themselves a harmony – without, perchance, number, measure, order, proportion be in our time grown odious.[985]

This is a comment on the relationship between content (ratio) and form (oratio) in literature. Sidney is rebuking the 'scorning humours' of the scoffers of 'rhyming and versing'. He says that, although it is not necessary to be a versifier to be a poet (or vice versa), it would be a fine commendation of poetry if it were.[986] This is in preparation for his idea expressed further on that the English language is well-suited to achieve Ramus's 'right use both of matter and manner' in fictional writing:

> Being indeed capable of any excellent exercising of it… it hath that praise, that it wanteth not grammar…But for the uttering sweetly and properly the conceits of the

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[983] Ibid., 81.

[984] Petrus Ramus, *Rhetoricae distinctions in Quintillianum* (Paris: Andreas Wechel, 1559), 18. 'Duae sunt universae & generals homini dotes a natura tributae, ratio & oratio: illius doctrina dialectica est, hujus grammatic & rhetorica igitur generales humanae rationes vires in cogitandis & disponendis rebus persequetur, grammatica orationis puritatem in etymologia & syntaxi ad recte loquendum vei scribendum interpretur. Rhetorica orationis ornatum tum in tropis & figuris, tum in actionis dignitate demonstret: ab his deinde generalibus & universis velut instrumentis aliae artes sunt effectae.'

[985] Sidney*, An Apology for Poetry,* ed. Maslen, 101.

[986] Ibid., 101.

> mind, which is the end of speech, that hath it equally with any other tongue in the world.[987]

With these words, Sidney addresses the age-old question regarding the indissoluble link between content and form in literature.

The final point to make concerning Ramus and *An Apology* is that of the significance of practical application of theories. Ramus wrote that 'Experience produces art, inexperience leads to temerity.'[988] In *An Apology* Sidney (both narrator and man) supports almost every assertion and each idea with an example from history, literature or his own life. It is this supporting evidence that gives the text its substance and credibility. The two Sidneys who are involved in this work combine to create this work of art, because they each have the confidence and experience to which Ramus refers. By this time Sidney the man is well-travelled and a cosmopolitan sophisticate. The other Sidney is the advocate defending Poetry. In this role he is a logician, an orator and a witty, playful sparring partner with his reader. It is a perfectly valid point that Sidney did not need to have travelled merely to have read Ramus's work. However, it is equally valid to say that Sidney met Ramus in Paris and became a devoted friend between June and August 1572. As discussed in Chapter Two, Ramus's influence on the young Sidney is evident from an observation by Ramus' biographer that Philip 'not only loved Ramus as a father when alive, but esteemed and reverenced him after death'.[989] It can be concluded, therefore that Sidney's view of, and adherence to, Ramus's work were directly moulded by his friendship with Ramus in the first months of his tour.

Retuning to Languet's letter of 22 January 1574, his counsel to Sidney is that:

> Next to the knowledge of the way of salvation, which is the most essential thing of all, and which we learn from the sacred scriptures, next to this, I believe nothing will be of greater use to you than to study that branch of moral philosophy which treats of justice and injustice.[990]

Once again, this is a matter of usefulness, not only to a young man embarking on adult life but also for one who will (Languet believes) represent his country on the international stage

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[987] Ibid., 115.
[988] Petrus Ramus, Scholae in Liberalis Artes, 830, quoted in Duhamel, Pierre Albert. *The Logic and Rhetoric of Peter Ramus*, Modern Philology, vol. 46, no. 3, 1949, 167.

[989] John Buxton, op. cit., trans. Ramus, Commentariorum de Religione Christiana, Libri quartuor (1577) ed. De Banos, 46.
[990] Ibid., 30.

in deals and negotiations that will demand justice as their outcome. It is poignant in the light of the extreme injustice that Sidney witnessed in Paris and prefigures Sidney's treatment of the theme of justice in *An Apology*, *Old Arcadia* and *Letter to the Queene's Majesty*. As was highlighted in earlier Chapters, Sidney later proved that he had a hot temper and very precipitavely reacted violently to perceived injustice.

In contrast, Poetry was not discussed in any more detail or with any more respect than as 'your literary leisure' in the Languet-Sidney exchanges about useful knowledge. However, by the time he wrote *An Apology*, poetry in the English language had become for Sidney a pressing question of national honour and civic responsibility. At the outset of *An Apology* Sidney severely castigates those who dismiss the value of poetry for being thankless hedgehogs who drive their hosts away after they have been welcomed, or vipers who kill their parents who gave birth to them.[991] He then sweeps through the history of poetry from Musaeus, Homer and Hesiod to Orpheus and Linus to Dante, Boccaccio and Petrarch after which he adds:

> So in our English were Gower and Chaucer, after whom, encouraged and delighted with their excellent fore-going, others have followed, to beautify our mother tongue, as well as in the same kind as in other arts.[992]

Poetry in the English language should be a source of patriotic inspiration. Their poetry in their vernacular languages is such for the people of Ireland, Turkey, Hungary and Wales.[993] As with the Greek, Latin and Italian poets, 'so in our English were Gower and Chaucer with their excellent fore-going, others have followed, to beautify our mother tongue, as well in the same kind as in other arts'.[994] Innovation in English poetry is possible, but Sidney wonders what is impeding it?. He asks:

> why England (the mother of excellent minds) should be grown so hard a stepmother to poets, who certainly in wit ought to pass all other, since all only proceedeth from their wit, being indeed makers of themselves not takers of others.[995]

[991] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Maslen, 82.
[992] Ibid., 96.
[993] Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Maslen, 97-8.
[994] Ibid., 96.
[995] Ibid., 131.

Why should poetry which is 'embraced in all other places find in our time a hard welcome in England', 'idle England which can now scarce endure the pain of a pen'?[996]

There are two publications (both from 1557), however, which cast a different light from Sidney's on English disdain for poetry written in its vernacular: John Bale's *Catalogue of Tudor Authors*, *An Annotated Translation of Records from the Scriptorum illustrium maioris brytanniae… Catalogus* and Richard Tottel's *Miscellany*.[997] Their existence proves that there was an interest in the history and evolution of English poetry at least on the part of their respective presumed target clienteles. J. Christopher Warner suggests that Bale's desired audience was mainly readers of Latin both on the Continent and in the British Isles. For them this *Catalogue* provides an inventory of English writing in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and a signpost to what might be valuable reading matter.[998] Warner identifies two obstacles to comfortable reading of the *Catalogue*, though. The first of which is that Bale was reputed to be 'a bilious Protestant polemicist' and the second is that he was increasingly unreliable as a biographer whose work contained double and ghost entries.[999]

Richard Tottel (died 1594) was a legal publisher and member of the Stationers' Company from its birth in 1557.[1000] The latter role indicates Tottel's power in the new publishing trade. Amanda Holton and Tom MacFaul surmise that *The Miscellany* was targeted towards Inns of Court students with an interest in poetry and rhetoric and that it was a test of the market which proved successful.[1001] The preface to the Penguin edition describes the *Miscellany* as 'The little book that kick-started the Golden Age of English literature ... one of the most important landmarks of the poetic tradition'. In his *To the reder* Tottel anticipates Sidney in two ways. He firstly expresses his belief that:

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[996] Ibid., 131.

[997] John Bale (1495-1563) was Bishop of Ossory and 'a man of great theological and historical learning, and of an active mind. But he was a coarse and bitter controversialist, and awakened equal bitterness among his opponents. He was known as 'Bilious Bale'. His *Catalogue* is ' a valuable catalogue of the authors of great Britain chronologically arranged'. *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 3, 41-2.

[998] John Bale, *Catalogue of Tudor Authors*, *An Annotated Translation of Records from the Scriptorum illustrium maioris brytanniae… Catalogus* (1557-1559), ed. Warner, J. Christopher (ACMRS, Arizona, 2010), xvi.

[999] Ibid., xvii.

[1000] Tottel's *Miscellany: Songs and Sonnets of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt and Others* 'inaugurated the long series of poetic anthologies which were popular in England throughout Elizabeth's reign. The most interesting of them, e.g., Richard Edwardes' *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1576) and Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody* (1602) are all modelled more or less directly on Tottels's.' *Dictionary of National Biography.*

[1001] *Tottel's Miscellany: Songs and Sonnets of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt and Others*, eds. Amanda Holton, and Tom MacFaul (Penguin, London, 2011), ix.

> To have well written in verse, yea and in small parcelles, deserveth great praise, the woorkers of divers Latines, Italians & other, doe prove sufficiently. That our tong is able in that kinde to do as praise worthily as the rest.[1002]

Then he begs his readers' understanding for presuming to show that this is the case and for demonstrating that skill with 'the honorable stile of the noble earle of Surrey, and the weightinesse of the depewitted sir Thomas Wiat the elders verse'. He urges his reader to

> think it not evil don, to publishe, to the honor of the english tong, and for the profit of the studious of Englishe eloquence, those works which the ungentle horders up of such treasure have heretofore envied the.[1003]

Tottel suspected, or saw, an elitist conspiracy to keep poetry in English out of the hands of people like his legal clientele.

Two decades after Tottel, Sidney's solution to the related problems of the national indifference towards and the inaccessibility of English language poetry and fictional prose was to write *An Apology*. The answer was also to be found in the formation of the New Poetry, in his membership of The Areopagus group and in the influence of Giordano Bruno.

To summarise, this chapter has had three focal points. It has concentrated firstly on a description of the original circulation and publication of An Apology. Secondly, it has highlighted the contrast between An Apology and several other literary treatises of its time to demonstrate how it is both different and arguably richer than they are due to the background of Sidney's tour and his cosmopolitanism in both meanings of that word. Finally, it has analysed some of the influences on An Apology of the literary and philosophical concepts that Sidney encountered from Melanchthon via Sidney's mentor Languet and friends, specifically in the first and third parts of his tour. Next, the exploration will be of that New Poetry in English and behind which Sidney and the ideas of *An Apology* were significant forces. The literary group behind the movement was the Aeropogus Society and how Giordano Bruno was a considerable influence on Sidney's part in it**.** There will be further analysis of both the relationship between author and reader and of the development of the power of English fictional writing in the vernacular.

[1002] Ibid., *To the reder*.
[1003] Ibid., *To the reder.*

Conclusion

> On the last day of May, a fair wind wafted me to this our island nest, where I found all my family well.[1004]

This report by Sidney to Count Hanau marks the end of Sidney's 1572-1575 European tours, but not the end of his literary journey. The tours had featured the formal court life and diplomacy of the Holy Roman Empire. His networking reached the highest levels; Charles IX of France had honoured him and the Emperor Maximillian II had received him. These formalities had contrasted with Sidney's more relaxed weeks in western Hungary and Genoa and with his life of a student in Venice and Padua.

Sidney's father Sir Henry observed, or even complained, to Philip's younger brother Robert that Philip had not brought any gifts back from his travels for his family. In 1580, when thanking Robert (then on his European tour) in advance for a present of marten skins, Sir Henry wrote 'it is more than ever your elder brother sent me.'[1005] That may be true in a material sense; the Veronese portrait of Languet is permanently lost and the question remains whether Sidney brought back from Frankfurt and Venice the volumes that he bought. Notwithstanding, the first intangible gift that he brought back was his life-long friendship with Languet. It was Languet who had ensured that Sidney had a serious, honest correspondent. It was Languet who engineered for Sidney a network of equally serious contacts around Europe. Languet managed for Sidney a further education that would assist and enable a career of public service, in England and abroad, for which Sidney longed and which Languet desired for him. In Kuin's words, Sidney came home to England 'one of the most travelled of young courtiers and the representative at Court of his father Sir Henry Sidney, the Vice-Roy of Ireland.'[1006] While it is unknown what the tours would have been without the occurrence of the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre, after that event they took on dynamic and intellectual dimensions. Through Languet's introductions, Sidney met kings, emperors, botanists, soldiers, princes, reformers and philosopher-theologians. His tours of Germany, the Holy Roman Empire and Venice and Padua had been managed throughout by Languet, at different points by Walsingham, Leicester and by Sidney himself when he was able to exert control of it (for example, his three weeks in western Hungary and his visit to Genoa). It was by Languet that Sidney's Northern tours were structured and planned and his southern tour was carefully watched and monitored from a distance.

The impression given is that of a three-year campaign of education, meetings and events, including a royal visit to Venice and to a coronation in Poland (this latter did not materialise). Sidney's tours gave him further knowledge of the French, German, Italian and Dutch languages; the progress in foreign languages that his passport specified should result from his travel. The Italian tour exposed Sidney to the scope of literature in the vernacular. It is safe to say that this was more than normal study-travel and that Sidney's legacy is not merely one of literature, but also one of ideas: political, diplomatic and Christian.

[1004] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, 2 vols (Oxford, 2012), 431-2.

[1005] Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney Courtier Poet* (London, 1991), p.85. *HMC De L'Isle and Dudley ii. 95.*

[1006] Roger Kuin, "A League Too Far: Philip Sidney and the Holy Roman Empire II", *Sidney Journal*, vol. 42, no. 1, 2024, 34.

It was his friendship and correspondence with Hubert Languet that enabled Sidney to develop his second gift from the tours, that of writing with confidence. This is, if anything, a story of a close friendship and a meeting of minds across a generation, and was characterised by regular and faithful correspondence, albeit less regular then Languet would have liked. The correspondence between Sidney and Languet would not have happened without the tours, and it is a far more consistently revealing and meaningful exchange than Sidney's surviving correspondences with any others. In addition, Sidney's time spent in Europe facilitated his book-buying at Frankfurt Book Fairs and, in the famous bookshops of Venice, of volumes in vernacular Italian. His Northern tour afforded him the opportunity to hone his skills of horsemanship at the Emperor's prestigious new Riding School in Vienna (founded in 1565). On its own website the school says it is:

> the only institution in the world which has practised for more than 450 years and continues to cultivate classical equitation in the Renaissance tradition of the Haute École - which can also be found on UNESCO's list of intangible cultural heritage of humanity.[1007]

Sidney was also able to study at first hand the French, Hapsburg and Venetian systems of government. All of this forms a legacy from the tours that pervades *The Defence of Poetry*, *Old Arcadia* and *Astrophil and Stella*, as has been demonstrated throughout this work.

The Introduction provided a detailed account of the itinerary and the background to the tours, for instance the Treaty of Blois, and it included an analysis of England as Sidney left it in 1572. It marked the network of friends and acquaintances Sidney made during the tours and gave their profiles. It highlighted (as is mentioned above) that there is no surviving evidence of what that itinerary would have been had the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre not occurred, but this is part of the intriguing mystery of the tours, that they emerged from what was salvaged from an otherwise horrific event. The other mystery which the Introduction addresses is the abrupt ending of the tours.

Chapter One highlighted *The Defence of Poetry* and began with Sidney's image of Poetry as a 'great passport' to all nations. It traced the history of the passport and identified Sidney's image of it with Poetry and his presentation of it in *The Defence* as the universal and timeless art. *The Defence of Poetry* is peppered with anecdotes from Sidney's tours; from the riding tuition at what is now known as the Spanish Riding School in Vienna to the Mountebanks of Venice to Hungarian ballads. These allusions to the tours exude the impression that the tours made on him and his wish to include their highlights in his literary theory. With *The Defence* Sidney brought to England essential principles of poetic theory that had been under discussion in Italy for decades and which he presents in a fresh and dynamic style. *The Defence of Poetry* has been the foundation text for this thesis, as it expounds his vision of a new future for poetry in the English language to reflect the confidence of its proud nation. It is the prime illustration of the impact of his European 1572-5 tours on his writings. Sidney's view in *The Defence of Poetry* is that, without Poetry as their passport, that is their 'safe conduct', History and Philosophy would not be able to travel the world so freely. He extends this to a number of other academic disciplines and areas of knowledge such as natural philosophy and mathematics. *The Defence of Poetry* inspired a series of other derivative late Elizabethan and early Jacobean treatises in different styles and from diverse perspectives, for instance those of John Harrington, Thomas Lodge and George Puttenham. These other treatises also aimed to counter attacks on poetry such as Gosson's

[1007] www.srs.at.

and these were analysed in Chapter Two. None of these treatises, though, is underpinned with Sidney's level of travel, cultural, religious or diplomatic experience.

Sidney's tours are seen in the conversations and interface of Sidney's tours with *The Defence;* in ideas which began with Philip Melanchthon, the reformer and colleague of Martin Luther and mentor of Languet. Melanchthon lived on for Sidney through Languet. References to the content of Melanchthon*'s Orations* (given throughout the 1530s and 1540s) can be seen in Sidney's theories of art, language and history. Melanchthon's theory of education and learning is also laced through Sidney's *Defence*. *The Defence* is an extended letter with a first-person writer, personal stories, 'gathered flowers' and the dramatic, confected, passion of its final blessing and curse. It is a fluent, enthusiastic, erudite interaction between the letter-writer and the recipient, just as Sidney asked Languet to help him achieve.

The research for *the Defence* and *Old Arcadia* has proved that Sidney was accepted into the Imperial Court in Vienna within which he had an impressive network of contacts and friends, including one of the Emperor's chief policy planners Lazarus von Schwendi, his physician Joseph von Krafftheim and Maximillain II's first Imperial Librarian Hugo Blotius, the Imperial Botanist Charles de L'Ecluse. Maximillian II and his court appear at the very beginning of the *Defence*. It was while at Maximillian's Imperial Riding School that Sidney and his friend Edward Wotton (1548-1628) were perfecting their horsemanship, 'When the right virtuous Edward Wotton and I were at the Emperor's court together, we gave ourselves to learn horsemanship of John Pietro Pugliano [sic].'[1008] This is not merely a travel anecdote. As Edward Berry rightly observes:

> The sustained analogy that follows, between Pugliano's self-interested praise of horsemanship and Sidney's self-interested praise of poetry, is a brilliant rhetorical device, as has been often observed, establishing Sidney's aristocratic persona and disarming criticism by acknowledging at the outset the extent to which all efforts at defending one's vocation are tainted by self-love.[1009]

Thus, from the first page of the *Defence* Sidney is using his experience on his tours to create his authorial personality and voice. Pugliano is but the first of a cast of real characters from the Northern tour on whom Sidney calls to enliven his writing. The esteemed botanist and horticulturalist Charles de L'Ecluse (1526 -1609) with whom Sidney spent time in western Hungary in the early autumn of 1573, became head of Maximillian's Imperial Garden very soon after their trip. It was L'Ecluse who tried to obtain a portrait of Languet as a gift for Sidney.[1010] Lazarus von Schwendi (1522-84) was one of Maximillian II's chief policy planners. Sidney met Andreas Dudith (1533-89) in November 1574 on his visit to Cracow. Dudith was a friend of Languet and, from 1565, Imperial ambassador to Poland.[1011] Dudith corresponded with Johann Crato (1519-1585), who was ennobled to Johannes von Krafftheim (1519-1585), the imperial physician who performed dissection on the body of Maximillian II in October 1576, the first dissection to be described in print. From these contacts alone, most of whom lead back to Languet, Sidney was an insider in the Imperial court through the time of his

[1008] Sir Philip Sidney*, An Apology for Poetry:* ed. R.W. Maslen, 3rd revised ed. (Manchester, 2002), 81.
[1009] Edward Berry, "The Poet as Warrior in Sidney's Defence of Poetry." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 29, no. 1, 1989, pp. 21–34. *JSTOR*, https://doi.org/10.2307/450452.
[1010] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, 675-676 .
[1011] Ibid., xli.

Northern tour. *The Defence* shows the literary and intellectual effect on Sidney of his encounters on his travels with Languet, Ramus and the works and spirit of Melanchthon. These first-hand meetings, for example with Ramus (or, in Melanchthon's case, a meeting with his disciple Languet) are powerful and precious.

Chapter Two demonstrated that a close connection can be seen in content between *The Old Arcadia* and what Sidney saw, heard and experienced both during his tour of the Holy Roman Empire of leadership, diplomacy and politique. His friendship with Languet and the encouragement Languet offered Sidney in the intellectual, political and spheres enabled Sidney to flourish when he came to write *The Old Arcadia*. The second chapter analysed the models of leadership (both positive and negative) that Sidney witnessed and demonstrated the ways in which he created the characters of the leaders, Euarchus, Basilius and Philanax, based on those models. There was also the comparison and contrast of two interpretations of Machiavelli's theories as presented in *The Prince*. There was a comparison of the structure of Arcadia with that of the Holy Roman Empire and an exploration of the methods of addressing of diplomatic issues in those two territories.

A pivotal point for Sidney's tours was the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of August 1572 in Paris.[1012] Although there is no massacre in *The Old Arcadia*, there is impending violence and popular unrest. The (supposed) treacherous killing of Duke Basilius by those closest to him creates a succession crisis. In Act Two, the Amazon Cleophila (Prince Pyrocles in disguise). Her arrival triggers fear and distrust. Is she potentially a Catherine De Medicis figure who has possessed Arcadia's prince and government just as Catherine 'possessed' her son King Charles XI of France at the time of the massacre? She is seen as a danger to Arcadia's sovereignty. Chapter Two followed Machiavelli's theory of hereditary princes (of whom Elizabeth I and Basilius are two). In addition, it showed that Sidney bought his copy of Macchiavelli's *The Prince* whilst in Padua, thus confirming the connection between it, *Old Arcadia* and the Southern tour. The chapter traced Machiavelli's ideas about tyranny and examines the concept of the body politic and the body physical of any monarch and how that concept is reflected in both Elizabeth I and Basilius in *Old Arcadia*. It discussed the issue of succession, in Arcadia, England and the Hapsburg Empire.

Chapter Three addressed Sidney's Southern Tour in Italy. It examined English hostility to the young Englishman who travelled in Italy (the *Inglese Italianato*) and who brought back with him decadence, bad fashion and atheism. Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* is the first sonnet sequence in the English language. There had, of course, been Chaucer's, Wyatt's and Surrey's sonnets, but these were not cohesive series of sonnets with flowing narratives as is *Astrophil and Stella*. Hilary Gatti dubs Sidney the principal English Petrarchan poet of his time.[1013] This chapter traced *Astrophil and Stella*'s origins to Petrarch via Giordano Bruno and the effect of Sidney's interest in Italy in studying Astronomy on his sonnet sequence which is based entirely on the love of a star. The third chapter examined how 'Petrarch's long deceased woes welcomed Sidney to a discursive structure which he was able to exploit.' It described and unwrapped the concept of the intertext which Sidney formed between the *Old Arcadia*, Sannazaro's *Arcadia* and de Montemayor's *Diana* and between *Astrophil and Stella* and Petrarch's *Canzionere.* Each example of intertextuality is an inextricably bound web. The idea was offered that intertextuality is a natural dimension of reading life. In Chapter Three it was shown that Sidney's *Old Arcadia* is evidence that his poetic theory and practice is sufficiently flexible to combine

[1012] See Introduction and Chapter Two.

form and genre in literature (verse and prose) in one work and proof that he can create a new intertext. This comes from Sidney's book-buying In Venice which included Sannazaro's *L'Arcadia*, the model for his own *Old Arcadia*. The continental literary line was traced (in Chapter Three) from Sidney's *Old Arcadia* back through Sannazaro's *Arcadia* to the *Diana* of Montemayor.

The third chapter drew the parallel of Stella's court with the court of Elizabeth I with Stella as the dismissive Queen, indifferent to Sidney's wish to serve her and her country. It tracked Astrophil's references to current world events and the sequence's themes of the sun, moon and stars – reminiscent of the interest in Astronomy expressed by Sidney in his letters from Italy. Sidney's Italian tour was his opportunity for him to build or cultivate his interest in fictional literature (Poesy). He was able to study Italian as a language for poetry and to speak and hear modern languages in international environments such as Venice and Padua. He could decide and make judgements about those languages, such as his dislike of German. In Italy there was liberation from the constraints of the expectations of his family, Languet and those older mentors whom Duncan-Jones calls his 'Dutch Uncles.'[1014] In Venice Sidney was able to pursue his book-buying and this was followed through his letters of the time. His purchases included Sannazaro's *L'Arcadia*, part of the model for his own *Old Arcadia*. Sidney met or revisited the Italian poetical theory which permeates his *Defence of Poetry*. Chapter Three spoke to how Sidney uses Giordano Bruno's concept of the Memory House in *Astrophil and Stella*. This time in Italy affected Sidney's view of writing in the vernacular and that impact would resume when he met Giordano Bruno in London. The Southern Tour was a key component of Sidney's development as a writer; the *Old Arcadia,* the *Defence of Poetry* and *Astrophil and Stella* might not exist in their present, or even any, form.

By extension, it would be a failure to omit a brief summary of how Sidney's literary inheritance from both the European tours evolved between 1575 when he returned to England until his death (in 1586), and how *The Defence*, *Old Arcadia* and *Astrophil and Stella* began their public lives. Gavin Alexander notes that Sidney only twice refers to his writings obliquely in his correspondence.[1015] These references are in two letters already cited. On 22 May 1580 Sidney instructs Edward Denny to 'remember with your good voyce to singe my songes.'[1016] Kuin states that this is 'the first evidence that any of his songs had been set to music' and that 'the first known example is *Astrophil and Stella* (vi) ('Oh that you hear this voice'), set by William Byrd in his 1587 *Psalms and Sonnets*. The second instance of Sidney's self-referencing is to his brother Robert on 18 October 1580 when he writes, 'my toyfull Book I will send with Gods helpe by February.' This, Kuin is sure, is the *Old Arcadia* which Sidney had been writing at Wilton House (his sister's home near Salisbury in Wiltshire).[1017] It echoes the comment he makes in the dedicatory letter to his sister at the beginning of *Old Arcadia*. He writes to her that it is, 'a trifle, and that triflingly handled,' and that 'it is done for you, only to you; if you keep it to yourself, or to such friends who will weigh errors in the balance of goodwill.' Sidney was not writing these works for publication. Alexander opines correctly that 'the most important event in the literary career of Sir Philip Sidney was his death,' and that the next most important was the printing of his major works.[1018] This is true in that it was after his death that the decision was made by his

[1014] Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet*, 21.
[1015] Gavin Alexander, *Writing after Sidney: The Literary Response to Sir Philip Sidney, 1586-1640* (Oxford, 2006, Kindle edition), Loc 232.
[1016] *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney,* ed. Roger Kuin, 985. See also n. 36.
[1017] Ibid., 1009.
[1018] Gavin Alexander, *Writing after Sidney: The Literary Response to Sir Philip Sidney, 1586-1640*, loc. 208.

sister, his friend and cousin Fulke Greville and others that the works should be much more widely known than before. This is why Alexander suggests that 'Sidney was ahead of his time … and his time, in the event, was the 1590s. Had he lived, his works might never have been published.'[1019] Sidney might well have thwarted printing them.

Chapter Three explored Sidney's memory room images of writing, paper and ink *in Astrophil and Stella* and his prolific book-buying in Italy. These themes already set out here are developed by Henry Woudhuysen, who quotes the *Defence* where Sidney includes himself among 'the paper-blurrers,' and refers to 'this ink-wasting toy of mine.'[1020] Woudhuysen also notes that Sidney 'also displayed some interest in books as physical objects.' To support this he cites *Astrophil and Stella* 11. 5-6 where a child is looking at 'some faire booke doth find/With gilded leaves or colourd Velume playes,' and *Other Poems* 4. where boys (as Sidney once did) gained pleasure from examining 'trim books in velvet dight| With golden leaves, and painted babery.'[1021] Sidney was invested in both the activity of writing by hand and the beauty of manuscript books. In addition, Woudhuysen offers several plausible reasons for Sidney's favouring of manuscript over printing.[1022] The first is that of rank and the 'stigma of print'. Sidney was very conscious of his status. This is evidenced, for instance, when in his *Defence of the Earl of Leicester* he states: 'I am a Dudlei in blood that Dukes daughters son and do acknowledge though in all truth I mai justli affirm that I am by my fathers syde of ancient and allwaies well esteemed and welmatched gentry, yet I do acknowledg I sai that my cheefest honor is to be a Dudlei, and truly am glad to have cause to set forth the nobility of that blood whereof I am descended.'[1023] It is also illustrated in a serious incident with the Earl of Oxford who was Sidney's rival in love for Anne Cecil and in political stance over the marriage of the Queen. As Fulke Greville recounts it, 'A peer of this Realm, born great, greater by alliance, and superlative in the Princes favour, abruptly came into the Tennis Court'. What ensued was a bitter war of rank (described in detail through six pages by Greville) over which of the two should submit to the other. This involved the intervention of the Queen.[1024] There is also the matter that he was writing for pleasure, not for commission or profit. He was to be the bestower and not the recipient of patronage. There was then his sense of his own destiny as a representative of his nation and a courtier which would not be compatible with writing 'toys' and 'trifles.' Lastly, as Woudhuysen pertinently observes, 'Nor were the toys and trifles quite innocent.' He cites the adulterous love 'at once celebrated and condemned' in *Astrophil and Stella* (with its clear connection with Lady Rich). The *Old Arcadia* might well have caused offence with its scenes of attempted rape, suicide and regicide alongside transvestism all combined with serious political and legal matters. Woudhuysen correctly notes that none of this fits well with the moral and heroic inspirational writing that is commended in the *Defence*.[1025] These are all credible reasons for Sidney's wish to keep as close a control as possible over his manuscripts. It is, therefore, not difficult to understand why he would have wanted his literary legacy, especially *the Arcadia*, to disappear. Early

[1019] Ibid., loc. 208.
[1020] Henry Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558-1640* (Oxford, 2003), 208.
[1021] Ibid, 209. The citations are from *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler Jr. (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1962), 170 and 246.
[1022] Ibid., 211.
[1023] Philip Sidney, *Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and Jan Van Dorsten (Oxford, 1973), 134.
[1024] Fulke Greville, *Life of Philip Sidney etc. First Published 1652*, intro. Nowell Smith (Oxford, 1907), 63-69.
[1025] Henry Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558-1640*, 211.

in his biography, Greville writes of Sidney and his literary works that, 'When his body declined, and his piercing inward powers were lifted up to a purer Horizon, he then discovered, not onlely the imperfection, but vanitie of these shadows.' He continues, 'And from this ground, in that memorable testament of his, he bequeathed no other legacie, but the fire, to this unpolished Embrio.'[1026] If the dying Sidney had had his way, the wider world would have seen neither the *Arcadia* nor *Astrophil and Stella*.

To summarise, in terms of researching and presenting their impact on Sidney's *Defence of Poetry*, the *Old Arcadia* and *Astrophil and Stella*, it became logical to separate the three years of his European travel into two distinct and differentiated tours. This was because each tour contributed different sets of experiences and ideas to Sidney the future poet. The Northern tour of Germany and the great cities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire revealed to Sidney, according to his correspondence, a heritage of geo-political and confessional ideas from older, more experienced men who saw his potential as a Protestant icon, while his Southern (Italian) tour provided him with a microcosm of European elite youth (and a knowledge of poetic theory within its context) that he proceeded to use *in the Defence*.

While answering the research question of what impact Sidney's European tours had on his writings, the challenge has been that, as already stated, he left all but no allusion to those writings in his correspondence. The works contain their own tributes and references to the tours, as has been shown. However, literary writing was, he claimed in *the Defence*, his 'unelected vocation' that he had entered 'in these my not old years and idlest times having slipped into the title of a poet.'[1027] The tours, especially the Northern one, were intended to form a charming, serious, already well-educated young proud Englishman into an English statesman and diplomat. What happened in parallel to that aim was that they also provided him with the artist's palette for these three works. His tours triggered in Sidney a wish and a way, through a refreshed or new interest in literature in its vernacular, to demonstrate his pride in his nation and his longing to see its literature excel on a European scale, which, in his view, had not happened thus far since the time of Chaucer. He uses strong words to sum up his frustration:

> I have lavished out too many words of this play matter. I do it because, as they are excelling parts of Poesy, so is there none so much used in England, and none can be more pitifully abused; which, like an unmannerly daughter showing a bad education, caused her mother Poesy's honesty to be called into question.[1028]

He stops to 'inquire why England (the mother of excellent minds) should be grown so hard a stepmother to poets'.[1029] He adds his view of his first language:

> We may bend to the right use both of matter and manner: whereto our language giveth us great occasion, being indeed capable of any excellent exercising of it. I know some will say it is a mingled language. And why not so much the better, taking the best of both the other [Poetry to Oratory]? [1030]

[1026] Fulke Greville, *Life of Philip Sidney etc. First Published 1652*, 16-17.
[1027] Sir Philip Sidney*, An Apology for Poetry:* ed. R.W. Maslen, 3rd revised ed. (Manchester, 2002), 81.
[1028] Ibid., 113.
[1029] Ibid., 108.
[1030] Ibid., 115.

He continues, 'truly the English, before any other vulgar language I know, is fit for both sorts [of versification: ancient and modern].' [1031] For Sidney, as expressed in *the Defence*, the connection between a nation's national status and the power of its vernacular literature is clear and significant, as is the idea that this literature in the vernacular should evolve and improve. On his tours he became aware of the French, German and Italian and Dutch languages in a way that can only happen in a situation of immersion in their countries in the extended company of native speakers and writers. This was the official purpose of his travels and ultimately, as shown here, cannot be separated from his own writings or his motivation for them.

This thesis identified the influences on Philip Sidney of his European tour (1572-75) in terms of the people, ideas, events and places that he encountered. Having established these forces and posited their effects, the research focused on pieces of his writings, *the Defence of Poetry* and *Old Arcadia*, that were influenced by the Northern Tour. The literary impact of the Southern Tour were examined through these same works and also the first sonnet sequence in English, *Astrophil and Stella*. The structure and movement of the thesis has reflected the flow of the research question, which was 'What is the impact of Sidney's European tours on his later writings and his legacy of ideas?'. It has been designed to integrate published biographical research with the literary criticism that his work has generated. As was detailed in the Abstract, Sidney biographers including Fulke Greville, Katherine Duncan-Jones, Roger Howell, John Buxton, Alan Stewart and James Osborn devoted varying amounts of attention to the tours and Robert E. Stillman in his work describes the impact of the Phillippist movement on *the Defence of Poetry.* Brian Vickers wrote about the significance of classical humanist education on Early Modern literary criticism and Blair Worden treated the political and educational background to *Old Arcadia*. The link, though, between the tours and these writings has been largely unexplored. The research for this thesis was fresh and stimulating, since it was cross-disciplinary; it has spanned the fields of literature, politics, faith and travel, and in doing so has trodden new ground.

In conclusion, Sidney could have done the necessary reading for any poetical works he had planned at home at Penshurst Place in Kent, or in London, Oxford or Cambridge where he studied. He could have pursued an interest in writing without having travelled as he did. There is no evidence, though, that he had received his 'unelected vocation' to write Poetry or had 'slipped into the title of poet' while he was travelling.[1032] Nevertheless his interest in language and writing was demonstrably present then, and flourished later. His tours were not simply a matter of reading, writing and studying. They provided a carefully structured context of meetings and experiences for a wide-ranging legacy of non-literary ideas: empire, government, monarchy, Protestantism and Catholicism, defence and war. His tours provided the same structure and paradigm for his later Poetry-writing and critical theory. These were all the influential backdrop to *Old Arcadia, Defence of Poetry and Astrophil and Stella.* He bought and read Sannazaro's *L'Arcadia* in context, and lived for a year in the land which had already produced the literary and poetic theory which influenced his *Defence of Poetry*. It is, and has throughout been, argued that this work and the research behind it, has revealed and expanded the connection between Sidney's European tours and his writings. It has done so in a more detailed and extended way than has been done before, and it has connected those tours with the legacy of ideas that supports those writings.

[1031] Ibid., 115.

[1032] Sir Philip Sidney*, An Apology for Poetry:* ed. R.W. Maslen, 81.