'Throughly ransackt': Elizabethan Novella Collections and Henry Wotton's Courtlie Controuersie of Cupid's Cautels (1578)

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"THROUGHLY RANSACKT": ELIZABETHAN NOVELLA COLLECTIONS AND HENRY WOTTON'S *COURTLIE CONTROUERSIE OF CUPID'S CAUTELS* (1578)

Henry Wotton's *Courtlie Controuersie of Cupids Cautels* (1578), a translation of Jaques Yver's *Le Printemps d'Yver* (1572), is a work of considerable importance. It deserves a place in the history of English prose fiction, of Tudor translations, of Euphuism, and of English poetry. In the late sixteenth century, several writers referred to it, quoted from it, adapted it. It is then surprising that Wotton's work has hitherto largely escaped the attention of scholars.[1] Other collections of novellas have found their modern editors: William Painter's *The Palace of Pleasure* (1566-67); Sir Geoffrey Fenton's *Tragical Discourses* (1567), a collection of novellas translated from the *Histoires tragiques* by Belleforest and Boistuau; George Pettie's *A Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure* (1576); George Turberville's *Tragical Tales* (1576), ten novellas translated in verse, chiefly from Boccaccio; and Barnaby Rich's *Rich His Farewell to Military Profession* (1581).[2]

A Courtlie Controuersie, however, has not been printed since its first appearance in 1578. Consequently, Wotton's work has been passed over in some of the most comprehensive studies: in his monumental (ten volume) *History of the English Novel,* E. A. Baker devotes more than two hundred and fifty pages to the Elizabethans, but fails to mention Wotton.[3] C. S. Lewis's *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century* does not mention the collection of tales either, nor is it listed in his comprehensive bibliography.[4] The four volumes of *Sixteenth-Century British Nondramatic Writers* in the *Dictionary of Literary Biography* (DLB) series cover more than 150 authors, but Wotton is not among them.[5] Nor is *A Courtlie Controuersie* included in the comprehensive *Microfiche Collection of Prose Fiction of Shakespeare's Time,* edited by Charles W. Whitworth.[6] Similarly, Wotton does not find his way into studies on Elizabethan translation such as F. O. Matthiesen's *Translation: An Elizabethan Art,*[7] James Winny's *Elizabethan Prose Translation,*[8] or J. Clements's *Tudor Translations: An Anthology.*[9] In *Antecedents of the English Novel, 1400-1600,* Margaret Schlauch notes that *A Courtlie Controuersie* has been neglected by scholars. She writes that Wotton's collection of tales "is to be recommended as a subject of future investigation", a recommendation to which nobody seems to have responded so far.[10]

> Very little is known about Henry Wotton, the author of *A Courtlie Controuersie.* He is not to be confused with Sir Henry Wotton, poet and diplomat in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, who was not born before 1568. The *Dictionary of National Biography* informs us that he was "son of John Wooton of North Tudenham, and brother of one Wooton of Tudenham, Norfolk, whose second wife was Mary or Anne, daughter of George Nevill, lord Bergavenny, and widow of Thomas Fiennes, lord Dacre of the South."[11] The Lady Dacre of the South, Wotton's sister-in-law, is the dedicatee of *A Courtlie Controuersie.*

A Courtlie Controuersie was published in 1578, a good ten years after Painter's *Palace of Pleasure* (1566, vol. 1; 1567, vol. 2) and Geoffrey Fenton's *Tragical Discourses* (1567) and only two years after Pettie's *A Petite Pallace of Pettie His Pleasure.* Novellas had clearly become a fashionable genre by his time. As Wotton writes in his address "To the fauourable and wel-willing Reader":

> considering howe greatly tragicall histories haue bin commended and esteemed of late dayes, euen in such sorte as it seemeth a shame vnto all Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, nurtured in the schoole of curtesie, but prinicpally vnto Courtiers, to be ignoraunt thereof. (A4)

The moment was propitious for English prose in general. A number of works of lasting importance were written within a few years: Holinshed's *Chronicles* had appeared a year earlier and North's *Plutarch* was going to be published a year later. Lyly's *Euphues* appeared in 1578, *Euphues and His England* in 1580, whereas Sidney's *Arcadia* and his *Apology for Poetry,* although not published for many years, were written around 1580.

Wotton's collection of tales was entered in the Stationers' Register on 1 July 1578:[12]

> master Coldock Receyued of them for their

lycence to printe
master Bynneman A Courtly Controuersie of CUPIDs Cautels.
xvjd and a copy.

The first and, as far as we know, only edition appeared later in the same year with the following title page:

A Courtlie controuersie | of Cupids Cautels | Conteyning fiue Tragicall Histories | very pithie, pleasant, pitiful, and profitable: | Discoursed vppon wyth Argumentes of Loue, | by three gentlemen and two gentlewomen enter- | medled with diuers delicate Sonets and | Rithmes, exceeding delightfull to | refresh the yrkesomnesse of tedious tyme. | Translated out of French as neare | as our Englishe phrase will permit, | by H. W. Gentleman | [device] | At London, | Imprinted by Francis Coldock, | and Henry Bynneman. | Anno. 1578.

The Black-Letter quarto of *A Courtlie Controuersie* is extremely rare: the STC as well as the ESTC mention three copies (STC 5647), one in the British Library, one in the Bodleian Library, and one in the Harvard University Library. I have located a fourth copy in the Huntington Library. The copy in the British Library is imperfect, with the title page lacking and several blank pages. Apart from that, the copies in London and Oxford appear to be identical.

Wotton's dedication is followed by an address "To the Reader" (A4^{r-v}) in which Wotton comments upon his translation:

Wherein if thou finde any faults passed in the printing, pardon the Printers speedie dispatche therein, for at the phrase I knowe thou shalt haue cause to frowne, beeing translated so neare vnto the Frenche as our Englishe toung will tollerate, which may seeme in many steedes straunge vnto thee. But if happily thou desirest the knowledge of the Frenche tong, conferre the works togither, and I doubt not thou shalt find some contentation of thy desire. (A4^{v})

Wotton protests too much. Although it faithfully preserves Yver's plots, his translation is relatively free in matters of style. Despite Wotton's assertion, it would barely do as a textbook for the acquisition of the French language. Where Yver has:

Ha Eraste, Eraste, ce n'est pas à moi q deuiez addresser vos ruzes si bien affillée: mais bien me soit que de bonne heure ie les ay cognues. Parquoy dés à present ie renonce & desavoüe toutes les faueurs qu'auez iamais receu de ma sottise, vous permettant toute liberte d'aller chercher recompense vers celles [sic], qui vous est si redeuable, iusques à ce qu'en soyez las pour vosler à vne autre nouuelle, Et [sic] me laissez desormais bannie de voz yeux, de vostre bouche & de vostre memoire, comme de ma part ie practiqueray bien. Et de peur que rien ne m'y donne empeschement, tenez vostre bague que ie vous rêds, & qu'il ne vous souuiene iamais, combien ie l'ay gardee cherement.[13]

Wotton translates:

Ah *Erastus, Erastus,* it was not against me thou shouldest haue deuised thy crafty collusions so cunningly conueyed: but I am a happie creature to vnderstand them so timely. Wherfore from henceforth I renounce the vowes, and reuoke al the fauour wherof thou hast bene partaker by my follye, and render thee free libertie to seeke recompence at hir hand, who is so beholding vnto thee, vntill thy wandering affections glutted with one dish of dainties, giue thee appetite to search more delicate diet. Banish me therefore for euermore from thy sight and speech, and blot me clearely out of thy remembraunce: as I for my part, wil practise with al mine endeuor to regester thy lewde demeanor in the roll of obliuion. And to the ende nothing maye hinder myne entent, lo here the parted pledge of thy falsed faith, which I restore vnto the right owner, wyth desire thou mayest neuer thinke, how dearely I haue vntil this houre preserued it.
(G4^{v}-H1^{r})

As this passage makes clear, Yver and Wotton's insistence on rhetoric and reflection rather than plot and action associates them more closely with Belleforest and Fenton than with Bandello and Painter. When it comes to the nature of the translation, it is clear that Wotton does not translate Yver as Belleforest "translates" Bandello. Several passages are indeed "translated so neare vnto the French as our Englishe toung will tollerate" (H4^{r}). For example, "Parquoy dés à present ie renonce" is rendered word for word as "Wherfore from henceforth I renounce". On other occasions, however, Wotton consciously deviates from his original. A common device of his is to turn a simple passage into a more elaborate and alliterative one, adding or expanding an attribute. Thus, "vos ruzes si bien affillée [sic]" is translated as "thy crafty collusions so cunningly conueyed". Similarly, Wotton turns Yver's straightforward "bague" into the tortuous "parted pledge of thy falsed faith". The English "dish of dainties" and "delicate diet" have no direct equivalent in the French text and seem to have been composed for the sake of alliteration. In one case, Wotton adds an entire subordinate clause: "comme de ma part ie practiqueray bien" becomes "as I for my part, wil practise with al mine endeuor to regester thy lewde demeanor in the roll of obliuion". In fact, Wotton adds the most arresting image of the entire passage.

The translation of the poems, with which the main text is interspersed, is naturally even less close to the original. The following verses are representative. Yver has:

> Pourquoy t'esbahis tu comme tombé des nues
> Si chacun est trompé des femmes de nostre age,
> Puisque d'un masque faux, nous couurent leur [visage?
> Masque qu'elles ont bien, voire estans toutes nues,
> Pour desguiser leur ris, leurs yeux & leur langage?
> (83-84)

Wotton "translates":

> What moueth men abashed thus to stay,
> As tumbled from the cloudes in suche a mase?
> Sith Maidens mockes doe yeelde but mere delay:
> Whose cloking scarfes doth holde men at the gase,
> Whilst couered close in shape of masking showe,
> By deepe deceyte our ioyes they ouerthrowe.
> Bereaue them of their outwarde masking vayle
> Yet inwardly disguised they remayne:
> Their thoughtes lye hidde, their tounges of truth [do fayle,
> Till sugred wordes the harmlesse hart hath slayne:
> If in their chaunge they fast on men their hookes,
> Their smiling then conuertes to louring lookes
> (L3^{r})

Wotton turns five Alexandrines into twelve iambic pentameters. He takes up all the ideas present in Yver but substantially expands them. Granted, his rather mechanic alliterations lack the musical subtleties of Yver's lines as illustrated in the repetition of the sound pattern before and after the caesura in the first line: "t'esbahis tu [...] tombé des nues". Yet Wotton's language is more vivid, enriched with images contributing to the carefully developed theme of disguise. Contrary to Yver, Wotton imposes a tight structure upon the ideas expressed, "outward disguise" in the first six lines being followed by "inward disguise" in the following six lines. The verse flows naturally, even though the heavily end-stopped lines at times lack rhythmical variety. Collier calls Wotton "by no means a contemptible versifier". As he points out, "the poetry it contains much more resembles the ease and grace of [Sidney's] school, than the formality, and even rigidity, of that in which Whetstone and Turbervile, some ten years earlier, were masters".[14]

Yver, in turn, is not as independent of his source as he would have his reader believe. In his preface, he alludes to Belleforest and Boistuau, accusing them of slavish imitation. It is all the more surprising then that four of Yver's five tales are clearly indebted to Bandello.[15] For the story of Soliman and Persida, Yver goes back to Bandello's novella of Cyrus and Pantea. The basic plot of the two tales is the same: as a pair of star-crossed lovers is separated, the young man enters the service of a foreign sovereign into whose hands his lover falls. Enthralled by her beauty, the monarch presses hard his captive who nevertheless remains faithful to her beloved. When he discovers the deep affections between the two lovers, he magnanimously withdraws. Despite a reversal of fortune, the woman remains faithful unto death. To trace the origins of the tale even further back, Bandello drew upon Xenophon's famous love story of Cyrus and Pantea in books four to seven of the *Xyropedia*.[16]

Even though clearly indebted to Bandello's fictional novella, the story of Soliman and Persida is also set against a historical background: in 1522, the troops of Sultan Suleiman II, Emperor of the Turks, besieged and, after several months of resistance, conquered the Christian Isle of Rhodes. Sarrazin identified the specific historical source for the story of Erastus and Persida in Jacobus Fontanus' (Fontaine's) *De Bello Rhodio*.[17] Accounts of the siege were popular and one of them was printed as early as 1525.[18]

Wotton's French original, Jaques Yver's *Le Printemps d'Yver*, was first printed in 1572. The title page of the *editio princeps* reads:

> Le | Printemps | D'Yver | Contenant cinq Histoires discourues | par cinq journées, en une noble com | pagnie, au chasteau de Printemps: | Par Jaques Yver, seigneur de | Plaisance, et de la Bigotterie, gen | tilhomme Poectevin. | A Paris, | Par Jean Ruelle, demeurant rue sainct | Jacques, à l'enseigne S. Jerosme. | Avec Privilège. | 1572.

Although originally intended as a prologue to a more substantial volume, *Le Printemps d'Yver* is the only work Yver managed to complete. It appeared in the year of his death. Its success in the sixteenth century was remarkable. Paul Lohr listed no fewer than twenty-five editions up to the year 1600, five alone in the year of its appearance.[19] The British Library houses copies of seven editions dated 1572, 1575, 1588, 1589, 1598, 1600, 1618.[20] The first modern edition of *Le Printemps* appeared in 1841.[21] Contrary to Wotton, Yver has recently received considerable critical attention.[22]

With its emphatically alliterative title, Wotton's *Courtlie Controuersie of Cupid's Cautels* refers back to Pettie's *A Petite Pallace of Pettie His Pleasure* which, in turn, acknowledges *Painter's Palace of Pleasure* as an ancestor. Wotton thus places himself

within a succession of writers of collections of novellas. Yver can be seen as growing out of a different tradition, however. Like Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Marguerite de Navarre, he arranges a collection of tales within a narrative framework. The third War of Religion has just ended and people are returning home and taking up their everyday lives. At Pentecost, three noblemen and three noblewomen assemble in a castle, appropriately called "Le Printemps," and, to pass the time, decide to tell stories centering on the question of love or, more specifically, the cause of misfortune in love. The hostess, a widow who remains nameless throughout the work, functions as arbitrator. The five contestants are Marie and Marguerite, respectively daughter and niece of the hostess, and the three guests, le sieur de Bel-Accueil, le sieur de Fleur d'Amour, and le sieur de Ferme-Foy.[23]

The ensuing debate has a tight structure, one story being told on each of the five successive days, men and women taking turns. Fleur d'Amour opens the contest, arguing that the fickleness of women causes all misfortune in love, and to illustrate his argument, he tells the story of Soliman and Perside. The day after, Marie tries to prove the very opposite and, as an instance, relates the unhappy love of Fleurie and Hernan. Neither of the two are right, Bel-Accueil argues on the third day; and telling the story of Clarinde and Aligre, he tries to prove that it is Fortune that crosses the design of lovers. Next day, Marguerite imputes crossed love to man's jealousy and drives home her point by means of the tale of Parthénie and Guillaume le Bâtard. Finally, Ferme-Foy holds that both the man and the woman contribute to unhappy love, narrating the story of the mutual deception of Claribel and Floradin. For the next day, the lady of the castle promises to illustrate that "le véritable amour est d'une autre essence et dépend du choix de l'ami et de l'amie". Yver, however, did not get around to composing her tale, nor to writing his next, more substantial work, of which *Le Printemps* should have served as "avant-coureur et préparatifs". What we do know about the projected sixth tale is enough, however, to guess that Yver intended the final arbitration to come down strongly on the side of neo-Platonic love which had found its exponents in France among the poets of the Pléiade as well as in Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptameron*.

The role Wotton's *Courtlie Controuersie* played in the history of English poetry has been demonstrated by Virginia Tufte, who pointed out that the fifth history in Wotton contains the earliest classical epithalamium in the English language.[24] Sir Philip Sidney and his "augmented and ended" *New Arcadia* - printed in 1593 but probably composed and circulated as early as 1580 - had long been mistakenly credited with this merit.[25] Hundreds of works were to be written in this genre in the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, most notably Spenser's great "Epithalamion", several epithalamia in Shakespeare's plays and one in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. The poem in Wotton and Yver is an adaptation of Catullus' "Carmen 62", the "Vesper adest", a singing match debating the question of marriage versus virginity by a chorus of youths and maidens. Tufte prints the poem in her article.

Scholars of Renaissance drama have long known that the first tale of Wotton's collection served Thomas Kyd as a source for both the play-within-the-play in *The Spanish Tragedy* and the main plot in *Soliman and Perseda*.[26] I have studied elsewhere the use Kyd made of Wotton's tale.[27] There seems to be a mistaken consensus, however, that Kyd was alone in being influenced by Wotton. Thomas Freeman, for instance, has written that "no other playwright of the era shows any familiarity with Wotton's compilation",[28] a statement that is far from true.

Wotton's fourth tale, for one, is an uncontested source of *Fair Em*. Paul Lohr has shown in detail how the plot dealing with the love of William the Conqueror closely follows Wotton.[29] Having been included in a seventeenth-century volume bearing the label "Shakespeare. vol. I.", the play has gained a place in the Shakespeare Apocrypha. The ascription has found few followers and is discredited today.[30] Robert Greene was once believed to be the author of *Fair Em*, but since Richard Simpson showed that Greene ridiculed the play and attacked its author in *Farewell to Folly* (published 1591), this possibility can be excluded.[31] Robert Wilson and Anthony Munday have been suggested as possible authors, but the corrupt text makes authorship attribution by means of internal evidence very difficult.[32] The play may well have to remain anonymous.

Greene did know Wotton's collection of tales, however, bringing the number of Elizabethan writers acquainted with it to at least three. In his *Mamillia*, printed in 1583, but registered as early as 3 October 1580, only two years after *A Courtlie Controuersie* was published, Greene, as John S. Weld has shown, borrowed entire passages from Wotton more or less verbatim.[33] In addition, Greene refers specifically to "the betroathed fayth of *Erasto* to his *Persida*" which "shal not compare with the loue of Pharicles to Mamillia".[34] Typically for prolific Greene, he recycles the allusion *mutatis*

mutandis a few years later in the novel *Gwydonicus. The Carde of Fancie* (1587): "The betrothed faith of Erasta [sic] to his Persida, shal not compare with the loue of Valericus and Castania".[35] It would be rash to suggest that Erastus and Persida had reached the fame of proverbial lovers by the 1580s, but Greene does seem to imply that young lovers of some standing, such as those he portrays in his writings, might well be familiar with Wotton's tale.

As it can be shown that at least three writers working in the 1580s were acquainted with *A Courtlie Controuersie*, it seems legitimate to ask whether others might not have ignored it either. Given the "euphuistic" style – the word is of course anachronistic – of Wotton's prose, Lyly may be considered as a possible candidate. In the introduction to *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, R. W. Bond examines the subject of "Euphues and Euphuism" – paying, in particular, close attention to the influence of Pettie's collection of tales[36] – but fails to consider Wotton. John S. Weld, however, has asserted that "by joining to [the natural history similes found in *Le Printemps D'Yver*] a schematic sentence structure, Wotton bridged the gap between Pettie's purely structural euphuism and Lyly's mixture of schemata and bestiary". Weld cautiously concludes that Wotton "may have influenced Lyly's style".[37]

No link seems to have been established between Wotton and Lyly's plays. Nevertheless, it seems possible that *Campaspe* – possibly composed in 1580, like Greene's *Mamillia* – echoes a passage in Wotton. In Lyly's play, Alexander opens his final speech with the words: "It were a shame Alexander should desire to commaund the world if he could not commaund himselfe".[38] The main source of Lyly's play is Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* of which Lyly used North's translation (published 1579), as can be clearly shown in at least one passage.[39] On the subject of Alexander's chastity, North writes:

> ...although Darius wife (as it is written) was passing faire, as Darius was also a goodly prince, and that his daughters likewise did resemble their father and mother. Alexander thinking it more princely for a kinge, as I suppose to conquer him selfe, then to overcome his enemies.[40]

Lyly's second main source is Book 35 of Pliny's *Natural History*. The following passage from Pliny comments upon Alexander's magnanimity:

> namque cum dilectam sibi e pallecis suis praecipue, nomine Pancaspen, nudam pingi ob admirationem formae ab Apelle iussisset eumque, dum paret, captum amore sensisset, dono dedit ei, magnus animo, quia ipse se vicit, nec torum tantum suum, sed etiam ad factum donavit artifici.[41]

The Lylyan quibble on "commaund" is found neither in North's *Plutarch* nor in Pliny. In Wotton, however, Alexander is referred to as follows: "hee was of opinion, that who so meddeleth to commaunde, muste shewe a greater excellencie, than those hee commaundeth, commaunding hymselfe, refusing to bee commaunded of anye" (L1^{r}). It is of course possible that Lyly composed the euphuistic turn of phrase without Wotton's help, but the possibility of Lyly's indebtedness to Wotton should certainly not be excluded.

A Courtlie Controuersie also shares certain characteristics with *Euphues and His England* (1580): besides obvious features of prose style, they share a structure containing a main narrative with inset stories that usurp at considerable length the circumstances of their telling. Also, if Lyly needed an English model of the love debate he stages with Euphues as arbitrator and Philautus, Camilla, Surius, Mistress Frauncis and others as participants, he found it in Wotton's work, published two years earlier.

It seems difficult to answer conclusively the question of whether Shakespeare knew and made use of Wotton's tales. In 1944, Dorothy F. Atkinson argued that beside Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana* – which provides the source for the Julia parts of the play – the fifth tale in Wotton is Shakespeare's main source for *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.[42] Her argument was endorsed and expounded by Jim C. Pogue.[43] Geoffrey Bullough, however, argued that Wotton "seems an analogue rather than a source of Shakespeare".[44] Clifford Leech, in his Arden edition of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, cautiously agreed, stating that "Bullough seems justified in seeing this as an 'analogue' rather than as a source", yet he appears to be less than sure.[45] Granted, Wotton's links to Shakespeare could be more substantial and, despite his initials, he does not qualify as a further candidate for the "Mr. W. H." of Shakespeare's sonnets. Pending a detailed reconsideration of the sources of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, however, it should not be ruled out that Shakespeare may have taken hints from Wotton.[46]

In 1582, Stephen Gosson – renegade playwright turned priest and writer of pamphlets against the stage – complained that the pernicious novella collections arriving from the Continent "haue beene throughly ransackt, to furnish the Playe houses in London".[47] Even though modern readers are likely to disagree with Gosson's antitheatrical stance, his factual point is undeniable: *Hamlet*,

Othello, The Merchant of Venice, Twelfth Night, All's Well That Ends Well, Measure for Measure, and *Cymbeline* are just a few of the plays that owe much of their plot to novellas of Italian or French origin. Appropriation and transformation of novelistic material was of considerable importance for the development of early modern drama. As Madeleine Doran has pointed out, "one of the controlling elements in plot-building by Elizabethan dramatists was certainly the source stories they chose to dramatize. In general, plays based on novellas or on Roman or Italian plays are better knit, more unified and coherent, than those based on chronicles or episodic romances."[48] Despite Gosson's hint more than four hundred years ago, we may not have realized that Wotton's *Courtlie Controuersie,* published only four years before Gosson's pamphlet, is to be counted among the "throughly ransackt" novella collections that helped shape the English drama in the late sixteenth century. Following its inclusion in the Chadwyck-Healey *Early English Prose Fiction* CD-Rom edition,[49] it is to be hoped that interest in Wotton's work finally awakens.

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NOTES

1. Note, however, that J. P. Collier mentions the *Courtlie Controuersie* in his *Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language,* 2 vols. (London, 1865), vol. 2, 543-547.

2. See William Painter, *The Palace of Pleasure,* ed. Joseph Jacobs (London: D. Nutt, 1890); William Painter, *The Palace of Pleasure,* ed. Hamish Miles (London: Cresset Press, 1929); Sir Geoffrey Fenton, *Certaine Tragicall Discourses,* ed. Robert L. Douglas, Tudor Translations, 2 vols. (London: D. Nutt, 1898; New York: AMS Press, 1967); Sir Geoffrey Fenton, *Certaine Tragicall Discourses,* ed. Robert L. Douglas and Hugh Harris (London: George Routledge & Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1923); George Pettie, *A Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure,* ed. Sir Isaac Gollancz, 2 vols. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1908; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1970); George Pettie, *A Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure,* ed. Hugh Hartman (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1938; rpt. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1970); George Turberville, *Tragical Tales,* ed. J. Maidment (Edinburgh, 1837); Barnabe Rich, *Barnabe Riche, His Farewell to Military Profession,* ed. Donald Beecher (Ottawa, Canada: Dovehouse Editions; Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1992); Barnabe Rich, *Rich's Farewell to Military Profession,* ed. Thomas Malory Cranfill (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1959).

3. Ernest A. Baker, *The History of the English Novel,* vol. 2, *The Elizabethan Age and After* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1928).

4. C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954).

5. Volumes 132, 136, 167, 172, all edited by David A. Richardson (Detroit, Washington D.C., London: Gale Research Inc., 1993-96).

6. Shakespeariana Unit 15 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1989). Note that Paul Salzman's important study of *English Prose Fiction 1558-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) briefly refers to *Courtlie Controuersie* on page 19.

7. F. O. Matthiesen, *Translation: An Elizabethan Art* (New York: Octagon Books, 1965).

8. James Winny, *Elizabethan Prose Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960).

9. *Tudor Translations: An Anthology,* ed. J. Clements (Oxford: Blackwell, 1940).

10. Margaret Schlauch, *Antecedents of the English Novel, 1400-1600 (from Chaucer to Deloney)* (Warszawa: PWN—Polish Scientific Publishers; London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 154n.

11. *Dictionary of National Biography,* vol. 63, 57.

12. Edward Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 A.D.,* 5 Vols. (London, 1875-94), vol. 2, 329.

13. Yver, *Le Printemps d'Yver,* 54-55. I quote from the earliest edition in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Paris, 1588).

14. Collier, *Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language,* Vol. 2, 544.

15. Paul Lohr, *"Le Printemps d'Yver" und die Quelle zu "Fair Em"* (Berlin, 1912), 19-20.

16. Xenophon's lovers are at the origin of another line of descendants leading from Bandello to Painter and from thence to the anonymous play *The Wars of Cyrus,* which was published in 1594.

17. Jacobus Fontanus, *De Bello Rhodio: Libri tres* (Paris, 1540), 73. Sarrazin prints the relevant excerpt on page 123.

18. Jacques de Bourbon, *La grande et merveilleuse et trescruelle oppugnation de la noble cité de Rhodes* (1525). Despite its title, Painter's "Sultan Solyman", first printed on its own in c.1558 and subsequently integrated into the second volume of *The Palace of Pleasure* in 1567, is not related to the tale of Soliman and Persida. It deals with a later portion in the life of the same sultan, the murder of his son in 1553. Painter is directly indebted to Nicholas Moffan's historical account in a Latin pamphlet of 1555 which may also have influenced the Latin tragedy *Soliman et Mustapha,* performed in 1581, and Fulke Greville's closet tragedy *Mustapha.* See *Poems and Drama of Fulke Greville, First Lord Brooke,* ed. Geoffrey Bullough (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1939), vol. 2, 8ff.

19. Lohr, *"Le Printemps d'Yver" und die Quelle zu "Fair Em,"* 5-6.

20. Note that a copy dated 1578 that was in the possession of Drummond of Hawthornden is now in the

Edinburgh University Library (see R. H. MacDonald, *The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971), 216).

21. Paul L. Jacob, ed., *Panthéon Littéraire* (Paris, 1841). Note that Slatkine Reprints have provided a more easily accessible text (Geneva, 1970) and that an unpublished critical edition of *Le Printemps d'Yver* has been produced by Susan Thomson (Thèse de l'Univ. Paris-IV, 1974).

22. See, for instance, Jérôme Schwartz, "Emblematic Structures in Yver's *Printemps*", *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 17 (1987): 235-55, and Gabriel A. Perouse, "Destins français des devisantes du Decameron", in Jean Jehasse et al. eds., *Mélanges offerts à Georges Couton* (Lyon: PU de Lyon, 1981), 43-58.

23. The allegorical names may well be indebted to the *Roman de la Rose*.

24. "England's First Epithalamium and the 'Vesper Adest' Tradition", *English Miscellany* 20 (1969), 39-51, and *The Poetry of Marriage: The Epithalamium in Europe and Its Development in England* (Los Angeles: Tinnon-Brown, Inc., 1970).

25. See, for instance, *English Epithalamies*, ed. Robert H. Case (London, 1896): "It was, however, Sidney, whose Arcadia was written in 1580-81, that produced the first Epithalamium in English, whether original or translated" (xxvii).

26. Ernst Sieper ("Die Geschichte von Soliman und Perseda in der neueren Litteratur", *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte* 10 (1896): 157) showed convincingly that the play-within-the-play in *The Spanish Tragedy* – probably written earlier than *Soliman and Perseda* anyway – cannot be a condensed version of *Soliman and Perseda* that is independent of Wotton.

27. *Beyond "The Spanish Tragedy": A Study of the Works of Thomas Kyd*, Revels Plays Companion Library (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 168–82. In *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis* (Berlin: Felber, 1892), Gregor Sarrazin prints substantial parts of the first tale.

28. Thomas Freeman, *Thomas Kyd: Facts and Problems* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 140.

29. Paul Lohr, *"Le Printemps d'Yver" und die Quelle zu "Fair Em"* (Berlin: Verlag von Emil Felber, 1912). See also Standish Henning, ed., *"Fair Em": A Critical Edition* (New York: Garland, 1980), 38-49.

30. Note, however, that Eric Sams, in *The Real Shakespeare: Retrieving the Early Years* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 163-65, has argued for Shakespeare's authorship of *Fair Em*.

31. See C. F. Tucker Brooke, ed., *The Shakespeare Apocrypha* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), xxxix.

32. Robert Wilson's authorship has notably been advocated by W. W. Greg in his edition in the Malone Society Reprints series in 1928. Anthony Munday has been suggested by Robert William Barzak in his edition of *Fair Em*, in an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation for the University of Illinois (1959). For a full review of the authorship question, see Standish Henning, ed., *"Fair Em": A Critical Edition*, Garland Series (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1980), 51-80.

33. See John Saltar Weld, "Some Problems of Euphuistic Narrative: Robert Greene and Henry Wotton", *Studies in Philology*, 45 (1948), 165-71.

34. Robert Greene, *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart, 15 vols. (London, 1881-86), Vol. 2, 61.

35. Ibid. Vol. 4, 55.

36. *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. R. W. Bond (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901).

37. John Salter Weld, *Studies in the Euphuistic Novel, 1576-1640*, Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 1940. I quote from James L. Harner, *English Renaissance Prose Fiction, 1500-1660: An Annotated Bibliography of Criticism* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1978), 520.

38. *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. Bond, Vol. 2, 357–58.

39. See *Campaspe*, I.iii.95-113 and note in the Revels edition.

40. Sir Thomas North, *Plutarch's Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*, 6 vols., Tudor Translations, ed. W. E. Henley, (London, 1895), vol. 10, 322.

41. Pliny, *Natural History*, Loeb Series (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 36. Holland's first English translation of Pliny did not, of course, appear until 1601. The translation of the cited passage in the Loeb edition reads as follows: "he had such an admiration for the beauty of his favourite mistress, named Pancaspe, that he gave orders that she should be painted in the nude by Apelles, and then discovering that the artist while executing the commission had fallen in love with the woman, he presented her to him, great-minded as he was and still greater owing to his control of himself, and of greatness proved by this action as by any other victory: because he conquered himself, and presented not only his bedmate but his affection also to the artist."

42. Dorothy F. Atkinson, "The Source of *Two Gentlemen of Verona*", SP 41 (1944): 223-234.

43. Jim C. Pogue, *"The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and Henry Wotton's *A Courtlie Controuersie of Cupids Cautels"*, *Emporia State Research Studies* 10 (1962), 17-21.

44. Geoffrey Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, 8 vols. (London: Routledge and Kegan, 1957-75), vol. 1, 208.

45. William Shakespeare, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, ed. Clifford Leech, Arden Shakespeare (London: Methuen, 1969), xliv.

46. Less convincing was Karen W. Myers' attempt to suggest the second novella in Wotton's *Courtlie Controuersie* as a source for the Ophelia portion in *Hamlet* ("The False Steward in the Second Historie of Wotton's *Cupids Cautels*: A Neglected *Hamlet* Source", *Emporia State Research Studies* 15 (1966): 18-26). Harold Jenkins, in the Arden edition of *Hamlet* (London: Methuen, 1982) rightly rejects Myers' argument (359).

47. *Playes Confuted in fiue Actions*, in Arthur Kinney,

Markets of Bawdry: The Dramatic Criticism of Stephen Gosson, Salzburg Studies in English Literature. Elizabethan Renaissance Studies, 4 (Salzburg: Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, Universität Salzburg, 1974), 169.

48. Madeleine Doran, *Endeavors of Art: A Study of Form in Elizabethan Drama* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1954), 336.

49. (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey Ltd., 1997).